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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
01b	report	National Conference on Black Power, Newark, NJ, July 20-23, 1967	C	9	8/1/67	A
01e	report	National Conference on Black Power, Newark, NJ, July 20-23, 1967: Racial Matters	C	19	7/24/67	A
01h	report	National Conference on Black Power, Newark, NJ, July 20-23, 1967: Racial Matter	C	2	7/20/67	A
16	report	National Conference of Negro-Elected Officials: Racial Matters	C	9	5/31/67	A
17	report	Racial Violence Potential in the United States This Summer	C	71	5/23/67	A
18	report	Racial Violence Potential in the United States This Summer	C	71	5/23/67	A
19	report	"Rebellion" [publication]	C	5	3/21/66	A
19b	report	"Rebellion" [publication]	C	22	11/29/65	A
19d	report	Publication "Rebellion": Information Concerning	C	11	9/30/65	A

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Newark, New Jersey

August 31, 1967

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS

On August 23, 1967, Detective William Millard, Intelligence Unit, Newark, New Jersey, Police Department, advised that as a delegate to captioned conference which was held in Newark, July 20-23, 1967, he had recently received a letter from Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., Chairman of the Conference, reflecting the fourteen conference workshops were being converted into fourteen ad hoc task forces. Each task force is to work over a period of six months beginning September 1, 1967, to further the efforts of the Conference in its own area of concern. Millard advised that instructions concerning the procedures for each task force were to be furnished within in a few days. Millard advised that all conferees were also asked to meet on area or regional basis. Millard advised that another National Conference on Black Power is planned for next year and a year later an international congress on black power is planned. Millard made available a letter he received, a copy of which is attached.

The August 29, 1967, final edition of "The Star Ledger," a daily newspaper published in Newark, New Jersey, contained an article on page 7 under the caption "Black Power Conference leaders plan two more." This article reflected the following:

"The work of the National Conference on Black Power, held in Newark July 20-23, will continue with area and regional meetings and ad hoc task forces in preparation for a second national conference next year and an international conference the following year, it was announced yesterday.

Liaison - 1
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Rpts

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

"Dr. Nathan Wright Jr., who was conference chairman, said in a letter to those who attended the conference that 'Black Power is the most urgently needed and presently missing ingredient for peace, ordered growth and prosperity of our cities and of our nation as a whole.'

"Dr. Wright said the Newark conference has been much misunderstood, and this 'reflected a prevailing nervousness about the unique closed door gathering of black people.'

"He said it was 'entirely understandable' that 'many white Americans, who may function on an emotional basis, have tended to decry Black Power.'

"He explained the place of Black Power in society this way:

" 'Black Power in reference to white America will not be like White Power in reference to black America nor to America as a whole. White Power -- in its varied segments (for it is not whole) -- has failed us all and has not had the benefit of the necessary creative tension which could have been and must be supplied by the development of black people of Black Power.

" 'Growth into fulfillment occurs only under circumstance of equitable power tension and extension.'

"He added:

" 'Black Power, which means neither more nor less than the empowerment of black people for fulfillment, is a positive and creative gift.'

"Dr. Wright, director of Urban Work for the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, said all of those who attended the conference will be asked to meet on committees in a continuation of the conference workshops.

"A manifesto calling for the further Black Power Conference next year and an International Congress on Black Power a year later was the 'only official and definitive pronouncement' issued by the conference, Dr. Wright said.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

"After next year's conference a steering committee will replace the present Committee on Continuation, of which Dr. Wright is chairman. Others on the committee are Omar Abu Ahmed, Ron Karenga, Isaiah Robinson and C. Sumner Stone."

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National Conference on Black Power

P.O. Box 303

Orange, New Jersey 07050

or

c/o 24 Rescorla Street

Newark, New Jersey 07102

For Participants in the July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power

From: Martin Wright, Jr.

Subject: Brief Report and Next Steps

1 - It was my hope to have made this a personal note to you and to each other participant in our historic conference. This is impossible for obvious reasons. Yet the spirit of what is said here is personal.

By your presence and participation in the conference you rendered a service representing the entire nation. As the New York Times indicated in its front-page editorial of Saturday, July 23, the National Conference on Black Power was one of the most promising ventures for domestic peace and fulfillment going on in the nation's life. This is still true.

The precipitous change in appraisal by the Times on Monday, July 24, reflected a prevailing white nervousness about the unique Black-Power gathering of Black people, coupled with several gross and unfortunate misunderstandings.

2 - That many white Americans, who may discern on an emotional basis, the truth to Henry Black Power is entirely understandable. Yet Black Power in itself is not white America will not be like Black Power in reference to blind American as a whole. White Power - in its varied aspects (not as it is in the South) is all and has been faulty or pathological in manifestation. It has not had the benefit of the necessary creative work that would have been done and must be supplied by the development by Black people. Growth into fulfillment occurs only under circumstances of creative work and expansion. This is true in families; in business; in education; in social relationships; in community; and in our nation and world.

3 - Black Power, which means neither more nor less than the empowerment of Black people, is a positive and creative gift. It is the most important, and the most missing ingredient for the peace and ordered growth and development of our entire and of our nation as a whole.

4 - There is the unfortunate mis-understanding and faulty reporting of Black Power in the performance itself. This is always a risk. After the conference, as reported in the press here, many news agencies carried previous perceptions of Black Power. The list is growing larger day by day.

(a) There is the evening following the disruption of the Saturday press conference. It is agreed that those who broke into the conference allegedly had no prior activity before and that many of the press men knew these people by name. Indeed, similar activity has apparently been carried out since the conference. Not one communications service has had the good grace to inform the disruption of the press meeting was undertaken independently by a publicist. Even those who were well known. Their activities had nothing to do

with the work of the conferees.

(a) In contrast, the conference participants exercised remarkable courtesy and restraint in the face of the continuous presence day-long proings of the press. The press had asked if there would be a press meeting at the end of the conference. In response, a possible daily meeting - to be announced on a day-to-day basis - was offered, with the specific request that the press come on the premises of the conference only during a two-hour period in the midst of which a half-hour press brief would be held.

(b) Again, while the conference was the most widely inclusive assembly of black Americans ever to come together for such serious and reflective dialogue in the nation's life, much of the press and television focus tended to identify Black Power as an esoteric movement associated only with the few among us who chose to wear beautifully colorful or exotic garb.

(c) There was no resolution calling for a separate state. The resolution in question took cognizance of what white America had already effectively begun to create. It then recommended, in a thoroughly gracious way, that the conference "explore the possibility of dialogue" about these two nations.

The conference was in no wise racist. The above distortions (a, b, & c) served as the basis for practically all of the negative reporting and estimates by the press.

(d) Associated with these circumstances was the fact that the conference fundamentally had nothing to say to white Americans. It was an introspective conference involving ongoing dialogue within the family of black Americans concerning our own needs, weaknesses, and opportunities in terms of the largely overlooked area of self-development.

The only official document passed was a Manifesto, a copy of which will be sent shortly. All other actions were advisory to the continuing bodies which are described below.

1 - You are being asked to serve in the continuing dialogue of the conference in two specific ways.

(a) The fourteen conference workshops are being converted into fourteen ad hoc task forces. Each will work over a period of six months, beginning September 1, 1967, to further the efforts of the conference in its own area of concern.

A Steering Committee for the Task Forces will be headed by Phaedon Sunjate. Instructions will follow in a few days as to the procedures for each task force.

You are asked to serve on the Task Force which corresponds to and is a continuation of your workshop at the conference.

(b) All conferees are asked in addition to meet on an area or regional basis. Some groups have already begun to do this.

General instructions for your area meetings will be sent along within several weeks. Members of the original planning committee for the conference, supplemented by others to be designated, are being requested to take the initiative in the arrangements for the area meetings.

5 - A newsletter will be sent out periodically covering fully on the continuing work of the conference.

Any and all information relative to post-conference activities should be aimed to us for our first newsletter by September 10. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

6 - Black Power must be interpreted as a urgent positive necessity in our nation's life. Our efforts must be directed toward the involvement of all black people in our own dialogue and relationship in the task of self-development.

Those of us who may be integration-oriented can accomplish our task only if black people have both a positive identity or self-image and power. Black Power is the one sure basis for any coalition or alliance.

7 - Again, your participation in the National Conference on Black Power signals you out as one particularly sensitive to the need for a new kind of organization among black people. Such cooperation is necessary for our own good in terms of self-development and the larger good of all.

My deepest appreciation to you for your part in the past and for the prospect of working with you in the days ahead.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cleveland, Ohio

August 1, 1967

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, JULY 20-23, 1967

CV T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished the following information concerning the captioned conference:

This conference is in reality the conference scheduled for last year which was called off by Adam C. Powell. At a preparation meeting last year Dr. Nathan Wright was selected to convene a conference on Black Power by those present. The meeting was to be attended by representatives of all civil rights groups embracing the philosophy of black power.

Invitations and notices of the '67 meeting indicated that plans were made to accommodate 350 to 400 people. Workshops were to be limited to 35 people. Hotel space was reserved for 350 people, etc.

Nine hundred and sixty nine people registered for the conference. There were two types of registrations. Regular registration cost \$25.00 and entitled the registrant to vote and participate fully. The second registration gave the registrant an observers badge and permitted the wearer to observe meetings without voice or vote. Although security was set up to separate the delegates from the observers, it soon broke down and any Negro wearing any type of badge was admitted to all sessions.

No caucasions were admitted to any of the sessions and as the conference progressed feelings toward white people moved from dislike to open hatred. Newsmen were the only white people always around the conference and they bore the brunt of the open hostility. Several newsmen were bluntly advised to get away and stay away.

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RE: NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
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Dr. Wright, as convenor also served as chairman until a militant section of the conference objected to his moderate position and moderate statements to the press and successfully installed more militant chairmen including Ron Karenga, the leader of "US." This revolt culminated in a "planned" spontaneous attack on Dr. Wright's press conference, which resulted in newsmen being thrown or jumping out of windows, cameras and taperecorders being smashed and riot police being alerted. Newsmen were noticeably fewer in number around the conference after the attack. A conference rule was that no delegate give any statement to any newsman other than at a formal press conference and this rule was amended on Saturday to read that no one would have any more press conferences until after the conference.

The mood of the conference was a sober one. Only one or two small parties were held and very little drinking was done except for the delegates having a drink between meetings.

A number of the delegates were armed and these attached themselves to leaders of the larger organizations (CORE, US, SNCC) as bodyguards. A number of calls were received announcing a plan to kill Floyd Mc Kissick of CORE but Mc Kissick did not accept the Newark Police Department offer of protection.

Registration and meals were served at the Rector House while workshops were held at the Robert Treat Hotel. The large plenum meetings were held at the Military Park Hotel.

Registration started on Thursday (July 19) with speeches on Thursday evening. On Thursday evening a long rambling resolution was introduced stating that the Conference endorsed and supported the people of Newark for the riot. Dr. Wright would not accept the resolution at that time referring it to the as then, non-existent resolutions committee. This was the first irritant to those who felt that Wright was too moderate.

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Friday (July 20) workshops started. Registrants were required to stay in their assigned workshops for the length of the conference.

Workshop number three was entitled, "Black Power in World Perspective" and was led by Ron Karenga. The workshop opened with a paper by Dr. Adelaide Hill of Boston University. In her paper Dr. Hill discussed the plight of the Negro in this country from a sociological viewpoint. She discussed previous black movements and where they failed and why. A part of her paper dealt with what black people should be called and why. She concluded with a hope that this conference could come up with some workable programs.

Karenga started the workshop by asking the members to deal with certain questions such as, what should Black people be called and why? After discussion agreement was reached that Black people should be called African-Americans. The question of American Negro relationship with the African people was raised and individuals who had been to Africa pointed out that skin color was the accepted passport in Black Africa and the people there looked upon American Negroes as brothers and sisters.

A woman calling herself "Queen Mother" Moore enlivened the workshop. This woman announced that she was 69 years old and had been a member of the Communist Party. She stated that she had been working in the struggle for 50 years and that she had filed suit against the United States Government for reparations for the Black people during the Kennedy administration. This woman attended the meeting of the now defunct "Organization for Black Power" in Chicago July 4, 1963. She propounded the theory, later adopted by the conference, that Black women should not marry under the laws of the white man, that she should have more babies, become more dependent on Black men, that Black men should have more than one woman and that a Black University should be built on 25 acres in the Catskill mountains donated by her sister.

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After one of her impassioned speeches James Jackson came into the workshop. He announced his affiliation with the Communist Party, USA and remarked that Ida Moore had slandered the Communist Party and he wanted to defend the Communist Party. He was shouted down for referring to Queen Mother as Ida Moore and was not permitted to speak thereafter. Jackson was observed selling Communist Party literature but he started with eleven books and at the end of the day he still had seven. He was not observed speaking at any of the plenum sessions.

JAMES J. JACKSON

CV 3-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on May 14-16, 1962, that Jackson was present at a four day enlarged meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, held on May 10-13, 1962, at Communist Party, USA National Headquarters, New York City.

The workshop finally agreed that the African-americans (lower case an intentional) must do all in their power to form closer alliances with Black people in Africa and that we support them in their struggle against imperialism in all cases and they in turn could advise us in our struggle here.

The evening of July 21 a public meeting was held at Mt. Zion Church. The church was filled to overflowing.

Dr. Wright was the first speaker and he spoke out against the social psychosis that pervaded our society causing riots. He called on the audience to stop apologizing for riots as they are only a logical reply to the treatment given to Black people. He stated that it is illegal to riot but revolts are legitimate.

Al Black, chairman of the Newark Human Relations Commission spoke next and received a standing ovation when he

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said, "the Black man today is either a radical or an uncle Tom, there is no longer a middle ground."

The meeting was interrupted by a group of the New York Mau Mau who agains wanted the meeting to endorse the resolution on support of the riot. It was again referred to the resolutions committee.

Dick Gregory spoke next and stated that while you sit here and talk, men of action are at home planning and getting ready. He pointed out that one action that the conference could take would be to get Black people registered and recall the mayor of Newark. Later a group was formed to handle recall action.

Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE read a paper on genocide that brought many standing ovations, and was the topic of conversation for the rest of the conference.

On Saturday the workshops continued and from these workshop periods came the dissatisfaction with Dr. Wright and the workshops dealing with youth went over and broke up Dr. Wright's news conference.

On Sunday, the first plenum session heard from Queen Mother and the sister of the late Malcolm X. Queen repeated her workshop statements. Malcolm's sister called on the conference to unite and choose central leadership for more effective action.

After lunch, the conference convened for the last time to approve the resolutions coming from the workshops.

The conference was asked to approve only the sense of the resolutions and final working would be done later.

The workshop on Economic Development called for the following action:

1. Black Sundays on which money would be collected for Black Projects.

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2. Continuation of Black Conferences regionally.
3. A guaranteed annual income or action would be started to "disrupt the economy."
4. A call for a study to partition the United States into two countries, one black, the other white.
5. A call to study and put into action the bankruptcy program now being used by Julius Hobson of Washington, D. C.

was workshop on Black Professionals called for the following action:

1. More identification within the race. It is felt that the Black Professionals do not identify with the ghetto dwellers and vice versa.
2. Create a Black University to train professional revolutionaries.
3. To take control of professional groups to teach and implement revolution.

The workshop on Black Youth called for the following action:

1. A boycott of the Olympic games by Black athletes.
2. A boycott of the products of all who sponsor boxing shows on the mass media until MUHAMMAD ALI is reinstated as champion.
3. Creation of draft resistance leagues complete with legal aid to help Black Youth avoid the draft.

Committee on religion called for boycott and exposure of all churches not joining the revolution.

Workshop on Artists, craftsmen and communications called for clinics to work with Black youth in the arts, to train youth in military skills, to set up a ham radio network,

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set up speakers bureaus, and to demand statues of Black heroes set up in parks. This group will hold another meeting in August to plan implementation of these programs.

Workshop on Black homes called for Social Welfare to grant the legitimacy of men in welfare homes, forget birth control and set up a cadre to teach self defense in riot situations.

The workshop on Alliances called for members to attend the tri-continental congress in Havana and to send messages of support to National Liberation Front and other dark people fighting against imperialism. Sepaking in favor of these resolutions was Mae Mallory.

WILLIE MAE MALLORY

CV T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past advised Willie Mae Mallory was involved in a racial incident in Monroe, North Carolina, in 1961, following which she was indicted and convicted for kidnapping. The North Carolina Supreme Court reversed the conviction in January, 1965, on the grounds that Negroes were excluded from the Grand Jury in North Carolina. For approximately the past two years Mallory has been active and influential in the Workers World Party (WWP), which organization rendered propagandistic and financial support to her during her court fight.

WWP

See appendix.

Other resolutions from workshops included calls for Black school systems, Black National Board of Education to check on Black education; set up skills, banks, institutes of African study, teachers exchange with Africa, refusal to serve in the Army against Viet Nam, to appeal to

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the U.N. for aid to the "captive" Black people in this country, and that officials who do not support Adam Powell's fight be defeated in elections.

Powell's son appeared before the conference to explain why Adam did not attend the conference. He stated that federal charges made Adam liable for arrest anywhere in the country and not just in New York. Powell's absence was resented by most of the conferees.

It was announced at one point during the conference that 190 organizations from 46 states were represented at the conference. Over 1,100 people attended the meetings.

Some of the groups represented were; CORE, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, "US" Organization of Afro American Unity, New York Mau Mau, the People's Volunteer Army of Liberation, the Kenneth Gibson Association, Communist Party, ACT, neighborhood associations from Brooklyn, New York, Newark, Mississippi, and the Afro American Missionary Workers Inc.

It was announced that follow up plans will be mailed to registered delegates as soon as they are published.

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NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, JULY 20-23, 1967

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On April 17, 1959, a source advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group under the leadership of National Committee member, Sam Ballan, split from the SWP.

The source stated that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of Leon Trotsky and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery - individuals characterized by the minority as petty-bourgeois.

The minority program, according to the source, advocated unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

On May 12, 1960, the source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 2, 1966, a second source advised that the Workers World Party, which maintains headquarters at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York, supports the People's Republic of China in its ideological dispute with the Soviet Union.

The SWP and the CP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

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SPEECH PRESENTED BY

FLOYD B. McNISSICK-NATIONAL DIRECTOR

to the

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

24 Rector Street
Newark, New Jersey 07102

July 21, 1967

Two eyes stare out of a Black Face. Kinky hair grows on a Black Head. Inside of that Black Head is a mind that is Black, forced to think Black in order to survive. To think white, to reason with the logic of a white man is only to speed the time for the total destruction of Black People. A Black Man cannot afford to think white. He must think Black if he is to survive.

Every day, Black People around the world see hunger, suffering, despair, disease and hatred. They see a world of oppression, presided over by a few white people dominating the masses of powerless colored people -- on every continent.

Black Men have gained a special insight, an almost "privileged" perception. It is an insight acquired over years of oppression, years without freedom.

White men live in a totally different reality from Black Men. Their thought processes are molded by experiences foreign to Black Men.

Because white men cannot understand Black People or the way they feel and think -- they are afraid. The white man knows that he has been the oppressor and, for that, he is guilty. His guilt makes him fear. White people without fear of Blacks are white people without guilt.

White supremacy reigns in such distant and exotic places as Europe and South Africa. But the true bastion of white supremacy, that country which makes it all possible, is the United States of America.

The democratic principles taught in the United States hardly apply on a world-wide basis, for clearly the white minority controls the masses of colored and Black Peoples in the world today.

They make the rules. And the rules say that world domination is not based on democratic principles but on power. There is no willingness to share that power with the colored people of the world. There is no commitment to share that power any time in the future. Yet, Black People are lost without power to bring about change.

We are given rhetoric about power sharing: "the Land of the Free, home of the Brave." "With liberty and justice for all." I could name dozens of others that sound beautiful, but mean absolutely nothing for Black People, here or on any other continent.

They were never intended to mean anything for Black People. They were written when we were still slaves.

There are Black People starving in Mississippi, millions of colored people starving in India while white Americans live in luxury, spending millions to go to the moon, billions on a war in Vietnam, which pits yellow people against yellow people.

There are rebellions throughout the United States -- Black

July 21, 1967

demanding that they no longer be exploited, that they be free -- free to live in dignity.

Farmers put acres of non-producing land into the federal land bank -- which could feed the nation, and the world. In Mississippi, Black People starve.

The Black and colored masses are regarded merely as chattel. -- with a difference. We are mere consumers. And by our consumption of the goods and services of this nation -- this economic, political system, we furnish the margin of profit on which the system survives.

The system of white supremacy and its manipulators are dedicated to the proposition that the system must be maintained at all cost -- even at the expense of Total Destruction of Black and colored peoples in the United States and around the world -- that system which exploits, denies, debases and destroys -- destroys humanity, values, morality and non-white cultures.

The cry of the racist white man is: "Threaten not our system, or you will be annihilated by our National Rifle Association, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils -- which we fund; by the Minute Men, Birchers and vigilantes, who we condone; and by our National Guard, which is integrated, our State Militia, our State, City and County Police Forces, which are also integrated. The system of exploitation is far more important -- far more precious -- than human lives."

You ask: Would America intentionally starve Black People in Mississippi, feed Indians only if they agreed to domination by white people? Would America allow thousands of Blacks to be wasted on the streets of Newark or Buffalo, Watts or Atlanta, because they simply said: "Take your foot off our necks?"

Would America destroy the lives of millions of Blacks whose forebearers, as slaves, made and developed this economic - political system, by their blood, sweat and free labor. Is there not a word called Respect -- another word called Mercy -- another, Justice?

Many Jews in Germany thought so. During Hitler's regime, they discovered differently.

Would America systematically destroy 22 million Blacks? My answer is: Look at the record! More specifically, I believe they can. I believe they will.

White supremacy stems from an inferiority complex, so does fear. The kind of fear experienced by the racist white man. The Man has no logic when dealing with Blacks. For he insists that he is superior.

He is neurotic when threatened, psychotic when confronted with truth. He cannot comprehend your needs or just demands -- he cannot recognize his responsibility. He will not acknowledge his guilt or the guilt of his brothers.

Has he punished his white brothers for the civil rights murders of Blacks (or even the whites who were with us), on the highways of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and throughout the south?

I regretfully advise that The Man has not, moreover, he has not even found the criminals, in many instances. But he can find, shoot and kill a sixteen year old Black Kid who loots because he doesn't have money to buy a transistor radio.

Yes -- The Man has the capacity to neglect, to destroy, to shoot, to kill -- if his victim is not white. He has the capacity for genocide.

Until recently, genocide was a relatively unknown word. After World War II, however, it came into pretty common usage. It means: "The use or use of deliberate, systematic measures for the extermination of a racial, political or cultural group of people." It means mass murder.

In America, we are inclined to reserve this distasteful word for the planned extermination of Jews by Hitler in Nazi Germany. This is not

Hitler's program of genocide, to be sure, is the one we know of that was blatant enough to herd millions of people into camps all at one time -- uncouth enough to pile thousands of bodies together in one place and impolitic enough to be implicit in the statement of its goals -- the goal being the "Final Solution," the elimination of the Jewish People.

But one must be reminded that genocide exists in many forms and has existed throughout history. To understand the sinister nature of genocide, one must understand not only European history, but American history as well.

No, genocide is not a simple matter. It cannot just happen. One group of people cannot just go ahead and wipe out another group of people. They must first pass through several stages -- they must live out a peculiar and deadly pattern.

The first prerequisite for a nation capable of genocide is the belief that they are superior to their victims. They must believe that they are entitled to the control of the life and death of their victims.

During Hitler's regime, the Germans were supplied with elaborate charts and complicated thesis, supposedly proving the superiority of the German people. It is interesting to note that, at the bottom of these charts were the colored people of the world, most conspicuously, the Black People.

Until recently, in America, there were many respected scientists and anthropologists who advanced the theory that caucasians were genetically superior to colored peoples. Although in some parts of the United States, particularly in the south, the belief in genetic superiority still prevails, in the more "enlightened" areas of the North, the popular theory is that colored people, particularly Black People are not genetically inferior. They are just inferior.

If they were not inferior, they would be better educated, live in better homes and on cleaner streets. If they were really equal, they would improve their own conditions.

In America, as we have seen, the belief in white superiority runs deep. It was a dominant factor in the slave trade. The Black African wasn't recognized as a human being.

A belief ferocious enough to allow human slavery cannot be dissipated by a mere century and, in America, it has been quietly reinforced.

Although slavery as a recognized legal institution has been abolished, economic slavery, economic exploitation, has not. Black People in this country have never been allowed to share in the economic riches of America. A few get in -- here and there -- a few get rich, but their success has no effect on the masses of Black People.

White landlords, white storekeepers, white corporate managers and a white, Anglo-Saxon Wall Street, conspire to keep the Black Man in his place.

As whites quietly exit to the comfortable suburbs, they do not relinquish the economic control of the ghetto; they maintain control of the city agencies and the political scene. They determine what opportunities will be available and what will be reserved for whites only -- and, occasionally, one or two good "Negroes."

With the climate existing in the United States, we would be foolish, as leaders, to think that Black People are not being politically oppressed. If Black People got political power, they might be able to merge their values with the values of the dominant culture. And the white man wants to protect his values -- particularly his economic values. The materialism which has distorted his dealings with the entire world.

His laws are used as the tools of racism. Ethics are adopted and distorted at the whim of a racist Congress. Adam Clayton Powell loses his seat in the House of Representatives for alleged offenses far less serious than those of Senator Reed, who was merely censured for his crimes.

The offenses of Adam Powell are far less than Reed's -- but

punish Adam; they punished all the Black People of Harlem. They stripped Harlem of representation.

They made the decision to throw Adam out in less than a day of debate. It took the Senate weeks to even vote to censure Dodd.

One thing they couldn't do -- they couldn't get Adam to beg. They couldn't get our man to come whimpering -- the way they did with Thomas Dodd.

But they will keep on trying. They will organize special investigations to determine if Adam is guilty of civil offenses -- while Senator Hastland, of Mississippi, is immune to even the inconvenience of defending himself against the civil charge of "conspiracy to violate civil rights in Louisiana."

These attacks upon Black Men are not restricted to economic and political means. In Newark, of 26 dead, in the recent rebellion, 24 were Black People. The ratio was similar in Watts. Not one white man died in Harlem's rebellion.

And who is to blame for the rebellions? This point we need not argue. The white man is the judge, jury and the executioner in his system and he first made the law so as to control us. We are called the violators of his "Law and Order" -- "Criminals."

Yet he knows that the white racist society is to blame for all of the conditions which force a man to rebel. His concept of "Law and Order" means the legal methods of exploiting Blacks. We object and we resist.

Some so-called Negro leaders even have the audacity to join The Man -- by calling a Liberation Struggle a riot -- his brothers hoodlums and criminals -- and damning his brothers who seek to overthrow the yoke of oppression.

And when these rebellions temporarily subside -- what happens? Black People are stranded without food, medical supplies and other essentials: Old People, babies, pregnant women must stand in line for hours to get one quart of rancid milk and a box of cereal.

No National Agencies come to their aid: They are left to their own devices.

We sent an urgent telegram to the President of the United States -- requesting that sections of Newark be declared a National Disaster Area -- so that the Red Cross and government agencies could move in with food and supplies. In response, from the Office of Emergency Planning, we received a terse message.

I quote: "Your request for the designation of the area of Newark, New Jersey as National Disaster Area has been referred to this office for response. Disasters are defined by this office to include only natural disasters. Therefore do not cover the circumstances of the disaster of riots in Newark."

As history unfolds, it becomes more and more apparent that questions must be raised -- the same questions which were raised by the events in Nazi Germany. This time, answers must be found.

Why didn't the Jews organize to oppose Hitler? Why weren't they a solid enough political force to prevent his ascent to power? Why did so many people march so slowly to their deaths? Why didn't they resist? What techniques did the Germans apply? What methods did they use? Were not the Jews psychologically prepared for genocide?

Before the mass extermination began, Jews were degraded systematically. They were confined to ghettos. They were kept apart. They were forced to wear a special badge of dishonor -- the Star of David.

In America, the special badge does not need to be sewn on a man's jacket. He is always black.

In this country, the ghetto is not defined by barbed wire: The ghetto follows the Black Man wherever he goes.

Hitler was faced with the task of destroying Jewish economic power. In America, the task is easier. The Black Man has no economic power. At this late date, there is little need to escalate economic oppression. The Black Man is at the bottom of the ladder.

Black People have always lived under fear of torture and death by this racist system -- fear of being beaten by whips or chains in slavery, fear of expressing themselves at the cost of death, fear of life itself. Fear of exercising the basic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

But we paid our dues for being a man -- a slave -- for seeking to express ourselves, for telling the truth about this wretched system. In slavery, they cut our heel strings to stop us from running and joining the underground railroad. Yes, we've paid our dues. It is estimated that sixty million of us died as a direct result of the slave trade. They lynched us by the hundreds and thousands for simply saying what we saw.

We pay our dues today -- the death penalty is primarily reserved for Blacks when a crime is committed -- or alleged. "Equal Justice Under Law" is a farce when an all-white jury convicts Muhammad Ali in less than twenty minutes, when Black Men are shot in religious worship in Los Angeles because they are Muslims -- when Black Leaders are afraid to speak out because, if they do, it means economic isolation.

Yes, Black People know Fear and live with it each and every day of their lives -- in deadly fear of the white man's potential. We know he can kill, we know he will -- because of his hurt pride -- we know that his personality demands that he control whatever he sees, we know that normal dissent is treason in his blue eyes.

In fact, we know The Man better than he knows himself. We know him for what he is. We know he will kill us if he can -- one by one or all at once.

Yet, in spite of all this, there are those of us who have been defeated by his tactics, misled by his propaganda machine.

It is evident that too many American Black People are psychologically prepared for genocide. Too many Black People believe that they are really inferior. Too many Black People want to look like the white man and be like the white man.

Hitler's propaganda techniques have been refined and expanded. The propaganda of white supremacy is advanced through advertising, entertainment and through education, and folklore that ignores the contributions of Black People to World Civilization; through the acceptance of the European standard of beauty and culture, while disparaging and disregarding the values of three quarters of the world -- while ignoring the beauty that is Black.

How else could you explain the failure of some Black People to understand and accept Black Power? Any rational person or group of people understand the need for self-preservation.

Could it be that some Black People have been so misled, so confused by white America that they don't understand they need power of their own to protect themselves? Could it be that some middle-class Negroes have become so enamored with the death-wish of integration -- the dream of absorption and disappearance into the white man's culture -- that he fears his Blackness?

Maybe it's that too few Black People are aware of the machinery already set up for their possible destruction. Maybe they don't know about the McCarran Act.

Title II of the McCarran Act provides the Attorney General with the power, in the event of an "Internal Security Emergency," to apprehend and detain "...all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in espionage or sabotage."

Maybe Black People don't think that the American government, that an American Attorney General, would ever utilize such a power. But, remember

During World War II, the so-called concentration camps were used for the internment of Japanese-Americans. The property of many Chinese and yellow people was confiscated. To this day, fair reparations have never been paid.

Maybe Black People feel that it is more important to be American than to be Black. Many Jews in Nazi Germany mistakenly felt it was more important to be a German than to be a Jew. Those who survived know better now.

The government could, and would, use almost any excuse to declare an Internal Security Emergency.

Opposition to the War in Vietnam, the constitutional exercise of the right to dissent has already been equated with disloyalty and treason. General Westmoreland was brought all the way back from the battlefields of Vietnam to merge dissent with disloyalty in the minds of the American people. Such pronouncements by the Commander of the American Armed Forces can only feed an atmosphere of hysteria about the war which could be used to justify the use of Title II.

We are experiencing another Long, Hot Summer. We are faced with violence in our cities and on our campuses. These rebellions against an oppressive system, these outbursts of frustration and hopelessness, could also be used to justify the use of Title II.

The white man has never pulled any stops in his drive for advancement. When he decided that he wanted land -- rich American land -- not one thought was given to the systematic slaughter of American Indians. In 1600, there were about 589,000 Indians on this continent. Over 200,000 of those people belonged to tribal groups which are now extinct.

Extinct. That means that whole tribes, whole groups of people, were wiped out. More than 60% of the entire Indian population was exterminated. Those who lived, were herded onto reservations.

Those Indians were victims of the white man's drive for the control of land. Land has always been the tap root of the capitalist system: Land is wealth and the use of land controls the people -- both physically and mentally.

An example of this, in 1967, is the Urban Renewal Act. This act, which was supposed to be designed to provide low cost housing has never been used for that purpose. Urban Renewal has helped eliminate Black Ownership of property. It has been used to destroy the potential for the development of Black Political Power by the scattering of Black Citizens. In fact, it has been "Negro Removal."

When the Black People are removed, the land is transferred over to businessmen for redevelopment purposes, re-zoned and given an increased value. It is almost always used for middle income housing. In any event, the Black People are not able to return.

Genocide is a political decision. It can be made by a town, city, state, nation or group of nations. It was a political decision, for example, to exterminate the Communists in Indonesia. It was a political decision for the CIA to engineer the coup.

The London Times estimated the dead at nearly one million in the period of four months -- five times as many people died in Indonesia as in Vietnam in twelve years.

The techniques and tactics of genocide vary. The prevalent pattern has been, in recent years -- to engineer coups where it is rumored that the Communists might take over.

In these cases, they have been successful in getting right wing Indonesians to fight left wing Indonesians, South Vietnamese to fight North Vietnamese, South Koreans to fight North Koreans and, in the Congo, Ghana, and other parts of Africa -- to deliberately make forces which result in racial warfare.

In this way, the white man keeps his hands clean and he is able to obtain the results of bloody civil wars. He is able, in fact, to stay behind the

curtain and let others do the fighting while he profits from the results.

such places as Thailand, Cambodia and Laos.

We cannot let those patterns which have already been applied so successfully around the world and which are already in motion in this country -- be carried to their logical, ultimate conclusion. These patterns must be halted now.

And we must be the ones to do it. We cannot expect help from anyone but ourselves.

Even our friends in the peace movement find it too easy to look thousands of miles away from home and, with much indignation, see the extermination of the Vietnamese.

On the other hand, they cannot see ten blocks away, where many Black People are the Walking Dead -- dead in mind and spirit, because of lack of hope and lack of chance.

We cannot look elsewhere for help. We cannot lean on the crutch of religion. We cannot depend on phony "conditions." We must work out our own methods. We must draw our own conclusions.

To those queasy individuals who are afraid of the resolutions presented here, let me state my unequivocal opinion: The right of revolution is a constitutional right, condoned by the creation of the American Constitution itself. When we assert the right of revolution, we are asserting a constitutional right.

Revolution in America is justified by all standards of morality -- religious and ethical: It is required to fulfill the basic, natural rights of men.

Even white men recognized the need for revolution when, in 1776, they revolted because they were oppressed. And today -- 1967 -- Black People are more oppressed than any white man has ever been -- in the history of the world.

This is the time when we must unite -- Brothers and Sisters. We must join in making plans.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has some ideas for programs in this regard -- some short range and some long range. We are a common front into which all Black People can unite.

There is a need for a Black Brain Trust. Black People with the best minds in the country must come together to help organize and plan strategy for our future, to plan for every aspect of our existence -- political, economic, cultural -- international.

This is not a problem of Civil Rights -- it is a problem of Black Survival. The concept of civil rights is pitifully insignificant when our very lives are at stake.

A Black Fund-Raising Base must be established. As long as the white man controls the purse strings, he will hold them tightly around our necks.

We must develop second line leadership in all-black organizations. We must develop training programs throughout this country.

We must develop effective, sophisticated security systems -- a national system of communication.

We must oppose the war in Vietnam but, more important, we must educate Black Youth not to participate in that war -- now.

We must develop ways and means of dealing with those "Klugees" who sell us out -- the enemy that people.

We have the task to develop a Black Political Base. When an insignificant Black group of a few hundred people in a city like New York City or a small town in the South -- has more political power than the white population -- then we have a Black Political Base.

We must develop a Black Political Base. When an insignificant Black group of a few hundred people in a city like New York City or a small town in the South -- has more political power than the white population -- then we have a Black Political Base.

July 21, 1967

"We haven't had a racial difficulties in Newark for, and we don't anticipate any in the future. I think it's wrong for people to go around making statements like that. They could stir up the trouble we're trying so hard to avoid."

These don't sound like the words of a man who understands the Black Community.

Then, to further illustrate his contempt for the Black Community, Hughie goes to appoint a white political hack with a High School education for the important and responsible job of Secretary of the Board of Education.

The Black Community demanded that Wilbur Parker, City Budget Director, a Certified Public Accountant with a Master's degree, be appointed. And to avoid doing that --- to avoid his responsibility to Black People --- Hughie convinced the present Secretary to remain.

But that is only one incident, only a tiny phase of a career of contempt, of disrespect.

In Newark, and in all cities where Black People are in the majority, the administration must be responsive to the needs of the people --- must respect the demands of the Black Community. In any community where more than 60% of the people are Black -- we need a Black Mayor.

In fact, the question of a white man's competency becomes irrelevant when a city is more than 60% Black. If he's white, he shouldn't be Mayor.

There comes a time in the relations between a people and an elected official that the people must say: "Enough!"

That time has arrived in Newark. The people must exercise their undeniable right to clean house. Too long, white elected officials have in these United States -- been immune from the wrath of the Black Population. They have translated this immunity into an utter disregard for the rights and prerogatives of Black People.

Black People must eliminate these evils: There is no better place to start than Newark.

We have consulted with the progressive Black Leaders of this community. It is agreed that there must be a Recall Election to get rid of Hugh Addonizio, and replace him with a Black Mayor.

This conference should go on record at this time in support of the citizens of Newark in a recall election.

COBA is appointing Bob Curvin and James Hooper of the Congress of Racial Equality in Newark to spearhead and join in with other groups and individuals, to organize and coordinate this effort. Your assistance will be desperately needed.

People will be needed -- volunteers who are willing to work -- willing to get thousands of signatures on petitions to recall Addonizio.

The recall effort must be followed up with a Black Conference for the purpose of selecting one Black Candidate, who will be Newark's next Mayor; for the purpose of organizing a Black Voter Registration Campaign Committee; for the purpose of organizing a New Black Communities Fund Committee -- for the purpose of making Black Political Power in Newark a reality.

As men, we must now stand up. If we are truly men and believe what we say, and live by our convictions -- we must be consistent. Men are known not by words, but by deeds -- and men we must be.

WILLIAMSON

Report on Morning Workshops, July 22, 1967

WORKSHOP I**CITY AND BLACK PEOPLE**

No papers had been submitted for this workshop.

Three questions were placed on the agenda:

1. How to deal with cheap construction in black communities.
2. How to deal with the decrease in services in areas into which black people are moving.
3. The role of the black professional.

Recommendations:

To develop black bond issues.

To develop black banks

Use the principle of Co-op buying to develop black capital.

Demand as taxpayers maximum amount of existing services.

Fill in gaps with new inventive techniques.

Establish speakers bureaus of black professional speakers, with understanding that they are not to be "lecturers" in the conventional sense, but rather "communicators" who can work with people of diverse backgrounds and create an atmosphere of mutual respect, in order to achieve necessary cross-fertilization for mutual enabling.

WORKSHOP II**BLACK POWER THROUGH BLACK POLITICS**

Papers and discussion dealt with the case definition of black power, which does not deal with search of amelioration of white power structure methods, but implies that black power in itself is the point of leverage to be used in dealing with all white power manifestations, and therefore automatically deals with ALL problems in our communities created by the white power structure.

Methodology suggested to make black power operational was: Establishing pressure for more Black Congressmen
Development of County machines for Primaries, which are the gatekeeping controls the white powerstructure uses to exclude strong Black representation.

Stronger Voter Registration drives

Orient and motivate women to become politically involved.

A Taskforce panel of eight delegates was requested to submit an operational report which then in turn the entire panel will use as a basis for a definite paper.

WORKSHOP III**BLACK POWER IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE**

A paper by Dr. Hill was read, dealing with our identity as African-Americans; who are generally, as well as culturally and behaviorally related to the Black people of Africa. About 50% of the participants in the workshop expressed approval of these concepts.

A paper is submitted by Ivory Brown. A two-fold method of clarifying economic issues was suggested:

1. Establishing Goals
2. Establishing Methods
3. Establishing Approaches

The panel decided to interchange their own report system and their own recommendations after the afternoon session.

THE BLACK HOME

1. Values of Black Family life: to provide emotional security, protection, love, stability for each family member.
2. Black Homes as centers of learning and growth: That black adults in the family assume responsibility for learning more about our heritage to pass on to the children in order to develop a feeling of pride in their blackness and eliminate shame in their thinking.
3. Self image and self-respect

BLACK POWER AND AMERICAN RELIGION

Panel attempted to set agenda of issues prior to discussion. Among issues raised were:

- How to close the communication gap with communities
- How to relate to the revolutionary movement
- Territorial development of the Blackish
- Are traditional concepts viable
- What are the necessities for a particular faith
- Development of Black value system, looking at all Black religions
- The Roxberry Development was mentioned as a significant model

THE HOUSE FOR BLACK YOUTH & BLACK ARTISTS, COMICS, AND CREATIVITY

These two workshops were combined. The panel defined the need to

1. Identify the problems
2. Identify the enemy
3. Identify strategy
4. Identify action

The panel also asked for a redefinition of Black Education in the framework of Marxist-Leninist, Internationalist and Superinternationalist. The coordinator reported that the panel will try for an agenda which will deal with liberation Schools, re-education of parents, building Black Student organizations, Non-Tracking Methods and scholarships for legal education. Formation of religious youth conferences and then national conferences. These papers were read during the workshop session, which means that the afternoon session will be entirely devoted to discussion.

BLACK PROFESSIONALS AND BLACK POWER

- The workshop began with a discussion of the ideological goals of Black Power, i.e., liberation, re-education, and the building of a Black community. The panel discussed the role of Black professionals in the movement and the need to prevent the professional from other Black people. The panel also discussed the need to:
1. New definition of professional and non-professional
 2. New definition of professional and non-professional
 3. New definition of professional and non-professional

WORKSHOP X DEVELOPMENTAL QUALITIES OF THE BLACK

A paper on Black Power Motivation and Learning was presented. The coordinator mentioned a change of technique he used successfully: instead of usual seating method, he asked people to sit around in circle facing each other. The paper related to problems in Education.

The consensus of the panel was that something had to be done in schools.

Recommendation: That a National Educational Board be formed to serve as a watchdog committee. That it should deal with administrative structure and establish funding priorities based upon criteria of excellence. Also, that the National Educational Board work on local levels.

WORKSHOP XI BLACK POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE XII

A paper was read entitled, "Black Power and Social Control."

The focus of the discussions centered around the need to build a black social structure that would foster the kind of political, economic, educational programs that would be a basis for protecting ourselves and achieving meaningful social change in the lives of black masses.

WORKSHOP XIII COOPERATION AND ALLIANCE

Two papers were presented. Discussion was centered on discovery of Alliances in labor, black nationalists, and peoples fighting Colonialism.

Questions were raised about what we want in our struggle for Black Power. There was discussion on the roles of the Oppressor and the Oppressed. Definitions of revolt were offered, using Watts as illustration; Watts not being a "riot" but a revolt, which is an open act against the oppressor.

It was suggested that other topics which did not directly have relevance to the workshop topics should be given secondary priority.

The paper submitted by BS was singled out because of its definition of Power being an abstract concept, when one has none except when we recognize that our lack of power does give us the tangible power to disrupt, which essentially is the creation of a polar power.

The issue of taping workshops and meetings was raised again and was voted down, the original decision NOT to tape or film remains.

A collection was made in the Arts workshop for the family of Brother John Coltrane and a telegram of condolence was sent to his family.

WORKSHOP XV BLACK AFRICA

All subjects covered. Over-view of whole conference. Special attention to be to Namak situation control. Black School by Black People.

WORKSHOP XVI BLACK MUSIC

1. To recognize and promote the beauty of the Black sisterhood and her role in the fight.
2. To define our role in the Black and community as to teachers of the nation culture.
3. To take back to our community the role of the conference and to push for the essential kind of definite action program for women.

TO: Black Power Advocates

FROM: Julius H. K. Jr.
Washington, D. C.

SUBJECT: FREEDOM FROM DEBT -- THROUGH BANKRUPTCY

A set of laws was enacted during the Populist period to free the poor from oppressive debt imposed upon them through usury and exploitation by the rich.

Known as the Federal Bankruptcy Laws, they have been scarcely touched by America's poor black people who remain largely ignorant of this powerful self-help weapon within their reach.

Powerful banking, industrial and political interests do not wish poor black people to learn of a tool they can seize to cut away the burden of back rent, back payments on the family TV set or furniture, unjust high interest loans. And to make sure they don't reach for such a tool, they have spread an image of shamefulness about declaring bankruptcy. Shameful to unload weeks of back rent for a rundown apartment! Shameful to quit payments on a TV set that, through high interest charges, cost him more than it would his rich landlord who doesn't have to buy it on time!

I propose, therefore, that delegates to this conference study this proposal and launch a nationwide bankruptcy campaign among all poor black citizens.

I am convinced that, properly and swiftly implemented, this tool can strike deeply at the economic and credit institutions that depend for life upon the exploitation of a certain percentage of the population. There can be no upper or middle economic classes without a lower economic class to support it. History records no such feat.

No people in history have been exploited more than Afro-Americans. No other Americans are more prey to the dehumanizing ills of a capitalist system--grinding poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing, lousy schools, and year in and year out--owing "the Man."

No, no other Americans have more reason to seize and wield any tool with which to overthrow this economic tyranny.

It is a simple tool. The lawyers in your neighborhood poverty programs are required to assist the poor with any legal problems they may have. The cost to a poor person is only fifty dollars, and can be paid in installments.

Black people have paid through the nose for 400 years of white privilege and exploitation. They owe not one dime more. Let us grab this and any other means, to seize for ourselves Whitey's back payments.

The Riot Was Not In Vain.

riot proved that Newark cannot survive as a City unless the black people control their just share (63%) of everything in our City; land, jobs, etc. Six days of rioting by poor and oppressed black men, women, and children brought the entire City of Newark to a standstill. Buses didn't run; the mechanized U. S. Mail was stopped; giant office buildings didn't open; businesses and industries closed down. Life was brought to a halt. THE RIOT WAS THE FIRST EFFECTIVE GENERAL STRIKE IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

WHAT CAUSED THE RIOT ?

The riot occurred in response to the long reign of lawlessness on the part of the City and State officials, and the City and State Police. Black men had NO RIGHTS which white officials and police were bound to respect.

The Mayor illegally drove thousands of people from their homes to make way for a Medical School, rather than provide the people with adequate housing.

The police brutalized people on the streets and in their homes simply because they were poor blacks.

The Magistrate's courts gave the poor NO justice what-so-ever. They convicted innocent poor people simply on the say-so of racist white politicians.

Bigger and bigger slums grew in our city; and, City officials in collusion with City planners did nothing to improve the housing conditions in the City. The tearing down of homes and small businesses still continued at a rapid pace.

The gov't illegally sends black boys to die in Viet Nam to fight in the degraded war, so that the white power structure can impose U. S. policies on the valiant people of Viet Nam.

MAGNIFICENT DEMONSTRATION.

We must not allow the magnificent demonstration of UNITY by the oppressed people in the ghetto to be wasted.

DO NOT CONTINUE TO BE LED THROUGH THE NOSE BY THOSE TOM'S, LACK-AND SO-CALLED 'LEADERS' (?) WHO HAVE MISLED YOU THESE MANY YEARS. These are the same people who tell you now to ".....be cool and everything will be alright."

NEW LEADERSHIP NEEDED.

THE BLACK PEOPLE OF NEWARK NEED NEW LEADERSHIP. Leadership that we can get:

1. 15,000 new jobs for the black community.
2. Planning of the City by the people, on a block-by-block basis; get rid of bankrupt, block-busting city planners.
3. 20,000 new housing units to replace the dilapidated-deteriorated housing in the entire City.
4. 63% of the Police and Fire Departments.
5. A black Mayor, a black Police Director, a black City Business Administrator, a black Executive Director of Public Housing.
6. 63% of the TOTAL government.
7. Develop and support black-owned businesses, with the aim of ending the domination of Public Service, N. J. Bell Telephone, Bancroft-Prudential, etc. over the political, social and economic life of Newark.

JOIN THE VANGUARD DEMOCRATS!!!

You can be a part of this New leadership by sending your name and address to Newark's Vanguard Headquarters, 64 7th Avenue, c/o of William J. Clark.

Join the struggle for democracy and majority black-rule for the City of Newark.

Help bring black reinforcements to the City of Newark. Write and tell your friends and relatives (in the South and elsewhere) to come to Newark where there will be plenty of jobs and homes IF THEY MOVE HERE, WORK AND VOTE; and, participate in the greatest victory of black people in our nation's history; i.e., the winning of political, social and economic equality.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Newark, New Jersey
July 24, 1967

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY,
JULY 20-23, 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

The following information was furnished from July 21, July 22, and July 23, 1967, by a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, Lieutenant Eugene Buerle, Newark, New Jersey, Police Department, and local news media:

Friday, July 21, 1967

As of late evening on this date a total number of registered delegates to the National Conference on Black Power (NCBP) being held at the Military Park Hotel, 16 Park Place, Newark, New Jersey, and the Cathedral House of the Episcopal Church at 24 Rector Street, Newark, had already exceeded 800. Since plans were made for only about 400 delegates the various workshops and meetings were slowed up and were running well behind schedule. The aims of these workshops were not being accomplished due to crowding. At a workshop dealing with the International Aspects of Black Power held on this date, James Jackson, current Communist Party (CP) functionary, got up to speak and identified himself as a member of the CP. Jackson took more time than the other delegates at the workshop thought he should and he was told by other participants that they did not care who he was or who he represented. He was told to shut up and sit down.

Ron Karenga, Leader of an African Nationalist Group type organization called "US" in Watts, California also attended the workshop on International Aspects of Black Power. Karenga was accompanied as always by three bodyguards. These bodyguards were not armed but they were said to be experts at judo and karate. In contrast to his writing, Karenga did not appear to be a "fire eater". His comments were quite mild.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ/RAC 10-35
By 10-18-10 NARA, Date 10-18-10

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Group I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

The planned plenary session was not held on this date due to overcrowding and the fact that workshops were behind schedule.

An open meeting for NCBP delegates was held in the early evening of this date at Mount Zion Baptist Church, 208 Broadway, Newark. Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., in an address before this audience, stated it is wrong to riot but it is legitimate to revolt. Al Black, Chairman of the Newark Human Rights Commission, discussed the recent riot in Newark and he accused the New Jersey State Police and National Guardsmen of shooting wildly and indiscriminately during the riot. Black stated that in these times a Negro is either a radical black man or an "Uncle Tom," because there is no middle ground. Dick Gregory, Comedian, and Floyd Mc Kissick, Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), advocated that a petition be started in Newark to obtain 25,000 signatures to recall Newark Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio. Mc Kissick spoke on genocide and he followed the United Nations Publication on this subject from beginning to end. McKissick's address was almost an exact duplicate of previous addresses he has made on this subject.

There is a considerable amount of disunity and disruption being caused at the conference by a militant group which is attempting to get the stamp of approval of the Conference on the manner in which Newark Negroes rioted recently.

The workshop sessions for Saturday, July 22, 1967, are expected to run well behind their scheduled time due to the fact that each workshop would be attended by 70 or more delegates rather than the maximum of 35 planned.

Saturday, July 22, 1967

Louis Mazzuca, 123 Parker Street, Newark, picketed in front of the Military Park Hotel on July 21, 1967, and for a short while on this date. Mazzuca carried a sign which read, "Attention all Americans, this meeting of Black Power representatives is full of Black Muslims who have bitterness and hatred for all of the white race. Stop, Stop this subversive, drastic group." In the course of picketing, one of the delegates to the NCBP got in front of Mazzuca and Mazzuca pushed him.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY,
JULY 20-23, 1967

In the resulting melee, Mazzuca was assaulted by two or three men and one woman but he was not seriously injured. Police Officers escorted Mazzuca from the area.

Just prior to a news conference on this date, Harlem Minister A. Kendell Smith was seen by other delegates to the conference as Smith talked to a newsman. A violent argument resulted between Smith and Omar Ahmed and they finally engaged in a brief fistfight.

As the news conference opened to the white press began, a group of individuals described by NBC News as "members of the Harlem based ultra militant Mau-Mau Society" entered the Cathedral House of the Episcopal Church, 24 Rector Street, Newark where the news conference was being held and began assaulting approximately 35 newsman gathered there. They smashed TV cameras recording devices and other equipment and threw chairs at newsman and their equipment. Newsman escaped through first floor windows and down backstairs pursued by the radical element who objected to the news conference being held. There were numerous minor injuries but no one was seriously hurt. Plain-clothes policemen inside and uniformed police outside moved in quickly to restore order. It became apparent at this point that the radical element at the conference began to take over from the moderates.

It was announced on this date that the conference had 976 delegates from 26 States and 42 cities representing 197 organizations.

Sunday, July 23, 1967

Adam Clayton Powell's son addressed the conference to explain that his father decided not to risk arrest by attending the conference. He was roundly jeered and booed by the delegates who shouted such things as "So what" and "Sit Down." Men at the conference who used the word "Negro" were shouted down and one delegate said that black people do not wish to be absorbed into the white community because the interests of black people and white people are in conflict and their physical, cultural and moral standards are different.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY,
JULY 20-23, 1967

The conference adopted a number of resolutions including the following:

A study and national dialogue to explore the suggestion that the United States be split or partitioned into two parts, one part for white people and the other part for black people.

Formation of a black militia to train black families in all aspects of self defence and racial survival.

Labeled Christianity a white religion that has taken the diamonds and minerals of the world in exchange for the Bible.

Resolved that every black church and religious institution that does not join the black revolution shall be boycotted, ostracized, criticized, publicized and rejected by the black community.

Denounced the draft and the federal government and supported a "Hell No, we won't go" attitude toward the draft.

Advocated Negro controlled financial institutions supported by bonds to provide neighborhood credit unions, housing loans and business loans to the black community.

Formation of a black political organization and a school for black political organizers.

Support of a nation-wide "Buy Black" movement.

Condemned birth control programs on the grounds that such programs seek to exterminate the black man.

Advocated the creation of a national holiday for black men in honor of black heroes.

Malcolm K. Little, also known as Malcolm X, who was assassinated in New York City was singled out as one such black hero.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY,
JULY 20-23, 1967

Advocated the formation of a black university which produces not only revolutionary black professional, but professional black revolutionaries and advocated this university have subsidiary colleges in every large city.

Urged that black athletes refuse to participate in the Olympic Games of 1968 unless Cassius Clay, also known as Muhammad Ali is reinstated as Heavyweight Champion of the World. Comedian Dick Gregory suggested black men boycott every sponsor on a national level that permits a boxing match be shown and Gregory said he felt sure this would force the return of Clay as Heavyweight Boxing Champion.

Advocated training schools for teaching cadre military tactics and suggested anyone at the conference having a ham radio setup be contacted. It was stated here that individuals involved in communications are going to have a separate meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, during the second week of August, 1967, and results of that workshop would be disseminated to the delegates at this convention.

It was resolved to submit a demand to Newark authorities that rioters who were imprisoned during the recent riot be released with charges dropped and bond forgotten or else.

It was decided that the recall vote petition concerning Hugh J. Addonizio would be handled by two people from CORE.

Adopted a resolution to call regional conferences on Black Power and to organize these conferences within two months.

Adopted a resolution that the second annual Conference on Black Power should be held in a black establishment in a black community.

Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., Chairman of the NCBP, was removed from the platform because he was too moderate.

A fashion show was held by women of Newark. It was to be a public affair with the proceeds to be donated to the NCBP. Two white girls who had been working in the office of

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

the Episcopal Church, arrived to attend the fashion show but they were forced to leave due to pressure from various NCBP delegates.

The only members of the CP recognized at this conference are Mae Mallory and James Jackson.

Hotel Registration Cards

On July 22, 1967, J. R. Quinn, Assistant Manager, Hotel Robert Treat, 50 Park Place, Newark, made available registration cards of that hotel for the period July 20-22, 1967, for individuals who indicated they were there to attend captioned conference. Names and address from these cards are set forth below:

Reverend Walter Long
35 Hanover Lane
Willingboro, New Jersey

Amos Johnson
250 Line Street
Camden, New Jersey

George Alexis
470 Lennox Avenue
New York, New York

Frances Cooper
Washington, D.C.

Anna Mae Williams
338 Seneca Street
Syracuse, New York

Dr. Robert B. Hunter
2358 Larchwood Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. James W. Mack
9535 South Forest Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

William R. Meek
6500 Wissahickan Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Rev. Garland Springer
810 North Harrison Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Fay D. Bellamy
100 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Rev. C. W. Arnold
75 Hawthorne Drive
Brooklyn, New York

Julian F. Middleton
35 Eldert Street
Brooklyn, New York

Kenneth V. Cockereel
1111 West Canfield
Apartment 1723
Detroit, Michigan

William B. Mc Clain
67 Carlton Street
Brookline, Massachusetts

Floyd Barrington Barbour
76 Myrtle Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Harold Woodford
701 New York Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

Pearlena Walls
646 Rutland Road
Apartment 4-H
Brooklyn, New York

Von E. Rhea
701 New York Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Rev. Virgil A. Wood
45 Hartford Street
Dorchester, Massachusetts

Ernestine M. Raaden (?)
4759 Shields Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

A. (?) Evans
11105 Superior
Cleveland, Ohio

Joyce A. Ladner
5925 Washington
St. Louis, Mo.

Rosita Broadous
2058 North Cleveland
Chicago, Illinois

Farrell Jones
1 West Street
Mineola, New York

James I. Tharatt
City Hall
Newark, New Jersey

Arthur Reid Simmons
Hamilton Pr.
Bermuda

Aldridge B. Simmons
Bermuda

Mrs. Joyce Judge
125 Third Street
Fair Haven, New Jersey

John Shabazz
1060 Nelson
Atlanta, Georgia

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Richard V. Waller
1145 Dean Street
Brooklyn, New York

Jerome Frazier
160 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

WILFRED T. USSERY
2338 Pine Street
San Francisco, California

CHARLES P. HOWARD
1270 Fifth Avenue
#3L
New York, New York

DR. PRESTON N. WILLIAMS
36 Fairmount Street
Belmont, Massachusetts

EBYD B. MC KISSICK
414 West 149th Street
New York, New York

JOHN TORIAM
612 Independence Avenue, S. E.,
Washington, D. C.

LAURENCE G. HENNY
1135 South 19th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

DOROTHY ANCRUN
33-44 103rd Street
Corona, New York

ROBERT ALLEN
185 33rd Street
New York, New York

EDNA MITCHELL
37 Hartford Street
Rochester, New York

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Mable Harrington
145 East 52nd Street
Apartment 2-B
New York, New York

Sata Du Bois
Albany, New York

James Pryor
Albany, New York

Mr. and Mrs. J. Hicks
148-01 109th Street
Hollis, New York

Mr. and Mrs. David Spencer
242 East 128th Street
New York, New York

William Price
61 West 87th Street
New York, New York

Lynn James and Judith Butler
156-03 113th Avenue
Jamaica, New York

Paul L. Puryear
922 17th Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Milton R. and Marily A. Henry
192 Bassett Street
Pontiac, Michigan

John M. Cloud
34-45 Sutton Road
Shaker Heights, Ohio

William Mathis
2229 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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*Militant
attorney*

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Norman L. Mc Ghee
1229 East Boulevard
Cleveland, Ohio

Taylor Jones, III
404 Inland Drive
East St. Louis, Illinois

Hugh E. Richardson
Surpentine Road
Pembroke West Bermuda

Lama Herone (?) Bennett, Jr.
1820 South Michigan
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Gwen S. Bourne
190 Sullivan Place
Brooklyn, New York

Janet L. Douglass
115 East 9th Street
Apartment 9-R
New York, New York

William H. Hicks
707 Carroll Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota

On July 22, 1967, Vincent Doherty, Manager, Military Park Hotel, 16 Park Place, Newark, made available registration cards in that hotel for the period July 20-22, 1967, for individuals who indicated they were there to attend captioned conference. Names and addresses from these cards are set forth below:

Ron Karenga
8211 South Broadway
Los Angeles, California

F. (?) Seidenberg
1404 State Tower
Syracuse, New York

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Dunbar S. Mc Laurin
37 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Hoyt W. Fuller
30-01 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Jim Harvey
349 East 31st Street
Chicago, Illinois

Phillip G. Smith
7303 South Rhodes
Chicago, Illinois

Robert L. Lucas
6421 South Laflin
Chicago, Illinois

Harry J. Bowie
403 Maddox Street
Mc Comb, Mississippi

Henry W. De Lagarde
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York (NBC)

Bennett J. Johnson
909 Grey Avenue
Evanston, Illinois

G. E. Kent
Glenham Street
Hamden, Connecticut

Charles Gant
3420 Cottage Road
Chicago, Illinois

Delores Biggs
15 Debra Lane
Buffalo, New York

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

James Shelton
1336 Cyprus Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Edward Vaughn
18887 Bloom
Detroit, Michigan

Gerald Simmons
10036 Broad Street
Detroit, Michigan

Vincent Harding
26 Court Street
New Haven, Connecticut

Arthur Smith
12123 Dexter
Detroit, Michigan

Clyde G. Atwell
994 Lincoln Place
Brooklyn, New York

Anna R. Langford
6036 Bishop Street
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Ruth W. Hadwood
6534 Dover Street
Oakland, California

Louis J. Gothard
3373 North Morengo
Altadena, California

Ronald Wilkins
633 East Imperial Highway #3
Los Angeles, California

Jimmy Tayari
8211 South Broadway
Los Angeles, California

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWLR, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Isiah Robinson
40 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Bishop Charles F. Golden
1908 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Nathan Wright
Orange, New Jersey

Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt Carter
2175 Leonard
Columbus, Ohio

Cleveland Sellers
316 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

James V. Lyles
1908 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Leona M. Truesdale
2946 French Street N. W.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Ethel Johnson
503 North Boyle Street
Monroe, North Carolina

M. Lee Montgomery
4018 West Girard Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Mr. Victoria J. Gray
PC Station
Post Office Box 81
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Ulysses B. Blakley
155 Haywood Avenue
Orange, New Jersey

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Maloney
3416 Bering Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

John W. Cordice
109-51 196th Street
Hollics, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Clarence L. Cave
7150 Crittenden Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

H. B. Failing
Conshohocken, Pennsylvania

Kenneth A. Gibson
92 Rose Terrace
Newark, New Jersey

Octavious Rowe
230 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

Hilda C. Wilson
1545 North Alden Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

O. E. Sheffield
Post Office Box 327
Dover, New Jersey

Rev. and Mrs. Lloyd S. Casson
220 West 14th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Senator Herman M. Holloway, Sr.
636 Townsend Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Norman R. Seay
3032 Dickson
St. Louis, Missouri

Mr. Olivia E. Calloway
4224 East Page Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Eugene Turner
7040 Greene Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Robert Lamb, Jr.
1142 North Indiana Avenue
Atlantic City, New Jersey

Charles E. Cobb
289 Park Avenue South
New York, New York

James L. Morgan
1461 West 8th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

C. M. Thompson
540 Broad Street
Room 304B
Newark, New Jersey (New Jersey Bell Telephone Company)

James H. Gilliam
501 Pine Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Carl C. Williams
3350 Germantown Street
Dayton, Ohio

Rev. Quinland R. Gordon
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York

Jack S. Bailey
1130 North Ohio Avenue
Atlantic City, New Jersey

Howard Brown
2207 North Pinto
Wilmington, Delaware

Philip W. Carter
355 Monticello Avenue
Clarksburg, West Virginia

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Patricia Austin
513 North St. Clare Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mordecai C. Johnson
801 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. (representing U. S. Government)

Thomas O. Jenkins
4410 16th Street
Washington, D. C.

Owen H. Brooks
1323 Church Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Deborah S. Jones
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Jim Harriott
39 West 66th Street
New York, New York (ABC News)

Lawrence Guyot
507 $\frac{1}{2}$ Forrest Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Alvin L. Henry
5609 Perkins
Houston, Texas

Claude Lewis
75 Glenview Lane
Willingboro, New Jersey

Robert M. Hughes
Box 246 Sturbridge, Massachusetts

Benjamin Coleman
1524 Delaware Street
Gary, Indiana

Mrs. Esther Thompson
34 ?
Springfield, Massachusetts

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Edward E. Goode
90 Catherine Street
Hartford, Connecticut

Dr. Adelaide C. Hill
77 Riverside Street
Watertown, Massachusetts

Roera Rand
1328 Meigs Place, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Edward D. Jefferies
40 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Oswald Sykes
Springfield Gardens, New York

Greg Harris
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York (NBC News)

B. D. Doctor
16 North Main
Memphis, Tennessee

John A. Wilson
Nelson Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Phaon Sundaata
1523 Evarts Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dick Gregory
79 West Monroe
Chicago, Illinois

John Floyd
10125 Beach Street
Watts, California

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK
POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20-23, 1967

Ray A. Alexander
2824 North 10th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Lemuel Tucker
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York (NBC News)

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin H. Wright
410 Central Park West
New York, New York

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Newark, New Jersey
July 21, 1967

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20 - 23, 1967
RACIAL MATTER

The following was obtained on July 21, 1967, from Detective William Millard, Intelligence Unit, Newark, New Jersey, Police Department and local newspapers:

Registration for the National Conference on Black Power (NCBP) began at 3:00 pm on July 20, 1967, at 24 Rector Street, Newark. The first meeting of the NCBP was held in Newark under tight security on the evening of July 20, 1967. About 400 persons representing some 45 organizations attended. After the opening press conference, where white reporters were excluded, the opening session was held. This session was devoted almost entirely to organizational matters for the remainder of the conference. The opening session ended at about 10:45 pm.

As H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), talked to several Negro newsmen at the press conference, a white reporter for "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, stepped into the room from an open window. He was shoved back outside the window.

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20 - 22, 1967**

Five anonymous telephone calls were received during the afternoon and evening on July 20, 1967, threatening to bomb the Military Park Hotel, 16 Park Place, Newark, where captioned conference is being held. Members of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, Security Office, were on hand at the hotel in an attempt to trace the calls. There were no other incidents.

C. Sumner Stone, Director of Public Relations for the conference, said he had been informed by Adam Clayton Powell on July 18, 1967, that Powell would be in Newark on July 20, 1967.

Reverend William K. Fox, Assistant Director of Public Relations for the conference, said 450 persons from across the country have registered for the conference.

According to an article in the July 21, 1967, late city edition of "The New York Times", the following individuals were among those in attendance at the opening session of the conference:

Doctor Nathan Wright, Jr.
Chairman of the NCBP

Daniel Watts of "The Liberator", a Black Nationalist Magazine

Ron Karenga
Chief of a Black Nationalist Culture Organization in Watts, California, called US

Jesse Jackson
Chief Aide of Doctor Martin Luther King

Dick Gregory, Comedian

Mrs. Eliviro Warner, Secretary of the Progressive Labor Party in Bermuda

Ralph Featherstone, Program Director of SNCC

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
JULY 20 - 23, 1967**

Omar A. Ahmed, Head of the East River Chapter of
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in New York City

William H. Booth, Head of New York City's Commission
on Human Rights. 4

James Farmer, Former Head of CORE

Floyd Mc Kistick, Head of CORE

Delegates to captioned conference were warned that
they would be expelled from attending the remainder of the
conference if they made any statements to the press prior
to the conclusion of the conference.

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be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
July 20, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 7/20-23/67
Character	RACIAL MATTER
Reference	Los Angeles memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 18, 1967

BY LIAISON

Mr. Charles David Ginsburg
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
Room 201, 1016 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ginsburg:

For your information, I am enclosing
a communication which may be of interest to you.

Upon removal of the enclosure, if
classified, this transmittal form becomes
unclassified.

Sincerely yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 18, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

VOTER REGISTRATION MARCH TO CONTINUE IN LOUISIANA

A source of this Bureau advised yesterday that the voter registration march from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, will continue on August 18, 1967. The march is being sponsored by the Bogalusa Voters League, a civil rights organization with headquarters in Bogalusa.

A source of this Bureau advised that Byron Linder and Rene Silverheels have been active in organizing a group of white men to confront the individuals participating in the Bogalusa to Baton Rouge march. Chief of Police Alvin Corley of Denham Springs advised yesterday that Rene Silverheels, during the evening of August 16, 1967, and yesterday, has been agitating the white population in the Denham Springs area and attempting to recruit men to assist in stopping the voter registration march on August 18, 1967. Chief Corley said that Silverheels spoke to a large group of white people at the Livingston Parish fairgrounds in Livingston on the evening of August 16, 1967. He told the crowd that if 200 armed white men would follow him he would see how brave the Louisiana State Police are and they would stop the marchers. Chief Corley stated that he has brought the information concerning Linder and Silverheels to the attention of Colonel Thomas Burbank of the Louisiana State Police along with a request that they be arrested on any type of charge before the march resumes on August 18, 1967.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

Another source of this Bureau advised that on the night of August 17, 1967, Louisiana Governor John J. McKeithen announced that he has called out elements of the Louisiana National Guard who, along with 150 state troopers, will be used to protect the marchers on August 18, 1967. Our source further stated that members of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Livingston Parish have become angered at the Governor's action in calling out the National Guard and have brought pressure on the Klan leaders to allow them to assist Linder and Silverheels in their effort to stop the march on August 18, 1967. Our source stated that Klan leaders have previously kept members from becoming involved but have now allegedly given approval for members to assist in stopping the march.

Chief of Police David Kyser, Baton Rouge, stated yesterday he has issued two parade permits. The first permit is for a group to march from Florida and Sherwood Forest Boulevards to Capitol Park in Baton Rouge on Saturday, August 19, 1967. The second permit, which is for Sunday, August 20, 1967, is for a march from Capitol Park to the Louisiana State Capitol Building.

Chief Kyser advised that he has also received a letter signed "Reverend William V. Fowler." The Reverend William V. Fowler indicated in his letter that he was making a formal request for an assembly permit at a city park and a march through the streets of Baton Rouge for a rally at the Capitol steps. The letter indicated the purpose of the march is to protest the "violence of this so-called liberation march." The letter further indicated that the group would assemble at the park between 10 a.m. and 12 noon on August 19, 1967, and march to the Capitol. According to the letter, the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will sponsor the activity. Chief Kyser stated that the permit will be granted.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

DISTURBANCE, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Acting Chief of Police John P. Holihan, Syracuse, New York, Police Department, advised that a curfew was ordered by the Mayor yesterday in an effort to prevent violence on the night of August 17, 1967. This action was taken by the Mayor after racial violence caused damage to a number of business establishments in Syracuse the previous night.

A source of this Bureau advised yesterday that he believed the racial disturbance on the night of August 16, 1967, was caused by William Smith, Director of Field Operations, Crusade for Opportunity, an official war on poverty agency for Onondaga County, New York, which administers funds of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Our source stated that Smith arranged for the use of a sound truck which drove through the streets of the Negro neighborhood expounding on the recent molestation of an 11-year-old Negro girl by a white man. Another source of this Bureau stated yesterday that teen-age girls working for the Crusade for Opportunity were impressed on August 17, 1967, with the loot obtained by another teen-age girl from a women's clothing store during the disturbance the previous night. The teen-age girls stated they were "going out tonight to see what loot we can get."

A disturbance erupted again last night in Syracuse when Negro youths started throwing rocks, bottles, and other objects at business establishments and police. When the disturbance started last night full mobilization of the police department was ordered and the Onondaga County Sheriff's Office assisted. In addition, a seven-county Sheriff's Office

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

Mutual Assistance Program was placed into effect last night. Police used tear gas last night to break up a large crowd of about 200 individuals who were roving through the streets engaging in the rock-throwing activity. Looting was limited to minor incidents, one of which involved a liquor store.

According to police reports, there were four fires last night, two of which involved gasoline drum explosions; however, they were brought under control. Two other minor house fires were reported in the disturbance area. Police reported that the only incident of gunfire during last night's activity involved a white man who shot into the air at about 1:45 a.m. He was arrested and the gun was confiscated by police. The Mayor publicly announced at 2 a.m. today that the situation was under control. Twenty-four individuals had been arrested at that time.

RUMOR OF VIOLENCE, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

On August 17, 1967, Sergeant Albert Saenz, Intelligence Unit, San Antonio, Texas, Police Department, advised that during the past several days he has received several anonymous telephone calls indicating that a disturbance will occur at the Joe Freeman Coliseum, Saturday evening, during a performance by entertainer James Brown, a former Cleveland Browns professional football star. According to Sergeant Saenz, a source of the San Antonio Police Department has indicated that a group of Negroes are planning to start a fight during Brown's performance on the night of August 19, 1967, and when the police attempt to quell this disturbance the group allegedly will enter neighborhoods adjoining the coliseum to cause additional disturbances. Police are making arrangements to handle any situation that might arise.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

DEMONSTRATION, HOUSTON, TEXAS

Jack Mathews, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, advised that **Earl Allen**, a former employee of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Houston, Texas, led a **demonstration** at the Office of Economic Opportunity yesterday. The demonstration took place for about two hours between 10 a.m. and 12 noon in the parking lot in front of the Office of Economic Opportunity headquarters. Approximately 20 persons participated in the demonstration. The purpose of the demonstration, according to Allen, was to **protest the firing** earlier this week of five **Office of Economic Opportunity employees**, all of whom were present and took part in the demonstration yesterday.

RUMORS OF POSSIBLE VIOLENCE, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

Captain James Donalon, Atlantic City, New Jersey, Police Department, advised on August 17, 1967, that as a result of an undercover investigation by his department and the New Jersey State Police 28 persons from Atlantic City were arrested yesterday on narcotics charges. Four of the individuals arrested were Negroes. Subsequent to the arrests the police department was advised by a source that rumors indicate the arrests may touch off a racial disturbance in the city.

A source of this Bureau advised that the Attorney General of the State of New Jersey received a telegram yesterday protesting the intimidation and harassment of the individuals arrested on the narcotics charges in Atlantic City. The telegram indicated that the conditions are creating an explosive situation in Atlantic City.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

Five of the individuals who signed the telegram are Joseph Bair, George Hackley, James Bradley, Allen Moore, and Israel Mosee. A source of this Bureau advised today that these individuals are employed by the Atlantic City Human Resources, Incorporated, which organization is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 17, 1967

BY LIAISON

Mr. Charles David Ginsburg
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
Room 201, 1016 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ginsburg:

For your information, I am enclosing
a communication which may be of interest to you.

Upon removal of the enclosure, if
classified, this transmittal form becomes
unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 17, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Captain Robert Krahling, United States Capitol Police, Washington, D. C., advised that three buses with approximately 75 individuals from New York City arrived in Washington, D. C., shortly after noon yesterday. He stated that these individuals had an appointment to meet several United States Congressmen to discuss rat control legislation. The United States Capitol Police did not allow the individuals to get off the buses until United States Congressman Frank J. Brasco of New York appeared. When Congressman Brasco observed the three buses of individuals he stated that he could only accommodate about 40 of them in his conference room. The occupants of one bus accompanied Congressman Brasco to the conference room in the Longworth Building. The remaining two buses proceeded to the Dodge House which is near the United States Capitol where they awaited the conclusion of the conference.

Jesse Gray, a spokesman for the group, inquired of the Congressman about the chances of rat control legislation being enacted during the present session of the United States Congress. He also complained that the Harlem district of New York City is without representation because United States Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has not been allowed to take his seat in Congress. Gray is a former Communist Party organizer in the Harlem section of New York City.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

Following the meeting which lasted for a little more than one hour the group joined the individuals waiting at the Dodge House. At about 4:30 p.m., just before the group departed for New York City, one of the individuals presented to an officer of the Metropolitan Police Department a live caged rat. The presentation of the rat was the only incident reported by the Metropolitan Police Department or the United States Capitol Police during yesterday's activities.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Officials of the Syracuse, New York, Police Department advised that at about 10 p.m. yesterday a disturbance erupted in the 800 block of East Genesee Street. The activity started when the windows of a liquor store were broken. The window-smashing spree then spread to several other stores in the same block. Later during the evening the windows of a National Guard Armory were also broken; however, nothing was stolen. Early this morning Negroes looted the stores which had broken windows. There were three fires in the disturbance area, one of which completely gutted a dry cleaning establishment. Police estimated that during the early stages of the disturbance a crowd of about 100 Negroes was involved. This crowd was dispersed and later smaller groups ranging in number from 15 to 30 Negroes roamed through a four-block area throwing rocks and bottles. Police officers working in the area reported that each group had one or two "loudmouths" who encouraged the remainder of the group to continue their activities.

Police estimated that at least 20 stores were damaged as a result of the window-smashing activities of the roving groups. Twenty-six adults and two juveniles were arrested, all were charged with disorderly conduct. Two individuals were also charged with inciting to riot.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

One of the individuals arrested, **Leroy Glenn Wright**, was identified by the police as an employee of the **Crusade for Opportunity**. The Crusade for Opportunity is the official war on poverty agency for Onondaga County, New York, which is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. A source of the Syracuse Police Department advised that **Wright attended a recent black power conference in Newark, New Jersey.**

HOUSTON, TEXAS

At approximately 8:40 p.m. yesterday a Negro male attempted to hold up a white service station attendant in the 7200 block of Scott Street in Houston, Texas. The Negro was shot and wounded by the service station attendant. The service station is located across the street from a large Negro apartment complex. A rumor circulated through the area shortly after the incident indicating that a police officer was responsible for the shooting.

A short time after the shooting occurred officers of the Houston Police Department arrived on the scene and observed that residents of the apartment complex were shooting at the service station. The shooting broke several windows and damaged other service station property. The shooting ceased as the police arrived. At about 10:30 p.m., after the police investigation of the shooting incident was completed and the police had departed from the area, the service station gasoline pumps were set afire. The fire caused damage to a parked automobile as well as the service station. At about the same time a grocery store in the area was also set afire. Police blocked off the area where the disturbance was taking place and prohibited vehicle and foot traffic in the area. The Houston Fire Department reported that four additional fire calls were answered in the immediate area of the disturbance. Two Molotov cocktails were thrown at other buildings but failed to ignite.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

For a two-hour period early this morning small bands of Negroes threw rocks and bottles at passing motor vehicles and one incident of gunfire was reported. A carload of Negroes also drove through the disturbance area throwing Molotov cocktails; however, no serious damage was caused. Police reported that five persons were arrested in connection with the disturbance. Two of these individuals were Negroes carrying gasoline cans.

VOTER REGISTRATION MARCH IN LOUISIANA

On August 16, 1967, the Bogalusa Voters League continued its voter registration march from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The Bogalusa Voters League is a civil rights organization with headquarters in Bogalusa. The march started yesterday morning at 10 o'clock in Holden with six Negroes being led by A. Z. Young, President of the organization. The marchers were escorted by about 160 Louisiana State Police troopers with Colonel Thomas Burbank, Superintendent of the Louisiana State Police, in charge. About 25 deputies from the Livingston Parish Sheriff's Office assisted. As the march began about 40 white people gathered on the highway in Holden to observe; however, no incidents occurred.

The Louisiana State Police kept the highway where the march was taking place clear of traffic during the march. The marchers were completely surrounded by law enforcement officers.

As the marchers passed through Livingston a crowd of approximately 75 white people, some armed with clubs, gathered on the street; however, police did not allow a confrontation and no incidents occurred.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

At about 2 p.m. approximately 100 white people gathered on the highway ahead of the marchers and began marching toward the Negro group. Louisiana State Police troopers surrounded the group of white people but allowed them to proceed along the highway. As the two groups met fighting broke out and the troopers arrested eight white men. Lieutenant James Adams of the Louisiana State Police advised, when the Negro and white marchers met, eight of the Negroes were shoved to the ground; however, they immediately arose and resumed their march. None complained of any injuries. Four white men were admitted to the Dixon Memorial Hospital in Denham Springs for treatment of injuries received in the fracas. One Louisiana State Police trooper was also admitted for treatment of a minor injury. At about 4:45 p.m. the Negro marching group, which then totaled 26 individuals, discontinued the march for the day. The marchers returned to Bogalusa by automobile escorted by the Louisiana State Police.

Lieutenant Colonel B. F. Ragusa, Assistant Superintendent, Louisiana State Police, advised that the march will not resume until 10 a.m. on August 18, 1967. At that time the march will resume at the Livingston and East Baton Rouge Parish line. This will eliminate from the march route five miles in Livingston Parish which has not been covered to date.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Officers of the Chicago, Illinois, Police Department reported yesterday that a fire truck answering a false alarm near the intersection of 69th Street and

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

Indiana Avenue became the target for stones thrown by Negro teen-agers. In the same neighborhood when police returned to their vehicle, after answering a domestic relations complaint, they found the windshield had been broken by a beer bottle and a brick. One police officer stated that he believed the incident was retaliation by a group of Negro teen-agers who had been dispersed earlier by the officers. An officer of the 18th District of the Chicago Police Department advised that an incendiary device was thrown into the second floor window of the Schiller School at 640 Scott Street yesterday evening. Another incendiary device was thrown from the east wall of the Ogden Avenue Bridge onto the north bound lane of traffic on Ogden Avenue. There were no injuries and no property damage resulted. Chicago police also reported that a member of the "Blackstone Rangers," a Negro youth gang, was injured by gunfire last night as he walked along a street. Police suspect that a rival Negro gang is responsible for the shooting and are investigating.

AKRON, OHIO

Yesterday Major Phillip G. Barnes, Deputy Chief of Police of Akron, Ohio, met with Edmond Parms of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to form a group in Akron to improve housing and educational and job opportunities in the community. Major Barnes stated that this meeting was the result of a prior meeting on August 10, 1967, called by the Mayor of Akron. At the August 10, 1967, meeting industrial leaders and other civic representatives discussed these problems. During the meeting several outspoken individuals stated that members

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

of the Negro community favor rioting and burning as the only means of achieving their demands. One individual also stated that a lesson was learned in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, and during the recent Detroit, Michigan, riots. He said that in the future Negroes would not burn the Negro communities but would go into white neighborhoods to burn and riot. The meeting yesterday was called in an effort to work out arrangements to fulfill some of the demands of the Negroes.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 16, 1967

BY LIAISON

Mr. Charles David Ginsburg
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
Room 201, 1016 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ginsburg:

For your information, I am enclosing
a communication which may be of interest to you.

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File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 16, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS

VOTER REGISTRATION MARCH IN LOUISIANA CAUSES TENSION

Odom Graves, Chief Deputy Sheriff, Livingston Parish, Louisiana, advised that the voter registration march which is being sponsored by the Bogalusa Voters League, a civil rights organization with headquarters in Bogalusa, Louisiana, progressed from Albany to Holden, Louisiana, yesterday. When the marchers arrived in Holden approximately 80 white spectators had congregated at the side of the highway. One spectator, **John Mack**, attacked one of the marchers. A Livingston Parish Deputy Sheriff restrained Mack and was assaulted by a second white male, **Norris McMorris**. Louisiana State Police troopers and additional sheriff's deputies came to the assistance of the deputy who was being assaulted. At this point eight white spectators attacked several of the marchers injuring one of them. The eight spectators were restrained and two, Mack and McMorris, were arrested. Mack was charged with disturbing the peace and McMorris was charged with disturbing the peace and assaulting an officer.

Early this morning Sheriff Taft Faust of Livingston Parish advised that approximately 300 white men were congregated at Holden and that many of the group were armed and appeared to have been drinking. Sheriff Faust stated that many individuals in the group feel a strong animosity toward the sheriff's office because of the protection being afforded to the Negro marchers. Sheriff Faust stated that because of the tension in the area caused by the march he has informed the Louisiana State Police. Colonel Thomas Burbank, Superintendent of the Louisiana State Police, informed the Sheriff that his department is ready to meet any situation that might arise. No violence erupted in Holden last night.

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The individuals participating in the march returned to Albany last night where they stayed at various Negro homes throughout the community. The Sheriff's Office and the Albany Police Department afforded protection to the community of Albany last night to avoid violence. Sheriff Faust stated that the Louisiana State Police will furnish more than 100 state troopers to assist in escorting the marchers on August 16, 1967.

A source of this Bureau at New York City advised yesterday that H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is expected to appear at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, today. The purpose of his visit to Baton Rouge was not known to our source.

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Captain Robert Krahling, United States Capitol Police, advised that United States Congressman Frank J. Brasco of New York informed him yesterday that 75 individuals from his district in New York City will meet with him and United States Congressman John Conyers, Jr., of Michigan today to discuss rat control legislation. Congressman Brasco informed Captain Krahling that no trouble is expected from the group while they are in Washington, D. C. Captain Krahling stated that Jesse Gray is expected to be among the individuals who will visit the District of Columbia today.

Jesse Gray is the Director of the Community Council on Housing in the Harlem section of New York City. He was arrested in Washington, D. C., on August 7, 1967, when he led a group of 80 individuals to the Gallery of the United States House of Representatives at which time a disturbance erupted. Gray is a former Communist Party organizer in the Harlem section of New York City.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, NEGRO RECOMMENDS ARREST OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The Human Relations Section of the Chicago, Illinois, Police Department advised yesterday that the Reverend Henry Mitchell, the Negro pastor of the North Star Missionary Baptist Church, informed the Chicago Police Department that he has written a letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson and that copies have been sent to the members of the United States Senate, the United States House of Representatives, and other Government officials. According to the Human Relations Section of the Chicago Police Department, the letter pointed out that Stokely Carmichael, former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has been and is now preaching hate and violence and that his words have encouraged seditious activity. The letter urged that Carmichael be arrested and charged with sedition when he returns to the United States.

The Reverend Henry Mitchell has previously spoken out against Martin Luther King and described King as "an outsider who does not know the problems of Chicago."

RUMORS OF DISTURBANCES

Elmer Thies of the Elgin, Illinois, Police Department advised yesterday that a prevalent rumor in Elgin indicates that an unidentified Negro organization plans to get a group of white persons to come to Elgin to create a disturbance in the near future. The specific purpose of this plan is to determine whether police will treat white persons involved in a disturbance in the same manner that they treated Negroes who were arrested during a disturbance in that city in August of 1967. Thies advised that the Elgin Police Department has increased police patrols because of the rumor in an effort to forestall any further violence in that city.

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A source of this Bureau advised that he has heard a rumor that a racial disturbance is planned in Des Moines, Iowa, during the Iowa State Fair and that a simultaneous disturbance is planned in Omaha, Nebraska. Our source stated that the Des Moines disturbance will start at the Park Fair Shopping Center which is located on the outskirts of Des Moines. Our source had no further information regarding this rumor. The Omaha and Des Moines Police Departments have been advised.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 15, 1967

BY LIAISON

Mr. Charles David Ginsburg
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
Room 607, 1016 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ginsburg:

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 15, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

"POOR PEOPLES MARCH," JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Jackson, Mississippi, announced last week that it would sponsor a march to the State Capitol on August 14, 1967, to emphasize to State authorities the large number of poor people in the State. Yesterday morning Negroes began arriving at the Masonic Temple in Jackson at about 10 a.m. by bus, truck, and automobile. By 11:45 a.m. approximately 500 persons had assembled. Aaron Henry, President, and Charles Evers, Director, of the Mississippi National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Kenneth L. Dean, Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations; and William Seaborn, Special Assistant to the United States Secretary of Agriculture, spoke to the assembled group. The speeches dealt mainly with the Food Stamp Program and the poverty situation in Mississippi.

Following the speeches and a lunch provided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the group organized into marching sections, each section representing a county and carrying a placard identifying that county. At least 15 Mississippi counties were represented. The marchers consisted primarily of elderly Negro men and women. They marched four abreast from the Masonic Temple to the State Capitol, a distance of a little more than one mile. Buses followed the marchers and transported extremely elderly participants. The buses also picked up elderly Negro dropouts who were unable to complete the march. At the Capitol the group listened to additional speeches following which they returned to the Masonic Temple and dispersed.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

The only incident that marred the peaceful demonstration took place as the group arrived at the Capitol Grounds. Richard Barrett, a white male carrying a sign which bore the slogan: "Fight poverty-work," approached the marchers. Several Negroes took the sign away from Barrett and tore it into pieces. Barrett was arrested by the Jackson Police Department and charged with disturbing the peace. Barrett is a militant segregationist who is the self-admitted leader of the American Victory Force, an organization formed in July of 1967, at Jackson, Mississippi. According to Barrett, the group's purpose is to promote Christianity and patriotism and to further unity and coordination of white Americans.

VOTERS REGISTRATION MARCH CONTINUES IN LOUISIANA

Chief of Police Brooks Robinson, Hammond, Louisiana, advised that 25 participants in the Bogalusa Voters League march from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge left Hammond at about 8:30 yesterday morning. The marchers had spent the night in Hammond under police guard after Negroes fired several shotgun blasts into an inn on Sunday evening. Four white people were injured in the shooting incident following which tension was high in the area. Odom Graves, Chief Deputy Sheriff, Livingston Parish, Louisiana, advised that the marchers reached Albany, Louisiana, yesterday evening where they spent the night camped on a vacant lot. There were no incidents during yesterday's march.

PROPOSED PROTEST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

A source of this Bureau advised yesterday that Jesse Gray and seven other individuals from New York City are expected to appear in Washington, D. C., for a meeting at 1 p.m., August 16, 1967, in the Agriculture Committee Room of the Rayburn House Office Building. United States Congressmen John Conyers, Jr., of Michigan, and Frank J. Brasco of

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

New York, are expected to talk with the group. Julius Hobson of the Associated Community Teams in Washington, D. C., will also be present. According to our source, the purpose of the meeting is to rally support for reintroduction of the so-called "Rat Bill" in Congress.

Jesse Gray is a former Communist Party organizer in the Harlem section of New York City.

"CAMP-IN," CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

An official of the Deputy Superintendent's Office of the Chicago Police Department advised yesterday that the West Side Organization, a militant Chicago civil rights group, held an outdoor meeting yesterday afternoon at which speakers protested the firing of a Negro employee of the Chicago Housing Authority. A manikin representing the Assistant Manager of the Chicago Housing Authority, who was responsible for firing the Negro employee, was burned in effigy. A speaker announced to the assembled group that a "camp-in" to further emphasize the protest would be staged on the Chicago Housing Authority property.

Captain Hines, Twelfth District, Chicago Police Department, advised that at about 10 p.m., August 14, 1967, approximately 50 individuals from the neighborhood staged a "camp-in" on the lawn of the Chicago Housing Authority. The "camp-in" consisted of sitting on the grass, singing songs, and visiting. The demonstration broke up at midnight and there were no disturbances.

Sources of this Bureau reported yesterday that the over-all racial situation in Chicago appears to remain calm but tense. One source stated that an unforeseen incident could spark violence in the South Side and the West Side of Chicago, both of which are predominantly Negro ghetto areas.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 14, 1967

BY LIAISON

Mr. Charles David Ginsburg
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
Room 607, 1016 16th Street, Northwest
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 14, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

BOGALUSA TO BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA, MARCH

The Bogalusa Voters League, a civil rights organization in Bogalusa, Louisiana, is sponsoring a march from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to encourage voter registration. The march began August 10, 1967, and is scheduled to end August 19, 1967. On Sunday, August 13, 1967, several members of the marching group obtained drinking water at the Riverside Inn near Hammond, Louisiana. White people at the Inn were resentful of the Negroes' obtaining water at the Riverside Inn. Following this incident the marchers proceeded to Hammond unmolested. At about 8:45 p.m., Sunday, cars occupied by Negroes drove past the Riverside Inn and fired several shotgun blasts into the Inn. As a result of this shooting four white people were injured and hospitalized. Deputies of the Tangipahoa Parish and the St. Tammany Parish Sheriffs' Offices arrested ten Negroes in connection with the shooting.

The Mayor of Hammond advised that a rally was held by the Negroes at the Greenville High School in Hammond, Sunday evening following the shooting incident. He said that because of the tension caused by the shooting a number of the members of the marching group spent the night at the Greenville High School. The Hammond City Police and the Louisiana State Police set up roadblocks around the school to prevent any further acts of violence.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

"POOR PEOPLES MARCH," JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

✓ Charles Evers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People advised on August 13, 1967, that a meeting would be held at the Masonic Temple in Jackson, Mississippi, on the morning of August 14, 1967. Following the meeting Evers plans to stage a march to the Capitol Building in Jackson. The purpose of the march, according to Evers, is to emphasize to State authorities the large number of poor people in Mississippi. Evers expects 1,000 individuals to attend the meeting and will encourage them to participate in the march. Evers also stated he expects a number of individuals to be transported to the Capitol Building in Jackson from several areas of the Mississippi Delta and southwest Mississippi to participate in a rally to be held at the Capitol.

BURNING OF NEGRO MASONIC LODGE, HAZLEHURST, MISSISSIPPI

Kenneth McLinden, Chief of Police, Hazlehurst, Mississippi, advised that at about 3:10 a.m., August 13, 1967, an attempt was made to burn the Negro Masonic Lodge Hall in Hazlehurst. The blaze was extinguished before extensive damage was done. Chief McLinden stated that the lodge hall was used by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for weekly voter registration meetings and rallies.

✓ Following the fire Rudolph Shields, a Negro male and an assistant of Charles Evers, stated that armed guards would be placed in the Negro community beginning August 13, 1967, with instructions to kill anyone attempting to harm Negroes or their property. The statement of Rudolph Shields was furnished to local law enforcement agencies.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

DISTURBANCES

Arthur Wells, Detective, Hartford, Connecticut, Police Department, advised that during the evening of August 12, 1967, two "Coke" bottles and one oil can, all containing a flammable substance with lighted wicks, were thrown through the rear window of the Brackett School in Hartford. Detective Wells stated the objects were found burning harmlessly inside the school building and the only damage was a broken window. No arrests have been made.

In Spring Valley, New York, following a black power conference on August 12, 1967, several Negro teenagers threw rocks at store windows. Helen McKenzie, Vice Chairman of the Rockland County Congress of Racial Equality, was accidentally struck by a brick. She was not seriously injured. Police reported that an unidentified white man had been beaten. When police arrived in the area they found general disorder and broke up the group of unruly youths. No arrests were made.

The Englewood, New Jersey, Police Department advised that a number of Negro youths have been congregating on the street corners in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. The Mayor issued instructions for the police department to allow the Negroes to congregate without interference. On Friday night, August 11, 1967, no disorders occurred; however, Negro youths gathered on street corners, ridiculed police officers, and defiantly stated they had permission from the Mayor to congregate. On August 12, 1967, the Mayor rescinded his previous instructions and told the police to break up any large crowd of youths and to maintain law and order. On Saturday night, August 12, 1967, there were no large groups of Negroes assembled and no disorders occurred.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

Lieutenant Bernard Coll of the Baltimore, Maryland, Police Department advised that shortly after 9 p.m., August 13, 1967, white youths ran through the 1300 block of Cleveland Street in Baltimore, a Negro section, breaking bottles and firing BB guns. Dennis Mosley, a 13-year-old Negro, was injured when he was struck in the cheek by a BB. No other injuries were reported. Police responded to a disturbance call in the area; however, when they arrived in the area the white youths had departed and no arrests were made.

The South Bend, Indiana, Police Department advised that windows were broken in four business establishments including a tavern on the evening of August 12, 1967. Fire bombs were thrown into two additional business establishments. The South Bend Police Department arrested two white youths in connection with the throwing of stones.

Minor disturbances occurred in three other cities during the past weekend. The cities where these disturbances occurred were Denver, Colorado; Markham, Illinois; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

On August 7, 1967, Jesse Gray, Director of the Community Council on Housing in the Harlem section of New York City, led a group of approximately 80 individuals to the Gallery of the United States House of Representatives in Washington, D. C. A disturbance erupted and nine individuals were arrested. A source of this Bureau advised that Gray planned to lead another group to the United States House of Representatives on Monday, August 14, 1967, in a continuing protest against the shelving of the so-called "Rat Bill."

**SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES**

Another source of this Bureau advised yesterday that Jesse Gray had been unable to obtain funds to finance the trip to Washington, D. C., on August 14, 1967, and that the trip has been postponed until Wednesday, August 16, 1967. Gray is a former Communist Party organizer in the Harlem section of New York City.

BLACK POWER RALLY, NEW YORK CITY

The New York City Police Department advised that a rally took place in the Brooklyn section of New York City on August 13, 1967, at which speakers encouraged those in attendance to support 17 Revolutionary Action Movement members who were arrested in June of this year in connection with a plot to murder moderate civil rights leaders. One of the speakers at the rally, Willie Mae Mallory, urged Negroes to go to courtrooms everywhere Negroes are on trial. Mallory is a member of the Workers World Party, a splinter group of the Socialist Workers Party which was designated as subversive by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order Number 10450. She also criticized the New York City Police Commissioner and Negro policemen saying that Negro policemen are fools and stupid, as they are being used by whites. She said Negro policemen rarely obtain promotions above the rank of patrolman.

The Revolutionary Action Movement is an all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist oriented organization which follows the Chinese communist line and advocates achieving Negro rights by violence, if necessary.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

BUD BILLIKEN DAY PARADE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

A spokesman for the Chicago, Illinois, Police Department advised that there were no incidents during the annual Bud Billiken Day Parade on August 12, 1967. The spokesman said that relative calm existed in Chicago during the weekend.

RUMORS OF POTENTIAL VIOLENCE

Rumors of disturbances are circulating in several cities. Among these are Washington, D. C.; Tampa, Florida; Selma, Alabama; Santa Barbara, California; and Anchorage, Alaska.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 14, 1967

BY LIAISON

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Executive Director
National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 11, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

NEW YORK CITY

Early this morning approximately 60 youths, reportedly Negroes, left a dance at a discotheque on 49th Street and Broadway in New York City. This group proceeded to 1608 Broadway where they tore away a metal gate and broke the window of a clothing store. Some individuals in the group then stole merchandise from the display window. Another window in the area was broken by this group before the New York City Police arrived in the area and dispersed the unruly youths. No arrests were made and no further incidents occurred.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

On August 7, 1967, nine individuals were arrested after a scuffle with United States Capitol Police at the entrance to the Gallery of the United States House of Representatives. The individuals arrested were part of a group of approximately 80 who appeared at the Capitol Building to protest the shelving of the so-called "Rat Bill" by the House. A source of this Bureau advised yesterday that the Community Council on Housing, which is located in the Harlem section of New York City, is planning another trip to Washington, D. C., on Monday, August 14, 1967, as a continuation of its protest. According to another source of this Bureau, the organization has made arrangements for the Domenico Bus Service, Incorporated, at Bayonne, New Jersey, to supply a bus for the trip. According to our source,

**SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES**

leaders of the organization have discussed the possibility of obtaining live rats to release in the halls of the Capitol Building during the demonstration Monday. Our source further advised complete plans for Monday's demonstration have not been formulated.

Jesse Gray is the Director of the Community Council on Housing. He is also head of an organization called the Harlem Back Street Youth, Incorporated. A source of this Bureau advised Gray has an extensive past history in the Communist Party, USA, and during the 1950's served in leadership capacities in the Harlem Region Communist Party. In 1964 it was reported that Gray was no longer a member of the Communist Party but was friendly to the movement.

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Another source of the Bureau advised that leaders of the organization have been in contact with United States Congressman Frank J. Brasco of New York who suggested that the demonstration be postponed until the "Rat Bill" strategy can be discussed with United States Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York.

BOGALUSA, LOUISIANA

The Bogalusa Voters League, a local civil rights organization in Bogalusa, Louisiana, is sponsoring a march from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. A spokesman for the organization advised that voter registration rallies will be conducted in the Negro communities along the route. Yesterday approximately 50 individuals took part in the march which was peaceful. The marchers were afforded protection by the Louisiana State Police and local law enforcement agencies. The march ended at 7:30 last night at a point about 18 miles south of Bogalusa. Captain William E. Jourdan of the Louisiana State Police advised that a spokesman for the marchers stated the march would resume at 10 a.m., August 11, 1967.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Chicago, Illinois, Police Department reported yesterday that unconfirmed rumors continue to circulate through the Negro areas of the city indicating the possibility of a disturbance during the annual Bud Billiken Day Parade which is to be held August 12, 1967. A source of this Bureau advised that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality have been invited, as civil rights organizations, to participate and display a float during the parade. Our source stated that there is no indication at the present time that these organizations plan a disturbance along the parade route. A second reliable source advised Ishmael Flory and Lula Saffold attended a black power meeting on August 9, 1967. During the meeting there was some discussion of creating a disturbance during the Bud Billiken Day Parade; however, no definite plans were formulated. A third source advised that Ishmael Flory and Lula Saffold are current members of the Communist Party of Illinois.

ELLWOOD CITY, PENNSYLVANIA

Chief of Police Anthony Casuccio, Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, advised that rumors are circulating through the Negro community of the town indicating the possibility of a disturbance on Saturday, August 12, 1967. Chief Casuccio said that Ellwood City is in the midst of its 75th anniversary celebration and a large parade is planned for Saturday afternoon. An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 people will be present either as participants in or observers of the parade. Inquiries by the Ellwood City Police Department have failed to substantiate rumors indicating local Negroes plan to create a disturbance. He stated, however, that the rumors indicate that a number of demonstrators plan to converge on the city from somewhere outside the State of Pennsylvania.

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INDEPENDENCE DAY

US, a black nationalist group in Los Angeles, California, has issued a leaflet inviting all "black people" to celebrate "UHURU Day" (Independence Day) on August 13, 1967. The leaflet points out that August 11, 1967, is the anniversary of the August, 1965, riot in Los Angeles. and urges it be commemorated by rallies on August 13, 1967.



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JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

Sheriff Dale Carson, Duval County, Florida, advised that he met H. Rap Brown and Willie F. Ricks, both of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, at 3 p.m. yesterday as they arrived at the airport in Jacksonville, Florida. Brown was scheduled to speak in Jacksonville on the night of August 9, 1967. Brown and Ricks were met by a welcoming party of 12 local Negroes. Sheriff Carson introduced himself to Brown and informed him of Florida's Antiriot Law. Sheriff Carson's statements were ignored by Brown. At 6 p.m. the Mayor of Jacksonville appeared on a local television broadcast and urged people of all races to stay home and "deny Brown the audience he wants and avoid any incident."

At approximately 8:30 p.m. Brown appeared at Durkee Ball Park where he spoke to a crowd of no more than 175 individuals. Brown's speech which was mild in tone drew both cheers and boos. Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr., was present at the ball park during Brown's speech. Following his speech Brown proceeded to the airport and before leaving he advised members of his police escort that he did not like the treatment he received in Jacksonville and that he would return.

NEW YORK CITY

The New York City Police Department advised yesterday that the custodian of New York Public School Number 72 located in the East Harlem area reported anti-Government propaganda

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and hate literature in the form of posters and drawings are displayed on the walls of the school. Among the material displayed is a photograph of a man in an Army sergeant's uniform holding a rifle. President Lyndon B. Johnson's head is superimposed on the photograph and it bore the caption: "Public Enemy Number One, Wanted For Murder." There are a number of slogans posted on the walls of rooms in the school such as: "Don't love them to death, shoot them to death!" and "Burn baby burn, Johnson is losing sleep." According to police, there was also a list captioned "Uncle Toms" which included such names as Jackie Robinson, Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Robert Weaver, Whitney Young, Floyd Patterson, and others.

Police advised that a "New York Daily News" reporter, William Frederici, had learned of a police investigation concerning this hate literature at the school and had conducted independent inquiries. Frederici told police he learned the East Harlem Action Committee is sponsoring the activity going on in the school and that groups of students aged 10 and 11, who live in the neighborhood, are being taught from the material displayed. The teachers, according to Frederici, are reportedly Columbia University graduate students as well as students from the Benjamin Franklin High School, both located in New York City.

NARROWSBURG, NEW YORK

A source of this Bureau advised that on Sunday, August 6, 1967, 26 individuals graduated from an instruction class for Volunteers In Service To America at the Wel-Met Camp at Narrowsburg, New York. The Volunteers In Service To America is an agency of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

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Following the graduation exercises several of the graduates met at a local tavern. Our source overheard two of the graduates talking while in the tavern. One of the graduates, Gary Munro Townsend, a Caucasian, was overheard to make the comment: "Now since I have my Federal ticket, I intend to start riots until we break the back of this racist system in this Nation." Another graduate, Wade Hudson, Jr., a Negro, was overheard to make the statement: "The black man now feels happy and like a man when he kills white men and breaks windows. I intend to make a lot more happy black men." According to our source, Townsend has been assigned to work in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of New York City. Our source did not know the location of Hudson's assignment after graduation.

ELGIN, ILLINOIS

Chief of Police James Hansen, Elgin, Illinois, advised that there were no disturbances in Elgin yesterday. Chief Hansen advised that Leander Scott is President of the United Organizations for Community Action. He said Elgin officials believe this organization is the most militant civil rights group in Elgin. He stated Scott is a good speaker and that the Negroes in the community are influenced by his talks. He said city officials feel that Scott is one of the individuals who foment the most trouble and unrest in the city. Chief Hansen advised if investigation substantiates information previously received that Scott was present at the meeting on August 2, 1967, where fire-bombing attacks were planned, he would consider arresting Scott and charging him with conspiracy.

Robert Brunton, Elgin City Manager, advised yesterday that he helped organize the Office of Economic Opportunity in Elgin. He said that Scott is a member of

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the Board of Directors of the Kane County Council for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Brunton said that Scott is employed at the St. Joseph's Hospital in Elgin and he is not a paid employee of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Several sources of this Bureau advised yesterday that tension appears to be diminishing in Chicago, Illinois, and that the city appears normal except that several rumors are circulating indicating the possibility of a disturbance during the annual Bud Billiken Day Parade which is scheduled for August 12, 1967.

A source of this Bureau has advised that George Arias, who resides in New York City, plans to travel to Chicago on August 12 or 19, 1967, in order to agitate and stir up trouble in the Puerto Rican section of Chicago. According to the source, this activity is being sponsored by the Latin-American Defense Organization which he described as the most active and militant group within the Puerto Rican community in Chicago. Another source has advised that George Arias was a member of the Spanish Club of the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

A Chicago police sergeant said two Negroes were arrested yesterday and charged with attempting to cash Illinois State payroll checks and American Express Money Orders. He advised that an investigation disclosed that the American Express Money Orders had been stolen from a drugstore in Detroit, Michigan, during the recent riot in Detroit.

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HOUSTON, TEXAS

Lin Fowler, Criminal Intelligence, Houston, Texas, Police Department, advised that approximately 35 persons attended a meeting yesterday in Houston, Texas. The Reverend Earl Allen and Kelton Sams, former employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Houston, F. D. Kirkpatrick of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Lee Otis Johnson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee attended the meeting. Following the meeting demonstrators went into Kelly Court, a Negro public housing project, and passed out handbills entitled "Are You Ready?" The handbills made reference to the Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan, riots and urged Houston Negroes to obtain Molotov cocktails, machine guns, shotguns, and other weapons and prepare to fight for their rights. The handbills contained the phrase, "We built America up; we will burn it down."

Fowler said that the demonstrators also attempted to get residents of Kelly Court to sign a petition to have United States Congressman Bob Eckhardt from Texas to speak in Houston against the war in Vietnam.

At about 4 p.m. yesterday approximately 30 individuals, being led by the Reverend Earl Allen, Kelton Sams, F. D. Kirkpatrick, and Lee Otis Johnson, entered the Office of Economic Opportunity in Houston and milled around the office. Office of Economic Opportunity employees were fearful that the individuals would create a disturbance; however, they remained in the office for about 40 minutes and departed without incident.

RUMORS OF DISTURBANCES

A source of this Bureau advised yesterday that William Scott, Chairman of the Rockland County Congress of Racial Equality at Spring Valley, New York, has been speaking

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to Negro youths and displaying a rifle which he keeps in his automobile. He demonstrates the handling of weapons to Negro youths. Our source stated that the Congress of Racial Equality under the leadership of Scott is scheduling militant out-of-town speakers who "inflame and incite" young Negroes. Our source stated that he knows of no definite plans for violence but pointed out that continuing activity on the part of Scott could lead to violence.

Other cities where rumors of disturbances were reported to police yesterday include Cicero, Illinois; Painesville, Ohio; and Colorado Springs, Colorado.

MARCH FROM BOGALUSA TO BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

✓Robert Hicks, Vice President of the Bogalusa Voters League, a local civil rights organization in Bogalusa, Louisiana, advised his organization will sponsor a march from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. He expects approximately 100 persons to participate in the march. The march is scheduled to begin today and reach Baton Rouge on August 19, 1967, where a rally will be held at Southern University followed by a demonstration at either the State Capitol Building or at the residence of the Louisiana Governor. ✓A. Z. Young, President of the Bogalusa Voters League, ✓Lincoln Lynch of the Congress of Racial Equality, and ✓H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are expected to speak at the rally.

According to Hicks, the demonstrators will march about ten miles per day returning by private automobile to their homes at night. The next morning the march will begin at the point where it concluded the night before. He stated the marchers will conduct voter registration rallies in the Negro areas along the route of the march. Local and state law enforcement agencies are aware of this march and have made plans to escort the marchers.



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LEVITTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

Chief of Police Harry Merker, Bristol Township Police Department, Levittown, Pennsylvania, advised that on the night of August 8, 1967, three abandoned motor vehicles and an abandoned township highway building were burned. Two police cars and one white man's car were stoned by unknown individuals. Chief of Police Merker stated that responsible residents advised the fires in the vehicles and the stoning of the police cars were done by Negro teen-agers whom they referred to as "jitterbugs." He said that all of the incidents took place within a 20-minute span of time.

Chief of Police Merker said that he believes the "jitterbugs" will continue to harass police and attempt to create minor incidents. He stated that an unknown individual shouted from a crowd gathered at the fire of the abandoned highway building: "You are really going to have it Friday night, are you afraid of snipers' fire, white boy?" Chief of Police Merker further stated that he has been in constant contact with local Negro leaders and has been advised that they cannot control the "jitterbugs." He said the older residents of the area are not antagonistic toward the police.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

An official of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Police Department advised that a number of acts of vandalism took place in Philadelphia yesterday. These acts of vandalism

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included the throwing of bricks and other debris which broke the windows in several business establishments and the throwing of a Molotov cocktail.

At about 6 p.m. yesterday officers of the Philadelphia Police Department arrested seven Negro teenage boys after discovering a rifle, a bayonet, and a glass jar containing gasoline in their possession.

ELGIN, ILLINOIS

On Friday night, August 4, 1967, Molotov cocktails were thrown at several business establishments in the downtown shopping area of Elgin, Illinois. Two of these establishments were extensively damaged as a result of the fires. Yesterday 9 Negroes were arrested in connection with those fire bombing incidents. Police interviews with the individuals arrested disclosed that a group of Negroes met on August 2, 1967, at which time the fire bombings were planned. They advised the action was taken to emphasize to officials in Elgin that if the demands of the Negroes for equal opportunities are not met violence could take place in the community.

One of the individuals arrested advised Lieutenant Elmer Thies of the Elgin Police Department that "Leander Scott, a part-time employee of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Elgin, was at the meeting. Scott told the group that he did not think it was right to throw Molotov cocktails but said he would go along with the group's thinking. He said that Scott did not accompany the group when the fire bombs were thrown on August 4, 1967.

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Two brothers of one of the individuals arrested appeared at the Elgin Police Department protesting their brother's arrest and became abusive. They were arrested and charged with assaulting a police officer. A crowd gathered at the police department following the arrests; however, there were no disturbances.

The individuals arrested were given a hearing before Judge Donald Anderson, 16th Judicial Circuit Court, Kane County, Illinois. Five were charged with arson and held in lieu of \$50,000 bond. One was charged with attempted arson and held in lieu of \$50,000 bond. Two were charged with aggravated battery of a police officer and held in lieu of \$10,000 bond. Two were turned over to the Kane County Detention Home and one 12-year-old was released to the custody of his parents.

BRUNSWICK, GEORGIA

A meeting was held at the Zion Baptist Church in Brunswick, Georgia, on the night of August 7, 1967, which broke up shortly after midnight. The purpose of the meeting was to hear reports from Negro leaders who attended a conference with civic and business leaders in Brunswick relative to Negro grievances. The audience expressed confidence in the leaders who advised that everything possible should be done to prevent racial trouble. After the meeting broke up about 20 young Negroes who had been outside the church during the meeting left the area and about four blocks from the church they threw a rock through a window of a loan company. Two Negro youths were arrested for breaking the window and the crowd dispersed. A short while later approximately 20 young Negroes overturned a number of garbage cans near a Negro housing project and

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12 additional arrests were made. The individuals arrested were charged with disturbing the peace. One of the individuals arrested was released on bond and 13 remained in the city jail awaiting a hearing on August 9, 1967.

RUMORS OF VIOLENCE

Assistant Chief of Police Thomas Nixon, Bogalusa, Louisiana, advised he received information from a confidential source that A. Z. Young, President of the Bogalusa Voters League, spoke at a meeting on the night of August 7, 1967. According to Assistant Chief Nixon's source, Young addressed the individuals attending the meeting in a militant fashion. He said the Bogalusa Voters League was going to canvass the city and attempt to get every Negro to participate in a march on Thursday, August 10, 1967.

Assistant Chief Nixon's source further stated that Young during his speech said that the "Uncle Toms" who do not join the Bogalusa Voters League movement will be burned out. He also told those in attendance to keep their eyes on the Bogalusa Courthouse as "it will not be standing long." Young announced that his organization is attempting to get Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to speak in Bogalusa when he returns to the United States.

The Jacksonville, Florida, branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference released to the press yesterday an announcement that H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, will speak in Hemming Park, which is in the center of downtown Jacksonville, at 8 p.m., August 9, 1967. This park was the scene of the inception of a recent disturbance in Jacksonville. The

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Jacksonville Police Department, the Duval County Sheriff's Office, and the Florida Highway Patrol have made plans to cope with any violence that might erupt as a result of Brown's proposed speech. The United Klans of America, United Florida Ku Klux Klan, and other similar Klan groups upon learning of Brown's scheduled appearance have called for a combined meeting and rally to formulate plans for action during Brown's appearance. Dale Carson, Duval County Sheriff, advised that he has instructions from Florida Governor Claude Kirk to meet Brown when he arrives in Jacksonville and inform him of the provisions of a recently passed state statute relative to inciting or encouraging riots. He said the Governor instructed him to immediately arrest Brown if he creates a disturbance in Jacksonville.

A source of this Bureau advised yesterday that Jesse Gray, who led a demonstration at the Gallery of the United States House of Representatives in the Capitol Building in Washington, D. C., on August 7, 1967, is planning another demonstration for Monday, August 14, 1967. Our source stated that this time the group plans to release live rats in the halls of the United States Capitol Building during the demonstration. The group is protesting the failure of Congress to pass an "Antirat Bill." Jesse Gray is a former Communist Party organizer from the Harlem section of New York City.

There are rumors circulating in other cities indicating potential violence. Among these cities are Chicago, Illinois; East St. Louis, Illinois; Wichita, Kansas; and Omaha, Nebraska.



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Captain Robert Krahling, United States Capitol Police, Washington, D. C., advised that on August 7, 1967, two busloads of individuals from the Harlem section of New York City representing an organization known as the Committee on Community Housing arrived at the United States Capitol. A spokesman for the group announced that the purpose of the visit to the Capitol was to protest the shelving by the United States Congress of the "Rat Bill" which would have aided the ghetto areas of New York City. Captain Krahling stated that after the United States House of Representatives had adjourned for the day approximately 80 of these individuals, 95 per cent of whom were Negroes, attempted to enter the United States House of Representatives Gallery carrying placards which bore the slogan, "We want the Rat Bill, not the Riot Bill."

Captain Krahling stated that when the group from New York attempted to enter the Gallery, United States Capitol Police ordered them to leave. Nine of the individuals refused to leave and a scuffle occurred in which two United States Capitol Policemen and one of the demonstrators suffered minor injuries. The nine individuals who refused to leave the Gallery were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

Inspector Thomas I. Herlihy, Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police Department, advised that United States Congressman Frank J. Brasco from the Brooklyn section of New York City arranged for \$10 bail for each of the individuals. After payment of the bail each was released.

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Among those arrested was Jesse Gray, former Communist Party organizer in the Harlem section of New York City.

Jesse Gray announced to the press after he was released that most of his group will return to New York City; however, a few will remain in Washington, D. C., to continue their protest.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Captain Frank Stahowiak, Detective Bureau, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Police Department, advised early this morning that the area where the recent disturbances took place in Milwaukee has been quiet during the past 24 hours. He said that on the afternoon of August 7, 1967, funeral services were held for Clifford McKissick, the Negro fire bomber who was killed by a Milwaukee police officer. Two hundred fifty individuals attended the funeral services including Father James Groppi, Director of the Milwaukee Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and eight council members. The funeral services took place without incident.

A military intelligence spokesman in Milwaukee advised that the remaining members of the Wisconsin National Guard who had been placed on a standby basis at the Whitefish Bay Armory were released yesterday. There are no National Guardsmen now on duty in Milwaukee.

WICHITA, KANSAS

E. M. Pond, Chief of Police, Wichita, Kansas, returned to duty yesterday from sick leave and met with a delegation of Negroes headed by Chester I. Lewis, a local official of the

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Several Negro youths accompanied Lewis. Following the three-hour meeting the Negro youths agreed to assist police in preventing any further fires or violence in Wichita. Chief of Police Pond agreed to a so-called "white hat" operation which was to start on the evening of August 7, 1967. Following the meeting and the agreement the Mayor lifted the curfew. A spokesman for the Wichita Police Department advised early this morning that no disturbances or violence were reported in Wichita last night.

A source of this Bureau advised yesterday that a group of young Negroes plan to meet today with the Wichita City Commission to discuss their complaints directly with the commission.

RUMORS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE

James M. Rochford, Deputy Superintendent, Chicago, Illinois, Police Department, advised yesterday that Chicago appears to be relatively calm with tension slowly reducing throughout the city. He said the annual Bud Billiken Day Parade is scheduled for August 12, 1967. Bud Billiken is the mythical father of Chicago's Negro children. Superintendent Rochford stated that the Chicago Police Department expects 25,000 to 30,000 Negro children to participate in the parade depending upon the weather. He said there may be as many as 500,000 Negroes who will observe the parade and attend the festivities. He said that although the police contemplate no trouble in connection with the celebration the police department has taken extensive precautions to insure that no incident could activate the large crowd into violence. He said the police department has received several anonymous telephone calls indicating that trouble will occur at the Bud Billiken festivities on August 12, 1967.

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Rumors of racial violence continue to circulate through several communities including Weston, Illinois; Shreveport, Louisiana; New York City; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

TENSION, WEST POINT, MISSISSIPPI

The Clay County, Mississippi, Sheriff advised that two Negroes, Henry McFarland and Galvin Bess, were killed during the early morning hours of August 6, 1967, as a result of an automobile accident. The automobile accident occurred about four miles east of West Point, Mississippi, when the driver lost control of the car on a bridge and plunged into a creek.

The deaths have caused tension in the community, according to the Clay County Sheriff, because both individuals were working with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. A confidential source of this Bureau advised that McFarland has been identified as the individual who threw a bottle through the window of a West Point police vehicle on the night of July 30, 1967. Subsequent investigation by Clay County authorities has disclosed that both McFarland and Bess were alive when their car plunged into the creek and the death of each was due to drowning.



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ELGIN, ILLINOIS

In Elgin, Illinois, Negroes have created disturbances during the past several days. On Friday night, August 4, 1967, Molotov cocktails were thrown at several business establishments in the downtown shopping area of the city. Two large business establishments suffered extensive damage as a result of fires started by Molotov cocktails. Several other business establishments were also the targets for fire bombs. In addition to the fire bombings, windows in a number of business establishments were broken by rocks, bricks, and other debris thrown by the unruly Negroes. The residence of Elgin Police Sergeant Richard Kahm was stoned and windows broken. Sergeant Kahm was involved in an altercation with a crowd of Negroes on Saturday, July 29, 1967, when he was trying to disperse the group which was creating a disturbance.

On Saturday, August 5, 1967, the Mayor ordered a curfew effective between the hours of 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. Saturday night, as fire bombings and rock-throwing incidents increased, the Elgin Police Department received assistance from the St. Charles, Geneva, South Elgin, and Carpentersville Police Departments as well as the Kane County Sheriff's Office and the Illinois State Police. The disturbance was quelled and order was restored at about 1 a.m. Sunday. With the assistance of these extra police the downtown area of Elgin was sealed off and nonessential traffic eliminated from the area.

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On Sunday, August 6, 1967, responsible Negro parents were given permission by the city to hold a meeting at Lords Park in Elgin. The Mayor and the city manager attended the meeting. Glenn Traub of the office of the City Manager advised that Richard Fullmer, an official of the Office of Economic Opportunity, was also in attendance. The Elgin City Manager said it was a militant meeting with Negroes voicing their demands. Samuel Thomas, reportedly an organizer for the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Richard Broadnax, a former Negro serviceman, voiced their demands for open housing, recreation centers, and integration of the Elgin Police and Fire Departments. The Reverend Paul Vicknell, Unitarian Universalist Church in Elgin, also spoke at the meeting and reportedly stated, "If you have to use bombs, you will use bombs." His speech followed a talk by Victor Wall, Director of the Human Relations Council in Elgin, who stated he had heard Negroes have "plastic explosives which will be used in Elgin." Chief of Police James Hanson stated that one of the most militant troublemakers in the Elgin situation was Leander Scott. According to Chief Hanson, Scott is a part-time worker for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

There were no acts of vandalism or disturbances on the night of August 6-7, 1967.

WICHITA, KANSAS

In Wichita, Kansas, white youths in an automobile fired a shotgun at a group of Negroes on the morning of August 4, 1967. Later that day five local white youths were arrested in connection with that shooting incident. A meeting of 50 Negro males was held during the evening of August 4, 1967, and following the meeting there were several acts of vandalism committed by young Negroes in Wichita. Because of the apparent

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tension and the increase in the number of acts of vandalism, the Acting Mayor ordered a curfew for the entire city. At the time the curfew was ordered the police were engaged in breaking up a concentration of Negro youths. Because of the number of incidents the Wichita Police Department requested and received assistance from the Kansas Highway Patrol. Order was restored at about 3 a.m., Saturday.

On Saturday, August 5, 1967, the Wichita City Council authorized a curfew and issued an order prohibiting the sale of firearms and ammunition in the city.

On Sunday, August 6, 1967, 400 Negroes attended a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People meeting where they listened to a talk by Chester I. Lewis, an official of the organization. Lewis voiced his opposition to the curfew which had been established in the city. He also announced that the Negro community in Wichita would attempt to establish a local cooperative grocery store, a credit union, and a consumer protection committee to expose the sale of inferior products to Negroes. The meeting was orderly and broke up without incident.

At about 2:45 this morning two police vehicles collided in the area where the disturbances had occurred in Wichita. The collision took place after a .22 caliber bullet struck one of the vehicles. The individual who fired the shot has not been identified.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which was the scene of disturbances last week which included looting, fire bombing,

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and sniping, appeared to be returning to normal during the past weekend according to the Milwaukee Police Department. On Saturday, August 5, 1967, the Mayor announced that the state of emergency appeared to be subsiding and taverns and liquor outlets were permitted to reopen. Restrictions on the sale of gasoline and firearms remained in effect, however. At 3:30 this morning Chief of Police Harold Breier advised that no acts of civil disorder had occurred during the past 24-hour period. He said the entire area of the disturbance was quiet. National Guard units were withdrawn from Milwaukee at 9 a.m. on August 6, 1967; however, a company of military police remained at the Whitefish Bay Armory to assist, if needed, during the funeral of Clifford McKissick, the Negro fire bomber who was killed by police and whose funeral is scheduled for today.

✓ Father James Groppi, Assistant Pastor of the St. Boniface Church and Director of the Milwaukee Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, led 100 individuals on a march to police headquarters late yesterday afternoon where he demanded the suspension of the police officer who allegedly killed McKissick. Following Father Groppi's talk the crowd dispersed without incident.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN

Detective David Brewer of the Beloit, Wisconsin, Police Department advised that three fire bombings took place during the early morning hours of August 5, 1967. The first target of the fire bombings was a private club known as the "Pop House." The other two establishments damaged by fires were a root beer stand and a tavern. The root beer stand was extensively damaged. Police reported that carloads of Negro youths were seen driving through the area just prior to the fire bombings. No arrests have been made.

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DISTURBANCES IN OTHER CITIES

During the past weekend crowds of Negroes gathered in several cities and threw rocks and bottles at passing motor vehicles and business establishments and committed other acts of vandalism. Molotov cocktails were also used by the Negro youths in some of the cities. Among the cities where these incidents occurred were Hartford, Connecticut; Wilmington, Delaware; Terre Haute, Indiana; Wyandanch, New York; and Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

RUMORS OF VIOLENCE

Rumors of racial violence continued to circulate in several communities including Corcoran, Hanford, Lemoore, Los Angeles, Palm Springs, Tulare, and Visalia, California; Waukegan, Illinois; Allentown, Pennsylvania; and Fort Worth, Texas.



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MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Chief of Police Harold Breier, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, advised early this morning that no major incident occurred in the disturbance area during the last 24 hours. He stated there were no reports of looting, fire bombing or sniping. Approximately 140 additional arrests were made yesterday and early this morning; however, most of those were for curfew violations. Eight hundred eight persons have been arrested since the disturbance started. Yesterday the number of fire alarms answered by the fire department was normal. Mayor Henry W. Maier announced the curfew will be relaxed and will not go into effect until midnight tonight. He advised that the restrictions on the sale of liquor and firearms will remain in effect. Approximately 750 National Guardsmen have been released and the size of the area being patrolled by National Guardsmen and police officers has been reduced.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Sources of this Bureau in Chicago, Illinois, advised yesterday Chicago appears calm although some tension exists in the area where a white store owner allegedly shot and killed a Negro on August 1, 1967. Efforts on the part of some community leaders reportedly have convinced would-be rioters of the futility of violence. These sources are of the opinion that if violence does come in Chicago it will be in the Third and Eleventh Police Precincts, and some unforeseen incident could trigger the violence. They advised there is less racial tension today than there was ten days ago.

Seven Negro youths were arrested yesterday in Chicago in possession of 15 Molotov cocktails.

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Jesse Jackson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and director of its economic program called "Operation Breadbasket" announced yesterday he had requested Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley and Illinois Governor Otto Kerner to declare parts of Chicago emergency disaster areas in order to prevent riots. Jackson, in addition, stated he requested the Mayor and Governor to handle the problems of unemployment, move against slum building operators, improve recreational facilities in Negro communities, and meet with industrialists and businessmen regarding unemployment.

PEORIA, ILLINOIS, AND PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

Sources of this Bureau have advised there are persistent rumors of additional disturbances in Peoria, Illinois, especially during the coming weekend. A police official advised early this morning that the disturbance area in Peoria was quiet last night. He advised there were no racial incidents.

In Providence, Rhode Island, police officials advised this morning the troubled area in that city was quiet during the night. They reported one isolated incident of a rock thrown at a police squad car. No arrests were made.

WICHITA, KANSAS

In Wichita, Kansas, Vern Miller, Sheriff of Sedgwick County, was talking to a group of young persons, most of whom were Negroes, at about 1 a.m. today, when a late model Chevrolet occupied by white youths drove by them. Immediately after this vehicle passed the group a shot was fired and one of the Negro youths in the group was slightly wounded when struck by a shotgun pellet. Sheriff Miller gave chase and fired several

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

shots at the fleeing vehicle but the white youths escaped. Subsequently, a group of white youths got into a fight with a group of Negroes on Douglas Avenue in downtown Wichita. Police arrived on the scene and arrested one 18-year-old Negro on charges of assault and battery.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

In Birmingham, Alabama, where a Molotov cocktail was thrown through a window of a restaurant on August 1, 1967, police officers yesterday recovered 13 Molotov cocktails hidden under an abandoned stairway in the New Home Hotel. This is the residence of Earnest Todd who was arrested on August 2, 1967, along with three other Negroes and charged with arson. The Molotov cocktails were allegedly identical to one found outside of the restaurant on August 1, 1967, which did not ignite.

BROWARD COUNTY, FLORIDA

Approximately 25 Negroes threw rocks at a truck belonging to the United States Post Office in Broward County, Florida, last night. The windshield of the truck was broken and a door was dented. Damage was estimated to be about \$75. The driver was not injured. The Negroes dispersed before police officers arrived and no arrests were made.

WYANDANCH, NEW YORK

In Wyandanch, New York, seven Negroes were arrested last night for throwing rocks and bottles at passing vehicles. They are being charged with inciting to riot.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Mayor James H. Tate yesterday requested the City Council to give him full emergency powers in order to combat riots. Among the emergency powers he requested are authority to limit the number of persons that can congregate; halt traffic on public highways; suspend operations at municipal airports; halt the movement of trains; institute a curfew; and prohibit the sale of firearms, liquor, and gasoline.

RUMORS OF VIOLENCE

Rumors of violence continued in several localities throughout the Nation including Antioch, Illinois; Englewood, New Jersey; Allentown, Pennsylvania; Houston, Texas; Seattle, Washington; and Asbury Park, New Jersey.



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 3, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Chief of Police Harold Breier, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, advised early this morning that the disturbance area in that city was relatively quiet last night. He stated the 7 p.m. to 5:30 a.m. curfew was in effect again last night.

Four Negroes were observed by police officers attempting to throw a fire bomb into a paint store during the night. When they refused to obey police orders to stop, police officers fired at them fatally wounding one 18-year-old Negro. The remaining three were arrested. Prior to the 7 p.m. curfew police officers received a report of one looting and one broken window. The main activity of police officers and National Guardsmen during the night was dispersing small groups who were violating the curfew. The Milwaukee Fire Department received 25 fire calls after 4 p.m. yesterday. All of the fires were minor with the exception of those in two abandoned houses and one duplex. Firemen were not harassed at the scenes of the fires.

One thousand five hundred fifty-three National Guardsmen assisted 750 police officers in patrolling the troubled area. Approximately 3,500 additional National Guardsmen were on standby at a nearby armory. The total number of arrests as of early this morning was 705, most of which were for curfew violations. Four persons have died since the disorder began, three of them as a result of gunshot wounds. One of these was a police officer. One Negro woman died of a heart attack attributed to the riotous situation. Twelve police officers have been injured, six of them by gunfire, but no firemen have been reported injured. Approximately 75 other persons have been injured.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

In Chicago, Illinois, where a white store owner allegedly shot and killed a Negro on August 1, 1967, the area in the vicinity of the shooting remains tense. Leaders of youth groups in the area are attempting to "cool off hotheads" in an effort to avoid additional violence. The store has been closed for an indefinite period in order to lessen tension. Extra police patrols have also been assigned to the area in an attempt to prevent violence. Sources of this Bureau continue to advise that the racial situation in Chicago remains tense but the potential for violence appears to be diminishing. They advise, however, that some unforeseen incident could trigger violence.

PEORIA, ILLINOIS

At least five fires were reported in Peoria, Illinois, last night in the vicinity of Taft Homes which is a low-cost housing project. Thrown Molotov cocktails were suspected of starting at least two of the fires, one of which was at the Rock Island Freight Yard Station. While firemen were extinguishing the fire at the freight yard station a crowd of about 200 persons, most of whom were Negroes, shouted obscenities at police officers in the area. The police then isolated the area which further irritated the group. Three Negroes were arrested. No firemen or policemen were injured. Subsequently, a fire broke out at a grocery store which was also attributed to a thrown Molotov cocktail. Snipers fired at police officers and firemen at this fire; however, no one was injured.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

In Providence, Rhode Island, where a disturbance erupted on July 31, 1967, a 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew was instituted yesterday. Mayor Joseph Doorley announced that during the curfew no firearms or alcoholic beverages can be sold and gasoline must

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

be pumped directly into vehicles and not into portable containers. No more than six persons will be allowed to congregate. Last night the disturbance area was relatively quiet. A fire bomb was thrown into a business establishment; however, it caused only minor damage.

WYANDANCH, NEW YORK

In Wyandanch, New York, there were several scattered incidents of fire bombing and rock throwing. Small groups of young Negroes roamed the area throwing rocks at windows of vehicles and business establishments and setting fires. Nine fires were set, most of these were in vehicles. The windows of two police cars were broken. There were no injuries and no arrests were made.

OTHER DISTURBANCES

In Wilmington, Delaware, a Molotov cocktail was believed to have started a fire at a grocery store. The fire which caused little damage was quickly extinguished.

In Cambridge, Maryland, James D. Fletcher, a 43-year-old Negro, and three Negro juveniles were arrested yesterday and charged with arson. Fletcher was charged with setting fire to a white-owned store in Cambridge on July 23, 1967. The Negro youths were charged with setting fire to the Pine Street Elementary School in Cambridge on July 24, 1967.

A crowd of about 200 Negroes gathered in the area where police officers were making an arrest for a "numbers violation" yesterday in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Negroes threw bottles at the officers and their squad car. Several Negroes tried to pull the police officers out of their vehicle. Two Negroes were arrested and the remainder of the crowd dispersed.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

In Sandusky, Ohio, two fire bombs were thrown in separate shopping centers last night. They caused little damage. Police officials advised the incidents followed the fire bombing of a Negro home and the vandalism of several other Negro homes in Sandusky last Monday morning by a 33-year-old white man and three white teen-agers. Sources of this Bureau have advised that there is racial tension in Sandusky.

RUMORS OF VIOLENCE

A source of this Bureau, who has not furnished sufficient information to establish his reliability, has advised he attended a "social" several months ago during which a possible riot in Little Rock, Arkansas, was discussed. The riot reportedly is to occur sometime during the month of September. The source alleged trucks filled with gasoline will be set on fire in order to start the riot.

Rumors of racial violence continue in several localities throughout the Nation including Richmond, California; Tampa, Florida; Savannah, Georgia; the Illinois State Fair at Springfield, Illinois; the Manhattan and Harlem areas of New York City; and San Antonio, Texas.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

August 2, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Violence erupted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on the night of July 30, 1967, and continued on July 31, 1967. Officials of the Milwaukee Police Department advised early this morning that there was less activity in the disturbance area last night than on the two previous nights. They stated there were very few reports of looting and fire calls were at a minimum. They advised, however, sniper fire was heavier last night than the two previous nights. There was sniper fire in the vicinity of the police command post which is set up in the center of the disturbance area; however, there were no reports of sniper fire directed at the command post.

Police officials have advised a white person who was arrested as a sniper suspect has been released for lack of evidence. The Milwaukee City Hall was evacuated for a short time yesterday when an anonymous call was received that a bomb was in the building. Police officers searched the building but no bomb was located. Approximately 1,200 of the 4,000 members of the Wisconsin National Guard on standby are patrolling the troubled area assisting about 750 Milwaukee police officers. Last night a crowd of 300 persons congregated in the troubled area but were quickly dispersed without difficulty.

Police officials advised early today that 318 persons were arrested during the past 24 hours bringing the total of arrests to 539. Most of these arrests were for curfew violations. They stated no injuries have been reported during the past 24

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

hours. The curfew yesterday began at 7 p.m. and was lifted at 5:30 a.m. today. It will be reinstituted tonight. The sale of liquor and firearms is still prohibited and gasoline may be pumped only into vehicles.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

In Chicago, Illinois, sources of this Bureau have advised there are persistent rumors that Negro youths may attempt to create disturbances. According to these sources, tension and unrest continue in the Negro sections of that city. Police officials have advised, however, the number of rumors has decreased during the past couple of days.

Yesterday afternoon Nicholas Nikolaou, the white owner of Big Jim's Liquor and Food Store in Chicago, allegedly shot and killed Julius Woods, a Negro, following an argument. Woods reportedly was the father of a member of the "Blackstone Rangers," a Negro youth gang in Chicago. The argument allegedly started because Nikolaou had confiscated a bicycle belonging to a young son of Woods after the bicycle fell into the plate-glass window of Nikolaou's store. Nikolaou has been arrested and charged with murder.

This incident caused a considerable amount of tension in the area and there were numerous rumors that some retaliatory action would be taken against Nikolaou's store during the night. Subsequently, a crowd of about 250 persons gathered in the area of the store and when 37 of them refused police orders to disperse they were arrested. Several windows of business establishments in the area were broken. A fire bomb was thrown on the roof of Nikolaou's store last night but it was quickly extinguished and no serious damage was done.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

In Detroit, Michigan, where violence erupted last week, tension was increased after two Detroit police officers were arrested in connection with the fatal shooting of three Negro youths at the Algiers Motel on July 26, 1967. Police officials advised early this morning that the riot area was quiet yesterday.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

In Providence, Rhode Island, where a disturbance erupted on July 31, 1967, in the vicinity of the Willard Avenue Shopping Center, another disturbance occurred late last night. Police officials advised there were sporadic reports of sniper fire. Police officers returned the fire in several instances. There were no reports of any snipers or police officers being injured as a result of gunfire. A 15-year-old boy suffered a bullet wound in the stomach and an 18-year-old boy received a bullet wound in the foot. Another individual reportedly was also shot. Negro youths also threw stones at police officers and six officers were injured as a result of this action. There were no reports of looting or burning; however, several false fire alarms were turned in. Fifty-seven persons were arrested during the night. One hundred members of the Rhode Island State Police assisted Providence police officers. The Rhode Island National Guard was alerted but was not used.

OTHER DISTURBANCES

In Birmingham, Alabama, small groups of young Negroes shouted at passing motorists. A Molotov cocktail was thrown through the window of a restaurant but caused little damage.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

In Elgin, Illinois, a bottle containing inflammable liquid was thrown into a lumberyard; however, little damage was done. Several windows of business establishments were broken but there were no reports of looting.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, police officers arrested three of fifteen individuals who had broken into a grocery store. An investigation is underway to identify the remaining 12 persons.

In Vallejo, California, unruly Negro youths threw rocks at passing vehicles. A police squad car was damaged by gunfire; however, no one was injured and no arrests were made.

In Wyandanch, New York, approximately 50 unruly Negroes threw Molotov cocktails at two business establishments, one school, and one abandoned building. The business establishments were not damaged; however, it was estimated \$20,000 damage was done to the school and the abandoned building was destroyed. No looting occurred. One police officer was slightly injured when struck by a thrown object and one arrest was made.

RUMORS OF VIOLENCE

Rumors of racial violence continue in several cities throughout the Nation. Some of these cities where rumors were prevalent yesterday are San Diego, California; West Palm Beach, Florida; Des Moines, Iowa; Albany, New York; Brooklyn, New York; and Minneapolis, Minnesota.



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 1, 1967

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS
AND DISTURBANCES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

A disturbance broke out in Washington, D. C., early this morning following a two-alarm fire in a furniture store in the 1300 block of Seventh Street, Northwest. The fire started at about 11:30 last night and a crowd gathered to observe firemen fight the blaze. As police were attempting to disperse the crowd, several bottles were thrown at the officers. Groups of Negroes roamed from the scene of the fire to 14th Street, Northwest. The crowd divided into groups which roved up both sides of 14th Street breaking store windows and committing other acts of vandalism. The Negro groups refused to obey police commands and disperse. Sixteen adults and nine juveniles were arrested and charged with destruction of property. The arrests appeared to break the spirit of the crowd and they were dispersed at about 4 a.m. today. In addition, four adults and two juveniles were arrested in the area where the fire occurred.

During the disturbance a liquor store was broken into and several bottles of liquor were stolen by several teen-age boys. A fire damaged the Safeway store at 1200 Sixth Street, Northwest. There was no looting. No injuries were reported during this morning's disturbance.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the violence that erupted on the night of July 30, 1967, continued through yesterday and last night. Several reports were received yesterday by the Milwaukee Police Department indicating that snipers were firing from different locations in the disturbance area. Looting of small stores by juveniles continued through the day and spread to an area adjacent to what police referred to as the inner core of the disturbance area.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

Police advised the officer found dead yesterday died from gunshot wounds. The assailant has been arrested and reportedly admitted firing the fatal shot. A Negro youth who was fleeing after participating in the looting of a store was shot and wounded by a police officer yesterday. Police described last night's activity as "hit and miss" looting by young Negroes. He said the groups of Negroes last night were small which helped them avoid contact with the police. The police spokesman said that defiance of police which existed on the night of July 30, 1967, was not present during the second day of violence.

The Wisconsin National Guard continues to police the inner perimeter of the disturbance area with 900 men being used. Police used Brink's, Incorporated, armored trucks to reach the immediate area from which sniper fire was originating on some occasions.

The total arrests early this morning totaled 288 persons.

PORTLAND, OREGON

Violence broke out in Portland, Oregon, following a meeting attended by Negroes during the evening of July 30, 1967. Last night minor incidents of rock throwing and vandalism again took place. One fire of undetermined origin occurred in the area where the violence had occurred the previous evening.

Portland police authorities stated the principal source of trouble stemmed from acts of vandalism committed by not more than 100 Negro teen-agers. A police spokesman stated that the largest crowd assembled last night consisted of about 50 youths. This crowd dispersed with the arrest of 14 juveniles. Police reported that by 1:30 this morning the area of the disturbance was quiet.

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

A disturbance initiated by a teen-age Negro who threw a bottle at a Providence, Rhode Island, police car took place last night. The disturbance started at about 10:30 p.m. in the Willard Avenue Shopping Center when roving bands of teen-age Negroes broke windows and threw bottles and stones at police officers. A police spokesman stated that no more than 100 youths were involved.

The disturbance was confined to south Providence which is a predominantly Negro section of the city. One police officer was injured when he was hit in the face by a brick thrown through a window of his police vehicle. One white man was beaten by several Negroes and another white man was stabbed by two Negroes. No arrests were made by police and the area had returned to normal by 3:30 this morning. Police are maintaining extra patrols in the area to avoid another outbreak of violence.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Detroit, Michigan, which has been the scene of disorders which began on July 23, 1967, appeared, according to police officials, to be returning to normal. One police official stated yesterday that he believes the riot is over and anticipated no further incidents of sniping, burning, or looting.

Michigan Governor George Romney has changed the curfew to include the hours between midnight and 5:30 a.m. Liquor stores and bars have been permitted to reopen during the noncurfew hours.

A police official stated that beginning at midnight July 31, 1967, the Detroit Police Department had returned to regular eight-hour shifts; however, no furloughs or days of

SELECTED RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DISTURBANCES

leave were being granted. No lootings, fires, or sniper activity has been reported during the past 24 hours. He said that Federal troops have been withdrawn from the disturbance area; however, 1,500 men of the 82nd Airborne Division remain at the Selfridge Air Force Base and 3,200 men are at the Michigan State Fair Grounds. None of these men are presently being used in connection with the policing of the disturbance area.

OTHER DISTURBANCES

Disturbances characterized by rock and bottle throwing and several incidents involving the throwing of Molotov cocktails were reported in other cities last night and early this morning. In each of these cities police quickly brought the disturbance under control. Among the cities where the disturbances took place were Elgin, Illinois; Urbana, Ohio; Denver, Colorado; West Palm Beach, Florida; and Philadelphia and Erie, Pennsylvania.

RUMORS OF VIOLENCE

Rumors of racial violence continue to plague police departments throughout the Nation. Some of the cities where these rumors were prevalent yesterday were Savannah, Georgia; Idaho Falls, Idaho; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Boston, Massachusetts; South Bend, Indiana; and Chicago, Illinois.

In Chicago, Illinois, sources in a position to know the racial situation are divided in their opinions concerning racial tension in the city. Some are of the opinion that the crisis in Chicago is over while others feel that the outbreak of violence in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has added fuel to the potential for violence in Chicago.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

May 31, 1967

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS
RACIAL MATTERS

The sources utilized in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

Source one advised on May 28, 1967, that the above conference took place at Jefferson High School, 41st Street and Hooper Avenue, Los Angeles, as planned between May 26, and 28, 1967. He advised all Caucasians and newsmen were barred from the conference; and after each break, those present were asked to leave the auditorium before the next session. All persons in attendance were checked carefully through one entrance individually by a group wearing either red jackets, "Malcolm X" sweatshirts, or Black Panther buttons.

Source stated these individuals, all young Negroes unknown to him, constantly patrolled the aisles, watching for anyone taking notes or using recorders, which were barred from the meeting.

On May 26, 1967, the Los Angeles Police Department advised an anonymous call was received at 7:45 p.m., the caller stating there were two bombs in Jefferson High School, one in the cafeteria and one in the auditorium. The Los Angeles Police Department advised four security officers from the Los Angeles Board of Education searched the building, but no bombs were located.

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ/RAC 10-35
By *in*, NARA, Date *10-18-10*

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

On May 26, 1967, SA Milton Willhite, U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, was advised of the bomb threat at 8:24 p.m., and William Maness, Duty Officer, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, Pasadena, was advised at 8:37 p.m., both by SA Allan D. Bray of the FBI.

At 8:30 p.m. on May 26, 1967, Ron Karenga, leader of the black nationalist organization "US", advised a Special Agent of the FBI that Robert Williams, self-styled black nationalist; Michael Lasky, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist; and Eston William Simmons, follower of Lasky, were picketing the California Black Conference at that time. Karenga stated these individuals had stated to unknown sources that they were planning to "do away with" Stokely Carmichael, Julian Bond, Floyd Mc Kissick, National Director of the Congress of racial equality, and Karenga.

Source one also advised Lasky's group was comprised of 20 to 25 young Negroes who picketed the conference from 6:30 p.m. until at least 8:00 p.m. on May 26, 1967. A local newspaper publicized Lasky's group as being "about 40 Caucasians." No violence resulted from this picketing.

At the conference on May 26, 1967, which started about 9:00 p.m., source one advised State Senator Mervyn Dymally was the Master of Ceremonies and introduced Stokely Carmichael, who gave the keynote speech. Source described Carmichael's speech as quiet and calm. Carmichael stated he usually talked loudly to awaken people but those present were already awake. His speech dealt with "how to organize for revolution," and Carmichael stated they were present for that purpose. Carmichael stated they needed two organizations--a political structure, which was legal on paper, to conform with the law, then an underground structure of guerrillas, with each organization doing work with due respect for the others. He outlined their organization as follows:

1. Take control of the educational system in Negro communities, by becoming active in the PTA and influencing instructors. They were also to demand that languages of

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

the "oppressed people" be taught, such as African, Chinese, and Asiatic languages. Also try to have all black teachers in their schools.

2. Housing. The Negro will not be able to solve his housing problem until he owns the land on which the housing stands. He stated there was no need to talk of land reform, "we talk revolution because that's the way it is."

3. Business in Negro communities. Businessmen must support the Negro communities by furnishing jobs to Negroes, by paying a certain percentage of profit back to the community, or by supporting Negro protest organizations. If not, the business would be boycotted, the boycott enforced by those at this conference if necessary.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of May 28, 1967, I-7, was an article reporting on the above conference on May 27, 1967. State Senator Mervyn Dymally gave a speech calling for the establishment of a black political bloc. He urged students, Negroes, and Mexican-Americans to join ranks, which could tip the balance of the two-party system. He announced tentatively plans to convene a state-wide conference within the next two weeks to consider what should be done. The article further reported speeches by Georgian Legislator Julian Bond, Reverend James Bevel, a former aide to Martin Luther King, and Dr. Herman Blake, Assistant Professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Reverend Bevel called upon Negroes to join a movement of people willing to go to jail to "awaken President Johnson to anti-war sentiment." Dr. Blake spoke on the importance of the Negroes' possession of "core city turf" pointing out that Negroes must control the central city governments. He advised Negroes to take advantage of their growing population in northern urban areas, to gain control.

The conference broke for dinner at 6:00 p.m. and reconvened at 9:00 p.m.

Source one stated the first speech on the evening of May 27, 1967, was by an unnamed United Nations representative, he believed from Kenya, Africa. (The "Los Angeles Times" of May 29, 1967, I-12, contained an article identifying

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

the speaker as Nabrwera, Kenya Ambassador to the U.N.) He urged the conference not to listen to mass media who called "your leaders irresponsible," as the leaders were trying to help them. Source stated Nabrwera avoided comments on U. S. problems such as the Vietnam war and the draft, and urged that they submit their problems to the U.N. for solution before taking other action. He urged the linking of black movements around the world. He also indicated he had spent five to six hours conferring with other African U.N. delegates before coming to Los Angeles. He stated nothing short of war would solve the problems in South Africa and hoped this would not have to happen in the U. S.

Source one advised the next speaker was one Reverend Ross, a Los Angeles minister, not otherwise identified, who gave a speech concerning the shooting of a burglary suspect by the Los Angeles Police Department. The suspect was shot in early May, 1967, and Ross complained there was no press coverage of the incident. The man, who was allegedly shot three times in the back and once in the chest, turned out to be the wrong man and the father of 14 children. Reverend Ross announced there would be a march on Tuesday, May 30, 1967, from 320 East 85th Street to the 77th Street Division, Los Angeles Police Department. He indicated he neither wanted nor expected violence but stated they would not "take this lying down." The Los Angeles Police Department is fully cognizant of this proposed march.

Source one advised the panel discussions to be held on Saturday were cancelled due to the conference being behind schedule.

On May 28, 1967, source one advised he attended the above conference on that date. Comedian Dick Gregory was the Chairman of the Sunday session. Gregory praised the guards at the meeting and suggested that anyone who wanted their conference to go off without trouble should contact "Brother Ron" (Karenga) at his office for guards.

Source one advised that Ron Karenga spoke, urging a coalition of all groups, suggesting the Negroes use people from the extreme left to the extreme right for their own ends, playing one group off against the other.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

The next speaker was H. Rap Brown, new head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who spoke against the war in Vietnam. He stated, as had others, that he wanted to choose his own enemies; and if he had his choice, the first would be "Lynchin B. Johnson" and the next would be Ronald Reagan. Brown was soft-spoken in distinction to other speakers. He stated the Negro was not ready for revolution, that they must first become educated enough to read a map. They must change the education system and this could take years or at least another generation. He urged the formation of a third party, a Black Panther political party.

Floyd Mc Kissick (above) also spoke on the necessity for a third party, urging it be a Black Panther party.

The "Los Angeles Times" of May 30, 1967, I-3, reported Hughie Newton, Chief of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California, warned that Negroes must be ready for anything including arming for self-defense. The article also reported that Tommy Jacquette, Los Angeles "black nationalist," agreed with Newton, stating the only way they could stop the police or anyone else from "brutalizing us in our own communities is to meet force with force in the dark of night on an individual basis."

Source one advised approximately 800 to 850 Negroes were in attendance throughout most of the conference. He stated over 50 per cent of those present were young Negroes with "natural" hair styles and beards or whiskers. He stated there was a disturbing tone of revolution in all speeches excepting that of the U.N. representative. Most of them spoke of using illegal activity as a tactic if necessary.

On May 25, 1967, source two, a Negro well acquainted in the Negro community, advised it appeared the "black nationalists" were in charge of the above conference. He believed that Ron Karenga (above) and John Shabazz, of the Nation of Islam (see appendix) were the main persons influential in the conference. Source two further advised he believed a majority of the Negroes in Los Angeles support the "Black Power" concept at least secretly.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

On May 31, 1967, source three, a high official of the Los Angeles Police Department, advised there were no resolutions passed at the conference and no new organizations formed by the conference. It was the opinion of source three that the conference left the Negro communities more divided than ever.

Source one furnished a copy of the agenda for the conference which is attached. An FBI employee furnished a flier advertising the conference, which was distributed on the campus at Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles, on May 25, 1967. A copy of the flier is attached.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles; U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles; Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, U. S. Army, Pasadena; Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; and Naval Investigative Service, San Diego.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ADDENDUM:

Due to the security of this conference, Carmichael's address on 5/26/67 was not recorded by any sources or news media.

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(CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE)

BLACK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: A re-examination of the classic role and relationship of Black Leadership to the White Power Structure. The implications of Black Leadership upon local and state issues which affect the Black community, i.e., re-apportionment, State Welfare Program, etc.

Speaker: HON. BILL GREENE
California State Assembly
Speaker: HON. RONALD DEL JANS
City of Berkeley Council

NATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES: A presentation of national legislative issues which have wide ramifications for Black People: The Anti-poverty Program, the cry for a new constitutional convention, the McLaren Act - general security, etc.

Speaker: HON. JULIAN BOND
Georgia State Legislature
Speaker: DR. CHARLES HAMILTON
Professor of Political Science
Lincoln University, Pa

Location: Gymnasium

AFRICA: AN INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE: A discussion of the similarities of Black communities in the world and the importance of colonialism. An evaluation of the international alliances with African nations and the inherent ramifications for Black communities in America.

Speaker: His Excellency,
AMBASSADOR NABIRWERA
Ambassador to the United Nations
From Kenya, Africa
Location: Main Auditorium

BLACK ARTS: THE REVOLUTIONARY THEATRE: The Revolutionary Theatre as presented through narration and dramatization. Plays produced and directed by LeRoi Jones.

Speaker: LeROI JONES
Playwright-Visiting Professor
San Francisco State College
Location: Main Auditorium

BLACK IDENTITY: A discussion of the psychological, sociological and psychiatric aspects of emerging Black identity in layman's terms.

Speaker: DR. PRICE COHNS, M.D.
Practicing Psychiatrist
San Francisco,
Location: Main Auditorium
Speaker: DR. JOE WHITE
Clinical Psychologist
Los Angeles,
Program Coordinator: JOHN SHARAZZ
Location: Main Auditorium

SELF DEFENSE FOR SURVIVAL: A discussion of the elements of self defense for protection of Black communities.

Speaker: BOBBY GEORGE SEALE
Black Panther Party for Self Defense
Speaker: TOMMY JACQUEITE
Location: Main Auditorium

**BLACK RESPONSIBILITY -
A MASS MEETING**

Moderator and Reactor
DICK GREGORY

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Speaker: RON KARENGA
Founder and Chairman of US

THE ROLE OF CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS: "Unthinkable thoughts" about the role of civil rights organizations for the survival of the Black communities of America. Evaluate the right wing shift phenomena and its historical implications. AUSCHWITZ,

BUCHENWALD, DRESDEN, TULE LAKE, NAGASAKI,

HIROSHIMA, SHARPESVILLE, WATTS, HARLEM,

SOUTHSIDE, HUNTER'S POINT, HOW MANY MORE?

WHEN? ARE WE READY? SURVIVAL!!!

Speaker: IL. RAP BROWN
National Chairman of SNCC

Speaker: FLOYD McKISSICK
National Director of CORE

Location: Main Auditorium

SURVIVAL OF BLACK PEOPLE

CALIFORNIA black conference

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
HON. MERVYN DYMALLY
CALIFORNIA STATE SENATOR

CO CHAIRMEN

NORTHERN	SOUTHERN
HON. WILLIE BROWN, JR. STATE ASSEMBLYMAN CLINTON WHITE, Esq.	HON. BILL GREENE STATE ASSEMBLYMAN CLARENCE IRVIN

STATE-WIDE COORDINATOR
WILFRED T. USSERY
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF CORE
ERNEST HOWARD TED CURTIS

PROGRAM SCHEDULE



FRIDAY

- 5:00 - 8:00 P.M. REGISTRATION
COORDINATORS:
Victoria Durant
Frances Hollis
- 8:00 - 8:30 P.M. WELCOME & INTRODUCTIONS
PRESIDING OFFICER
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
KEYNOTE SPEAKER
- 9:30 - 10:30 P.M. KEYNOTE SPEAKER'S ADDRESS
"THE FUTURE OF BLACK POWER"
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Former
Chairman of SNCC
- 10:30 - until NO HOST COCKTAIL PARTY
LOCATION TO BE ANNOUNCED

SATURDAY

- 8:00 - 9:00 A.M. REGISTRATION
COORDINATORS
Victoria Durant
Frances Hollis
- 9:00 - 10:00 A.M. THREE MAJOR PRESENTATIONS
A. URBAN PROBLEMS
B. EDUCATION
C. EMPLOYMENT
- 10:00 - 10:30 A.M. QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR
- 10:30 - 12:00 NOON LUNCH
CAFETERIA AND DINING HALL
- 10:30 - 12:00 NOON GROUP DISCUSSIONS
- 12:00 - 1:00 P.M. LUNCH
CAFETERIA AND DINING HALL
- 1:00 - 2:00 P.M. MAJOR PRESENTATION:
VIETNAM - THE BLACK ISSUE
MAIN AUDITORIUM
- 2:00 - 3:00 P.M. GROUP DISCUSSION
COFFEE SERVED
- 3:00 - 5:00 P.M. THREE MAJOR PRESENTATIONS
A. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

- 6:00 - 7:30 P.M. DINNER
- 8:00 - 9:00 P.M. MAJOR PRESENTATION-
AFRICA: AN INTERNATIONAL
ALLIANCE
- 9:00 - 10:00 P.M. GROUP DISCUSSION
- 10:00 - 2:00 A.M. MAJOR PRESENTATION-
BLACK ARTS: THE REVOLUTIONARY
THEATRE

SUNDAY

- 10:00 - 10:20 A.M. BRUNCH
CAFETERIA AND DINING HALL
- 10:30 - 12:00 NOON MAJOR PRESENTATION-
BLACK IDENTITY
- 12:00 - 1:30 P.M. SELF DEFENCE FOR SURVIVAL
- 2:00 - 6:00 P.M. MAJOR PRESENTATION:
BLACK RESPONSIBILITY
A MASS MEETING
- 2:00 - 3:00 P.M. THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION
- 3:00 - 6:00 P.M. THE ROLE OF CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS
- 6:00 - 6:30 P.M. CLOSING REMARKS
HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF CONFERENCE '67
INTRODUCTION OF CONFERENCE COMMITTEE:

MAJOR PRESENTATIONS

THE FUTURE OF BLACK POWER, keynote speaker's address by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC

URBAN PROBLEMS: A discussion of Urban Colonialism in an attempt to evaluate the importance of Black possession of the Core City "turf." An examination of regional government and its implications for Core City.

Speaker: HERMAN BLAKE
Assistant Professor, U.C., Santa Cruz,
LIVINGSTON WINGATE
National Director,
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty

EDUCATION: A serious evaluation of education goals for Black people: i.e. Integrated versus Quality Education

"EDUCATION AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY"

Speaker: DR. STATEN WEBSTER
Associate Professor
University of California, Berkeley

"INTERDISCIPLINARY BLACK STUDIES"

Speaker: ROY INNIS,
Chairman, New York Harlem CORE
Northeast Regional Representative,
Fellow, Metropolitan Applied Resear

Program Coordinator: JIMMY GARRETT,
President, Black Students Union,
San Francisco State College

EMPLOYMENT: Analyses of the practices and a of business and labor with respect to the inter Black workers. A discussion of the effects of nat and technological change oupon Black workers in ing job market

Speaker: WILLIAM B. WOODSON, Ph.D.
Institute of Industrial Relations, U.C.,

VIETNAM- THE BLACK ISSUE: A discussion of I Nam conflict and its full implications for the sur Black People. An examination of the manifest: racial genocide.

Speaker: REV. JAMES BEVELS
National Director,
Spring Mobilization Committee

Program Coordinntor: Mrs Ruth Hagwood

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: Evaluation of party system and its liabilities for the Black Com The viability of a "voting block" or the "thin force" in establishing effective involvement. I ments of financial support of Black candidates b communities. Finally, an examination of politici ment and condition.

Speaker: HON. MERVYN DYMALLY
California State Senator

Speaker: HON. WILLIE BROWN JR.
California State Assembly

Program Coordinator: JOHN FLOYD
Black Panther Party

CONFERENCE '67

"survival"

CONFIDENTIAL

STOKELEY
CARMICHAEL



FLOYD
McKISSICK



Rev. JAMES
BEVEL



RON
KARENGA



DICK
GREGORY



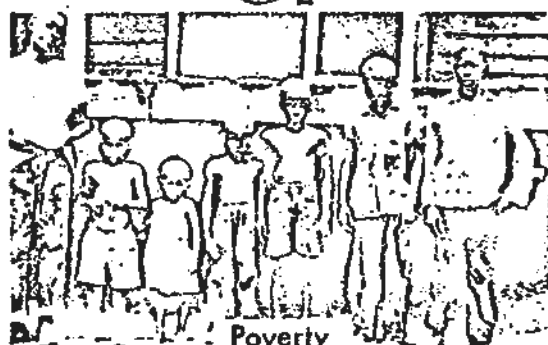
JULIAN
BOND



LeROI
JONES



JOHN
SHABAZZ



BLACK



PEOPLE

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 8:00 P.M.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 9:00 A.M. — 7:00 P.M.

SUNDAY, MAY 28, 11:00 A.M. — 6:00 P.M.

JEFFERSON HI SCHOOL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIXCOMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of MIKE LASKY. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under LASKY's leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 12, 1966, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX

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1

APPENDIX
NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised that Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised that, Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised that Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

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2

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised that Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

17

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



SUBJECT: RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN
THE UNITED STATES THIS SUMMER

DATE: May 23, 1967

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NIJ/RAC 10-35
By *id*, NARA, Date *10-18-10*

Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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PREFACE

This document is, in essence, an intelligence survey of this summer's racial violence potential in the United States. Its contents were derived from public sources, public officials, police officers, knowledgeable observers, and FBI sources. This document should not, however, be regarded as a report based upon the results of any specific investigation conducted by the FBI.

OVERVIEW

Continuing Racial Tension

After three consecutive summers of racial turbulence in the United States, there were hopes that the social, economic, and political gains achieved by the Negro in recent years might be alleviating racial unrest and strife. Civil rights legislation, antipoverty programs, and better police-community relations have brought a measure of improvement in the status and treatment of Negroes, but discontent and frustration persist. Race relations have deteriorated in a number of cities throughout the country during the past year.

Seasonal Phenomenon

We are now in the midst of an era of protracted racial conflict that has produced a crisis in law enforcement. Along with the annual seasonal rise in summertime crime, it is painfully evident that racial turmoil has similarly become a summer phenomenon. The racial violence potential is especially high in hot weather in the Nation's urban areas because large numbers of Negroes, living under crowded, depressed conditions in ghettos, take to the streets to escape the heat and seek relaxation and recreation. The situation is compounded by the restiveness and alienation of large numbers of idle junior and senior high school students and other Negro youths. Because of the combustible temper of the times, an inconsequential incident can ignite a riotous situation in any city or town in the country.

Another Riotous Summer

The Spring of 1967 has already witnessed almost daily outbreaks of racial disorder somewhere in the country. All signs point toward recurrent racial convulsions throughout the country this summer--more than likely on an even wider scale than in previous years--marked by plundering, arson, destruction, and attacks on law enforcement officers. There is the added danger this year that the scenes of racial strife in large cities might spread from Negro

communities into white neighborhoods and that increased numbers of white people might resort to violence in an effort to counter Negro demonstrators or rioters. The threat of racial violence hangs heavy over every urban community in the land. In an atmosphere of ever-present tension, violence can strike anywhere at any time with all the unpredictability, rapidity, and destructiveness of a tornado.

Civil Rights Linked with Vietnam

Most of the riots and disturbances of the past three years have been spontaneous eruptions of mob violence, triggered by some trivial incident and fueled by teen-age Negro youths and various lawless and irresponsible ghetto elements. But incessant agitation and propaganda on the part of communists and other subversives and extremists have definitely contributed to Negro unrest and fomented violence. In particular, demagogues like Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick, Cassius Clay, and Dick Gregory have fanned the fires of racial discord and animosity. King has now joined Carmichael, McKissick, and other civil rights extremists in embracing the communist tactic of linking the civil rights movement with the anti-Vietnam-war protest movement, claiming that United States involvement in Vietnam is diverting attention from civil rights. King's exhortation to boycott the draft and refuse to fight could lead eventually to dangerous displays of civil disobedience and near-seditious activities by Negroes and whites alike. Thus, the antiwar campaign endorsed by King helps to promote communist aims and programs in the United States and abroad.

MORE RACIAL TROUBLE PREDICTED

Ominous Warnings

Each spring of the past few years has evoked prognostications from Negro spokesmen and public officials in cities with substantial Negro populations to the effect that the ensuing summer months would see outbursts of racial violence. This spring the prophecies have been more numerous and more ominous than ever, particularly those voiced by Negro leaders.

"The war in Vietnam has strengthened the forces of bigotry and reaction," declared Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). "It has caused many young people to become disenchanted with our society. The failure to solve the problems of our cities will only exacerbate the situation, and give the extremists on both sides a much more receptive audience. Polarization of the race question in the United States won't merely mean outbreaks of violence. It will mean outright race wars in some of our cities."

At least ten cities across the country were described by King as "powder kegs" which could explode into racial violence this summer. Among those cities he listed were New York City, Newark, Washington, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, and the Bay area of California, including Oakland.

Sporadic youth-led riots throughout the country must be expected this summer and every summer for the next decade, Bruce Coles, Program Director for the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, told the House Education Subcommittee. The continuing tumult, according to Coles, can be traced to a conflict between the promises of an affluent society and society's limited ability to spread that affluence around. Unable to get jobs and rise out of the slums, the youngsters--mostly teen-age Negro boys--simply "blame whitey and raise hell," he said.

Alienation and tension in some Negro neighborhoods "are reaching catastrophic proportions which can lead to unprecedented explosions in 1967," warned Edward Rutledge and Jack E. Wood, Executive Director and Associate Executive Director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, in an annual report. Rutledge and Wood, who forecast racial disorders in 1965 and 1966, drew their conclusions from a study conducted in 41 cities and 25 states during 1966.

Rutledge and Wood claimed they found a conviction among Negro youth that progress in civil rights will be achieved through social turmoil, and they repeatedly heard such comments in ghettos as "We need two and a half more riots to get out of here."

"Hardly any community in this country can call itself immune from trouble this summer," declared Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). McKissick placed Cleveland at the top of his list of trouble spots, along with most New Jersey cities. Other cities he enumerated were New York City; Washington; Detroit; Chicago; Gary, Indiana; St. Louis; East St. Louis, Illinois; Los Angeles; San Francisco; and Oakland.

A Negro sociologist at Howard University, Dr. Natban Hare, sees a "very real" possibility of a civil war between whites and Negroes in the United States. "It's going to be quite a while off yet--though not so far off as to be outside of our life span," he said. Dr. Hare, who describes himself as a "theorist" in the "black power" movement, is actively spreading its philosophy to Negro colleges across the country.

"Violence is the only way left to the black man to achieve his manhood in America," Ernest Chambers, a leader of young militants in Omaha, told delegates to the National Conference on Community Values and Conflict in New York City. He said that "violence purges the soul of the black man and returns to him his self-respect." Chambers maintained that prevention of racial violence was up to the white people. They must realize, he said, that injustice is practiced daily against the Negro and that Negro youths will no longer put up with it.

The key to racial peace this summer, observed Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), is jobs for the thousands of young Negroes who will be turned loose from school "with muscles in their arms and mischief in their minds." With "one out of three Negro teen-agers wandering around," he said, "you are going to have trouble." Wilkins expressed the hope that there would be no riot in any city, and added: "But I can't say there won't because all the ingredients are there."

Public officials in a number of large cities have expressed considerable apprehension about the possibility of racial violence this year. Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York City, asserted that "we have no way of knowing what this summer will bring but we do know that if violence breaks out, the young people of the ghettos will be in its vanguard." He has called upon the administration to restore cuts in antipoverty funds for summer youth activities or face the threat of rioting in Negro ghettos this summer.

Disturbances are likely in the Nation's capital this summer, according to Walter N. Tobriner, a District of Columbia Commissioner, unless funds for recreational programs for school children are approved. If youthful energy is not **channeled** constructively, he cautioned, "I am sure that increased vandalism, destruction, and other antisocial behavior would tend to result." He added: "Of course, we can never assume summer peace, since incidents fanning neighborhood reaction are neither foreseeable nor controllable. But we can, by providing these funds, make the occurrence of summer incidents less likely and their enlargement to other areas less apt to occur."

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta, observed that "in any big city with major slum problems, incidents amounting almost to riots can occur at any time during the hot summer months whenever there is provocative leadership that finds an incident that can be exploited. There is always some incident that provocative leaders can use if they want."

Familiar Pattern

The forebodings of recent years have been amply justified in view of the extensive riotous conditions that have developed in the United States during the past three summers. Events have unmistakably shown that any municipality in the country with a Negro population is susceptible to a racial outbreak. A partial listing of cities and towns where racial disorders have occurred since 1964 indicates that racial disorders can happen anywhere and everywhere at anytime: New York City; Rochester, New York; Philadelphia; Jersey City; Cleveland; Dayton, Ohio; Lansing, Michigan; Chicago; Waukegan, Illinois; Omaha; San Francisco; Los Angeles; Atlanta; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; and Bogalusa, Louisiana. It is obviously impossible to pinpoint when and where racial violence will erupt.

But there is one aspect of racial violence that can be predicted with some precision: the pattern it will follow. In virtually every instance where major riots have broken out in Negro communities in recent years, the pattern and sequence of events have been identical: the escalation of an initial minor episode involving police action; a rapidly growing crowd and mounting excitement and hysteria fomented by troublemakers, extremists, and subversives; overt hostility toward the police, accompanied by wild charges of "police brutality"; the explosion of blind, irrational mob fury and action; street fighting between Negroes and police; hurling of rocks, bricks, bottles, fire bombs, and other objects; looting, vandalism, and arson; and, finally, summoning of police reserves and frequently the National Guard to restore law and order.

The survey on the following pages endeavors to highlight the violence potential which exists in the United States as the Summer of 1967 draws near.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE EAST

Baltimore, Maryland

Population 917,000 (1966); 41 per cent Negro (1966).

At the present time, Baltimore police officials feel that there is less tension today than there has been for the past year and that there is no current situation that is likely to lead to riots or racial violence within the next six months. They believe that the Negro leadership, although at times radical, manages to control its followers and that the communication between the police and this leadership is good, largely due to the effectiveness of community relations councils set up by the Baltimore Police Department. In their assessment of the situation, they conclude that if violence does occur, it will arise either from police action in heavily populated Negro districts or from counterdemonstrators representing white-supremacist hate groups.

On two occasions within the past year, an individual representing the Fighting American Nationalists and one representing the Baltimore (White) Citizens Council counterdemonstrated civil rights demonstrations for integrated housing. The National States Rights Party, a white hate group, has been refused permission to hold rallies in the Baltimore area. A Klan group has recently distributed racist literature in a housing project in Baltimore.

The leading civil rights group on the Baltimore scene is CORE, which designated Baltimore its target city for 1966. Most civil rights groups active in Baltimore are national or local civil rights groups not dominated or influenced by subversive elements. Although the Civic Interest Group is a legitimate local group, two of its leaders have expressed a desire to organize a Baltimore chapter of Deacons for Defense and Justice, an all-Negro organization composed of armed members.

Boston, Massachusetts

Population 617,326 (1966); 9 per cent Negro (1966).

It is the unanimous opinion of community leaders that antagonism between the races is relatively nonexistent and that racial violence in the near future is improbable. They indicate that efforts to improve the Negroes' economic and social status have been largely successful; that progress has been made in school integration; and that communication between minority groups and the police is considered excellent.

Although no present issues appear to be of sufficient magnitude to evoke an extreme emotional response, informed sources indicate that the possibility of a spontaneous outburst of violence inflamed by a Stokely Carmichael can never be ruled out entirely. They admit that a certain amount of tension is being nurtured by restless teen-agers and by a few militant adult publicity seekers like Reverend Virgil A. Wood, Director of the Blue Hill Christian Center and Chairman of the New England Branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Wood, lamenting the lack of a strong racial issue, is straining to find a rallying point for civil rights activities.

One issue that carries a potential for racial difficulties in Boston is the possible election as Mayor of Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, a school committee member, who has opposed the civil rights movement. When her candidacy for Mayor was announced, Martin Luther King remarked that "it would be very tragic for Boston if she were elected."

Buffalo, New York

Population 481,453 (1966); 17 per cent Negro (1966).

Officials of the Buffalo Police Department say there is no current issue affecting the Negro community in Buffalo leading them to believe that there will be any racial violence in that city during the coming months. Further, there is no notable hostility on the part of Negroes toward the Police Department.

An organization known as BUILD (Build, Unity, Independence, Liberty, and Dignity) was formed in January, 1967, under contract with the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), a community organizing agency with headquarters in Chicago. IAF, which is headed by Saul Alinsky as Executive Director, has been active organizing the poor--mostly Negroes--in Chicago, Buffalo, and Rochester, New York.

BUILD has publicly announced that it will organize the entire Negro community in Buffalo on a "grass roots" level for the purpose of building a coalition to apply pressure on the existing "white power structure" of the city. The major issue for organizing the community will be school integration.

City and Federal Government officials, as well as members of the Board of Education, feel there are no insurmountable problems facing Negroes in Buffalo in the form of jobs, housing, and education. Those who are able and willing to work are gainfully employed, most of them at existing union wages. Housing is not a major problem, and some Negroes are finding homes in suburban areas without any sharp conflict. The problem of integrated education is being met, and the Board of Education has replaced an anti-integration member with a member recommended by BUILD.

The Common Council of Buffalo has two Negroes on it, and the Fire Commissioner, who was appointed in 1966, is a Negro. Many Negroes have been given front office jobs in stores and public business places, and no animosity or friction has resulted therefrom.

If racial tensions increase this summer, it can well be because BUILD has heated up an issue--rightly or wrongly--in order to find a magnetic argument. BUILD's President, Reverend Frank Emmanuel, is regarded by responsible clergy and others as not only uninformed about the true conditions in Buffalo but also intellectually dishonest. It is the present intent of the responsible clergy to remain aloof from BUILD, to keep in touch with the Negro community, and to act as a counterbalance to BUILD.

Charleston, West Virginia

Population 104,976 (1966); 8 per cent Negro (1966).

Authorities are looking rather apprehensively toward the recurrence of two racial incidents of the past year. Both of these involved attempts by demonstrators to force admittance of Negroes to privately owned amusement areas, the Rock Lake Swimming Pool in South Charleston and the Skateland Skating Rink in Charleston. On both occasions, the demonstrators were refused entry. Negro demonstrators at the pool were few, and their attempts to gain admission did not result in violence. However, a second demonstration at the skating rink in January, 1967, involved 60 Negroes and whites from West Virginia State College and was led by a militant white student named William Weimer. The incident resulted in 34 arrests for trespassing and disorderly conduct. Weimer was charged with destruction of property and assaulting a police officer.

A Human Rights Law, passed by the West Virginia State Legislature early this year, has ordered the integration by July 1, 1967, of all facilities which are public or deal with the public. Because of this new law, white and Negro leaders consider that amusement areas, especially the pool and skating rink--the latter is scheduled to close in June, 1967--will become targets of demonstrators. Law enforcement officers are watching these areas closely and anticipate further demonstrations on the part of Weimer and other students at the college.

Even though area leaders, both Negro and white, are attempting to solve all racial difficulties in a peaceful manner, all concede that an outbreak of racial violence in the Charleston area is a possibility in the future.

Elizabeth, New Jersey

Population 110,000 (1966); 11 per cent Negro (1966).

According to city and police officials, racial conditions in Elizabeth are calm and there do not appear to be any groups or individuals in that city presenting a violence-potential problem. They feel that if trouble should arise this summer, it will be a spontaneous and unorganized action brought on by some unrelated incident.

Thomas Highsmith, Executive Director of Community Action for Economic Opportunity, states that the stability in Elizabeth is due to the concern and action of civic leaders in meeting the demands of Negroes in areas of better housing, better jobs, and better law enforcement.

Hartford, Connecticut

Population 168,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

Captain Benjamin Goldstein, Coordinator of Human Relations for the Hartford Police Department, feels that racial conditions are generally good, and he knows of no "seething problems" that might erupt this year in Hartford. He says the Negro leaders in Hartford are concerned about possible trouble in the North End of Hartford, where many Negroes and Puerto Ricans reside. Captain Goldstein states there is considerable crime in the area, such as murders, assaults, and thefts, which is committed mainly by organized groups who have no respect for authority. The members of these groups will undoubtedly cause trouble as lawbreakers, but they are not racial demonstrators. According to Captain Goldstein, Negro leaders are doing all they can to assist the Police Department in maintaining law and order.

Jersey City, New Jersey

Population 278,000 (1967); 25 per cent Negro (1967).

Captain Raymond V. Blaszczak, of the Jersey City Police Department, says that racial conditions in Jersey City are generally good. He can foresee no real racial trouble during the coming summer. The demands of Negroes, he states, have largely been met.

Monsignor Eugene Reilly, pastor of Christ the King Roman Catholic Church, knows of no specific area of racial unrest in Jersey City. He points out, however, that there has been a rash of minor incidents lately, indicating a restless element among the teen-age Negroes.

Captain Blaszczak and Monsignor Reilly both state that improved housing conditions, better schools, and more recreational facilities and job opportunities for Negroes are the main objectives of civil rights groups operating locally.

New York, New York

Population 7,993,000 (1967); 14 per cent Negro (1960).

Eighty per cent of the Negroes in New York City reside in four areas: the Harlem area of upper Manhattan, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, southeast Bronx, and south Jamaica in Queens County.

The racial situation in New York City for the immediate future does not unduly alarm city and police officials, Negro leaders, and others familiar with racial affairs in the largest city in the nation. Most of them do not believe that any serious violence will break out this summer.

Due in large measure to advance planning by the New York City Police Department, there were no major incidents of racial violence in the city during the Summer of 1966. This advance planning has enabled the Police Department to anticipate trouble and to take preventive steps before a flare-up occurs. The 1967 summer schedule of the Police Department calls for increased patrols at beaches, parks, and playgrounds; strategy meetings between police officials and community leaders; youth projects to keep restless and idle children and youths occupied; and security precautions in areas where the spark of racial unrest may be fanned by subversives and extremists.

A leading police official does not contemplate trouble or violence this summer beyond the normal increase in disorders caused by juveniles with time on their hands during the vacation period. His principal concern is the irresponsible and untrue statements made by too many so-called civil rights leaders to the mass communications media, for, he claims, these statements tend to aggravate racial tension. By the same token, he maintains, if the news media continue to publicize the dire predictions of violence of well-known public figures, violence is very likely to follow.

A police official stationed in the heart of Harlem characterizes the racial situation there as good at the present time. There seems to be no unusual racial tension, according to this official, and contacts between the police and Harlem residents are normal. He concedes, however, that the end of the school term and the combination of idle youths and hot weather could alter the picture.

An officer of the NAACP says that it is impossible to forecast whether or not there will be violence this summer or where it will take place if there is. He notes that the situation has not really changed much since the Harlem riot of 1964, because the causes of discontent and unrest still persist--the substandard living conditions in Negro communities and the lack of equal opportunities for Negroes. Fortunately, he adds, most of the Negroes affected by these adverse conditions never resort to or engage in violence. Nevertheless, there are a goodly number who will respond violently to some incident, particularly one which involves so-called "police brutality."

Another NAACP leader does not foresee any trouble or violence during the coming months. This official emphasizes that it is time that all citizens, both Negro and white, come to the realization that there will be constant turmoil until the day the Negro is granted those rights and privileges that have been denied him for so many years.

According to one informed source, it is impossible to state definitely whether or not there will be racial violence in New York City, for no one knows exactly what the catalyst may be which would escalate any

given incident into violence. Numerous reasons have been given in the past to explain outbreaks of violence, this source points out, and the same reasons will be cited again when and if violence erupts.

This source states that if he were asked to pinpoint an area where violence might break out, he would designate the East New York section of Brooklyn, into which Negroes are moving from the Bedford-Stuyvesant section. These Negroes, he says, are encountering animosity from the longtime residents of East New York. Therefore, the seeds of trouble are being sown.

Another informed source feels that violence potential exists in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Recent statements, this source says, made by Negro leaders such as Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael have not had a calming effect on the Negro people. Rather, they have served to focus attention on the possibility that violence is inevitable. Furthermore, this source believes, the treatment accorded Adam Clayton Powell in Congress and Cassius Clay in his attempt to avoid the draft--regardless of whether or not they deserved it--has served to intensify Negro resentment and bitterness. All these factors contribute to racial tension, according to this source, and when the ingredients of hot weather, unemployment, and restless youths are added, there is definitely an increase in the possibility of racial violence this summer in New York City.

Much Negro resentment was engendered when the House of Representatives voted, early in March, 1967, to exclude Adam Clayton Powell from membership in Congress for misuse of funds and unbecoming conduct. Many Negroes in New York City and elsewhere in the country regard this punishment as unusually harsh and an expression of white racism. They charge that he was singled out for punishment because of his race, rather than because his behavior differed from that of other Congressmen. Moreover, in view of the softer punishment that Negroes believe will be meted out to Senator Dodd by his colleagues in the Senate, many Negroes are angered by what they feel is the application of a double standard of conduct by Congress to white and Negro members.

Negro subversives and extremists like Jesse Gray and Charles 37X Morris are dangerous because of the incendiary effect they have on some susceptible segments of the Negro population. Gray is Director of the Harlem Community Council on Housing and has been active on numerous occasions in the past in demonstrations, particularly against "police brutality" and "slumlord" exploitation of Negroes. Gray was organizer of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party in the late 1950's and, although no longer a Party member, he is still friendly with the Party.

Charles 37X Morris--also known as Charles Kenyatta--is the leader of a small group of Negroes called the Mau Mau, a black nationalist group. He conducts weekly street meetings outside the Hotel Theresa in Harlem in an effort to inflame Negroes to rise up against the white man. At a recent gathering of 75 people, he declared, "the hell with President Johnson," said he was in favor of "burning the city down," and predicted the summer would be "very hot."

To one observer of the racial scene, the racial picture in the United States becomes more confusing every day because the so-called civil rights leaders who receive most of the attention in the news media are applauded and readily accepted as leaders of the Negro people despite their obviously divergent philosophies. Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael are cited as classic examples: King continually reiterates his belief in integration and the use of nonviolence, whereas Carmichael exhorts the Negro people to resort to "black power," with its implied threat of violence and reverse racism.

Newark, New Jersey

Population 400,000 (1967); 45 per cent Negro (1967).

Martin Luther King included Newark among the cities he described as "powder kegs," which "could burst into racial violence this summer." He thereby aroused the wrath of Newark Councilmen Calvin D. West and Irvine I. Turner, both Negroes, who stated that they respected King for his accomplishments, but added, "We do not need prophets of doom to incite racial unrest when

there is none. While we are not naive enough to believe that the Negro has reached his total goal of human understanding in our city, great strides have been made and greater ones are in the offing."

Newark police officials are of the opinion that racial conditions are good. They cannot foresee any problems at this time. While admitting that conditions in Newark are not perfect, they also assert that progress is steady and that the business community is especially helpful in hiring, training, and promoting Negroes. These officials reason that many Negroes have a stake in the city government and the average income per head of household and per family is higher than in any other municipality on the eastern seaboard.

Paterson, New Jersey

Population 152,000 (1967); 23 per cent Negro (1967).

The general racial condition in Paterson, according to Mayor Lawrence Kramer, is considered good. However, the absence of poverty funds from the Federal Government for recreation during the summer months might, he feels, result in trouble during this period.

Mrs. Susan Herzog, President of the Board of Directors of the Paterson Task Force, an antipoverty agency, states she does not believe racial tension exists to any great extent at the present time but that there is a potential within the Negro community that can burst into the open at any moment. As an example, she points out that any unnecessary force used by a policeman in making an arrest of a Negro can trigger racial violence. She also feels that it is a mistake on the part of the Federal Government not to supply funds for summer recreation and supervision of youth groups. Mrs. Herzog accuses the general news media and their handling of racial discussions by Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael of creating tension within the Negro community.

The Very Reverend Vincent E. Puma, pastor of Our Lady of Victories Roman Catholic Church, also feels that the Federal Government errs in holding back money for

summer recreation programs, because idle youth on street corners cause problems. Monsignor Puma advised that the churches and synagogues are attempting to relieve the situation during the summer months by organizing a recreational and teaching campaign which will be financed through donations.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Population 2,042,000 (1967); 31 per cent Negro (1967).

Municipal leaders and other knowledgeable observers generally agree that although there is less likelihood of racial violence this year than in recent years, the potential for violence is ever present. Philadelphia Police Lieutenant George Fencil, of the Civil Disobedience Unit, states that racial tensions are probably lower than at any time since the riot of August, 1964.

Phillip Savage, Tri-State Area Director of the NAACP, says he has no specific information concerning possible racial disturbances this summer. He believes substandard housing and unemployment of unskilled workers might lead to frustration and tension during the hot summer months and could trigger violence. He also feels that unnecessary force by police officers in making arrests could cause violent reactions. In support of this contention, it is stated in a recently published report by the Committee on Community Tensions of the Fellowship Commission that mistreatment of citizens by police is more likely to set off major disturbances than any other single factor.

This report named the following areas as tension points in Philadelphia with the greatest potential for racial outbreaks: (1) Kensington, (2) North Central Philadelphia, (3) Hawthorne Housing Project in South Philadelphia, (4) 36th and Filbert Streets in West Philadelphia, (5) 30th and Tasker Streets in South Philadelphia, (6) East Falls in Northwest Philadelphia, and (7) 19th and Green Streets in North Philadelphia.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Population 604,332 (1960); 17 per cent Negro (1960).

Police and city officials describe the general racial conditions in Pittsburgh as good and say that racial issues actually have not received much support from the Negro community. Pittsburgh is peculiar in that it has five widely separated Negro areas and a lack of concern by one Negro community as to what occurs in the others. When Stokely Carmichael spoke in Pittsburgh in March, 1967, he commented that there were no real racial issues in that city.

The consensus of city officials is that the potential for violence in Pittsburgh appears to be very small. However, there is always the possibility that an incident can develop into violence. They also point out that outside racial agitators are not known to be working in Pittsburgh and that the previously mentioned visit by Carmichael was an isolated affair.

Rochester, New York

Population 305,849 (1964); 11 per cent Negro (1964).

The prevalent feeling in Rochester is that there is a definite potential for racial violence. An informed source "can just sense something is wrong in the Negro community, however, it would be impossible to predict an exact date when a race riot might erupt."

A police official says that there is no indication that a racial disturbance is imminent. He feels, however, the potential is greater than it was last year. Laplois Ashford, Executive Director of the Rochester Urban League, is presently concerned about the tension and apprehension in the Negro and the white communities.

Another informed source has said that the potential for violence in Rochester is at an all-time high. He cites the principal causes to be substandard housing and the high cost of living.

One clergyman regards the racial situation in Rochester as tense. There are, he points out, several small groups of Negro young men who are militant and restless and who want FIGHT (Freedom, Integration, God, Honor -- Today), a local militant civil rights organization, to speak out and take more positive action in demanding an improvement in Negro conditions.

According to a city official, the general apprehension about the likelihood of racial violence is based on the following factors: (1) a prediction of a "long, hot summer" by the Director of FIGHT; (2) failure by local, state, and Federal agencies to improve housing, recreational facilities, and sanitation procedures in Negro areas; and (3) congregation of Negro youths on city streets.

FIGHT, which was formed in Rochester in 1965 under contract with Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation, is presently under the leadership of the Reverend Franklin Delano Roosevelt Florence, a Negro minister.

The purpose of FIGHT is to eradicate slum ghetto areas and school segregation and to provide jobs for unemployed Negroes. In September, 1966, FIGHT approached the largest employer in Rochester--the Eastman Kodak Company--and demanded that company to hire and train 600 hard-core unemployed Negroes. An Assistant Vice President designated to hold talks with FIGHT signed a document pertaining to these demands in December, 1966, but Kodak later repudiated the agreement as unauthorized. The company explained that it could not deal on an issue with one racial group to the exclusion of any other and it would not commit itself to a specific number of persons it would employ at any given time. The struggle between FIGHT and Kodak continues, with the issues still unresolved.

Saul Alinsky, Executive Director of IAF and the guiding force behind FIGHT, has been described by a former Vice-President of FIGHT as a master of the "game of confidence with a play on words, in that he will twist every racial situation to fit his own needs and to further his image."

FIGHT Director Florence has been characterized as "power hungry" and insincere. A tactic he employs frequently is to start a rumor of potential violence, which creates unrest among both Negroes and whites. Through unreasonable demands and threats, which are widely publicized in the news media, he has inflamed the poorly educated Negroes, and they are ready to react against any seemingly aggressive police action. Because of his insincerity and unorthodox tactics, Florence is considered a dangerous racial leader.

Florence and 600 demonstrators disrupted the annual stockholders' meeting of the Eastman Kodak Company, which was held in Flemington, New Jersey, late in April, 1967. In an effort to make Kodak accept FIGHT's demands, Florence shouted, "If Eastman Kodak wants war, it's war they'll have." He said he planned to meet with civil rights leaders, including Stokely Carmichael, to plan a demonstration in Rochester on July 24, the third anniversary of the city's huge riot.

Washington, D. C.

Population 802,000 (1965); 63 per cent Negro (1965).

The Nation's Capital has a higher percentage of Negroes than any other major city in the United States. Moreover, in 1965, Negroes in Washington public schools constituted 90 per cent of the total enrollment.

Opinions as to the potential for racial disturbances in Washington, D. C., during the Summer of 1967, are almost as numerous and varied as the number of persons interviewed. Most would agree, however, that an isolated incident could develop trouble. Because the city has a huge Negro population, many of whose opinions do not vary significantly from those of their kinsmen in other large cities, the following comments concerning the underlying causes of Negro discontent which leads to disturbances are enumerated:

1. Bitterness and resentment among Negroes come as a result of being the oppressed underdog for too long a period.
2. Negro youngsters must be given something to do to keep them out of trouble.
3. If young Negroes can obtain employment, they will be able to acquire dignity, buy clothing, have fun in their spare time, and forget about riots and violence.
4. There are not sufficient summertime jobs and not enough recreational facilities and programs to keep young Negroes occupied during summer vacation periods.
5. Housing is inadequate. During the summer months, Negro families cannot stay in one-room apartments where they have been confined all winter. The construction of high-rise, expensive apartments forces Negroes into an overcrowded environment. Landlords exploit Negroes through high rent and inadequate facilities.
6. Schools in Negro communities are overcrowded and inferior by comparison with those found in white neighborhoods.
7. Negroes feel that white police officers treat them as second-class citizens and make them the target of their racial prejudice. The use of "trigger" words, such as "boy" and "nigger," results in disrespect for and hostility toward the police. Some in the Negro ghettos look upon all policemen, white and Negro, as the enemy.
8. The shift made by Martin Luther King to wholehearted support for those protesting United States participation in the war in Vietnam and his exhortation to boycott the draft may have far-reaching effects, especially on those facing military service.

9. Adam Clayton Powell is still regarded as an idol and is the favorite of Negroes everywhere. Negroes believe that Powell's troubles with Congress stemmed from his Negro ancestry. Thus, he is supported regardless of his faults. If he is denied his seat in Congress, some form of trouble can be expected.

10. There is a strong undercurrent of anti-Semitism developing in the Negro community, because many merchants and landlords in the Negro communities are Jews.

11. Among Negroes, there is the same rift between the younger generation and the parent generation that exists among other ethnic groups.

12. The vast majority of the Negro population does not feel that disturbances, riots, and mob action advance the cause of the Negro.

Concerning conditions peculiar to Washington, D. C., the city is largely dependent upon Congress for funds. In April, 1967, Walter N. Tobriner, a District of Columbia Commissioner, warned Congress that disorders are likely to occur this summer unless funds for recreation programs are approved.

In mid-April, the Reverend H. Albion Ferrell, District Parole Board Chairman, said that much social and economic help is needed in Washington and that "swimming pools and the things swimming pools represent" will not be enough to maintain peace.

On May 10, 1967, Vice President Hubert Humphrey announced that Washington should have 15 new swimming pools completed by mid-July. On the same day, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz announced that \$5,400,000 would be spent on a program, beginning in June, to provide jobs or training for 4,000 Washingtonians.

In mid-May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael, who graduated from Howard University in Washington, D. C., in 1964, announced his plans to work as SNCC Field Secretary in the Nation's Capital this summer. He called for a massive "resistance movement" by young people to end the war in Vietnam.

Howard is primarily a Negro university. On March 21, 1967, Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey was booed from a platform at the university by antidraft protesters. A series of subsequent demonstrations led to the issuing of an order on May 5, 1967, by Howard President James M. Nabrit placing an administration veto over the time and place of demonstrations and banning unofficial press conferences. The order met with immediate defiance from the Black Power Committee, which held a campus demonstration and a press conference hours after the new rules were announced.

One source states that tensions are created by the "rabble-rousing" speeches by so-called Negro leaders, such as Carmichael, Marion Barry, and Julius Hobson. Barry was formerly SNCC Director in Washington. Hobson, an extremist, is Chairman of the District of Columbia chapter of Associated Community Teams (ACT).

This source states that these so-called leaders frequently accuse the local police of brutality, but investigation usually disproves the accusation. Another source pointed out that Barry and Lester McKinnie, SNCC Director in Washington, were attempting to provoke a situation when they were arrested recently after walking against a red traffic light. While real problems involving the attitude of the police toward Negroes do exist, the source adds, Barry needs issues to keep the SNCC organization alive. The fact that Barry had to attempt to provoke an incident, this source concludes, reflects an improvement in the police image.

Police officials and others indicate that a contributing factor of racial tension in Washington is irresponsible coverage given to all racial incidents or incidents with racial overtones by local newspapers and radio and television stations. It is said that radical and exaggerated statements are given publicity, without any attempt to clarify or refute these grossly biased remarks. Simple and honest reporting, it is felt, would do much to lower the general temper of the public. Similar comments are made about the national television coverage given to antiadministration statements by persons such as King, Carmichael, and Cassius Clay.

A member of the Citizens Advisory Council condemns SNCC for displaying in its Washington office windows posters of a white policeman shouting "Nigger S.O.B." and pictures of lynchings. According to this source, SNCC's exhortation to "Stop Police Brutality" is nothing short of hatred and an incitement to riot.

The fatal shooting of a 19-year-old Negro with a lengthy arrest record by a Washington policeman on May 1, 1967, has precipitated protest on the part of some Negroes. These Negroes threaten civil violence if the District Commissioners do not sponsor a "citizen investigation" of the shooting.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE MIDWEST

Akron, Ohio

Population 300,000 (1967); 18 per cent Negro (1967).

Chief Harry Whiddon of the Akron Police Department sees the racial climate in Akron as vastly improved over last year. He reports that the improved situation has resulted from Mayor John Ballard's competent handling of racial matters and the steps taken by the Police Department to promote better relations with minority groups which previously exhibited keen resentment toward law enforcement officers.

However, Chief Whiddon and other knowledgeable observers advise that the potential for racial violence in Akron is difficult to evaluate for two primary reasons: first, there is an unpredictable element composed of Negro youths who are unorganized, undisciplined, and completely lacking in respect for law and order; second, there is the possible influence of outsiders who want to cause disruption for their own purposes. Either of these two elements can fan a spontaneous incident into a full-scale riot.

Benton Harbor, Michigan

Benton Harbor and adjoining Benton Township have a combined population of 45,000, of which 25 per cent is Negro.

Racial conditions in the area are described by local leaders as fairly satisfactory at the present time, although there is a prevalent uneasy feeling among both races that the peace is temporary. Civic committees, composed of both whites and Negroes, are apparently able to settle racial differences amicably. The area is said to be completely integrated, but civil rights groups claim that housing discrimination still exists.

Officials of the Benton Harbor Police Department and the Benton Township Police Department and other informed sources feel that future racial violence in the area is unlikely, but if it does occur it will be sparked by a spontaneous, unforeseen event and will begin among the younger Negroes, who are manifesting a growing belligerence.

Chicago, Illinois

Population 3,466,000 (1966); 25 per cent Negro (1966).

While the potential for racial disorder in Chicago continues to exist, it is no greater than it was in 1966 because intensive and extensive efforts are being made to extend social justice to areas largely inhabited by minority groups. Nevertheless, it is recognized that a relatively minor incident can rapidly evolve into a major disorder and that actions by certain groups or individuals can alter the racial picture significantly overnight.

Unfortunately, there is a very real potential for a major disturbance within low-income, Negro neighborhoods. Prominent among these are: (1) the near west side of Chicago's Loop, (2) North Lawndale, (3) the east and west Garfield Park communities, and (4) several areas on Chicago's south side, such as Englewood. In addition, there is the Puerto Rican community on Chicago's north side, where disturbances occurred in June, 1966.

The major disorders in Chicago over the past several years have generally taken place within the confines of the areas listed above. However, the open-housing marches during the Summer of 1966 resulted in disturbances in all-white residential neighborhoods located primarily in the southwest and northwest sections of the city.

The impact of the presence in Chicago of Martin Luther King and other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was somewhat limited during the early Summer of 1966. Ultimately, the Chicago Freedom Movement (CFM), dominated by the SCLC, initiated a program of open-occupancy marches into all-white areas known for their animosity toward Negroes. The marches escalated in intensity until August, when the city obtained an injunction limiting the number of marchers, setting the time for marches, and imposing other restrictions. Soon thereafter, a so-called "summit conference," which included Mayor Richard J. Daley, King, CFM representatives, and others, reached certain agreements and temporarily defused the open-housing issue.

However, these agreements were not approved in all respects by the more militant wings of the CFM and other civil rights organizations. More or less in protest, they organized open-bousing marches into the western suburb of Cicero in September. These marches resulted in isolated incidents of violence, necessitated the calling out of the Illinois National Guard to preserve order, and served to aggravate the prevalent anti-Negro antagonism for which Cicero is well known.

Within the past several months, charges have been leveled by segments of the local civil rights movement, primarily the CFM, that city agencies party to the August, 1966, agreements were not honoring their obligations. These charges led to a flurry of publicity on comments by King and Reverend Andrew Young, SCLC Executive Director, that it may be necessary to renew marches and demonstrations which would make the 1966 marches "pale by comparison." In early April, 1967, Mayor Daley stated that the violators of the August, 1966, injunction would be arrested and law and order would prevail. Additionally, Cook County Sheriff Joseph Woods stated that violence would not be tolerated in suburban Cook County this summer. Thus, the original charges had the net effect of hardening attitudes and causing a loss of communication between civil rights advocates and local government.

A growing problem is the activity of "black power" advocates, who inflame emotions; inflate minor incidents, such as police matters, out of perspective; and attempt to destroy confidence in law enforcement agencies.

Certain organizations present a similar problem even though the vast majority of Chicago's Negro citizens have turned their backs on such groups. Among these groups are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Deacons for Defense and Justice (DDJ), and Associated Community Teams (ACT). The DDJ, with an estimated membership of seven, advocates arms for the defense of Negroes. ACT and SNCC are militant civil rights groups. Chicago members of ACT associate with a "black power" group.

An individual worthy of mention is nationally known entertainer Dick Gregory, who ran for mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in March, 1967. He has led numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago and elsewhere and has been arrested in connection with this activity for disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and the like. Gregory is considered a "maverick" who does not lend exclusive support to any civil rights group and participates in activities which appeal to him personally.

Although a large number of Negro families have found homes in previously all-white communities without incident, the possibility of violence resulting from future move-ins cannot be ignored.

In the white communities, there are counterparts of the Negro nationalist groups. Prominent among these minority exclusion groups is Operation Crescent (OC). It is reportedly a combination of some 19 organizations in white neighborhoods. The OC, which is opposed to open housing and forced integration, such as in the public schools, has said that it will sponsor counterdemonstrations against civil rights marches in white neighborhoods. Primarily, OC represents neighborhoods forming a crescent running from Chicago's southwest side, through near-west suburbs, to Chicago's northwest side.

At the present time, there are no specific situations in Chicago which contain the immediate potential for an outbreak of racial violence. It is realized, however, that disturbances or violence can occur at any time. The low-income, high-population-density, slum areas of Chicago's south and west sides must be considered tense and volatile. Residents of these neighborhoods, with particular emphasis on Lawndale and Garfield Park, feel that there has been no improvement in city services and facilities since last summer. In many instances, the police are regarded as the enemy in these neighborhoods. Inhabitants of these areas are also convinced that local merchants, particularly white merchants, charge prices that are higher than those in white neighborhoods.

The Negro community feels that violence and disturbances will occur again, particularly in the Lawndale area, and the only question in the minds of most residents of these areas is what type of incident will set them off.

Cicero-Berwyn, Illinois

The adjacent communities of Cicero and Berwyn have a combined all-white population of 128,000. Part of Cicero borders directly on Chicago's west side Negro slum areas, and this boundary has long represented an invisible line, beyond which Chicago's slum areas have never extended.

Superintendent of Police Joseph Barloga of Cicero feels that the Cicero-Berwyn area is of particular concern because of the publicly acknowledged anti-Negro sentiment prevalent in these all-white communities, the past exclusion of Negroes, and the disturbance which took place in September, 1966, on the occasion of an open-housing march by Negro civil rights militants from Chicago into the area. This disturbance resulted in the arrest of some 40 persons. Anti-Negro sentiment has been compounded by the formation of so-called property owners' groups, the majority of which are strongly opposed to open housing. In Superintendent Barloga's opinion, if there is a Negro move-in or a civil rights march into Cicero during the Summer of 1967--as has been threatened by Martin Luther King--violence will be almost a certainty.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Population 500,329 (1966); 24 per cent Negro (1966).

Public and police officials and informed observers report that, in general, racial conditions are good in Cincinnati. Chief of Police Jacob Schott says that because the Negro community is widely dispersed and the City Council provides a forum for leaders of protest groups to set forth their views, there is less possibility of violence in Cincinnati than in other large cities. In addition, a Police-Community Relations Bureau has recently been formed by the Police Department to expand the activities of district-level committees whose function is to promote greater harmony between the police and the Negro community.

These officials say that the potential for racial violence is present if someone triggers it or if an outsider such as Stokely Carmichael is able to precipitate a disturbance. Public Safety Director Henry Sandman notes a possible tension point could be the rising rate of unemployment among Negro teen-agers and young adults, especially in connection with the discriminatory hiring policies of the building trade unions.

Cleveland, Ohio

Population 810,838 (1965); 33 per cent Negro (1965).

Local police officials, responsible civil rights representatives, civic leaders, and knowledgeable observers indicate that there is no reason to expect full-scale rioting in Cleveland this summer such as occurred in the Hough area in July, 1966. All expect sporadic incidents to take place throughout the East Side, such as rock throwing, fire bombing, and vandalism practiced by teen-age Negro hoodlums and restless, jobless youth.

Sergeant John J. Ungvary, Coordinator of Racial Matters for the Cleveland Police Department, believes the racial climate has improved recently as a result of efforts by the Municipal Community Relations Board, articles in the local Negro newspaper, and actions of aroused responsible citizens against the hoodlums who have been creating terror in the streets of the Negro ghetto.

In June, 1966, several disturbances occurred in the vicinity of the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta (JFK) House, privately operated community center which was a hangout for teen-age hoodlums and black nationalists from the time it opened in 1964. Negro youths threw rocks at cars and store windows, tossed fire bombs, and destroyed one supermarket by fire. Thereafter, the Police Department, which considered this center the Number One potential trouble spot for organized racial violence, closed the JFK House for sanitation reasons and building-code violations.

There have been no major disturbances in Cleveland since the widespread rioting of July 18-21, 1966, which resulted in four deaths, \$500,000 damage, and 252 arrests. However, incidents have occurred, such as one in April, 1967, when six Negro youths burned down a school in the heart of the Negro community, causing damage of \$250,000. Later that month, a rowdy group of Negro teen-agers threw rocks and bottles at automobiles and store windows and looted business establishments.

In the Spring of 1967, Fred A. Evans, a Negro, who likes to be called "Ahmen" and is a self-claimed astrology expert, predicted that May 9, 1967, would signal the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Red China and would be the beginning of a general uprising by Negroes everywhere. Actually, "Ahmen" is the leader of a small group--about 100--of black nationalist extremists known as the United Black Brotherhood (UBB), which is the successor to the JFK House. According to police, most members of the UBB do not have any real understanding of the black nationalist philosophy and are primarily a group of lawless youths who are now using the black nationalist slogans as a cloak for their criminal conduct.

Early in May, 1967, CORE announced that it had picked Cleveland as a "target city" for "an extensive program for the Negro community." A week later, Martin Luther King announced that the city had been selected for organized civil rights action this summer. He said his Southern Christian Leadership Conference would start a program in June similar to programs begun in Chicago, Louisville, and Grenada, Mississippi. King termed Cleveland a "teeming cauldron of hostility."

Dayton, Ohio

Population 270,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

Officials of local civil rights groups and the Dayton Police Department agree that racial conditions in that city appear to be very good. According to Mrs. Miley O. Williamson, Secretary of the Dayton chapter of the NAACP, racial antagonism which could result in violence does not exist. Clair W. Martz, Acting Chief of Police in Dayton, admits that a spontaneous eruption could occur over a relatively minor incident, but to his knowledge organized violence is not in the offing.

Detroit, Michigan

Population 1,640,000 (1966); 35 per cent Negro (1965).

Informed sources have given a favorable general picture of the overall racial situation in Detroit. Serious collaborative efforts by dedicated leaders of both races appear to have produced comparatively successful results, with great strides being made to establish a peaceful equilibrium between the white and Negro people.

Highly placed law enforcement officials indicate that they know of no existing situations that might trigger racial violence. They very cautiously added that the same situation existed last year and yet riots did occur. All concede that if these riots break out again this year, they will undoubtedly repeat the pattern of 1966; that is, they will emanate from exclusively Negro districts which have high concentrations of loitering teen-agers, violent crime, and all-round lawlessness.

Officials agree that they do not feel violence will occur, but if it does, it will probably stem from some minor incident like the issuance of a traffic citation or some equally minor charge involving residents of the Negro districts.

Responsible Negro citizens who have firsthand knowledge of conditions in these districts believe that racial violence will occur this summer in these areas. They base their judgment on the rather large concentration of Nation of Islam members, whose pro-Negro and antiwhite propaganda incites Negro youths to crime and violence; on the ideas of "black power" implanted by the visits of Stokely Carmichael to the Detroit area during the past year; and by the general conditions in these Negro districts described as harboring smoldering hostility which lends itself to sudden racial incidents, particularly during the hot, summer months.

East St. Louis, Illinois

Population 85,000 (1967); 55 per cent Negro (1967).

Police officials, local civic leaders, and representatives of civil rights organizations indicate that the prospects for racial peace in East St. Louis during the summer months appear to be very good and, barring some unforeseen incident, no racial violence is expected. It is generally believed

that the greatest potential for racial violence would come from minor flare-ups on construction jobs caused by the difficulties encountered by Negroes in attempting to join labor unions.

According to Billy Jones, attorney for the local chapter of the NAACP, the only person who might try to foment a disturbance is Homer Randolph, Chairman of the East St. Louis branch of CORE, and he has no genuine issue for which to fight. John M. Kirkpatrick, leader of the East St. Louis Human Relations Commission, stated that probably the most opportune time for violence there had passed; that was, when Stokely Carmichael spoke at a local all-Negro high school in April, 1967, and called for the exercise of "black power." The audience did not indicate any tendency to follow his advice.

Flint, Michigan

Population 200,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

It is the opinion of responsible civic leaders that Flint, whose Mayor is a Negro, has little racial tension that cannot be settled through established channels of communication. The city has a high employment rate and is considered to be fully integrated, with the possible exception of a few elementary schools in predominantly white areas. A Community Relations Bureau, established by the Flint Police Department and composed of responsible Negro and white leaders representing civic, law enforcement, Negro, and church groups, meets monthly and irons out problems of concern to the community.

Although it appears to be the consensus that racial tension is minimal, there are some who view the situation in a different light. A national NAACP leader recently spoke in Flint and described the city as a "Jim Crow town," contending that housing and the educational system remain segregated. The President of the Flint NAACP, Edgar Holt, is considered extremely militant, has participated in picketing demonstrations, and is presently considering economic boycotts to enforce open-housing legislation.

Chief of Police Gerald Lyons describes two situations which could activate a definite violence potential: forcible arrests in a predominantly Negro area and a prolonged strike at the General Motors plant with resultant unemployment.

Gary, Indiana

Population 182,500 (1960); 55 per cent Negro (1967).

De facto segregated housing is currently the most volatile and the most potentially dangerous and explosive issue in Gary. Negro leaders predict that if events take their natural course, the entire city will eventually become a Negro ghetto surrounded by a white wall of suburbia. The Omnibus Civil Rights Bill and the Open Occupancy Ordinance were passed in 1965, and Mayor A. Martin Katz created the Gary Human Relations Commission to enforce open occupancy. However, an injunction has delayed the enforcement of open occupancy and has caused resentment among Negroes, who now threaten to take direct action.

Members of an extremely militant youth group called Students for a Democratic Society have injected themselves into slum clearance by forming an organization known as the Freedom Union for Slum Eradication (FUSE). FUSE, a direct action group, has been criticized by some Negro leaders for playing on the emotions of the Negro people by raising unfounded and reckless charges against community poverty and slum-clearance programs. A number of FUSE representatives are said to be arrogant and hostile toward authority of any kind.

Police and other city officials and civil rights leaders have expressed grave concern over the violence potential of Negro gangs--some of whose members are in their 20's--because of their possession of weapons and fire bombs. These gangs are reportedly bragging about future plans for violence. Overall membership is estimated at 600. Combined, these gangs represent sections of the entire midtown Negro community.

In a public announcement in August, 1966, Chief of Police Conway C. Mullins estimated that there were "50,000" armed persons in Gary and that their possession of small arms constitutes a dangerous situation because it facilitates the commission of crimes of violence. Chief Mullins denounced existing lax gun-control laws and advocated much stricter legislation governing the purchase and possession of weapons.

Gary police-community relations have also come under fire. One civil rights leader characterizes these relations as "lousy," but adds that this criticism applies to both white and Negro police officers. The crux of the criticism is that officers are not adequately trained to handle people and problems that could develop into riotous situations.

Negroes in Gary comprise a nearly solid and formidable voting bloc. Three of the present nine city Councilmen are Negroes; one of the three Gary Police Commissioners is a Negro; and the Lake County Coroner, a Negro, resides in Gary. All of the city's eight high schools have some Negro pupils.

This Negro voting power was clearly evident in the recent victory of Richard G. Hatcher, 33-year-old Negro Councilman-at-large, who won the Democratic nomination for Mayor of Gary in the primary election on May 2, 1967, over the incumbent, Mayor Katz. The campaign was conducted on an extremely bitter level and has undoubtedly left scars among Negroes and whites. Katz, for example, called Hatcher a "radical, extremist, and an advocate of black power." One of Hatcher's main supporters is alleged to have asserted that "we should use whatever methods possible, including violence, in order to meet our goals." It is feared that any friction over voter registration or almost any incident during the forthcoming election campaign could possibly spark violence. Hatcher is generally conceded to stand a good chance of being elected.

Harvey-Dixmoor, Illinois

Harvey has a population of 25,000, of which 28 per cent is Negro. The Negro community is located directly opposite Dixmoor, which has a population of 6,000, 60 per cent being Negro.

During the Summers of 1964, 1965, and 1966, the Harvey-Dixmoor area was the scene of riots revolving around a liquor store and a television store. A police officer was shot in the chest during the 1966 disturbance. Since the Spring of 1967, police officers, entering the area surrounding these stores, have been heckled and, in some instances, attempts have been made to prevent them from entering. These incidents have been instigated by young hoodlums and youths who are hostile toward authority generally. Such incidents are not considered as civil rights situations, but the individuals involved could conceivably create violence.

Indianapolis, Indiana

Population 500,000 (1967); 25 per cent Negro (1967).

Informed sources do not think violence is imminent, as sincere efforts are being made to relieve conditions which breed racial unrest. The local NAACP director and the police are achieving mutual understanding of their problems and are improving channels between Negroes and the police in an effort to forestall incidents that could spark violence.

Reverend Andrew J. Brown, President of the Indiana chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, does not agree that the racial situation has improved. He contends that young Negroes, particularly, are losing patience and an incident might ignite the "powder keg."

Kansas City, Missouri

Kansas City, Missouri, has a population of 576,000, 19 per cent of which is Negro, and adjacent Kansas City, Kansas, has a population of 180,000, 17 per cent of which is Negro.

Within the past year, there have been several demonstrations in Kansas City, Missouri, protesting alleged police brutality and discrimination against Negroes. These demonstrations were led by the Council for United Action (CUA), an organization formed last year with the help of Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF).

The IAF keeps a man, Michael James Miller, in the city to serve as organizer and advisor for CUA. Miller, a graduate of the University of California, at Berkeley, has been active in the past in SNCC. In the Summer of 1968, he attended a National Youth Encampment held by the Communist Party, USA, at Camp Webatuck, Wingdale, New York.

The CUA is planning economic boycotts to be held in Kansas City. Responsible minority and community leaders know of no specific potential for racial violence. They point out that spontaneous disturbances might occur when allegations are made of unequal or brutal treatment by police or when some other incident is magnified by irresponsible talk or publicity.

Lansing, Michigan

Population 120,034 (1967); 11 per cent Negro (1967).

Civic leaders in Lansing feel that the efforts that have been made through such agencies as the Human Relations Council, composed of prominent Negroes and whites in the community, have done much toward keeping racial matters from becoming controversial issues. It is felt that no militant groups exist among Lansing's Negroes and that community efforts being made to secure better job opportunities and better housing and the development of recreational facilities for Negroes attest to the success of the collaborative efforts of Negro leaders and city officials.

As to the possibility of racial violence in the area, responsible members of the Negro community feel that racial disturbances may occur this summer, but if they do, they will be spontaneous, unorganized reactions to some police enforcement matter.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Population 750,000 (1967); 11 per cent Negro (1967).

Police officials, leaders of the Negro community, and other informed sources state that there has generally been no change in the racial situation in the city during

the past year. It is pointed out that a large number of the Negroes in Milwaukee are home owners and live in single or double family dwellings and there are no tenement districts.

Some Negro leaders feel that the Police Department is too severe in its relations with Negroes and may be applying a double standard in dealing with Negro and white citizens. On the other hand, Chief of Police Harold Breier contends that law and order can be maintained only through vigorous law enforcement.

The main worry of police is the potentially explosive influence posed by the Milwaukee Youth Council (MYC) of the NAACP, a civil rights group made up principally of juveniles under the direction of Father James E. Groppi, assistant pastor of St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church. The headquarters of the MYC is at Freedom House, in the heart of the Negro community. Father Groppi, who is white, is an outspoken civil rights leader.

In early March, 1967, three members of the MYC told police that Father Groppi and members of the MYC had made plans for the fire bombing of a number of residences of public officials as a diversionary tactic so that members of the MYC could start a riot. However, police have been unable to obtain sufficient corroborative information to prosecute Father Groppi and others.

On May 5, 1967, Father Groppi and two members of the MYC were arrested for interfering with police officers in the arrest of two 16-year-old boys charged with disorderly conduct in the vicinity of Freedom House. As a result, 75 young people gathered at the scene of the arrest and threw rocks, which broke squad car windows. At the time of his arrest, Groppi allegedly shouted, "Start the riot."

Since that time, police cars cruising the area have been pelted with stones and once a fire bomb struck the roof of the vehicle but did not ignite. On another occasion, two abandoned houses in this neighborhood were set on fire by a 12-year-old boy who admitted that he hangs around Freedom House, although he is not a member. Because of the provocative activities prompted by Father Groppi and members of the MYC, police are keeping a close watch on the immediate neighborhood of Freedom House.

On May 13, about 500 civil rights demonstrators, led by Father Groppi, marched on Milwaukee's police headquarters to protest what they contended was police harassment of Negroes. Father Groppi had been complaining of police harassment for several weeks.

Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota

Minneapolis has a population of 482,892 (1960), and adjacent St. Paul has a population of 313,000 (1960). In each city, Negroes comprise less than three per cent of the population.

The racial situation in Minneapolis and St. Paul has not changed to any extent in recent months, according to sources most familiar with racial conditions in this area. There is no known condition at this time which would forecast racial unrest or mob violence in these twin cities during the next few months.

Muskegon, Michigan

Muskegon has a population of 46,000, 15 per cent of which is Negro, and adjacent Muskegon Heights has a population of 21,000, of which 40 per cent is Negro.

A number of informed sources in this area state that employment is high; schools are both good and integrated; and no racial antagonisms exist at present. Civil rights demonstrations are peaceful and are aimed primarily at better housing and fair treatment for Negroes.

Although overall race relations in the area are considered good, law enforcement officials are following with some concern two potentially dangerous trends. The first is an increase in violent crime in the heavily populated Negro areas, which is considered indicative of a growing contempt for authority especially prevalent in the 16 to 20 age group, who attempt to screen their lawlessness by civil rights activities. Too, within the past year, Sheriff Marion Calkins has noted a resentment on the part of the white people in the area over this rise in crime and a definite increase in requests for gun permits and in the purchases of firearms. Sheriff Calkins is watching for evidence of organizational activities and, together with community leaders, feels that there is a growing potential for racial violence in this area among irresponsible Negro youths.

Omaha, Nebraska

Population 385,000 (1967); 8 per cent Negro (1967).

In July, August, and September, 1966, and March and April, 1967, there were serious incidents of racial violence in the Negro district of Omaha. All of these occurred spontaneously and involved primarily Negro youths under 25 years of age. It was necessary to call upon the National Guard to stop the widespread vandalism and looting that occurred in July, 1966. Two of these incidents followed necessary police action in the Negro district; one resulted from strong feelings aroused by the suicide of an incarcerated Negro youth; and the other was considered a continuation of teen-age fights at a local recreational center.

Informed sources consider the present situation tense and rate the possibility of racial violence "quite high" due to the ill feeling created by past incidents and to the rapidity with which Negro youths respond to the leadership of militant malcontents who are not associated with any civil rights groups. Informed sources agree that communications between law enforcement and city officials are open but are not as good as they were a year ago.

The prevailing mood in the city is one of impatience. Statements that the city will tolerate no more violence are creating greater hostility and tension. Negro leaders are criticizing the Police Department for inadequate protection against the rampaging youths, alleging that the police are reluctant to enter the Negro district and possibly precipitate an incident that could lead to further violence.

St. Louis, Missouri

Population 700,000 (1965); 29 per cent Negro (1960).

In 1963, the St. Louis branch of CORE picketed the Jefferson Bank and Trust Company, alleging job discrimination. As a result of the picketing, 15 demonstrators were arrested.

They were later found in contempt of court and received fines and jail sentences of varying severity, which they began to serve in March, 1967. Protests were initiated in March, 1967, against the Jefferson Bank and Trust Company and against Judge Michael J. Scott, who had found the demonstrators guilty of contempt of court. Picketing has been carried out at the Judge's home almost daily since March 13, 1967, under the sponsorship of a group known as the East-West Coordinating Council (EWCC). Eugene Tournour, who has been described as a member of the Communist Party, USA, in Chicago, was reportedly in St. Louis to assist in organizing the EWCC.

Knowledgeable sources in St. Louis agree that the jailing of the Jefferson Bank demonstrators serves as a rallying point for those who may wish to stir the emotions of the Negro community. It is agreed that eventual violence is a possibility. Some observers have gone so far as to suggest that even though the sentences meted out to the demonstrators were deserved, it might be wise to release them in the hope of easing tensions among Negroes. It is also felt by some that violence could be triggered by friction between police officers and Negroes, no matter how trivial the precipitating incident.

Another point of danger is the problem of unemployment among Negroes. Approximately 4,000 Negro youths who were employed during the Summer of 1966 will not be employed during the Summer of 1967 because of a lack of available funds.

Outsiders such as Eugene Tournour, Martin Luther King, and Stokely Carmichael are seen as adding to the potential for unrest and violence. Carmichael spoke in St. Louis in April, 1967. One observer expressed the opinion that if such individuals as these would stay away from St. Louis, the problems might be more successfully resolved.

Waukegan-North Chicago-Zion, Illinois

Waukegan, North Chicago, and Zion are adjacent communities with a total population of 200,000, 13 per cent of which is Negro.

The Negro community in Waukegan was the site of disturbances in the late Summer of 1966 precipitated by minor hoodlums and irresponsible teen-agers rather than being of racial origin. However, the strong language used by Waukegan's Mayor Robert Sabonjian in denouncing the persons responsible engendered resentment among the entire Negro community, who felt that all were being blamed for the actions of relatively few. The violence potential in the Negro tavern area where the 1966 disturbances took place is considered to still exist, as many individuals there reportedly possess firearms, which would create an obvious police problem if an incident did take place.

A tangible racial issue presently exists in regard to efforts by white and Negro parents to get the Waukegan School Board to change the boundaries of a local elementary school to promote a better racial balance within the school. A suit to force the district to change the boundaries is presently pending before the Illinois Supreme Court. Should the Court decide against the plaintiffs or undue delays occur, this could conceivably be an issue around which demonstrations could arise.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE WESTBakersfield, California

Population 64,000 (1967); 15 per cent Negro (1960).

Police officials and Negro leaders consider the racial situation good at this time, and no trouble is anticipated. However, all agree that there is always the possibility of spontaneous outbreaks of violence from time to time, particularly during the summer months when the young people are not attending school. Police officials observe that racial violence in Bakersfield has always been on the heels of major racial riots in other localities, and they believe this has a bearing on future disturbances.

As a result of a racial disturbance in May, 1966, specific orders have been given to police officers to shoot to kill any participant in a disorder who is seen using any type of weapon against a policeman. These orders cover the throwing of objects and have been made known to the Negro community. It is believed that the orders will prevent future disturbances.

Denver, Colorado

Population 512,000 (1967); 8 per cent Negro (1967).

Police and city officials, religious leaders, and heads of civil rights groups state that they can foresee no racial riots for the Denver area unless some militant outside groups manufacture a problem which does not exist in Denver at the present time. The only real problem during the past several summers has been due to the congregating of Negro teenagers, particularly on weekends, in the Dahlia Shopping Center, where these youths made considerable noise and engaged in drag racing. Some of them were on probation at the time. Integration leaders and others concerned advise that there were no racial overtones to these disturbances and that sufficient groundwork is being laid now to control the situation should it arise during the Summer of 1967.

Los Angeles, California

Population of Los Angeles County 6,038,771 (1960); 8 per cent Negro, 10 per cent Mexican-American (1960).

In general, the racial situation in Los Angeles and its metropolitan area appears to be normal with no apparent

potential for a widespread riot such as the one that took place in the Watts district in August, 1965. Police sources advise that improved relations between the Los Angeles Police Department and the Negro community are due to the new Chief of Police, Thomas Reddin, and his positive efforts to establish community relations offices and to maintain contact with the Negro minority.

All sources agree that violence of a spontaneous nature could occur among groups of idle Negro youths, as has happened in the past. A high official of the Los Angeles Police Department reports that as summer approaches, the Police Department is receiving more and more rumors of possible violence when school ends. He further states that there appears to be a general movement among restless young Negro elements toward the "black power" concept, which suggests the possibility of future violence. Another source says that State Senator Mervyn M. Dymally is attempting to arrange a Black Power Conference in Southern California, but he has no indication of what the results of such efforts might be.

In April, 1967, a fight occurred between a Negro and a white student at Long Beach Polytechnic High School which resulted in the boycott of the school track team by 43 Negro student athletes, who were subsequently dropped from the team. Although 15 members were reinstated, an official of the Long Beach Police Department says that close liaison is being maintained with school administrators, as he feels the situation represents a potential for violence.

Chief of Police William Kennedy, of Inglewood, reports that there is a potential for trouble in the Morning Side Park section of Inglewood, which is rapidly changing from a white to a Negro section. However, he points out that the Negroes who have moved into the section appear to be of the law-abiding and responsible type.

According to local government and civil rights leaders, the only trouble spot in the Monrovia-Duarte area is in the vicinity of Huntington Drive and California Street, where Negro juveniles congregate and frequently become involved in fights, either among themselves or with law enforcement officers. On April 14, 1967, a group of four young Negroes attacked police officers who had stopped them for a traffic violation near Huntington Drive. About 50 other Negro youths appeared and additional patrol cars were called. The original offenders were arrested, and the rest of the crowd quickly dispersed. A similar situation exists in Pasadena in the vicinity of Fair Oaks

and Mountain Avenues, where young Negroes often gather in the evenings and occasionally engage in altercations with the police.

Venice, which has been the scene of racial incidents in the past, is regarded by a high police official as definitely offering a potential for violence. However, the Los Angeles Police Department is taking positive steps to improve police-community relations, and the president of the local chapter of the NAACP has consulted with Governor Reagan regarding an "on the job" training program the NAACP would like to see in operation by June, 1967.

Dionicio Morales, Executive Director of the Mexican Opportunities Foundation, states that relations between Mexican-Americans and Negroes in Whittier continue to worsen, as Mexican-Americans feel that Negroes are receiving preferential job placement. Another uneasy situation exists in the Mexican-American community of Santa Fe Springs, where homes are being condemned to make way for low-cost Federal housing. Homeowners are protesting this action and have threatened to use firearms if necessary.

Oakland, California

Population 378,000 (1967); 27 per cent Negro (1967).

During the past year, there has been some racial strife in Oakland. In August, 1966, following the arrest of a teen-age Negro girl for shoplifting at a food market, the market was vandalized and later burned to the ground. In October, the Ad Hoc Committee for Quality Education, formed and endorsed or supported by civil rights, neighborhood, and church groups, announced that its demands had been rejected by the local Board of Education. A school boycott was held. Approximately 200 Negro teen-agers entered one high school and overturned furniture. White students and teachers were beaten. One teacher was knocked unconscious and robbed and had to be sent to the hospital. Three of Oakland's six high schools--Oakland Technical, Castlemont, and Fremont, all three with large numbers of both Negro and white students--are believed to have potential for violence.

There have been other incidents of vandalism and beatings. The police are harassed and charged with brutality. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Oakland, formed in December, 1966, roam the streets, armed to protect themselves

and fellow Negroes from "police brutality." On May 2, 1967, the Black Panthers, armed with loaded pistols, shotguns, and rifles, descended upon the State Capitol, in Sacramento. They entered the chamber where the assembly was in session. A Black Panther leader read a statement protesting an assembly bill that would ban the carrying of loaded weapons within city limits. There was no violence, and they were ejected by State Police.

It is believed that idle teen-age and young adult groups, as well as the Black Panther Party, might seize upon some incident as an opportunity to cause widespread violence.

Various civil rights groups continue to work for an end to de facto segregation, for equal employment opportunities for Negroes, and for an end to "police brutality."

Oxnard, California

Population 65,000 (1967); 5 per cent Negro, 17 per cent Mexican-American (1967).

According to the Chief of Police, the general racial situation at Oxnard is good; however, during the past year there have been isolated instances of animosity toward police officers on the part of youthful Negroes and Mexican-Americans, which indicate to him a definite possibility of violence as the result of an arrest or some incident between the police and these youths. He points out that the Colonia District in Oxnard is potentially explosive in that it is an area of sub-standard homes inhabited by Mexican-Americans and Negroes. Many of them have criminal records and are contemptuous of law enforcement officers and, because of their low economic status, undoubtedly harbor resentment toward society in general.

Portland, Oregon

Population 372,676 (1960); 5 per cent Negro (1960).

Local government and police officials, leaders of various racial groups, and sources representing a cross section of the community feel that the racial situation in Portland is excellent and that "Watts"-type rioting is inconceivable under present conditions. They caution, however, that small disorders involving teen-agers could occur if ignited by a spark such as friction between white and Negro students or apparently overaggressive police activity.

According to the police, any potential for racial unrest is concentrated in the Negro-dominated Albina District

and immediate surrounding area. Police advise that the only specific locations for possible racial disturbances are McDonald's Hamburger Drive-In Restaurant or Jefferson High School after an athletic event attracting a large number of students. Both the restaurant and the high school are located in the Albina District.

Richmond, California

Population 80,000 (1966); 20 per cent Negro (1966).

In April, 1967, about 20 Negro youths looted a clothing store. The police felt that the looting might have occurred because a police officer, earlier in the evening, had shot and killed a suspected burglar, a 22-year-old Negro, found running from a liquor store. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Oakland has used such incidents as this in seeking support in North Richmond.

The Police Department, the City Council (which has two Negro members), and various civic organizations, with the cooperation of new industries moving into the area, are making an effort to solve their racial problems. They feel that job opportunities for Negroes are of utmost importance but that there is no unrest serious enough to cause violence.

San Bernardino, California

Population 120,000 (1967); 9 per cent Negro (1960).

Police officials in San Bernardino feel that although conditions have improved, there remains a definite potential for violence in the San Bernardino area. There are certain Negroes who have made what are considered to be excessive demands on the community, mostly for complete integration of all schools, and unless these demands are met immediately, there is the possibility that direct action will be taken by the Negro population.

The west end section of San Bernardino is regarded as the "powder keg" area. There have been a number of Negro youths who, in the past, have caused incidents apparently in the hope that they would develop into full-scale riots. Although liaison between the Negro community and law enforcement agencies has improved over the past year, there is always the possibility that the arrest of a Negro can escalate into a riot.

San Diego, California

Population 650,000 (1966); 9 per cent Negro (1966).

During the 1965 Watts riot in Los Angeles, minor disturbances occurred in southeast San Diego in Logan Heights, a predominantly Negro section, where 98 per cent of the city's Negro population and 50 per cent of the members of its other minority groups reside.

Police officials have stated that they have no information of imminent racial difficulties. They point out that, in the past, any disturbances in San Diego have been spontaneous and unpredictable and that trouble in other parts of the country, particularly in Los Angeles, has a contagious effect on the San Diego Negro community.

San Francisco, California

Population 740,200 (1966); 16 per cent Negro (1966).

There are four main areas of concern in San Francisco. These are: the Hunters Point area, Fillmore District, Mission District, and Haight-Ashbury District. There is also Chinatown, where the crime rate is growing fast among youngsters who are breaking away from the customs of their law-abiding ancestors.

The Hunters Point area consists mainly of temporary World War II housing units, which are scheduled to be demolished in 1970. The area is populated predominantly by Negroes, a large number of whom were brought into the city from southern states to work in the shipyards during World War II. It is a trouble spot because the inhabitants are dissatisfied with the housing and many, including school drop-outs, do not have the skills to qualify for employment in a city where business offices are the principal employers.

The Fillmore District, consisting largely of dilapidated and overcrowded housing, has a high incidence of crime and delinquency. The Mission District contains a high percentage of Spanish-speaking families and a 15-acre World War II temporary housing unit that is occupied almost entirely by Negroes. The Spanish-speaking element in the Mission District believes that it has been neglected and overlooked in employment opportunities. The Haight-Ashbury District is referred to as a psychedelic community because it is rapidly being taken over by "hippies," who use LSD and marijuana and dress in a gaudy manner.

The Hunters Point and Fillmore Districts were the scene of three days of rioting in September, 1966, after a white policeman shot and killed a 16-year-old Negro youth who was riding in a stolen car. The California National Guard was called to quell the rioting. For several days, in mid-May, 1967, scattered violence and vandalism took place throughout the city, with most of the trouble again centering in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas. In unseasonably hot weather, gangs of Negro youths tossed rocks at car and store windows, assaulted pedestrians, and started fires.

Chief of Police Thomas J. Cahill stated that race relations are generally good in San Francisco; however, unemployment among young Negroes and house evictions to make room for redevelopment may cause difficulties. Chief Cahill also stated that Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael have a definite effect on the Negro residents of San Francisco and, therefore, the activities of these two individuals could affect the racial situation in the city.

Another individual with considerable influence in the Negro community is Dr. Carlton Benjamin Goodlett, a surgeon and editor of the weekly, "The Sun Reporter," which is designed for a Negro audience. Dr. Goodlett, who was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor of California in 1966, was considered to be a CPUSA member in 1947. He is the only American who participates in meetings of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, an international communist front group.

While several civil rights organizations have headquarters in San Francisco, the most militant is the Black Panther Party. This organization originated in Lowndes County, Alabama, where it was known as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Certain members of this group are armed, allegedly for self-defense. On February 21, 1967, several Black Panthers, wearing black berets and carrying shotguns, rifles, and pistols, appeared at the San Francisco International Airport to act as bodyguards for Betty X, widow of Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, who was arriving by plane. No action was taken against this group by law enforcement officers in order to avoid injury to bystanders.

In summary, San Francisco's racial relations are generally good. There is general agreement that no group is planning racial violence, and there is just as much agreement that, if racial violence does erupt, it will be triggered by an isolated incident. Its underlying causes will be lack of job opportunities for the limited skills in the minority

communities and discontent among Negroes living in temporary wartime housing scheduled to be demolished in 1970. The feeling prevails in the Negro community that redevelopment is designed primarily to drive them from the city so that high-rent housing can be constructed for white families. On the other hand, San Francisco officials are extremely sensitive to the demands of the minority communities, and the San Francisco Police Department Community Relations Unit has received almost universal commendation for its work.

Seattle, Washington

Population 557,087 (1960); 5 per cent Negro (1960).

There have been no racial demonstrations in Seattle during the past year, according to the Seattle Police Department. Police officials and civil rights leaders point to progress made in the civil rights field during the past 12 months and do not foresee any likelihood of violence in the near future.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE SOUTH

Atlanta, Georgia

Population 487,455 (1960); 38 per cent Negro (1960).

The main activity of civil rights groups in Atlanta has been devoted to occasional picketing or otherwise demonstrating against slum housing conditions that exist in some predominantly Negro communities. Protests have also been made against the failure of some businesses to employ what is considered by some to be a representative number of Negroes.

Three substandard Negro communities where violence-provoking incidents could occur are the Summerhill area, the Vine City area, and the Boulevard area. Any real or fancied incident of violence in a substandard area between a Negro and a white person, especially if the white person is a law enforcement officer, can instantly fan racial resentments into further violence. In the past, when news of racial incidents has spread, individuals such as those connected with SNCC have rushed to the scene for the purpose of provoking residents of the area to rebel against authority.

Hate organizations, both Negro and white, present a very real threat. For example, in March, 1967, Atlanta police arrested five Black Muslims--adherents of the Nation of Islam, a Negro hate organization--after a complaint was received that Negro citizens were attacked by Muslims selling "Muhammad Speaks," the newspaper published by the Nation of Islam. While the Black Muslims were being booked at the Atlanta Police Department, they attacked police officers on duty, hospitalizing three policemen.

Members of Klan groups are antagonistic toward such individuals as Stokely Carmichael, a leading figure in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose national headquarters are located in Atlanta, and Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, whose headquarters are also situated in Atlanta. Many other members of the white community share this dislike of Carmichael and King.

Birmingham, Alabama

Population 345,000 (1967); 40 per cent Negro (1967).

Detective Marcus Jones, Sr., of the Birmingham Police Department, who handles racial matters in the city, states that during the past year Birmingham has enjoyed good racial relations. He says there have been no bombing incidents or acts of individual terrorism. However, on February 17, 1967, an 18-year-old Negro youth burglarizing an elementary school was shot and killed by a city police officer. This incident triggered daily demonstrations but, according to Detective Jones, police protection accounted for the fact that no violence occurred during these demonstrations.

Reverend Edward Gardner, Vice President of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the organization sponsoring the demonstrations, claims that at least ten Negroes have been shot and killed by local law enforcement officers during the past year. He says racial demonstrations against "police brutality" would continue. Mr. Gardner warns that violence could break out at any time, for both whites and Negroes in the city are capable of violence. An eruption could occur this fall, he feels, when Negro students integrate previously all-white schools on a large scale.

Dr. John Nixon, President of the Birmingham Chapter of the NAACP, believes that Birmingham has come a long way in the field of racial relations in the last year but has a long way to go. He contends that the Negro in Birmingham can gain his equal rights only by voting power or by demonstrations.

Mr. William Hamilton, Executive Secretary to Mayor Albert Boutwell, expresses the view that the potential for violence in Birmingham is very low, mainly because thousands of Negroes now have jobs they did not have during the huge racial demonstrations in the city in 1963.

Bogalusa, Louisiana

Population 21,423 (1960); 33 per cent Negro (1960).

Racial conditions in Bogalusa at the moment are termed very good. However, police officials are concerned that Federal mandates concerning hiring policies more favorable to Negroes at the local paper mill may bring about a strike, thereby causing a resumption of picketing and strife in Bogalusa. Additionally, it is feared that should some modifications of the Federal demands be made, the Negro population might be upset enough to begin demonstrating again.

There is also some speculation that segregationists may precipitate unrest as a result of the order for full school integration in the fall of this year.

Dallas, Texas

Population 679,684 (1960); 19 per cent Negro (1966).

An official of the Department of Housing and Urban Development sees no prospect of racial violence in the Dallas area, although Richard Dockery, Southwestern Regional Director of the NAACP, feels the possibility for violence does exist. He says that if violence occurs, it will probably be the result of some unpredictable incident.

Clarence Laws, former Southwestern Regional Director of the NAACP, claims that there is an atmosphere of unrest in the Negro community in Dallas because of unemployment and underemployment of qualified Negroes.

Danger of a racial-violence eruption over school integration seems to be less a problem than in the past. Dr. Emmett J. Conrad, in a Dallas School Board run-off election held on May 1, 1967, was the first Negro ever to be elected to the Board. This was considered to be a victory for the "Goals For Dallas" program, which included many recommendations for better education.

Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Population 125,000 (1967); 20 per cent Negro (1967).

Milton J. Kelly, Managing Editor of the "Fort Lauderdale News," states that general racial conditions in the Fort Lauderdale area have been good during the past year. Captain Floyd Hall, of the Fort Lauderdale Police Department, and other responsible observers in the city do not anticipate an outbreak of violence in the city in the near future. Each believes, however, that the northwest section of Fort Lauderdale, a slum area, is a potential source of Negro unrest because of poor housing and poor living conditions in general.

Houston, Texas

Population 1,187,000 (1967); 23 per cent Negro (1960).

Prior to May 16, 1967, informed sources had reported that there had been no incidents of racial violence in the recent past in Houston and that no such trouble was anticipated

in the near future. However, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had been conducting demonstrations to protest the refusal of the Texas Southern University to reinstate SNCC, which had been banned from the campus of this predominantly Negro institution.

On the night of May 16, a Houston police officer was shot and killed by an unknown sniper when he responded to a call for help from four other policemen who were being subjected to sniper fire on the campus. Heavy police reinforcements immediately converged on the campus and conducted a room-by-room search of the buildings for the sniper. Several weapons were found and about 500 students were arrested.

Cassius Clay--or Muhammad Ali, as he prefers to be called--now claims Houston as his residence. Since 1963, the now deposed world's heavyweight boxing champion has been resisting attempts to induct him into the Armed Forces, on the basis of his religious affiliation with the Nation of Islam, a Negro hate group which is opposed to the war in Vietnam and all so-called 'white man's wars.' On April 28, 1967, Clay refused to be inducted into the service in Houston. Clay could become a rallying point for opposition to the draft and to the Vietnam war by racial groups. It was reported that in the Harlem area of New York City, for instance, Clay's refusal to be drafted had considerable emotional impact among young Negroes.

Jackson, Mississippi

Population 165,000 (1967); 36 per cent Negro (1967).

During the early hours of May 11, 1967, a wild demonstration was set off on the campus of Jackson State University, a predominantly Negro institution, when two Negro policemen sought to arrest a Negro man for speeding. Negro students rushed from dormitories to attack the policemen, shouting insults and curses and throwing bottles, bricks, and rocks. An estimate placed the number of rampaging students at 1,500. Disturbances continued for two nights. Three Negro youths were shot during the second night of rioting, one of whom subsequently died of his wounds. Following the first night of rioting, Governor Paul Johnson called up 385 National Guardsmen to bring about law and order.

Only a few days earlier, Assistant Chief of Police M. B. Pierce said there was little potential for mass rioting in Jackson. He pointed out that the racial situation in Jackson had been extremely quiet during 1966 and early 1967; that there had been no mass meetings, marches, or demonstrations having pronounced racial overtones. Similarly,

Allen L. Johnson, an NAACP official, stated he was not aware of any racial situation in Jackson which could lead to a racial riot.

The Jackson State University demonstration graphically illustrates how quickly and unexpectedly an otherwise insignificant incident can ignite a demonstration which can, in turn, lead to a more serious situation.

It is worth noting that Stokely Carmichael addressed groups at Jackson State University and Tougaloo College, another predominantly Negro school, on April 11, 1967.

Louisville, Kentucky

Population 389,044 (1964); 20 per cent Negro (1964).

Until March, 1967, racial conditions were considered good. It was felt that Negro demands for complete integration gradually were being met through the work of a Human Relations Commission established in 1962 and through public ordinances passed in 1963 and 1965 outlawing discriminatory practices.

Another ordinance, passed in August, 1965, and called the "Declaration of Principles," provided for complaints regarding discrimination in housing to be settled through negotiation and persuasion, but carried no criminal penalties. This ordinance is the basis of racial difficulties that are presently threatening the city of Louisville with widespread racial violence.

In 1966, civil rights leaders complained that the ordinance was ineffective in preventing discrimination in housing. Initial conferences and discussions failed. In March, 1967, civil rights demonstrations began.

In April, the rejection by the Louisville Board of Aldermen of another proposed ordinance resulted in an intensification of demonstrations involving from 65 to 200 persons who marched nightly into an all-white area at the south end of the city. The number of spectators and hecklers reached between 2,000 and 2,500 and, on three occasions, it was necessary for the police to use tear gas to disperse the violent crowd. Close to 600 arrests, primarily of demonstrators, have been made by the Louisville Police Department. On April 21, 107 adults and 26 juveniles were arrested for attempting to march in the south end of Louisville contrary to a temporary restraining order issued on April 14 forbidding nighttime marches.

With the sanction of Martin Luther King; his brother, Reverend A. D. Williams King, Chairman of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference; and other leaders of the open housing movement, demonstrators threatened to disrupt the 93rd Kentucky Derby on May 6. Negro comedian Dick Gregory, who joined the fracas, was accused of inciting five young Negroes to bolt onto the race track at Churchill Downs during the first race on May 2. To avert a large-scale riot, further inflamed by the offer of the assistance of 1,000 Klansmen, city officials cancelled many of the preliminary festivities and ordered the National Guardsmen to duty. The Derby was run without further incident.

Leaders on the scene feel that tension is so great that a riot could erupt at any moment. They consider that only the presence of a considerable number of police has averted widespread, riotous conditions to date.

Longtime civil rights leaders in Louisville, although they feel that city leaders are callous to the demands of Negroes, disagree with the flagrant tactics used by the recently arrived leaders of the open housing demonstrations and are fearful that the irresponsible Negro element of the city might join the demonstrators. Speaking for the Louisville Committee of Negro Churchmen, Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker has stated: "We echo the demands made by our fellow ministers and churchmen in the Chicago area (when Martin Luther King was active in demonstrations in Chicago) that the technicians get the hell out of Louisville."

Memphis, Tennessee

Population 600,000 (1967); 45 per cent Negro (1967).

Memphis has had no major racial violence. Police Commissioner Claude Armour has consistently enforced the laws and has not tolerated violence from either white or Negro extremists.

Police officials and other observers generally agree that racial conditions in Memphis are good. However, Captain J. G. Ray, of the Memphis Police Department, is of the opinion that there is more potential for violence now than he has seen in past years. He says some Negroes seem to think that the harmonious race relations and the progress in integration have been exaggerated.

Captain Ray feels that should violence come, it will occur in the LeMoyne Gardens area, a public-housing project

in the south central part of the city. This housing project and the area surrounding it constitute an economically depressed area, where spontaneous violence could occur. For example, Captain Ray notes that recently a Negro juvenile was shot by police in a burglary or break-in in this area. Immediately, Negro youths started shouting, "Black Power." Captain Ray feels any arrest by law enforcement officers could trigger spontaneous violence. However, he says Negro leaders probably can be counted on to use their influence to stop violence.

One informed source says there is little potential for violence of a racial nature in Memphis unless there is a strong movement by nationally prominent agitators from outside the city. This source asserts that while some Negro leaders may speak as though they are not opposed to outside agitation, they would in reality act to prevent it.

Miami, Florida

Population 291,688 (1960), 22 per cent Negro (1960).

Municipal and Negro leaders have stated that no potential "trouble spots" exist in the Miami area and they do not anticipate any sort of racial violence in the foreseeable future. The Miami Police Department has no knowledge of situations which might trigger mob violence or riots.

Nashville, Tennessee

Population 170,874 (1960); 40 per cent Negro (1960).

The nationally publicized riot of April 8 - 11, 1967, in Nashville and issues and conditions growing from this riot have caused a deterioration of racial relations in the city. However, avenues for the exchange of ideas between Negroes and whites continue to exist, and it is believed that racial progress can be resumed.

Observers have commented that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was deeply involved in events immediately preceding the rioting and was largely responsible for what occurred during the course of the rioting. These observers are of the opinion that SNCC is not truly representative of the Negro academic community, particularly from a numerical standpoint.

It is believed there is little potential for renewed rioting in the Negro community during the coming months, since the potential for unrest and violence will further lessen with the end of the regular school year, when the student population on the campuses of Fisk University and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University will be reduced. Additionally, most SNCC leaders and activists will not be allowed to return to either university.

Actually, the April rioting was geographically restricted to a small portion of the city in and about the campuses of Fisk and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Universities. Although extremely active, the rioters were relatively few in number and consisted mostly of Negro students and other Negro males in their late teens and early twenties.

While there is a considerable amount of substandard Negro housing in the city, there is no ghetto; the Negro community is separated into segments in several areas of Nashville. This distribution causes problems for effective Negro leadership. On the other hand, a group such as SNCC can reach but a fraction of the total Negro community at any one time. As a matter of fact, it has been observed that in some areas of Nashville many Negroes have never heard of Stokely Carmichael.

Natchez, Mississippi

Population 28,000 (1967); 48 per cent Negroes (1967).

In April, 1967, James Lloyd Jones, a white man, was tried for the murder of Ben White, a Negro. A mistrial resulted and the retrial will be held in November, 1967. Tension rose in the Negro community over this matter, but did not reach a critical point. Tensions have since subsided. Chief of Police J. T. Robinson, of the Natchez Police Department, considers the general racial situation to be quiet. He knows of no significant unrest among Negroes and feels there will be none unless some unforeseen incident occurs.

R. Brent Forman, President of the Natchez-Adams County School Board, says the Board has received instructions to prepare a new plan for school integration to be put into effect in the Fall of 1967, but he believes there will be trouble regardless of the action taken.

Charles Evers, NAACP Director for the State of Mississippi, asserts that Negroes are planning no acts of violence because they feel they would be degrading themselves by committing such acts.

New Orleans, Louisiana

Population 652,000 (1965); 37 per cent Negro (1960).

New Orleans police officials state there is no indication of potential racial violence in the city. Similarly, persons knowledgeable in civil rights organizations in the New Orleans area foresee nothing indicating the possibility of major racial disturbances.

Richmond, Virginia

Population 219,958 (1960); 52 per cent Negro (1967).

A spokesman for the Richmond Police Department states that racial conditions are generally very good, since the employment picture has greatly improved in the past year or two and integration in job opportunities is universal throughout the city. Communication between public officials and leaders of various Negro groups is amicable, and several Negroes have been elected to the City Council. Further, school integration has gone smoothly with a minimum of incidents during the past year. It is pointed out, however, that people are frequently influenced by controversial public figures and consequent reaction under these circumstances is unpredictable.

Edward L. Slade, Jr., President of the Richmond Branch of the NAACP, expresses similar views. He states that racial relations in Richmond continue to progress in an orderly manner and Governor Mills E. Godwin's stand on cross burnings has given the Negro community a feeling of more security. According to Slade, the NAACP is a controlling and pacifying influence on the Negro people of Richmond and it hopes to remain so.

Another civic leader observes that Stokely Carmichael's recent appearance in Richmond had not sparked any lawlessness or violence, whereas his appearances in other communities have provoked such activity.

San Antonio, Texas

Population 710,000 (1967); 7 per cent Negro (1967).

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Detective Sergeant Albert Saenz, of the San Antonio Police Department, states that neither he nor his sources know of any potentially violent situation in the area and, further, there have been no overt manifestations of racial unrest in the past.

The President of the San Antonio NAACP, as well as other Negro leaders in the area, has expressed satisfaction over the current relationship between the whites and the Negroes.

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FUSION OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS

Aggravating Tension

The innumerable racial riots and disturbances which have plagued the United States since 1964 have had their genesis primarily in the long-smoldering discontent and resentment of Negroes over unequal job, school, and housing opportunities and their deep-seated antipathy toward the police. However, constant agitation and propaganda on the part of communists and other subversive and extremist elements have done much to aggravate tension in the ghettos of the Nation's big cities.

In the nearly 48 years of its existence, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), has subjected Negroes to unending agitation and propaganda. It has portrayed itself to this minority group as the champion of racial equality, civil rights, civil liberties, and social protest. To the credit of the Negroes and to the great disappointment of the communists, the Communist Party has not been able to recruit and retain significant numbers of Negroes as members. Most Negroes realize that the communists are interested in them primarily to exploit racial issues and to create the chaos upon which communism nourishes. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of this ceaseless agitation and propaganda and the familiar communist charge of "police brutality" cannot be ignored or minimized.

Creating Opposition to Vietnam War

During a period which has now extended beyond three years, the CPUSA and other subversive organizations have been engaged in campaigns to influence the United States Government to withdraw its troops from Vietnam or to participate in negotiations to end the war. They hope, of course, that either action would result ultimately in advancing the cause of international communism through a victory in Vietnam.

The activities of the CPUSA in recent months have, almost without exception, been directed in one way or another toward the creation of opposition to the war

in Vietnam. This opposition, the communists reason, serves to lend encouragement to the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong to continue the fighting despite military adversities and could lead to domestic discontent in the United States similar to that which contributed to the French military disengagement from events in Indochina. In view of the historic designs of the CPUSA on the Negro people and the racial ferment that has been evidenced by the disturbances of recent summers, it was inevitable that the communists and other subversives and extremists would attempt to link civil rights protests with antiwar protests so as to increase the magnitude and impetus of each.

As early as April, 1965, General Secretary Gus Hall told the CPUSA Secretariat that the "peace struggle" is a major and top priority project of the CPUSA. At the same time, Hall claimed that the protest movements in this country were converging, with peace leaders becoming civil rights leaders and vice versa. By and large, Hall continued, the same mass of people reacted against the ultraright in the 1964 presidential election, against conditions in Alabama, and against events in Vietnam. The struggle for social progress and the struggle against policies of imperialist aggressions were, in Hall's words, now joined.

Union of Civil Rights and Peace Movements

In antiwar propaganda attuned to Hall's assertion, the CPUSA claims that the war in Vietnam has racial overtones not only because it involves nonwhites in Asia but also because it consumes funds that might otherwise be expended for the war on poverty in the depressed areas of large cities inhabited by Negroes. The CPUSA has also praised the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the militant civil rights youth group, for being the first to make the tie between civil rights and peace.

A recent illustration of the fusion of the civil rights and antiwar movements was the so-called "Vietnam Week," which culminated in mass demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967.

This protest activity was sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Among the participants in the activities of these committees are members of SNCC; the CPUSA; the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), a communist-inspired Marxist-oriented youth group; the pro-Red-Chinese Progressive Labor Party (PLP); the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP); and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the SWP's youth and training section.

An example or two will demonstrate the involvement of the CPUSA in this "Vietnam Week." Initial plans for this activity were made by the Spring Mobilization Committee at a conference held in Cleveland in late November, 1966. The CPUSA was represented at this conference by Arnold Johnson, Chairman of its National Peace Commission, and National Executive Board members James West and Thomas Dennis. At this time, Johnson was stating that the CPUSA should try to get one million people to demonstrate at the same time against United States involvement in Vietnam. A key figure in the plans for "Vietnam Week" made by the Student Mobilization Committee at a conference held in Chicago in late December, 1966, was CPUSA National Committee member Bettina Aptheker, who is a student at the University of California at Berkeley.

The activities in one CPUSA district, selected at random, show the extent of communist involvement in the New York City demonstration on April 15. In early March, members of the Michigan District were told that they must concentrate on laboring people, Negro communities, and nationalities groups to organize people to participate in the April 15 demonstration in New York City. The Michigan District Committee appointed a four-man committee in mid-March to handle arrangements for the mobilization in New York City. Activities in connection with the mobilization were described as the most important of all endeavors by members of the Michigan District.

Participants in the parade in New York City on April 15 included Gus Hall and at least 200 CPUSA members. Over one half of the total SWP membership in the United States also marched in the parade. Others participating in the parade and rally in New York City were several members of the DCA, PLP, and YSA.

The Reverend James Bevel is the National Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. He was released by Martin Luther King from a key position in King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to permit him to take this assignment.

Significantly, among the principal speakers at the antiwar rally in New York City on April 15 were Martin Luther King; Stokely Carmichael, a top figure in SNCC; Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE; and Bevel. Bevel stated that the next objective of the "peace forces" will be to organize a massive march on Washington, D. C., to confront President Johnson.

Another speaker at this rally was Linda Dannenberg, Executive Secretary of the Spring Mobilization Committee, who is known to consult with leaders of the New York District of the CPUSA. Dannenberg announced that thousands are going to be called upon for a "radical action summer" in which they will go into every town in the United States to organize a massive protest against this country's involvement in the war in Vietnam. She requested that every interested student attend an antiwar meeting in Chicago on May 13 and 14, 1967.

As a follow-up to these peace demonstrations, King and other leaders of the Spring Mobilization Committee launched a nationwide "Vietnam Summer" organizing effort. They called for 10,000 volunteers, including 2,000 full-time workers, to spend the summer in 500 communities escalating opposition to the Vietnam war, encouraging Negroes to refuse to be drafted, and attempting to create a political bloc powerful enough to end the war. The antiwar campaign is patterned after the 1964 summer civil rights drive in Mississippi.

Now that the civil rights and the antiwar protest movements have been joined, with the distinct possibility of ominous displays of civil disobedience and near seditious activities on the part of Negroes and whites alike, the outlook for this summer is grim indeed. The injection of antiwar activities into civil rights activities is bound to intensify racial discord and heighten the violence potential throughout the country.

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In the long run, this consolidated civil rights-peace movement will be detrimental to the national security and best interests of the Nation, for it will not only tend to encourage the enemy and prolong the Vietnam war but will also have an adverse effect on the cause of civil rights.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



SUBJECT: RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN
THE UNITED STATES THIS SUMMER

DATE: May 23, 1967

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PREFACE

This document is, in essence, an intelligence survey of this summer's racial violence potential in the United States. Its contents were derived from public sources, public officials, police officers, knowledgeable observers, and FBI sources. This document should not, however, be regarded as a report based upon the results of any specific investigation conducted by the FBI.

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OVERVIEW

Continuing Racial Tension

After three consecutive summers of racial turbulence in the United States, there were hopes that the social, economic, and political gains achieved by the Negro in recent years might be alleviating racial unrest and strife. Civil rights legislation, antipoverty programs, and better police-community relations have brought a measure of improvement in the status and treatment of Negroes, but discontent and frustration persist. Race relations have deteriorated in a number of cities throughout the country during the past year.

Seasonal Phenomenon

We are now in the midst of an era of protracted racial conflict that has produced a crisis in law enforcement. Along with the annual seasonal rise in summertime crime, it is painfully evident that racial turmoil has similarly become a summer phenomenon. The racial violence potential is especially high in hot weather in the Nation's urban areas because large numbers of Negroes, living under crowded, depressed conditions in ghettos, take to the streets to escape the heat and seek relaxation and recreation. The situation is compounded by the restiveness and alienation of large numbers of idle junior and senior high school students and other Negro youths. Because of the combustible temper of the times, an inconsequential incident can ignite a riotous situation in any city or town in the country.

Another Riotous Summer

The Spring of 1967 has already witnessed almost daily outbreaks of racial disorder somewhere in the country. All signs point toward recurrent racial convulsions throughout the country this summer--more than likely on an even wider scale than in previous years--marked by plundering, arson, destruction, and attacks on law enforcement officers. There is the added danger this year that the scenes of racial strife in large cities might spread from Negro

communities into white neighborhoods and that increased numbers of white people might resort to violence in an effort to counter Negro demonstrators or rioters. The threat of racial violence hangs heavy over every urban community in the land. In an atmosphere of ever-present tension, violence can strike anywhere at any time with all the unpredictability, rapidity, and destructiveness of a tornado.

Civil Rights Linked with Vietnam

Most of the riots and disturbances of the past three years have been spontaneous eruptions of mob violence, triggered by some trivial incident and fueled by teen-age Negro youths and various lawless and irresponsible ghetto elements. But incessant agitation and propaganda on the part of communists and other subversives and extremists have definitely contributed to Negro unrest and fomented violence. In particular, demagogues like Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick, Cassius Clay, and Dick Gregory have fanned the fires of racial discord and animosity. King has now joined Carmichael, McKissick, and other civil rights extremists in embracing the communist tactic of linking the civil rights movement with the anti-Vietnam-war protest movement, claiming that United States involvement in Vietnam is diverting attention from civil rights. King's exhortation to boycott the draft and refuse to fight could lead eventually to dangerous displays of civil disobedience and near-seditious activities by Negroes and whites alike. Thus, the antiwar campaign endorsed by King helps to promote communist aims and programs in the United States and abroad.

MORE RACIAL TROUBLE PREDICTED

Ominous Warnings

Each spring of the past few years has evoked prognostications from Negro spokesmen and public officials in cities with substantial Negro populations to the effect that the ensuing summer months would see outbursts of racial violence. This spring the prophecies have been more numerous and more ominous than ever, particularly those voiced by Negro leaders.

"The war in Vietnam has strengthened the forces of bigotry and reaction," declared Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). "It has caused many young people to become disenchanted with our society. The failure to solve the problems of our cities will only exacerbate the situation, and give the extremists on both sides a much more receptive audience. Polarization of the race question in the United States won't merely mean outbreaks of violence. It will mean outright race wars in some of our cities."

At least ten cities across the country were described by King as "powder kegs" which could explode into racial violence this summer. Among those cities he listed were New York City, Newark, Washington, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, and the Bay area of California, including Oakland.

Sporadic youth-led riots throughout the country must be expected this summer and every summer for the next decade, Bruce Coles, Program Director for the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, told the House Education Subcommittee. The continuing tumult, according to Coles, can be traced to a conflict between the promises of an affluent society and society's limited ability to spread that affluence around. Unable to get jobs and rise out of the slums, the youngsters--mostly teen-age Negro boys--simply "blame whitey and raise hell," he said.

Alienation and tension in some Negro neighborhoods "are reaching catastrophic proportions which can lead to unprecedented explosions in 1967," warned Edward Rutledge and Jack E. Wood, Executive Director and Associate Executive Director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, in an annual report. Rutledge and Wood, who forecast racial disorders in 1965 and 1966, drew their conclusions from a study conducted in 41 cities and 25 states during 1966.

Rutledge and Wood claimed they found a conviction among Negro youth that progress in civil rights will be achieved through social turmoil, and they repeatedly heard such comments in ghettos as "We need two and a half more riots to get out of here."

"Hardly any community in this country can call itself immune from trouble this summer," declared Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). McKissick placed Cleveland at the top of his list of trouble spots, along with most New Jersey cities. Other cities he enumerated were New York City; Washington; Detroit; Chicago; Gary, Indiana; St. Louis; East St. Louis, Illinois; Los Angeles; San Francisco; and Oakland.

A Negro sociologist at Howard University, Dr. Nathan Hare, sees a "very real" possibility of a civil war between whites and Negroes in the United States. "It's going to be quite a while off yet--though not so far off as to be outside of our life span," he said. Dr. Hare, who describes himself as a "theorist" in the "black power" movement, is actively spreading its philosophy to Negro colleges across the country.

"Violence is the only way left to the black man to achieve his manhood in America," Ernest Chambers, a leader of young militants in Omaha, told delegates to the National Conference on Community Values and Conflict in New York City. He said that "violence purges the soul of the black man and returns to him his self-respect." Chambers maintained that prevention of racial violence was up to the white people. They must realize, he said, that injustice is practiced daily against the Negro and that Negro youths will no longer put up with it.

The key to racial peace this summer, observed Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), is jobs for the thousands of young Negroes who will be turned loose from school "with muscles in their arms and mischief in their minds." With "one out of three Negro teen-agers wandering around," he said, "you are going to have trouble." Wilkins expressed the hope that there would be no riot in any city, and added: "But I can't say there won't because all the ingredients are there."

Public officials in a number of large cities have expressed considerable apprehension about the possibility of racial violence this year. Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York City, asserted that "we have no way of knowing what this summer will bring but we do know that if violence breaks out, the young people of the ghettos will be in its vanguard." He has called upon the administration to restore cuts in antipoverty funds for summer youth activities or face the threat of rioting in Negro ghettos this summer.

Disturbances are likely in the Nation's capital this summer, according to Walter N. Tobriner, a District of Columbia Commissioner, unless funds for recreational programs for school children are approved. If youthful energy is not **channeled** constructively, he cautioned, "I am sure that increased vandalism, destruction, and other antisocial behavior would tend to result." He added: "Of course, we can never assume summer peace, since incidents fanning neighborhood reaction are neither foreseeable nor controllable. But we can, by providing these funds, make the occurrence of summer incidents less likely and their enlargement to other areas less apt to occur."

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta, observed that "in any big city with major slum problems, incidents amounting almost to riots can occur at any time during the hot summer months whenever there is provocative leadership that finds an incident that can be exploited. There is always some incident that provocative leaders can use if they want."

Familiar Pattern

The forebodings of recent years have been amply justified in view of the extensive riotous conditions that have developed in the United States during the past three summers. Events have unmistakably shown that any municipality in the country with a Negro population is susceptible to a racial outbreak. A partial listing of cities and towns where racial disorders have occurred since 1964 indicates that racial disorders can happen anywhere and everywhere at any time: New York City; Rochester, New York; Philadelphia; Jersey City; Cleveland; Dayton, Ohio; Lansing, Michigan; Chicago; Waukegan, Illinois; Omaha; San Francisco; Los Angeles; Atlanta; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; and Bogalusa, Louisiana. It is obviously impossible to pinpoint when and where racial violence will erupt.

But there is one aspect of racial violence that can be predicted with some precision: the pattern it will follow. In virtually every instance where major riots have broken out in Negro communities in recent years, the pattern and sequence of events have been identical: the escalation of an initial minor episode involving police action; a rapidly growing crowd and mounting excitement and hysteria fomented by troublemakers, extremists, and subversives; overt hostility toward the police, accompanied by wild charges of "police brutality"; the explosion of blind, irrational mob fury and action; street fighting between Negroes and police; hurling of rocks, bricks, bottles, fire bombs, and other objects; looting, vandalism, and arson; and, finally, summoning of police reserves and frequently the National Guard to restore law and order.

The survey on the following pages endeavors to highlight the violence potential which exists in the United States as the Summer of 1967 draws near.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE EAST

Baltimore, Maryland

Population 917,000 (1966); 41 per cent Negro (1966).

At the present time, Baltimore police officials feel that there is less tension today than there has been for the past year and that there is no current situation that is likely to lead to riots or racial violence within the next six months. They believe that the Negro leadership, although at times radical, manages to control its followers and that the communication between the police and this leadership is good, largely due to the effectiveness of community relations councils set up by the Baltimore Police Department. In their assessment of the situation, they conclude that if violence does occur, it will arise either from police action in heavily populated Negro districts or from counterdemonstrators representing white-supremacist hate groups.

On two occasions within the past year, an individual representing the Fighting American Nationalists and one representing the Baltimore (White) Citizens Council counterdemonstrated civil rights demonstrations for integrated housing. The National States Rights Party, a white hate group, has been refused permission to hold rallies in the Baltimore area. A Klan group has recently distributed racist literature in a housing project in Baltimore.

The leading civil rights group on the Baltimore scene is CORE, which designated Baltimore its target city for 1966. Most civil rights groups active in Baltimore are national or local civil rights groups not dominated or influenced by subversive elements. Although the Civic Interest Group is a legitimate local group, two of its leaders have expressed a desire to organize a Baltimore chapter of Deacons for Defense and Justice, an all-Negro organization composed of armed members.

Boston, Massachusetts

Population 617,326 (1966); 9 per cent Negro (1966).

It is the unanimous opinion of community leaders that antagonism between the races is relatively nonexistent and that racial violence in the near future is improbable. They indicate that efforts to improve the Negroes' economic and social status have been largely successful; that progress has been made in school integration; and that communication between minority groups and the police is considered excellent.

Although no present issues appear to be of sufficient magnitude to evoke an extreme emotional response, informed sources indicate that the possibility of a spontaneous outburst of violence inflamed by a Stokely Carmichael can never be ruled out entirely. They admit that a certain amount of tension is being nurtured by restless teen-agers and by a few militant adult publicity seekers like Reverend Virgil A. Wood, Director of the Blue Hill Christian Center and Chairman of the New England Branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Wood, lamenting the lack of a strong racial issue, is straining to find a rallying point for civil rights activities.

One issue that carries a potential for racial difficulties in Boston is the possible election as Mayor of Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, a school committee member, who has opposed the civil rights movement. When her candidacy for Mayor was announced, Martin Luther King remarked that "it would be very tragic for Boston if she were elected."

Buffalo, New York

Population 481,453 (1966); 17 per cent Negro (1966).

Officials of the Buffalo Police Department say there is no current issue affecting the Negro community in Buffalo leading them to believe that there will be any racial violence in that city during the coming months. Further, there is no notable hostility on the part of Negroes toward the Police Department.

An organization known as BUILD (Build, Unity, Independence, Liberty, and Dignity) was formed in January, 1967, under contract with the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), a community organizing agency with headquarters in Chicago. IAF, which is headed by Saul Alinsky as Executive Director, has been active organizing the poor--mostly Negroes--in Chicago, Buffalo, and Rochester, New York.

BUILD has publicly announced that it will organize the entire Negro community in Buffalo on a "grass roots" level for the purpose of building a coalition to apply pressure on the existing "white power structure" of the city. The major issue for organizing the community will be school integration.

City and Federal Government officials, as well as members of the Board of Education, feel there are no insurmountable problems facing Negroes in Buffalo in the form of jobs, housing, and education. Those who are able and willing to work are gainfully employed, most of them at existing union wages. Housing is not a major problem, and some Negroes are finding homes in suburban areas without any sharp conflict. The problem of integrated education is being met, and the Board of Education has replaced an anti-integration member with a member recommended by BUILD.

The Common Council of Buffalo has two Negroes on it, and the Fire Commissioner, who was appointed in 1966, is a Negro. Many Negroes have been given front office jobs in stores and public business places, and no animosity or friction has resulted therefrom.

If racial tensions increase this summer, it can well be because BUILD has heated up an issue--rightly or wrongly--in order to find a magnetic argument. BUILD's President, Reverend Frank Emmanuel, is regarded by responsible clergy and others as not only uninformed about the true conditions in Buffalo but also intellectually dishonest. It is the present intent of the responsible clergy to remain aloof from BUILD, to keep in touch with the Negro community, and to act as a counterbalance to BUILD.

Charleston, West Virginia

Population 104,976 (1966); 8 per cent Negro (1966).

Authorities are looking rather apprehensively toward the recurrence of two racial incidents of the past year. Both of these involved attempts by demonstrators to force admittance of Negroes to privately owned amusement areas, the Rock Lake Swimming Pool in South Charleston and the Skateland Skating Rink in Charleston. On both occasions, the demonstrators were refused entry. Negro demonstrators at the pool were few, and their attempts to gain admission did not result in violence. However, a second demonstration at the skating rink in January, 1967, involved 60 Negroes and whites from West Virginia State College and was led by a militant white student named William Weimer. The incident resulted in 34 arrests for trespassing and disorderly conduct. Weimer was charged with destruction of property and assaulting a police officer.

A Human Rights Law, passed by the West Virginia State Legislature early this year, has ordered the integration by July 1, 1967, of all facilities which are public or deal with the public. Because of this new law, white and Negro leaders consider that amusement areas, especially the pool and skating rink--the latter is scheduled to close in June, 1967--will become targets of demonstrators. Law enforcement officers are watching these areas closely and anticipate further demonstrations on the part of Weimer and other students at the college.

Even though area leaders, both Negro and white, are attempting to solve all racial difficulties in a peaceful manner, all concede that an outbreak of racial violence in the Charleston area is a possibility in the future.

Elizabeth, New Jersey

Population 110,000 (1966); 11 per cent Negro (1966).

According to city and police officials, racial conditions in Elizabeth are calm and there do not appear to be any groups or individuals in that city presenting a violence-potential problem. They feel that if trouble should arise this summer, it will be a spontaneous and unorganized action brought on by some unrelated incident.

Thomas Highsmith, Executive Director of Community Action for Economic Opportunity, states that the stability in Elizabeth is due to the concern and action of civic leaders in meeting the demands of Negroes in areas of better housing, better jobs, and better law enforcement.

Hartford, Connecticut

Population 168,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

Captain Benjamin Goldstein, Coordinator of Human Relations for the Hartford Police Department, feels that racial conditions are generally good, and he knows of no "seething problems" that might erupt this year in Hartford. He says the Negro leaders in Hartford are concerned about possible trouble in the North End of Hartford, where many Negroes and Puerto Ricans reside. Captain Goldstein states there is considerable crime in the area, such as murders, assaults, and thefts, which is committed mainly by organized groups who have no respect for authority. The members of these groups will undoubtedly cause trouble as lawbreakers, but they are not racial demonstrators. According to Captain Goldstein, Negro leaders are doing all they can to assist the Police Department in maintaining law and order.

Jersey City, New Jersey

Population 278,000 (1967); 25 per cent Negro (1967).

Captain Raymond V. Blaszczak, of the Jersey City Police Department, says that racial conditions in Jersey City are generally good. He can foresee no real racial trouble during the coming summer. The demands of Negroes, he states, have largely been met.

Monsignor Eugene Reilly, pastor of Christ the King Roman Catholic Church, knows of no specific area of racial unrest in Jersey City. He points out, however, that there has been a rash of minor incidents lately, indicating a restless element among the teen-age Negroes.

Captain Blaszczak and Monsignor Reilly both state that improved housing conditions, better schools, and more recreational facilities and job opportunities for Negroes are the main objectives of civil rights groups operating locally.

New York, New York

Population 7,993,000 (1967); 14 per cent Negro (1960).

Eighty per cent of the Negroes in New York City reside in four areas: the Harlem area of upper Manhattan, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, southeast Bronx, and south Jamaica in Queens County.

The racial situation in New York City for the immediate future does not unduly alarm city and police officials, Negro leaders, and others familiar with racial affairs in the largest city in the nation. Most of them do not believe that any serious violence will break out this summer.

Due in large measure to advance planning by the New York City Police Department, there were no major incidents of racial violence in the city during the Summer of 1966. This advance planning has enabled the Police Department to anticipate trouble and to take preventive steps before a flare-up occurs. The 1967 summer schedule of the Police Department calls for increased patrols at beaches, parks, and playgrounds; strategy meetings between police officials and community leaders; youth projects to keep restless and idle children and youths occupied; and security precautions in areas where the spark of racial unrest may be fanned by subversives and extremists.

A leading police official does not contemplate trouble or violence this summer beyond the normal increase in disorders caused by juveniles with time on their hands during the vacation period. His principal concern is the irresponsible and untrue statements made by too many so-called civil rights leaders to the mass communications media, for, he claims, these statements tend to aggravate racial tension. By the same token, he maintains, if the news media continue to publicize the dire predictions of violence of well-known public figures, violence is very likely to follow.

A police official stationed in the heart of Harlem characterizes the racial situation there as good at the present time. There seems to be no unusual racial tension, according to this official, and contacts between the police and Harlem residents are normal. He concedes, however, that the end of the school term and the combination of idle youths and hot weather could alter the picture.

An officer of the NAACP says that it is impossible to forecast whether or not there will be violence this summer or where it will take place if there is. He notes that the situation has not really changed much since the Harlem riot of 1964, because the causes of discontent and unrest still persist--the substandard living conditions in Negro communities and the lack of equal opportunities for Negroes. Fortunately, he adds, most of the Negroes affected by these adverse conditions never resort to or engage in violence. Nevertheless, there are a goodly number who will respond violently to some incident, particularly one which involves so-called "police brutality."

Another NAACP leader does not foresee any trouble or violence during the coming months. This official emphasizes that it is time that all citizens, both Negro and white, come to the realization that there will be constant turmoil until the day the Negro is granted those rights and privileges that have been denied him for so many years.

According to one informed source, it is impossible to state definitely whether or not there will be racial violence in New York City, for no one knows exactly what the catalyst may be which would escalate any

given incident into violence. Numerous reasons have been given in the past to explain outbreaks of violence, this source points out, and the same reasons will be cited again when and if violence erupts.

This source states that if he were asked to pinpoint an area where violence might break out, he would designate the East New York section of Brooklyn, into which Negroes are moving from the Bedford-Stuyvesant section. These Negroes, he says, are encountering animosity from the longtime residents of East New York. Therefore, the seeds of trouble are being sown.

Another informed source feels that violence potential exists in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Recent statements, this source says, made by Negro leaders such as Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael have not had a calming effect on the Negro people. Rather, they have served to focus attention on the possibility that violence is inevitable. Furthermore, this source believes, the treatment accorded Adam Clayton Powell in Congress and Cassius Clay in his attempt to avoid the draft--regardless of whether or not they deserved it--has served to intensify Negro resentment and bitterness. All these factors contribute to racial tension, according to this source, and when the ingredients of hot weather, unemployment, and restless youths are added, there is definitely an increase in the possibility of racial violence this summer in New York City.

Much Negro resentment was engendered when the House of Representatives voted, early in March, 1967, to exclude Adam Clayton Powell from membership in Congress for misuse of funds and unbecoming conduct. Many Negroes in New York City and elsewhere in the country regard this punishment as unusually harsh and an expression of white racism. They charge that he was singled out for punishment because of his race, rather than because his behavior differed from that of other Congressmen. Moreover, in view of the softer punishment that Negroes believe will be meted out to Senator Dodd by his colleagues in the Senate, many Negroes are angered by what they feel is the application of a double standard of conduct by Congress to white and Negro members.

Negro subversives and extremists like Jesse Gray and Charles 37X Morris are dangerous because of the incendiary effect they have on some susceptible segments of the Negro population. Gray is Director of the Harlem Community Council on Housing and has been active on numerous occasions in the past in demonstrations, particularly against "police brutality" and "slumlord" exploitation of Negroes. Gray was organizer of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party in the late 1950's and, although no longer a Party member, he is still friendly with the Party.

Charles 37X Morris--also known as Charles Kenyatta--is the leader of a small group of Negroes called the Mau Mau, a black nationalist group. He conducts weekly street meetings outside the Hotel Theresa in Harlem in an effort to inflame Negroes to rise up against the white man. At a recent gathering of 75 people, he declared, "the hell with President Johnson," said he was in favor of "burning the city down," and predicted the summer would be "very hot."

To one observer of the racial scene, the racial picture in the United States becomes more confusing every day because the so-called civil rights leaders who receive most of the attention in the news media are applauded and readily accepted as leaders of the Negro people despite their obviously divergent philosophies. Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael are cited as classic examples: King continually reiterates his belief in integration and the use of nonviolence, whereas Carmichael exhorts the Negro people to resort to "black power," with its implied threat of violence and reverse racism.

Newark, New Jersey

Population 400,000 (1967); 45 per cent Negro (1967).

Martin Luther King included Newark among the cities he described as "powder kegs," which "could burst into racial violence this summer." He thereby aroused the wrath of Newark Councilmen Calvin D. West and Irvine I. Turner, both Negroes, who stated that they respected King for his accomplishments, but added, "We do not need prophets of doom to incite racial unrest when

there is none. While we are not naive enough to believe that the Negro has reached his total goal of human understanding in our city, great strides have been made and greater ones are in the offing."

Newark police officials are of the opinion that racial conditions are good. They cannot foresee any problems at this time. While admitting that conditions in Newark are not perfect, they also assert that progress is steady and that the business community is especially helpful in hiring, training, and promoting Negroes. These officials reason that many Negroes have a stake in the city government and the average income per head of household and per family is higher than in any other municipality on the eastern seaboard.

Paterson, New Jersey

Population 152,000 (1967); 23 per cent Negro (1967).

The general racial condition in Paterson, according to Mayor Lawrence Kramer, is considered good. However, the absence of poverty funds from the Federal Government for recreation during the summer months might, he feels, result in trouble during this period.

Mrs. Susan Herzog, President of the Board of Directors of the Paterson Task Force, an antipoverty agency, states she does not believe racial tension exists to any great extent at the present time but that there is a potential within the Negro community that can burst into the open at any moment. As an example, she points out that any unnecessary force used by a policeman in making an arrest of a Negro can trigger racial violence. She also feels that it is a mistake on the part of the Federal Government not to supply funds for summer recreation and supervision of youth groups. Mrs. Herzog accuses the general news media and their handling of racial discussions by Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael of creating tension within the Negro community.

The Very Reverend Vincent E. Puma, pastor of Our Lady of Victories Roman Catholic Church, also feels that the Federal Government errs in holding back money for

summer recreation programs, because idle youth on street corners cause problems. Monsignor Puma advised that the churches and synagogues are attempting to relieve the situation during the summer months by organizing a recreational and teaching campaign which will be financed through donations.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Population 2,042,000 (1967); 31 per cent Negro (1967).

Municipal leaders and other knowledgeable observers generally agree that although there is less likelihood of racial violence this year than in recent years, the potential for violence is ever present. Philadelphia Police Lieutenant George Fencel, of the Civil Disobedience Unit, states that racial tensions are probably lower than at any time since the riot of August, 1964.

Phillip Savage, Tri-State Area Director of the NAACP, says he has no specific information concerning possible racial disturbances this summer. He believes substandard housing and unemployment of unskilled workers might lead to frustration and tension during the hot summer months and could trigger violence. He also feels that unnecessary force by police officers in making arrests could cause violent reactions. In support of this contention, it is stated in a recently published report by the Committee on Community Tensions of the Fellowship Commission that mistreatment of citizens by police is more likely to set off major disturbances than any other single factor.

This report named the following areas as tension points in Philadelphia with the greatest potential for racial outbreaks: (1) Kensington, (2) North Central Philadelphia, (3) Hawthorne Housing Project in South Philadelphia, (4) 36th and Filbert Streets in West Philadelphia, (5) 30th and Tasker Streets in South Philadelphia, (6) East Falls in Northwest Philadelphia, and (7) 19th and Green Streets in North Philadelphia.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Population 604,332 (1960); 17 per cent Negro (1960).

Police and city officials describe the general racial conditions in Pittsburgh as good and say that racial issues actually have not received much support from the Negro community. Pittsburgh is peculiar in that it has five widely separated Negro areas and a lack of concern by one Negro community as to what occurs in the others. When Stokely Carmichael spoke in Pittsburgh in March, 1967, he commented that there were no real racial issues in that city.

The consensus of city officials is that the potential for violence in Pittsburgh appears to be very small. However, there is always the possibility that an incident can develop into violence. They also point out that outside racial agitators are not known to be working in Pittsburgh and that the previously mentioned visit by Carmichael was an isolated affair.

Rochester, New York

Population 305,849 (1964); 11 per cent Negro (1964).

The prevalent feeling in Rochester is that there is a definite potential for racial violence. An informed source "can just sense something is wrong in the Negro community, however, it would be impossible to predict an exact date when a race riot might erupt."

A police official says that there is no indication that a racial disturbance is imminent. He feels, however, the potential is greater than it was last year. Laplois Ashford, Executive Director of the Rochester Urban League, is presently concerned about the tension and apprehension in the Negro and the white communities.

Another informed source has said that the potential for violence in Rochester is at an all-time high. He cites the principal causes to be substandard housing and the high cost of living.

One clergyman regards the racial situation in Rochester as tense. There are, he points out, several small groups of Negro young men who are militant and restless and who want FIGHT (Freedom, Integration, God, Honor -- Today), a local militant civil rights organization, to speak out and take more positive action in demanding an improvement in Negro conditions.

According to a city official, the general apprehension about the likelihood of racial violence is based on the following factors: (1) a prediction of a "long, hot summer" by the Director of FIGHT; (2) failure by local, state, and Federal agencies to improve housing, recreational facilities, and sanitation procedures in Negro areas; and (3) congregation of Negro youths on city streets.

FIGHT, which was formed in Rochester in 1965 under contract with Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation, is presently under the leadership of the Reverend Franklin Delano Roosevelt Florence, a Negro minister.

The purpose of FIGHT is to eradicate slum ghetto areas and school segregation and to provide jobs for unemployed Negroes. In September, 1966, FIGHT approached the largest employer in Rochester--the Eastman Kodak Company--and demanded that company to hire and train 600 hard-core unemployed Negroes. An Assistant Vice President designated to hold talks with FIGHT signed a document pertaining to these demands in December, 1966, but Kodak later repudiated the agreement as unauthorized. The company explained that it could not deal on an issue with one racial group to the exclusion of any other and it would not commit itself to a specific number of persons it would employ at any given time. The struggle between FIGHT and Kodak continues, with the issues still unresolved.

Saul Alinsky, Executive Director of IAF and the guiding force behind FIGHT, has been described by a former Vice-President of FIGHT as a master of the "game of confidence with a play on words, in that he will twist every racial situation to fit his own needs and to further his image."

FIGHT Director Florence has been characterized as "power hungry" and insincere. A tactic he employs frequently is to start a rumor of potential violence, which creates unrest among both Negroes and whites. Through unreasonable demands and threats, which are widely publicized in the news media, he has inflamed the poorly educated Negroes, and they are ready to react against any seemingly aggressive police action. Because of his insincerity and unorthodox tactics, Florence is considered a dangerous racial leader.

Florence and 600 demonstrators disrupted the annual stockholders' meeting of the Eastman Kodak Company, which was held in Flemington, New Jersey, late in April, 1967. In an effort to make Kodak accept FIGHT's demands, Florence shouted, "If Eastman Kodak wants war, it's war they'll have." He said he planned to meet with civil rights leaders, including Stokely Carmichael, to plan a demonstration in Rochester on July 24, the third anniversary of the city's huge riot.

Washington, D. C.

Population 802,000 (1965); 63 per cent Negro (1965).

The Nation's Capital has a higher percentage of Negroes than any other major city in the United States. Moreover, in 1965, Negroes in Washington public schools constituted 90 per cent of the total enrollment.

Opinions as to the potential for racial disturbances in Washington, D. C., during the Summer of 1967, are almost as numerous and varied as the number of persons interviewed. Most would agree, however, that an isolated incident could develop trouble. Because the city has a huge Negro population, many of whose opinions do not vary significantly from those of their kinsmen in other large cities, the following comments concerning the underlying causes of Negro discontent which leads to disturbances are enumerated:

1. Bitterness and resentment among Negroes come as a result of being the oppressed underdog for too long a period.
2. Negro youngsters must be given something to do to keep them out of trouble.
3. If young Negroes can obtain employment, they will be able to acquire dignity, buy clothing, have fun in their spare time, and forget about riots and violence.
4. There are not sufficient summertime jobs and not enough recreational facilities and programs to keep young Negroes occupied during summer vacation periods.
5. Housing is inadequate. During the summer months, Negro families cannot stay in one-room apartments where they have been confined all winter. The construction of high-rise, expensive apartments forces Negroes into an overcrowded environment. Landlords exploit Negroes through high rent and inadequate facilities.
6. Schools in Negro communities are overcrowded and inferior by comparison with those found in white neighborhoods.
7. Negroes feel that white police officers treat them as second-class citizens and make them the target of their racial prejudice. The use of "trigger" words, such as "boy" and "nigger," results in disrespect for and hostility toward the police. Some in the Negro ghettos look upon all policemen, white and Negro, as the enemy.
8. The shift made by Martin Luther King to wholehearted support for those protesting United States participation in the war in Vietnam and his exhortation to boycott the draft may have far-reaching effects, especially on those facing military service.

9. Adam Clayton Powell is still regarded as an idol and is the favorite of Negroes everywhere. Negroes believe that Powell's troubles with Congress stemmed from his Negro ancestry. Thus, he is supported regardless of his faults. If he is denied his seat in Congress, some form of trouble can be expected.

10. There is a strong undercurrent of anti-Semitism developing in the Negro community, because many merchants and landlords in the Negro communities are Jews.

11. Among Negroes, there is the same rift between the younger generation and the parent generation that exists among other ethnic groups.

12. The vast majority of the Negro population does not feel that disturbances, riots, and mob action advance the cause of the Negro.

Concerning conditions peculiar to Washington, D. C., the city is largely dependent upon Congress for funds. In April, 1967, Walter N. Tobriner, a District of Columbia Commissioner, warned Congress that disorders are likely to occur this summer unless funds for recreation programs are approved.

In mid-April, the Reverend H. Albion Ferrell, District Parole Board Chairman, said that much social and economic help is needed in Washington and that "swimming pools and the things swimming pools represent" will not be enough to maintain peace.

On May 10, 1967, Vice President Hubert Humphrey announced that Washington should have 15 new swimming pools completed by mid-July. On the same day, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz announced that \$5,400,000 would be spent on a program, beginning in June, to provide jobs or training for 4,000 Washingtonians.

In mid-May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael, who graduated from Howard University in Washington, D. C., in 1964, announced his plans to work as SNCC Field Secretary in the Nation's Capital this summer. He called for a massive "resistance movement" by young people to end the war in Vietnam.

Howard is primarily a Negro university. On March 21, 1967, Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey was booed from a platform at the university by antidraft protesters. A series of subsequent demonstrations led to the issuing of an order on May 5, 1967, by Howard President James M. Nabrit placing an administration veto over the time and place of demonstrations and banning unofficial press conferences. The order met with immediate defiance from the Black Power Committee, which held a campus demonstration and a press conference hours after the new rules were announced.

One source states that tensions are created by the "rabble-rousing" speeches by so-called Negro leaders, such as Carmichael, Marion Barry, and Julius Hobson. Barry was formerly SNCC Director in Washington. Hobson, an extremist, is Chairman of the District of Columbia chapter of Associated Community Teams (ACT).

This source states that these so-called leaders frequently accuse the local police of brutality, but investigation usually disproves the accusation. Another source pointed out that Barry and Lester McKinnie, SNCC Director in Washington, were attempting to provoke a situation when they were arrested recently after walking against a red traffic light. While real problems involving the attitude of the police toward Negroes do exist, the source adds, Barry needs issues to keep the SNCC organization alive. The fact that Barry had to attempt to provoke an incident, this source concludes, reflects an improvement in the police image.

Police officials and others indicate that a contributing factor of racial tension in Washington is irresponsible coverage given to all racial incidents or incidents with racial overtones by local newspapers and radio and television stations. It is said that radical and exaggerated statements are given publicity, without any attempt to clarify or refute these grossly biased remarks. Simple and honest reporting, it is felt, would do much to lower the general temper of the public. Similar comments are made about the national television coverage given to antiadministration statements by persons such as King, Carmichael, and Cassius Clay.

A member of the Citizens Advisory Council condemns SNCC for displaying in its Washington office windows posters of a white policeman shouting "Nigger S.O.B." and pictures of lynchings. According to this source, SNCC's exhortation to "Stop Police Brutality" is nothing short of hatred and an incitement to riot.

The fatal shooting of a 19-year-old Negro with a lengthy arrest record by a Washington policeman on May 1, 1967, has precipitated protest on the part of some Negroes. These Negroes threaten civil violence if the District Commissioners do not sponsor a "citizen investigation" of the shooting.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE MIDWEST

Akron, Ohio

Population 300,000 (1967); 18 per cent Negro (1967).

Chief Harry Whiddon of the Akron Police Department sees the racial climate in Akron as vastly improved over last year. He reports that the improved situation has resulted from Mayor John Ballard's competent handling of racial matters and the steps taken by the Police Department to promote better relations with minority groups which previously exhibited keen resentment toward law enforcement officers.

However, Chief Whiddon and other knowledgeable observers advise that the potential for racial violence in Akron is difficult to evaluate for two primary reasons: first, there is an unpredictable element composed of Negro youths who are unorganized, undisciplined, and completely lacking in respect for law and order; second, there is the possible influence of outsiders who want to cause disruption for their own purposes. Either of these two elements can fan a spontaneous incident into a full-scale riot.

Benton Harbor, Michigan

Benton Harbor and adjoining Benton Township have a combined population of 45,000, of which 25 per cent is Negro.

Racial conditions in the area are described by local leaders as fairly satisfactory at the present time, although there is a prevalent uneasy feeling among both races that the peace is temporary. Civic committees, composed of both whites and Negroes, are apparently able to settle racial differences amicably. The area is said to be completely integrated, but civil rights groups claim that housing discrimination still exists.

Officials of the Benton Harbor Police Department and the Benton Township Police Department and other informed sources feel that future racial violence in the area is unlikely, but if it does occur it will be sparked by a spontaneous, unforeseen event and will begin among the younger Negroes, who are manifesting a growing belligerence.

Chicago, Illinois

Population 3,466,000 (1966); 25 per cent Negro (1966).

While the potential for racial disorder in Chicago continues to exist, it is no greater than it was in 1966 because intensive and extensive efforts are being made to extend social justice to areas largely inhabited by minority groups. Nevertheless, it is recognized that a relatively minor incident can rapidly evolve into a major disorder and that actions by certain groups or individuals can alter the racial picture significantly overnight.

Unfortunately, there is a very real potential for a major disturbance within low-income, Negro neighborhoods. Prominent among these are: (1) the near west side of Chicago's Loop, (2) North Lawndale, (3) the east and west Garfield Park communities, and (4) several areas on Chicago's south side, such as Englewood. In addition, there is the Puerto Rican community on Chicago's north side, where disturbances occurred in June, 1966.

The major disorders in Chicago over the past several years have generally taken place within the confines of the areas listed above. However, the open-housing marches during the Summer of 1966 resulted in disturbances in all-white residential neighborhoods located primarily in the southwest and northwest sections of the city.

The impact of the presence in Chicago of Martin Luther King and other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was somewhat limited during the early Summer of 1966. Ultimately, the Chicago Freedom Movement (CFM), dominated by the SCLC, initiated a program of open-occupancy marches into all-white areas known for their animosity toward Negroes. The marches escalated in intensity until August, when the city obtained an injunction limiting the number of marchers, setting the time for marches, and imposing other restrictions. Soon thereafter, a so-called "summit conference," which included Mayor Richard J. Daley, King, CFM representatives, and others, reached certain agreements and temporarily defused the open-housing issue.

However, these agreements were not approved in all respects by the more militant wings of the CFM and other civil rights organizations. More or less in protest, they organized open-housing marches into the western suburb of Cicero in September. These marches resulted in isolated incidents of violence, necessitated the calling out of the Illinois National Guard to preserve order, and served to aggravate the prevalent anti-Negro antagonism for which Cicero is well known.

Within the past several months, charges have been leveled by segments of the local civil rights movement, primarily the CFM, that city agencies party to the August, 1966, agreements were not honoring their obligations. These charges led to a flurry of publicity on comments by King and Reverend Andrew Young, SCLC Executive Director, that it may be necessary to renew marches and demonstrations which would make the 1966 marches "pale by comparison." In early April, 1967, Mayor Daley stated that the violators of the August, 1966, injunction would be arrested and law and order would prevail. Additionally, Cook County Sheriff Joseph Woods stated that violence would not be tolerated in suburban Cook County this summer. Thus, the original charges had the net effect of hardening attitudes and causing a loss of communication between civil rights advocates and local government.

A growing problem is the activity of "black power" advocates, who inflame emotions; inflate minor incidents, such as police matters, out of perspective; and attempt to destroy confidence in law enforcement agencies.

Certain organizations present a similar problem even though the vast majority of Chicago's Negro citizens have turned their backs on such groups. Among these groups are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Deacons for Defense and Justice (DDJ), and Associated Community Teams (ACT). The DDJ, with an estimated membership of seven, advocates arms for the defense of Negroes. ACT and SNCC are militant civil rights groups. Chicago members of ACT associate with a "black power" group.

An individual worthy of mention is nationally known entertainer Dick Gregory, who ran for mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in March, 1967. He has led numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago and elsewhere and has been arrested in connection with this activity for disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and the like. Gregory is considered a "maverick" who does not lend exclusive support to any civil rights group and participates in activities which appeal to him personally.

Although a large number of Negro families have found homes in previously all-white communities without incident, the possibility of violence resulting from future move-ins cannot be ignored.

In the white communities, there are counterparts of the Negro nationalist groups. Prominent among these minority exclusion groups is Operation Crescent (OC). It is reportedly a combination of some 19 organizations in white neighborhoods. The OC, which is opposed to open housing and forced integration, such as in the public schools, has said that it will sponsor counterdemonstrations against civil rights marches in white neighborhoods. Primarily, OC represents neighborhoods forming a crescent running from Chicago's southwest side, through near-west suburbs, to Chicago's northwest side.

At the present time, there are no specific situations in Chicago which contain the immediate potential for an outbreak of racial violence. It is realized, however, that disturbances or violence can occur at any time. The low-income, high-population-density, slum areas of Chicago's south and west sides must be considered tense and volatile. Residents of these neighborhoods, with particular emphasis on Lawndale and Garfield Park, feel that there has been no improvement in city services and facilities since last summer. In many instances, the police are regarded as the enemy in these neighborhoods. Inhabitants of these areas are also convinced that local merchants, particularly white merchants, charge prices that are higher than those in white neighborhoods.

The Negro community feels that violence and disturbances will occur again, particularly in the Lawndale area, and the only question in the minds of most residents of these areas is what type of incident will set them off.

Cicero-Berwyn, Illinois

The adjacent communities of Cicero and Berwyn have a combined all-white population of 128,000. Part of Cicero borders directly on Chicago's west side Negro slum areas, and this boundary has long represented an invisible line, beyond which Chicago's slum areas have never extended.

Superintendent of Police Joseph Barloga of Cicero feels that the Cicero-Berwyn area is of particular concern because of the publicly acknowledged anti-Negro sentiment prevalent in these all-white communities, the past exclusion of Negroes, and the disturbance which took place in September, 1966, on the occasion of an open-housing march by Negro civil rights militants from Chicago into the area. This disturbance resulted in the arrest of some 40 persons. Anti-Negro sentiment has been compounded by the formation of so-called property owners' groups, the majority of which are strongly opposed to open housing. In Superintendent Barloga's opinion, if there is a Negro move-in or a civil rights march into Cicero during the Summer of 1967--as has been threatened by Martin Luther King--violence will be almost a certainty.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Population 500,329 (1966); 24 per cent Negro (1966).

Public and police officials and informed observers report that, in general, racial conditions are good in Cincinnati. Chief of Police Jacob Schott says that because the Negro community is widely dispersed and the City Council provides a forum for leaders of protest groups to set forth their views, there is less possibility of violence in Cincinnati than in other large cities. In addition, a Police-Community Relations Bureau has recently been formed by the Police Department to expand the activities of district-level committees whose function is to promote greater harmony between the police and the Negro community.

These officials say that the potential for racial violence is present if someone triggers it or if an outsider such as Stokely Carmichael is able to precipitate a disturbance. Public Safety Director Henry Sandman notes a possible tension point could be the rising rate of unemployment among Negro teen-agers and young adults, especially in connection with the discriminatory hiring policies of the building trade unions.

Cleveland, Ohio

Population 810,858 (1965); 33 per cent Negro (1965).

Local police officials, responsible civil rights representatives, civic leaders, and knowledgeable observers indicate that there is no reason to expect full-scale rioting in Cleveland this summer such as occurred in the Hough area in July, 1966. All expect sporadic incidents to take place throughout the East Side, such as rock throwing, fire bombing, and vandalism practiced by teen-age Negro hoodlums and restless, jobless youth.

Sergeant John J. Ungvary, Coordinator of Racial Matters for the Cleveland Police Department, believes the racial climate has improved recently as a result of efforts by the Municipal Community Relations Board, articles in the local Negro newspaper, and actions of aroused responsible citizens against the hoodlums who have been creating terror in the streets of the Negro ghetto.

In June, 1966, several disturbances occurred in the vicinity of the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta (JFK) House, privately operated community center which was a hangout for teen-age hoodlums and black nationalists from the time it opened in 1964. Negro youths threw rocks at cars and store windows, tossed fire bombs, and destroyed one supermarket by fire. Thereafter, the Police Department, which considered this center the Number One potential trouble spot for organized racial violence, closed the JFK House for sanitation reasons and building-code violations.

There have been no major disturbances in Cleveland since the widespread rioting of July 18-21, 1966, which resulted in four deaths, \$500,000 damage, and 252 arrests. However, incidents have occurred, such as one in April, 1967, when six Negro youths burned down a school in the heart of the Negro community, causing damage of \$250,000. Later that month, a rowdy group of Negro teen-agers threw rocks and bottles at automobiles and store windows and looted business establishments.

In the Spring of 1967, Fred A. Evans, a Negro, who likes to be called "Ahmen" and is a self-claimed astrology expert, predicted that May 9, 1967, would signal the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Red China and would be the beginning of a general uprising by Negroes everywhere. Actually, "Ahmen" is the leader of a small group--about 100--of black nationalist extremists known as the United Black Brotherhood (UBB), which is the successor to the JFK House. According to police, most members of the UBB do not have any real understanding of the black nationalist philosophy and are primarily a group of lawless youths who are now using the black nationalist slogans as a cloak for their criminal conduct.

Early in May, 1967, CORE announced that it had picked Cleveland as a "target city" for "an extensive program for the Negro community." A week later, Martin Luther King announced that the city had been selected for organized civil rights action this summer. He said his Southern Christian Leadership Conference would start a program in June similar to programs begun in Chicago, Louisville, and Grenada, Mississippi. King termed Cleveland a "teeming cauldron of hostility."

Dayton, Ohio

Population 270,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

Officials of local civil rights groups and the Dayton Police Department agree that racial conditions in that city appear to be very good. According to Mrs. Miley O. Williamson, Secretary of the Dayton chapter of the NAACP, racial antagonism which could result in violence does not exist. Clair W. Martz, Acting Chief of Police in Dayton, admits that a spontaneous eruption could occur over a relatively minor incident, but to his knowledge organized violence is not in the offing.

Detroit, Michigan

Population 1,640,000 (1966); 35 per cent Negro (1965).

Informed sources have given a favorable general picture of the overall racial situation in Detroit. Serious collaborative efforts by dedicated leaders of both races appear to have produced comparatively successful results, with great strides being made to establish a peaceful equilibrium between the white and Negro people.

Highly placed law enforcement officials indicate that they know of no existing situations that might trigger racial violence. They very cautiously added that the same situation existed last year and yet riots did occur. All concede that if these riots break out again this year, they will undoubtedly repeat the pattern of 1966; that is, they will emanate from exclusively Negro districts which have high concentrations of loitering teen-agers, violent crime, and all-round lawlessness.

Officials agree that they do not feel violence will occur, but if it does, it will probably stem from some minor incident like the issuance of a traffic citation or some equally minor charge involving residents of the Negro districts.

Responsible Negro citizens who have firsthand knowledge of conditions in these districts believe that racial violence will occur this summer in these areas. They base their judgment on the rather large concentration of Nation of Islam members, whose pro-Negro and antiwhite propaganda incites Negro youths to crime and violence; on the ideas of "black power" implanted by the visits of Stokely Carmichael to the Detroit area during the past year; and by the general conditions in these Negro districts described as harboring smoldering hostility which lends itself to sudden racial incidents, particularly during the hot, summer months.

East St. Louis, Illinois

Population 85,000 (1967); 55 per cent Negro (1967).

Police officials, local civic leaders, and representatives of civil rights organizations indicate that the prospects for racial peace in East St. Louis during the summer months appear to be very good and, barring some unforeseen incident, no racial violence is expected. It is generally believed

that the greatest potential for racial violence would come from minor flare-ups on construction jobs caused by the difficulties encountered by Negroes in attempting to join labor unions.

According to Billy Jones, attorney for the local chapter of the NAACP, the only person who might try to foment a disturbance is Homer Randolph, Chairman of the East St. Louis branch of CORE, and he has no genuine issue for which to fight. John M. Kirkpatrick, leader of the East St. Louis Human Relations Commission, stated that probably the most opportune time for violence there had passed; that was, when Stokely Carmichael spoke at a local all-Negro high school in April, 1967, and called for the exercise of "black power." The audience did not indicate any tendency to follow his advice.

Flint, Michigan

Population 200,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

It is the opinion of responsible civic leaders that Flint, whose Mayor is a Negro, has little racial tension that cannot be settled through established channels of communication. The city has a high employment rate and is considered to be fully integrated, with the possible exception of a few elementary schools in predominantly white areas. A Community Relations Bureau, established by the Flint Police Department and composed of responsible Negro and white leaders representing civic, law enforcement, Negro, and church groups, meets monthly and irons out problems of concern to the community.

Although it appears to be the consensus that racial tension is minimal, there are some who view the situation in a different light. A national NAACP leader recently spoke in Flint and described the city as a "Jim Crow town," contending that housing and the educational system remain segregated. The President of the Flint NAACP, Edgar Holt, is considered extremely militant, has participated in picketing demonstrations, and is presently considering economic boycotts to enforce open-housing legislation.

Chief of Police Gerald Lyons describes two situations which could activate a definite violence potential: forcible arrests in a predominantly Negro area and a prolonged strike at the General Motors plant with resultant unemployment.

Gary, Indiana

Population 182,500 (1960); 55 per cent Negro (1967).

De facto segregated housing is currently the most volatile and the most potentially dangerous and explosive issue in Gary. Negro leaders predict that if events take their natural course, the entire city will eventually become a Negro ghetto surrounded by a white wall of suburbia. The Omnibus Civil Rights Bill and the Open Occupancy Ordinance were passed in 1965, and Mayor A. Martin Katz created the Gary Human Relations Commission to enforce open occupancy. However, an injunction has delayed the enforcement of open occupancy and has caused resentment among Negroes, who now threaten to take direct action.

Members of an extremely militant youth group called Students for a Democratic Society have injected themselves into slum clearance by forming an organization known as the Freedom Union for Slum Eradication (FUSE). FUSE, a direct action group, has been criticized by some Negro leaders for playing on the emotions of the Negro people by raising unfounded and reckless charges against community poverty and slum-clearance programs. A number of FUSE representatives are said to be arrogant and hostile toward authority of any kind.

Police and other city officials and civil rights leaders have expressed grave concern over the violence potential of Negro gangs--some of whose members are in their 20's--because of their possession of weapons and fire bombs. These gangs are reportedly bragging about future plans for violence. Overall membership is estimated at 600. Combined, these gangs represent sections of the entire midtown Negro community.

In a public announcement in August, 1966, Chief of Police Conway C. Mullins estimated that there were "50,000" armed persons in Gary and that their possession of small arms constitutes a dangerous situation because it facilitates the commission of crimes of violence. Chief Mullins denounced existing lax gun-control laws and advocated much stricter legislation governing the purchase and possession of weapons.

Gary police-community relations have also come under fire. One civil rights leader characterizes these relations as "lousy," but adds that this criticism applies to both white and Negro police officers. The crux of the criticism is that officers are not adequately trained to handle people and problems that could develop into riotous situations.

Negroes in Gary comprise a nearly solid and formidable voting bloc. Three of the present nine city Councilmen are Negroes; one of the three Gary Police Commissioners is a Negro; and the Lake County Coroner, a Negro, resides in Gary. All of the city's eight high schools have some Negro pupils.

This Negro voting power was clearly evident in the recent victory of Richard G. Hatcher, 33-year-old Negro Councilman-at-large, who won the Democratic nomination for Mayor of Gary in the primary election on May 2, 1967, over the incumbent, Mayor Katz. The campaign was conducted on an extremely bitter level and has undoubtedly left scars among Negroes and whites. Katz, for example, called Hatcher a "radical, extremist, and an advocate of black power." One of Hatcher's main supporters is alleged to have asserted that "we should use whatever methods possible, including violence, in order to meet our goals." It is feared that any friction over voter registration or almost any incident during the forthcoming election campaign could possibly spark violence. Hatcher is generally conceded to stand a good chance of being elected.

Harvey-Dixmoor, Illinois

Harvey has a population of 25,000, of which 28 per cent is Negro. The Negro community is located directly opposite Dixmoor, which has a population of 6,000, 60 per cent being Negro.

During the Summers of 1964, 1965, and 1966, the Harvey-Dixmoor area was the scene of riots revolving around a liquor store and a television store. A police officer was shot in the chest during the 1966 disturbance. Since the Spring of 1967, police officers, entering the area surrounding these stores, have been heckled and, in some instances, attempts have been made to prevent them from entering. These incidents have been instigated by young hoodlums and youths who are hostile toward authority generally. Such incidents are not considered as civil rights situations, but the individuals involved could conceivably create violence.

Indianapolis, Indiana

Population 500,000 (1967); 25 per cent Negro (1967).

Informed sources do not think violence is imminent, as sincere efforts are being made to relieve conditions which breed racial unrest. The local NAACP director and the police are achieving mutual understanding of their problems and are improving channels between Negroes and the police in an effort to forestall incidents that could spark violence.

Reverend Andrew J. Brown, President of the Indiana chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, does not agree that the racial situation has improved. He contends that young Negroes, particularly, are losing patience and an incident might ignite the "powder keg."

Kansas City, Missouri

Kansas City, Missouri, has a population of 576,000, 19 per cent of which is Negro, and adjacent Kansas City, Kansas, has a population of 180,000, 17 per cent of which is Negro.

Within the past year, there have been several demonstrations in Kansas City, Missouri, protesting alleged police brutality and discrimination against Negroes. These demonstrations were led by the Council for United Action (CUA), an organization formed last year with the help of Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF).

The IAF keeps a man, Michael James Miller, in the city to serve as organizer and advisor for CUA. Miller, a graduate of the University of California, at Berkeley, has been active in the past in SNCC. In the Summer of 1966, he attended a National Youth Encampment held by the Communist Party, USA, at Camp Webatuck, Wingdale, New York.

The CUA is planning economic boycotts to be held in Kansas City. Responsible minority and community leaders know of no specific potential for racial violence. They point out that spontaneous disturbances might occur when allegations are made of unequal or brutal treatment by police or when some other incident is magnified by irresponsible talk or publicity.

Lansing, Michigan

Population 120,034 (1967); 11 per cent Negro (1967).

Civic leaders in Lansing feel that the efforts that have been made through such agencies as the Human Relations Council, composed of prominent Negroes and whites in the community, have done much toward keeping racial matters from becoming controversial issues. It is felt that no militant groups exist among Lansing's Negroes and that community efforts being made to secure better job opportunities and better housing and the development of recreational facilities for Negroes attest to the success of the collaborative efforts of Negro leaders and city officials.

As to the possibility of racial violence in the area, responsible members of the Negro community feel that racial disturbances may occur this summer, but if they do, they will be spontaneous, unorganized reactions to some police enforcement matter.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Population 750,000 (1967); 11 per cent Negro (1967).

Police officials, leaders of the Negro community, and other informed sources state that there has generally been no change in the racial situation in the city during

the past year. It is pointed out that a large number of the Negroes in Milwaukee are home owners and live in single or double family dwellings and there are no tenement districts.

Some Negro leaders feel that the Police Department is too severe in its relations with Negroes and may be applying a double standard in dealing with Negro and white citizens. On the other hand, Chief of Police Harold Breier contends that law and order can be maintained only through vigorous law enforcement.

The main worry of police is the potentially explosive influence posed by the Milwaukee Youth Council (MYC) of the NAACP, a civil rights group made up principally of juveniles under the direction of Father James E. Groppi, assistant pastor of St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church. The headquarters of the MYC is at Freedom House, in the heart of the Negro community. Father Groppi, who is white, is an outspoken civil rights leader.

In early March, 1967, three members of the MYC told police that Father Groppi and members of the MYC had made plans for the fire bombing of a number of residences of public officials as a diversionary tactic so that members of the MYC could start a riot. However, police have been unable to obtain sufficient corroborative information to prosecute Father Groppi and others.

On May 5, 1967, Father Groppi and two members of the MYC were arrested for interfering with police officers in the arrest of two 16-year-old boys charged with disorderly conduct in the vicinity of Freedom House. As a result, 75 young people gathered at the scene of the arrest and threw rocks, which broke squad car windows. At the time of his arrest, Groppi allegedly shouted, "Start the riot."

Since that time, police cars cruising the area have been pelted with stones and once a fire bomb struck the roof of the vehicle but did not ignite. On another occasion, two abandoned houses in this neighborhood were set on fire by a 12-year-old boy who admitted that he hangs around Freedom House, although he is not a member. Because of the provocative activities prompted by Father Groppi and members of the MYC, police are keeping a close watch on the immediate neighborhood of Freedom House.

On May 13, about 500 civil rights demonstrators, led by Father Groppi, marched on Milwaukee's police headquarters to protest what they contended was police harassment of Negroes. Father Groppi had been complaining of police harassment for several weeks.

Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota

Minneapolis has a population of 482,892 (1960), and adjacent St. Paul has a population of 313,000 (1960). In each city, Negroes comprise less than three per cent of the population.

The racial situation in Minneapolis and St. Paul has not changed to any extent in recent months, according to sources most familiar with racial conditions in this area. There is no known condition at this time which would forecast racial unrest or mob violence in these twin cities during the next few months.

Muskegon, Michigan

Muskegon has a population of 46,000, 15 per cent of which is Negro, and adjacent Muskegon Heights has a population of 21,000, of which 40 per cent is Negro.

A number of informed sources in this area state that employment is high; schools are both good and integrated; and no racial antagonisms exist at present. Civil rights demonstrations are peaceful and are aimed primarily at better housing and fair treatment for Negroes.

Although overall race relations in the area are considered good, law enforcement officials are following with some concern two potentially dangerous trends. The first is an increase in violent crime in the heavily populated Negro areas, which is considered indicative of a growing contempt for authority especially prevalent in the 16 to 20 age group, who attempt to screen their lawlessness by civil rights activities. Too, within the past year, Sheriff Marion Calkins has noted a resentment on the part of the white people in the area over this rise in crime and a definite increase in requests for gun permits and in the purchases of firearms. Sheriff Calkins is watching for evidence of organizational activities and, together with community leaders, feels that there is a growing potential for racial violence in this area among irresponsible Negro youths.

Omaha, Nebraska

Population 385,000 (1967); 8 per cent Negro (1967).

In July, August, and September, 1966, and March and April, 1967, there were serious incidents of racial violence in the Negro district of Omaha. All of these occurred spontaneously and involved primarily Negro youths under 25 years of age. It was necessary to call upon the National Guard to stop the widespread vandalism and looting that occurred in July, 1966. Two of these incidents followed necessary police action in the Negro district; one resulted from strong feelings aroused by the suicide of an incarcerated Negro youth; and the other was considered a continuation of teen-age fights at a local recreational center.

Informed sources consider the present situation tense and rate the possibility of racial violence "quite high" due to the ill feeling created by past incidents and to the rapidity with which Negro youths respond to the leadership of militant malcontents who are not associated with any civil rights groups. Informed sources agree that communications between law enforcement and city officials are open but are not as good as they were a year ago.

The prevailing mood in the city is one of impatience. Statements that the city will tolerate no more violence are creating greater hostility and tension. Negro leaders are criticizing the Police Department for inadequate protection against the rampaging youths, alleging that the police are reluctant to enter the Negro district and possibly precipitate an incident that could lead to further violence.

St. Louis, Missouri

Population 700,000 (1965); 29 per cent Negro (1960).

In 1963, the St. Louis branch of CORE picketed the Jefferson Bank and Trust Company, alleging job discrimination. As a result of the picketing, 15 demonstrators were arrested.

They were later found in contempt of court and received fines and jail sentences of varying severity, which they began to serve in March, 1967. Protests were initiated in March, 1967, against the Jefferson Bank and Trust Company and against Judge Michael J. Scott, who had found the demonstrators guilty of contempt of court. Picketing has been carried out at the Judge's home almost daily since March 13, 1967, under the sponsorship of a group known as the East-West Coordinating Council (EWCC). Eugene Tournour, who has been described as a member of the Communist Party, USA, in Chicago, was reportedly in St. Louis to assist in organizing the EWCC.

Knowledgeable sources in St. Louis agree that the jailing of the Jefferson Bank demonstrators serves as a rallying point for those who may wish to stir the emotions of the Negro community. It is agreed that eventual violence is a possibility. Some observers have gone so far as to suggest that even though the sentences meted out to the demonstrators were deserved, it might be wise to release them in the hope of easing tensions among Negroes. It is also felt by some that violence could be triggered by friction between police officers and Negroes, no matter how trivial the precipitating incident.

Another point of danger is the problem of unemployment among Negroes. Approximately 4,000 Negro youths who were employed during the Summer of 1966 will not be employed during the Summer of 1967 because of a lack of available funds.

Outsiders such as Eugene Tournour, Martin Luther King, and Stokely Carmichael are seen as adding to the potential for unrest and violence. Carmichael spoke in St. Louis in April, 1967. One observer expressed the opinion that if such individuals as these would stay away from St. Louis, the problems might be more successfully resolved.

Waukegan-North Chicago-Zion, Illinois

Waukegan, North Chicago, and Zion are adjacent communities with a total population of 200,000, 13 per cent of which is Negro.

The Negro community in Waukegan was the site of disturbances in the late Summer of 1966 precipitated by minor hoodlums and irresponsible teen-agers rather than being of racial origin. However, the strong language used by Waukegan's Mayor Robert Sabonjian in denouncing the persons responsible engendered resentment among the entire Negro community, who felt that all were being blamed for the actions of relatively few. The violence potential in the Negro tavern area where the 1966 disturbances took place is considered to still exist, as many individuals there reportedly possess firearms, which would create an obvious police problem if an incident did take place.

A tangible racial issue presently exists in regard to efforts by white and Negro parents to get the Waukegan School Board to change the boundaries of a local elementary school to promote a better racial balance within the school. A suit to force the district to change the boundaries is presently pending before the Illinois Supreme Court. Should the Court decide against the plaintiffs or undue delays occur, this could conceivably be an issue around which demonstrations could arise.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE WESTBakersfield, California

Population 64,000 (1967); 15 per cent Negro (1960).

Police officials and Negro leaders consider the racial situation good at this time, and no trouble is anticipated. However, all agree that there is always the possibility of spontaneous outbreaks of violence from time to time, particularly during the summer months when the young people are not attending school. Police officials observe that racial violence in Bakersfield has always been on the heels of major racial riots in other localities, and they believe this has a bearing on future disturbances.

As a result of a racial disturbance in May, 1966, specific orders have been given to police officers to shoot to kill any participant in a disorder who is seen using any type of weapon against a policeman. These orders cover the throwing of objects and have been made known to the Negro community. It is believed that the orders will prevent future disturbances.

Denver, Colorado

Population 512,000 (1967); 8 per cent Negro (1967).

Police and city officials, religious leaders, and heads of civil rights groups state that they can foresee no racial riots for the Denver area unless some militant outside groups manufacture a problem which does not exist in Denver at the present time. The only real problem during the past several summers has been due to the congregating of Negro teenagers, particularly on weekends, in the Dahlia Shopping Center, where these youths made considerable noise and engaged in drag racing. Some of them were on probation at the time. Integration leaders and others concerned advise that there were no racial overtones to these disturbances and that sufficient groundwork is being laid now to control the situation should it arise during the Summer of 1967.

Los Angeles, California

Population of Los Angeles County 6,038,771 (1960); 8 per cent Negro, 10 per cent Mexican-American (1960).

In general, the racial situation in Los Angeles and its metropolitan area appears to be normal with no apparent

potential for a widespread riot such as the one that took place in the Watts district in August, 1965. Police sources advise that improved relations between the Los Angeles Police Department and the Negro community are due to the new Chief of Police, Thomas Reddin, and his positive efforts to establish community relations offices and to maintain contact with the Negro minority.

All sources agree that violence of a spontaneous nature could occur among groups of idle Negro youths, as has happened in the past. A high official of the Los Angeles Police Department reports that as summer approaches, the Police Department is receiving more and more rumors of possible violence when school ends. He further states that there appears to be a general movement among restless young Negro elements toward the "black power" concept, which suggests the possibility of future violence. Another source says that State Senator Mervyn M. Dymally is attempting to arrange a Black Power Conference in Southern California, but he has no indication of what the results of such efforts might be.

In April, 1967, a fight occurred between a Negro and a white student at Long Beach Polytechnic High School which resulted in the boycott of the school track team by 43 Negro student athletes, who were subsequently dropped from the team. Although 15 members were reinstated, an official of the Long Beach Police Department says that close liaison is being maintained with school administrators, as he feels the situation represents a potential for violence.

Chief of Police William Kennedy, of Inglewood, reports that there is a potential for trouble in the Morning Side Park section of Inglewood, which is rapidly changing from a white to a Negro section. However, he points out that the Negroes who have moved into the section appear to be of the law-abiding and responsible type.

According to local government and civil rights leaders, the only trouble spot in the Monrovia-Duarte area is in the vicinity of Huntington Drive and California Street, where Negro juveniles congregate and frequently become involved in fights, either among themselves or with law enforcement officers. On April 14, 1967, a group of four young Negroes attacked police officers who had stopped them for a traffic violation near Huntington Drive. About 50 other Negro youths appeared and additional patrol cars were called. The original offenders were arrested, and the rest of the crowd quickly dispersed. A similar situation exists in Pasadena in the vicinity of Fair Oaks

and Mountain Avenues, where young Negroes often gather in the evenings and occasionally engage in altercations with the police.

Venice, which has been the scene of racial incidents in the past, is regarded by a high police official as definitely offering a potential for violence. However, the Los Angeles Police Department is taking positive steps to improve police-community relations, and the president of the local chapter of the NAACP has consulted with Governor Reagan regarding an "on the job" training program the NAACP would like to see in operation by June, 1967.

Dionicio Morales, Executive Director of the Mexican Opportunities Foundation, states that relations between Mexican-Americans and Negroes in Whittier continue to worsen, as Mexican-Americans feel that Negroes are receiving preferential job placement. Another uneasy situation exists in the Mexican-American community of Santa Fe Springs, where homes are being condemned to make way for low-cost Federal housing. Homeowners are protesting this action and have threatened to use firearms if necessary.

Oakland, California

Population 378,000 (1967); 27 per cent Negro (1967).

During the past year, there has been some racial strife in Oakland. In August, 1966, following the arrest of a teen-age Negro girl for shoplifting at a food market, the market was vandalized and later burned to the ground. In October, the Ad Hoc Committee for Quality Education, formed and endorsed or supported by civil rights, neighborhood, and church groups, announced that its demands had been rejected by the local Board of Education. A school boycott was held. Approximately 200 Negro teen-agers entered one high school and overturned furniture. White students and teachers were beaten. One teacher was knocked unconscious and robbed and had to be sent to the hospital. Three of Oakland's six high schools--Oakland Technical, Castlemont, and Fremont, all three with large numbers of both Negro and white students--are believed to have potential for violence.

There have been other incidents of vandalism and beatings. The police are harassed and charged with brutality. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Oakland, formed in December, 1966, roam the streets, armed to protect themselves

and fellow Negroes from "police brutality." On May 2, 1967, the Black Panthers, armed with loaded pistols, shotguns, and rifles, descended upon the State Capitol, in Sacramento. They entered the chamber where the assembly was in session. A Black Panther leader read a statement protesting an assembly bill that would ban the carrying of loaded weapons within city limits. There was no violence, and they were ejected by State Police.

It is believed that idle teen-age and young adult groups, as well as the Black Panther Party, might seize upon some incident as an opportunity to cause widespread violence.

Various civil rights groups continue to work for an end to de facto segregation, for equal employment opportunities for Negroes, and for an end to "police brutality."

Oxnard, California

Population 65,000 (1967); 5 per cent Negro, 17 per cent Mexican-American (1967).

According to the Chief of Police, the general racial situation at Oxnard is good; however, during the past year there have been isolated instances of animosity toward police officers on the part of youthful Negroes and Mexican-Americans, which indicate to him a definite possibility of violence as the result of an arrest or some incident between the police and these youths. He points out that the Colonia District in Oxnard is potentially explosive in that it is an area of sub-standard homes inhabited by Mexican-Americans and Negroes. Many of them have criminal records and are contemptuous of law enforcement officers and, because of their low economic status, undoubtedly harbor resentment toward society in general.

Portland, Oregon

Population 372,676 (1960); 5 per cent Negro (1960).

Local government and police officials, leaders of various racial groups, and sources representing a cross section of the community feel that the racial situation in Portland is excellent and that "Watts"-type rioting is inconceivable under present conditions. They caution, however, that small disorders involving teen-agers could occur if ignited by a spark such as friction between white and Negro students or apparently overaggressive police activity.

According to the police, any potential for racial unrest is concentrated in the Negro-dominated Albina District

and immediate surrounding area. Police advise that the only specific locations for possible racial disturbances are McDonald's Hamburger Drive-In Restaurant or Jefferson High School after an athletic event attracting a large number of students. Both the restaurant and the high school are located in the Albina District.

Richmond, California

Population 80,000 (1966); 20 per cent Negro (1966).

In April, 1967, about 20 Negro youths looted a clothing store. The police felt that the looting might have occurred because a police officer, earlier in the evening, had shot and killed a suspected burglar, a 22-year-old Negro, found running from a liquor store. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Oakland has used such incidents as this in seeking support in North Richmond.

The Police Department, the City Council (which has two Negro members), and various civic organizations, with the cooperation of new industries moving into the area, are making an effort to solve their racial problems. They feel that job opportunities for Negroes are of utmost importance but that there is no unrest serious enough to cause violence.

San Bernardino, California

Population 120,000 (1967); 9 per cent Negro (1960).

Police officials in San Bernardino feel that although conditions have improved, there remains a definite potential for violence in the San Bernardino area. There are certain Negroes who have made what are considered to be excessive demands on the community, mostly for complete integration of all schools, and unless these demands are met immediately, there is the possibility that direct action will be taken by the Negro population.

The west end section of San Bernardino is regarded as the "powder keg" area. There have been a number of Negro youths who, in the past, have caused incidents apparently in the hope that they would develop into full-scale riots. Although liaison between the Negro community and law enforcement agencies has improved over the past year, there is always the possibility that the arrest of a Negro can escalate into a riot.

San Diego, California

Population 650,000 (1966); 9 per cent Negro (1966).

During the 1965 Watts riot in Los Angeles, minor disturbances occurred in southeast San Diego in Logan Heights, a predominantly Negro section, where 98 per cent of the city's Negro population and 50 per cent of the members of its other minority groups reside.

Police officials have stated that they have no information of imminent racial difficulties. They point out that, in the past, any disturbances in San Diego have been spontaneous and unpredictable and that trouble in other parts of the country, particularly in Los Angeles, has a contagious effect on the San Diego Negro community.

San Francisco, California

Population 740,200 (1966); 16 per cent Negro (1966).

There are four main areas of concern in San Francisco. These are: the Hunters Point area, Fillmore District, Mission District, and Haight-Ashbury District. There is also Chinatown, where the crime rate is growing fast among youngsters who are breaking away from the customs of their law-abiding ancestors.

The Hunters Point area consists mainly of temporary World War II housing units, which are scheduled to be demolished in 1970. The area is populated predominantly by Negroes, a large number of whom were brought into the city from southern states to work in the shipyards during World War II. It is a trouble spot because the inhabitants are dissatisfied with the housing and many, including school drop-outs, do not have the skills to qualify for employment in a city where business offices are the principal employers.

The Fillmore District, consisting largely of dilapidated and overcrowded housing, has a high incidence of crime and delinquency. The Mission District contains a high percentage of Spanish-speaking families and a 15-acre World War II temporary housing unit that is occupied almost entirely by Negroes. The Spanish-speaking element in the Mission District believes that it has been neglected and overlooked in employment opportunities. The Haight-Ashbury District is referred to as a psychedelic community because it is rapidly being taken over by "hippies," who use LSD and marijuana and dress in a gaudy manner.

The Hunters Point and Fillmore Districts were the scene of three days of rioting in September, 1966, after a white policeman shot and killed a 16-year-old Negro youth who was riding in a stolen car. The California National Guard was called to quell the rioting. For several days, in mid-May, 1967, scattered violence and vandalism took place throughout the city, with most of the trouble again centering in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas. In unseasonably hot weather, gangs of Negro youths tossed rocks at car and store windows, assaulted pedestrians, and started fires.

Chief of Police Thomas J. Cahill stated that race relations are generally good in San Francisco; however, unemployment among young Negroes and house evictions to make room for redevelopment may cause difficulties. Chief Cahill also stated that Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael have a definite effect on the Negro residents of San Francisco and, therefore, the activities of these two individuals could affect the racial situation in the city.

Another individual with considerable influence in the Negro community is Dr. Carlton Benjamin Goodlett, a surgeon and editor of the weekly, "The Sun Reporter," which is designed for a Negro audience. Dr. Goodlett, who was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor of California in 1966, was considered to be a CPUSA member in 1947. He is the only American who participates in meetings of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, an international communist front group.

While several civil rights organizations have headquarters in San Francisco, the most militant is the Black Panther Party. This organization originated in Lowndes County, Alabama, where it was known as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Certain members of this group are armed, allegedly for self-defense. On February 21, 1967, several Black Panthers, wearing black berets and carrying shotguns, rifles, and pistols, appeared at the San Francisco International Airport to act as bodyguards for Betty X, widow of Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, who was arriving by plane. No action was taken against this group by law enforcement officers in order to avoid injury to bystanders.

In summary, San Francisco's racial relations are generally good. There is general agreement that no group is planning racial violence, and there is just as much agreement that, if racial violence does erupt, it will be triggered by an isolated incident. Its underlying causes will be lack of job opportunities for the limited skills in the minority

communities and discontent among Negroes living in temporary wartime housing scheduled to be demolished in 1970. The feeling prevails in the Negro community that redevelopment is designed primarily to drive them from the city so that high-rent housing can be constructed for white families. On the other hand, San Francisco officials are extremely sensitive to the demands of the minority communities, and the San Francisco Police Department Community Relations Unit has received almost universal commendation for its work.

Seattle, Washington

Population 557,087 (1960); 5 per cent Negro (1960).

There have been no racial demonstrations in Seattle during the past year, according to the Seattle Police Department. Police officials and civil rights leaders point to progress made in the civil rights field during the past 12 months and do not foresee any likelihood of violence in the near future.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE SOUTH

Atlanta, Georgia

Population 487,455 (1960); 38 per cent Negro (1960).

The main activity of civil rights groups in Atlanta has been devoted to occasional picketing or otherwise demonstrating against slum housing conditions that exist in some predominantly Negro communities. Protests have also been made against the failure of some businesses to employ what is considered by some to be a representative number of Negroes.

Three substandard Negro communities where violence-provoking incidents could occur are the Summerhill area, the Vine City area, and the Boulevard area. Any real or fancied incident of violence in a substandard area between a Negro and a white person, especially if the white person is a law enforcement officer, can instantly fan racial resentments into further violence. In the past, when news of racial incidents has spread, individuals such as those connected with SNCC have rushed to the scene for the purpose of provoking residents of the area to rebel against authority.

Hate organizations, both Negro and white, present a very real threat. For example, in March, 1967, Atlanta police arrested five Black Muslims--adherents of the Nation of Islam, a Negro hate organization--after a complaint was received that Negro citizens were attacked by Muslims selling "Muhammad Speaks," the newspaper published by the Nation of Islam. While the Black Muslims were being booked at the Atlanta Police Department, they attacked police officers on duty, hospitalizing three policemen.

Members of Klan groups are antagonistic toward such individuals as Stokely Carmichael, a leading figure in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose national headquarters are located in Atlanta, and Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, whose headquarters are also situated in Atlanta. Many other members of the white community share this dislike of Carmichael and King.

Birmingham, Alabama

Population 345,000 (1967); 40 per cent Negro (1967).

Detective Marcus Jones, Sr., of the Birmingham Police Department, who handles racial matters in the city, states that during the past year Birmingham has enjoyed good racial relations. He says there have been no bombing incidents or acts of individual terrorism. However, on February 17, 1967, an 18-year-old Negro youth burglarizing an elementary school was shot and killed by a city police officer. This incident triggered daily demonstrations but, according to Detective Jones, police protection accounted for the fact that no violence occurred during these demonstrations.

Reverend Edward Gardner, Vice President of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the organization sponsoring the demonstrations, claims that at least ten Negroes have been shot and killed by local law enforcement officers during the past year. He says racial demonstrations against "police brutality" would continue. Mr. Gardner warns that violence could break out at any time, for both whites and Negroes in the city are capable of violence. An eruption could occur this fall, he feels, when Negro students integrate previously all-white schools on a large scale.

Dr. John Nixon, President of the Birmingham Chapter of the NAACP, believes that Birmingham has come a long way in the field of racial relations in the last year but has a long way to go. He contends that the Negro in Birmingham can gain his equal rights only by voting power or by demonstrations.

Mr. William Hamilton, Executive Secretary to Mayor Albert Boutwell, expresses the view that the potential for violence in Birmingham is very low, mainly because thousands of Negroes now have jobs they did not have during the huge racial demonstrations in the city in 1963.

Bogalusa, Louisiana

Population 21,423 (1960); 33 per cent Negro (1960).

Racial conditions in Bogalusa at the moment are termed very good. However, police officials are concerned that Federal mandates concerning hiring policies more favorable to Negroes at the local paper mill may bring about a strike, thereby causing a resumption of picketing and strife in Bogalusa. Additionally, it is feared that should some modifications of the Federal demands be made, the Negro population might be upset enough to begin demonstrating again.

There is also some speculation that segregationists may precipitate unrest as a result of the order for full school integration in the fall of this year.

Dallas, Texas

Population 679,684 (1960); 19 per cent Negro (1966).

An official of the Department of Housing and Urban Development sees no prospect of racial violence in the Dallas area, although Richard Dockery, Southwestern Regional Director of the NAACP, feels the possibility for violence does exist. He says that if violence occurs, it will probably be the result of some unpredictable incident.

Clarence Laws, former Southwestern Regional Director of the NAACP, claims that there is an atmosphere of unrest in the Negro community in Dallas because of unemployment and underemployment of qualified Negroes.

Danger of a racial-violence eruption over school integration seems to be less a problem than in the past. Dr. Emmett J. Conrad, in a Dallas School Board run-off election held on May 1, 1967, was the first Negro ever to be elected to the Board. This was considered to be a victory for the "Goals For Dallas" program, which included many recommendations for better education.

Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Population 125,000 (1967); 20 per cent Negro (1967).

Milton J. Kelly, Managing Editor of the "Fort Lauderdale News," states that general racial conditions in the Fort Lauderdale area have been good during the past year. Captain Floyd Hall, of the Fort Lauderdale Police Department, and other responsible observers in the city do not anticipate an outbreak of violence in the city in the near future. Each believes, however, that the northwest section of Fort Lauderdale, a slum area, is a potential source of Negro unrest because of poor housing and poor living conditions in general.

Houston, Texas

Population 1,187,000 (1967); 23 per cent Negro (1960).

Prior to May 16, 1967, informed sources had reported that there had been no incidents of racial violence in the recent past in Houston and that no such trouble was anticipated

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in the near future. However, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had been conducting demonstrations to protest the refusal of the Texas Southern University to reinstate SNCC, which had been banned from the campus of this predominantly Negro institution.

On the night of May 16, a Houston police officer was shot and killed by an unknown sniper when he responded to a call for help from four other policemen who were being subjected to sniper fire on the campus. Heavy police reinforcements immediately converged on the campus and conducted a room-by-room search of the buildings for the sniper. Several weapons were found and about 500 students were arrested.

Cassius Clay--or Muhammad Ali, as he prefers to be called--now claims Houston as his residence. Since 1963, the now deposed world's heavyweight boxing champion has been resisting attempts to induct him into the Armed Forces, on the basis of his religious affiliation with the Nation of Islam, a Negro hate group which is opposed to the war in Vietnam and all so-called "white man's wars." On April 28, 1967, Clay refused to be inducted into the service in Houston. Clay could become a rallying point for opposition to the draft and to the Vietnam war by racial groups. It was reported that in the Harlem area of New York City, for instance, Clay's refusal to be drafted had considerable emotional impact among young Negroes.

Jackson, Mississippi

Population 165,000 (1967); 36 per cent Negro (1967).

During the early hours of May 11, 1967, a wild demonstration was set off on the campus of Jackson State University, a predominantly Negro institution, when two Negro policemen sought to arrest a Negro man for speeding. Negro students rushed from dormitories to attack the policemen, shouting insults and curses and throwing bottles, bricks, and rocks. An estimate placed the number of rampaging students at 1,500. Disturbances continued for two nights. Three Negro youths were shot during the second night of rioting, one of whom subsequently died of his wounds. Following the first night of rioting, Governor Paul Johnson called up 385 National Guardsmen to bring about law and order.

Only a few days earlier, Assistant Chief of Police M. B. Pierce said there was little potential for mass rioting in Jackson. He pointed out that the racial situation in Jackson had been extremely quiet during 1966 and early 1967; that there had been no mass meetings, marches, or demonstrations having pronounced racial overtones. Similarly,

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Allen L. Johnson, an NAACP official, stated he was not aware of any racial situation in Jackson which could lead to a racial riot.

The Jackson State University demonstration graphically illustrates how quickly and unexpectedly an otherwise insignificant incident can ignite a demonstration which can, in turn, lead to a more serious situation.

It is worth noting that Stokely Carmichael addressed groups at Jackson State University and Tougaloo College, another predominantly Negro school, on April 11, 1967.

Louisville, Kentucky

Population 389,044 (1964); 20 per cent Negro (1964).

Until March, 1967, racial conditions were considered good. It was felt that Negro demands for complete integration gradually were being met through the work of a Human Relations Commission established in 1962 and through public ordinances passed in 1963 and 1965 outlawing discriminatory practices.

Another ordinance, passed in August, 1965, and called the "Declaration of Principles," provided for complaints regarding discrimination in housing to be settled through negotiation and persuasion, but carried no criminal penalties. This ordinance is the basis of racial difficulties that are presently threatening the city of Louisville with widespread racial violence.

In 1966, civil rights leaders complained that the ordinance was ineffective in preventing discrimination in housing. Initial conferences and discussions failed. In March, 1967, civil rights demonstrations began.

In April, the rejection by the Louisville Board of Aldermen of another proposed ordinance resulted in an intensification of demonstrations involving from 65 to 200 persons who marched nightly into an all-white area at the south end of the city. The number of spectators and hecklers reached between 2,000 and 2,500 and, on three occasions, it was necessary for the police to use tear gas to disperse the violent crowd. Close to 600 arrests, primarily of demonstrators, have been made by the Louisville Police Department. On April 21, 107 adults and 26 juveniles were arrested for attempting to march in the south end of Louisville contrary to a temporary restraining order issued on April 14 forbidding nighttime marches.

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With the sanction of Martin Luther King; his brother, Reverend A. D. Williams King, Chairman of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference; and other leaders of the open housing movement, demonstrators threatened to disrupt the 93rd Kentucky Derby on May 6. Negro comedian Dick Gregory, who joined the fracas, was accused of inciting five young Negroes to bolt onto the race track at Churchill Downs during the first race on May 2. To avert a large-scale riot, further inflamed by the offer of the assistance of 1,000 Klansmen, city officials cancelled many of the preliminary festivities and ordered the National Guardsmen to duty. The Derby was run without further incident.

Leaders on the scene feel that tension is so great that a riot could erupt at any moment. They consider that only the presence of a considerable number of police has averted widespread, riotous conditions to date.

Longtime civil rights leaders in Louisville, although they feel that city leaders are callous to the demands of Negroes, disagree with the flagrant tactics used by the recently arrived leaders of the open housing demonstrations and are fearful that the irresponsible Negro element of the city might join the demonstrators. Speaking for the Louisville Committee of Negro Churchmen, Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker has stated: "We echo the demands made by our fellow ministers and churchmen in the Chicago area (when Martin Luther King was active in demonstrations in Chicago) that the technicians get the hell out of Louisville."

Memphis, Tennessee

Population 600,000 (1967); 45 per cent Negro (1967).

Memphis has had no major racial violence. Police Commissioner Claude Armour has consistently enforced the laws and has not tolerated violence from either white or Negro extremists.

Police officials and other observers generally agree that racial conditions in Memphis are good. However, Captain J. G. Ray, of the Memphis Police Department, is of the opinion that there is more potential for violence now than he has seen in past years. He says some Negroes seem to think that the harmonious race relations and the progress in integration have been exaggerated.

Captain Ray feels that should violence come, it will occur in the LeMoyne Gardens area, a public-housing project

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in the south central part of the city. This housing project and the area surrounding it constitute an economically depressed area, where spontaneous violence could occur. For example, Captain Ray notes that recently a Negro juvenile was shot by police in a burglary or break-in in this area. Immediately, Negro youths started shouting, "Black Power." Captain Ray feels any arrest by law enforcement officers could trigger spontaneous violence. However, he says Negro leaders probably can be counted on to use their influence to stop violence.

One informed source says there is little potential for violence of a racial nature in Memphis unless there is a strong movement by nationally prominent agitators from outside the city. This source asserts that while some Negro leaders may speak as though they are not opposed to outside agitation, they would in reality act to prevent it.

Miami, Florida

Population 291,688 (1960); 22 per cent Negro (1960).

Municipal and Negro leaders have stated that no potential "trouble spots" exist in the Miami area and they do not anticipate any sort of racial violence in the foreseeable future. The Miami Police Department has no knowledge of situations which might trigger mob violence or riots.

Nashville, Tennessee

Population 170,874 (1960); 40 per cent Negro (1960).

The nationally publicized riot of April 8 - 11, 1967, in Nashville and issues and conditions growing from this riot have caused a deterioration of racial relations in the city. However, avenues for the exchange of ideas between Negroes and whites continue to exist, and it is believed that racial progress can be resumed.

Observers have commented that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was deeply involved in events immediately preceding the rioting and was largely responsible for what occurred during the course of the rioting. These observers are of the opinion that SNCC is not truly representative of the Negro academic community, particularly from a numerical standpoint.

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It is believed there is little potential for renewed rioting in the Negro community during the coming months, since the potential for unrest and violence will further lessen with the end of the regular school year, when the student population on the campuses of Fisk University and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University will be reduced. Additionally, most SNCC leaders and activists will not be allowed to return to either university.

Actually, the April rioting was geographically restricted to a small portion of the city in and about the campuses of Fisk and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Universities. Although extremely active, the rioters were relatively few in number and consisted mostly of Negro students and other Negro males in their late teens and early twenties.

While there is a considerable amount of substandard Negro housing in the city, there is no ghetto; the Negro community is separated into segments in several areas of Nashville. This distribution causes problems for effective Negro leadership. On the other hand, a group such as SNCC can reach but a fraction of the total Negro community at any one time. As a matter of fact, it has been observed that in some areas of Nashville many Negroes have never heard of Stokely Carmichael.

Natchez, Mississippi

Population 28,000 (1967); 48 per cent Negroes (1967).

In April, 1967, James Lloyd Jones, a white man, was tried for the murder of Ben White, a Negro. A mistrial resulted and the retrial will be held in November, 1967. Tension rose in the Negro community over this matter, but did not reach a critical point. Tensions have since subsided. Chief of Police J. T. Robinson, of the Natchez Police Department, considers the general racial situation to be quiet. He knows of no significant unrest among Negroes and feels there will be none unless some unforeseen incident occurs.

R. Brent Forman, President of the Natchez-Adams County School Board, says the Board has received instructions to prepare a new plan for school integration to be put into effect in the Fall of 1967, but he believes there will be trouble regardless of the action taken.

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Charles Evers, NAACP Director for the State of Mississippi, asserts that Negroes are planning no acts of violence because they feel they would be degrading themselves by committing such acts.

New Orleans, Louisiana

Population 652,000 (1965); 37 per cent Negro (1960).

New Orleans police officials state there is no indication of potential racial violence in the city. Similarly, persons knowledgeable in civil rights organizations in the New Orleans area foresee nothing indicating the possibility of major racial disturbances.

Richmond, Virginia

Population 219,958 (1960); 52 per cent Negro (1967).

A spokesman for the Richmond Police Department states that racial conditions are generally very good, since the employment picture has greatly improved in the past year or two and integration in job opportunities is universal throughout the city. Communication between public officials and leaders of various Negro groups is amicable, and several Negroes have been elected to the City Council. Further, school integration has gone smoothly with a minimum of incidents during the past year. It is pointed out, however, that people are frequently influenced by controversial public figures and consequent reaction under these circumstances is unpredictable.

Edward L. Slade, Jr., President of the Richmond Branch of the NAACP, expresses similar views. He states that racial relations in Richmond continue to progress in an orderly manner and Governor Mills E. Godwin's stand on cross burnings has given the Negro community a feeling of more security. According to Slade, the NAACP is a controlling and pacifying influence on the Negro people of Richmond and it hopes to remain so.

Another civic leader observes that Stokely Carmichael's recent appearance in Richmond had not sparked any lawlessness or violence, whereas his appearances in other communities have provoked such activity.

San Antonio, Texas

Population 710,000 (1967); 7 per cent Negro (1967).

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Detective Sergeant Albert Saenz, of the San Antonio Police Department, states that neither he nor his sources know of any potentially violent situation in the area and, further, there have been no overt manifestations of racial unrest in the past.

The President of the San Antonio NAACP, as well as other Negro leaders in the area, has expressed satisfaction over the current relationship between the whites and the Negroes.

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FUSION OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS

Aggravating Tension

The innumerable racial riots and disturbances which have plagued the United States since 1964 have had their genesis primarily in the long-smoldering discontent and resentment of Negroes over unequal job, school, and housing opportunities and their deep-seated antipathy toward the police. However, constant agitation and propaganda on the part of communists and other subversive and extremist elements have done much to aggravate tension in the ghettos of the Nation's big cities.

In the nearly 48 years of its existence, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), has subjected Negroes to unending agitation and propaganda. It has portrayed itself to this minority group as the champion of racial equality, civil rights, civil liberties, and social protest. To the credit of the Negroes and to the great disappointment of the communists, the Communist Party has not been able to recruit and retain significant numbers of Negroes as members. Most Negroes realize that the communists are interested in them primarily to exploit racial issues and to create the chaos upon which communism nourishes. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of this ceaseless agitation and propaganda and the familiar communist charge of "police brutality" cannot be ignored or minimized.

Creating Opposition to Vietnam War

During a period which has now extended beyond three years, the CPUSA and other subversive organizations have been engaged in campaigns to influence the United States Government to withdraw its troops from Vietnam or to participate in negotiations to end the war. They hope, of course, that either action would result ultimately in advancing the cause of international communism through a victory in Vietnam.

The activities of the CPUSA in recent months have, almost without exception, been directed in one way or another toward the creation of opposition to the war

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in Vietnam. This opposition, the communists reason, serves to lend encouragement to the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong to continue the fighting despite military adversities and could lead to domestic discontent in the United States similar to that which contributed to the French military disengagement from events in Indochina. In view of the historic designs of the CPUSA on the Negro people and the racial ferment that has been evidenced by the disturbances of recent summers, it was inevitable that the communists and other subversives and extremists would attempt to link civil rights protests with antiwar protests so as to increase the magnitude and impetus of each.

As early as April, 1965, General Secretary Gus Hall told the CPUSA Secretariat that the "peace struggle" is a major and top priority project of the CPUSA. At the same time, Hall claimed that the protest movements in this country were converging, with peace leaders becoming civil rights leaders and vice versa. By and large, Hall continued, the same mass of people reacted against the ultraright in the 1964 presidential election, against conditions in Alabama, and against events in Vietnam. The struggle for social progress and the struggle against policies of imperialist aggressions were, in Hall's words, now joined.

Union of Civil Rights and Peace Movements

In antiwar propaganda attuned to Hall's assertion, the CPUSA claims that the war in Vietnam has racial overtones not only because it involves nonwhites in Asia but also because it consumes funds that might otherwise be expended for the war on poverty in the depressed areas of large cities inhabited by Negroes. The CPUSA has also praised the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the militant civil rights youth group, for being the first to make the tie between civil rights and peace.

A recent illustration of the fusion of the civil rights and antiwar movements was the so-called "Vietnam Week," which culminated in mass demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967.

This protest activity was sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Among the participants in the activities of these committees are members of SNCC; the CPUSA; the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), a communist-inspired Marxist-oriented youth group; the pro-Red-Chinese Progressive Labor Party (PLP); the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP); and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the SWP's youth and training section.

An example or two will demonstrate the involvement of the CPUSA in this "Vietnam Week." Initial plans for this activity were made by the Spring Mobilization Committee at a conference held in Cleveland in late November, 1966. The CPUSA was represented at this conference by Arnold Johnson, Chairman of its National Peace Commission, and National Executive Board members James West and Thomas Dennis. At this time, Johnson was stating that the CPUSA should try to get one million people to demonstrate at the same time against United States involvement in Vietnam. A key figure in the plans for "Vietnam Week" made by the Student Mobilization Committee at a conference held in Chicago in late December, 1966, was CPUSA National Committee member Bettina Aptheker, who is a student at the University of California at Berkeley.

The activities in one CPUSA district, selected at random, show the extent of communist involvement in the New York City demonstration on April 15. In early March, members of the Michigan District were told that they must concentrate on laboring people, Negro communities, and nationalities groups to organize people to participate in the April 15 demonstration in New York City. The Michigan District Committee appointed a four-man committee in mid-March to handle arrangements for the mobilization in New York City. Activities in connection with the mobilization were described as the most important of all endeavors by members of the Michigan District.

Participants in the parade in New York City on April 15 included Gus Hall and at least 200 CPUSA members. Over one half of the total SWP membership in the United States also marched in the parade. Others participating in the parade and rally in New York City were several members of the DCA, PLP, and YSA.

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The Reverend James Bevel is the National Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. He was released by Martin Luther King from a key position in King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to permit him to take this assignment.

Significantly, among the principal speakers at the antiwar rally in New York City on April 15 were Martin Luther King; Stokely Carmichael, a top figure in SNCC; Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE; and Bevel. Bevel stated that the next objective of the "peace forces" will be to organize a massive march on Washington, D. C., to confront President Johnson.

Another speaker at this rally was Linda Dannenberg, Executive Secretary of the Spring Mobilization Committee, who is known to consult with leaders of the New York District of the CPUSA. Dannenberg announced that thousands are going to be called upon for a "radical action summer" in which they will go into every town in the United States to organize a massive protest against this country's involvement in the war in Vietnam. She requested that every interested student attend an antiwar meeting in Chicago on May 13 and 14, 1967.

As a follow-up to these peace demonstrations, King and other leaders of the Spring Mobilization Committee launched a nationwide "Vietnam Summer" organizing effort. They called for 10,000 volunteers, including 2,000 full-time workers, to spend the summer in 500 communities escalating opposition to the Vietnam war, encouraging Negroes to refuse to be drafted, and attempting to create a political bloc powerful enough to end the war. The antiwar campaign is patterned after the 1964 summer civil rights drive in Mississippi.

Now that the civil rights and the antiwar protest movements have been joined, with the distinct possibility of ominous displays of civil disobedience and near seditious activities on the part of Negroes and whites alike, the outlook for this summer is grim indeed. The injection of antiwar activities into civil rights activities is bound to intensify racial discord and heighten the violence potential throughout the country.

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In the long run, this consolidated civil rights-peace movement will be detrimental to the national security and best interests of the Nation, for it will not only tend to encourage the enemy and prolong the Vietnam war but will also have an adverse effect on the cause of civil rights.

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Report of: SA JOHN F. NOONAN Office: Boston, Massachusetts
Date: 3/21/66

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Synopsis:

Publication "Rebellion" has not been issued since 11/6/65 according to sources familiar with this publication. They believe it has been discontinued. Informant advised on 3/3/66 that JACKIE GUILDERSON admitted on 2/9/66 that "Rebellion" is no longer in publication and would appear to be a "dead issue."

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Details:

During January, 1966, the following persons who have knowledge of the existence of the publication "Rebellion" and have been interested in following its activities advised on the dates indicated below that this publication has not been observed by them since November, 1965 and they believe it has been discontinued.

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<u>Individual Contacted</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>
Colonel THOMAS WRIGHT Executive Secretary YMCA, Roxbury, Massachusetts	January 12, 1966
WILLIAM WEMBERLYN Director of Youth Activities YMCA, Roxbury, Massachusetts	January 12, 1966
Captain PAUL SULLIVAN Division 9, Boston Police Department	January 12, 1966
Sergeant HOWARD KELLEY Division 9, Boston Police Department	January 12, 1966
Deputy Superintendent EDWARD BLAKE, Intelligence Division Boston Police Department	January 13, 1966
THOMAS FRANCIS, Mayor's Committee on Discrimination, Boston, Massachusetts	January 21, 1966
Sergeant GEORGE CANTY, Division of Subversive Activities, Massachusetts State Police Boston, Massachusetts	January 24, 1966
PETER RYAN, Intelligence Division Boston Police Department	January 25, 1966

During January, 1966, other sources familiar with various phases of racial activities in the Greater Boston area advised that they have observed no issues of "Rebellion" since early November, 1965 and that they believe it is out of existence.

On December 17, 1965, BS T-1 advised a meeting of "Rebellion" was to be held December 10, 1965 at 599 Columbus Avenue, House Number 1, Apartment 5. BS T-1 learned that JACKIE GUILDERSON had called this meeting. However the only ones present at that address at the scheduled time were two Negro males and a Negress. The three were sitting around a table drinking and were in the state of inebriation. BS T-1 advised that JACKIE GUILDERSON did not show up but instead went to Harvard University where CHARLES SIMS, Leader of the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Bogalusa, Louisiana was making a speaking appearance. BS T-1 learned that GUILDERSON went to Harvard University to sell tickets to a cocktail party being held for SIMS in Roxbury on the following Sunday. BS T-1 stated that GUILDERSON apparently felt no explanation was needed for not holding the meeting. According to BS T-1 the three Negroes present at the meeting place were dirty sloppily dressed persons who obviously considered themselves to be intellectuals.

On March 2, 1966, BS T-1 advised that the last issue of "Rebellion" which was published to his knowledge was the November 6, 1965 issue. BS T-1 stated that on February 9, 1966, JACKIE GUILDERSON, whom BS T-1 identified as the leading force behind "Rebellion" admitted that "Rebellion" is no longer being published. GUILDERSON indicated that it would appear that "Rebellion" was a "dead issue."

In January, 1966, sources familiar with various phases of Progressive Labor Party activities in the New York City area advised that they were not able to develop any information which would indicate that the Progressive Labor Party had participated in any way whatsoever in printing, forming the policies of, or furnishing material for "Rebellion." A characterization of the Progressive Labor Party appears in the appendix of this report.

On November 17, 1966, Mr. and Mrs. EVERETT WALKER, 20 Ebbett Street, Wollaston, Massachusetts advised that FLOYD and ELAINE HARDWICK have given up any interest they did have in the publication "Rebellion".

They advised that ELAINE ~~HARDWICK~~ was never sympathetic to the publication or the people involved in it and has apparently succeeded in getting her husband, FLOYD ~~HARDWICK~~ to sever his association with the group publishing "Rebellion." Mrs. WALKER stated that she understands from ELAINE HARDWICK that "Rebellion" no longer exists.

On January 31, 1966, ROLAND BEDFORD advised that the publication "Rebellion" has been discontinued at least for the time being due to the lack of funds and general lack of support. The group originally supporting it no longer meet regularly and FLOYD and ELAINE HARDWICK seem to have drifted away completely from the group.

BEDFORD advised that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, headed by CHARLES SIMS, Bogalusa, Louisiana is a militant Negro organization set up to defend wives and children of Negroes in the South.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT (PLM)

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the PLP, formerly known as the PLM, held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly," a theoretical magazine; "Progressive Labor," a monthly magazine; "Challenge," a New York City newspaper; and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life - where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts
March 21, 1966

Title

"REBELLION"

Character

RACIAL MATTERS

Reference

Report of SA JOHN F. NOONAN dated
and captioned as above at Boston

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

19-25

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - DIO, Boston, Massachusetts
1 - 108th INTC Group, Boston, Massachusetts

Report of: JOHN F. NOONAN
Date: 11/29/65

Office: Boston, Massachusetts

Field Office File #: 157-372

Bureau File #:

Title: "REBELLION"

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

A mimeographed newspaper, "Rebellion," appeared in the Roxbury Section of Boston, Mass., in 7/65. It states it is published in the interests of the nonwhite communities of Boston, Mass.; that "it is imperative that the black American be told the truth about his condition; that "we are trying to help educate the black community economically as well as politically." It prints articles attacking the U.S. Government's position in Vietnam and claims of brutality by Boston PD against Negroes. It is scheduled to be published biweekly. Several members of its staff have been identified as having been among 84 students who traveled to Cuba in December of 1964 in violation of State Department regulations. An informant advised the printing of "Rebellion" was originally handled by the SWP Branch in Boston, Mass., but SWP discontinued this service. SWP believes the group responsible for "Rebellion" may have fallen under the control of the Progressive Labor Party.

- P -

DETAILS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ/RAC 10-35
By id NARA, Date 10-18-10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from Automatic
downgrading and
declassification

I. ORIGIN AND SCOPE

On August 19, 1965, BS T-1 advised that he believes the first issue of a publication called "Rebellion" was issued sometime in July, 1965. Other issues have followed this and "Rebellion" announces its aim is to publish an edition twice a month. The paper is in mimeographed form printed on 8½ by 11 inch mimeograph paper. Some issues have included individual pages which appeared in offset print. Its contents deal with alleged police brutality against Negroes, articles which stress the injustice under which Negroes live in the United States and articles questioning United States policy in Vietnam.

On September 7, 1965, BS T-2 advised that a meeting of the Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was held at Boston, Massachusetts, on August 24, 1965. Lenny Goodman, a member of the Boston SWP, was discussing the group called "Friends of the Deacons for Justice." He claimed this group had become antagonistic toward the SWP. This was shown by the fact that all Party and youth members had been asked to leave meetings of the "Deacons" in Roxbury on August 22 and 23, 1965. Goodman stated that up until that time the SWP had been printing the "Deacons'" newspaper, "Rebellion." He stated that the Party would no longer provide this service. Goodman felt that the "Deacons" locally at least had fallen under the control of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

BS T-2 advised that the "Deacons" is a new black nationalist civil rights group. It is a militant organization based in the South advocating violence in defense for Negroes. Groups such as the one in Boston calling themselves "Friends of the Deacons" are northern groups and supposedly integrated support groups.

On October 27, 1965, Mr. and Mrs. ~~EVERETT WALKER~~, 20 Ebbett Avenue, Wollaston, Massachusetts, advised that they know FLOYD ~~HARDWICK~~ who was one of the persons responsible for the publication "Rebellion." HARDWICK has told them that he takes trips to the Harlem Section of New York City with proof copies of the paper. HARDWICK has not explained

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the purpose of these trips but the WALKERS surmised that either the paper is approved by someone in Harlem prior to being printed or it is being printed there.. EVERETT WALKER stated that he believes it could be printed on the mimeograph machine located in Boston Action Group headquarters, 384 Blue Hill Avenue in the Roxbury Section of Boston, Massachusetts. He knows HARDWICK has access to this machine. WALKER stated that the Boston Action Group is a legitimate civil rights organization operating in Boston, Massachusetts.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the Boston Branch of the SWP appears in the appendix hereto as does a characterization of the PLP.

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

On September 17, 1965, Colonel THOMAS ~~WRIGHT~~, Executive Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, 401 Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, made available a mimeographed letter received by him through the mail from "Rebellion" which describes the purpose of the paper. This letter is set out below.

"REBELLION NEWSPAPER
P. O. Box 407
Back Bay Annex
Boston, Massachusetts

"September 7, 1965

"Dear Mr. Wright

"REBELLION is a new paper being published in the interest of the Roxbury, No. Dorchester, and South End communities.

"At this stage of the black American's struggle for freedom, justice and equality, we, the staff of REBELLION, feel it is imperative that he be told the truth about his condition.

"In our communities we now face deteriorating police-citizen relationships, an upswing in the black unemployment level, increases in rent for slum dwellings, and a decline in the rate of economic advancement. (Only eight per-cent of black Bostonians make over \$5000 a year.)

"REBELLION is printing the truth, the triumphs and the defeats we meet in our struggle. News from the south is covered as well as news of urban, northern areas.

"This paper is striving to reach deep into the souls of black folk- their logic, their humanity and pride.

"We are trying to help educate the black community economically as well as politically.

"There are so many people we want to reach: the many who feel defeated before learning why their progress is so slow, those who become disillusioned before learning the forces that keep his family in the slums and him in low-paying jobs.

"If we, the black people are to win our fight for human rights, we must first learn what forces are keeping them from within our reach, then we can start tumbling these blocks down. REBELLION is informing thousands now. Please help the truth to continue to be heard.

"Please send contributions to REBELLION Newspaper, Box 407, Back Bay Annex, Boston. Mass. Checks can be made payable to the same.

"Thank you very much.

"Yours in freedom,
REBELLION NEWSPAPER"

Examination of copies of the "Rebellion" newspaper shows that its masthead on each edition carries the slogan "Better to fight on your feet than to live on your knees."

The July 7, 1976, issue of "Rebellion" on page four, under a section which identifies the newspaper staff, carried the following statement: "If you have been brutalized by police, intimidated by city officials, denied your Constitutional rights, threatened or harassed by racist whites, call us."

The September 29, 1965, edition of "Rebellion" states "Rebellion is a private publication, published in the interest of the non-white communities of Boston, Massachusetts."

On November 23, 1965, Colonel THOMAS WRIGHT, previously mentioned, made available a mimeographed letter on the letterhead of "Rebellion" newspaper which is dated November 7, 1965. In announcing a forthcoming meeting of the staff of the newspaper on November 10, 1965, the letter states "Why do you think it is so difficult to get the city to make the slumlord repair his property? Why can't anti-discrimination job legislation be enforced? Rebellion is trying to answer these questions for many thousands. They must be answered if we are to win our fight. The laws are stacked against us, civil rights hasn't helped our economic condition or our being treated as conscious, feeling, dignified human beings, with human rights such as; the right to be free from oppression, free from fear, the right to exercise our self-expression, with no reserveness. To feel that America belongs to us, and we have a place in this society other than being used to the ruling class' benefit."

III. LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS

The August 9 and August 21, 1965, editions of "Rebellion" advise that the staff of "Rebellion" can be reached by calling

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telephone number 442-1174 or by writing to Post Office Box 407, Back Bay, Boston, Massachusetts.

On September 17, 1965, BS T-3 advised that Post Office Box 407 in the Back Bay Postal Station, Boston, Massachusetts, was rented on August 3, 1965, by JACQUELINE GUILDERSON for "Rebellion" newspaper. BS T-3 stated that JACQUELINE GUILDERSON resides at 599 Columbus Avenue, and her business address is 23 Cheney Street, both located in the Roxbury Section of Boston, Massachusetts.

On September 17, 1965, the listing service of the Boston Office of the Roxbury Branch of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company advised that telephone number 442-1174 is assigned to Mr. FLOYD S. HARDWICK, 23 Cheney Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

On November 23, 1965, Colonel THOMAS WRIGHT, previously mentioned, made available a mimeographed letter dated November 1, 1965, signed by JACQUELINE GUILDERSON. This announces a meeting on November 3, 1965, at which plans will be made for recruiting people for "Rebellion's" staff. The meeting was to be held at 599 Columbus Avenue, House 1, Apartment 5.

IV. OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL

The July 7, 1965, edition of "Rebellion" on page four identifies the editor as FLOYD HARDWICK and members of the staff as RAY WOODEN, ROLAND BEDFORD, TANIA BEDFORD, KAREN SACKS, JACQUELINE GUILDERSON and HUGH GUILDERSON.

The September 29, 1965, edition of "Rebellion" on the rear of page five identifies the editor as Mrs. JACQUELINE GUILDERSON.

The August 21, 1965, edition of "Rebellion" merely stated that the paper is published biweekly by the "Rebellion" newspaper committee. The committee is not further identified.

On August 10, 1965, BS T-1 stated that he understood that the group responsible for "Rebellion" is RON BEDFORD.

HUGH and JACKIE GUILDERSON, KAREN SACKS, and AL and JOHN MAHER. BS T-1 stated that the MAHERS are sons of an extremely wealthy Texan industrialist whom he believes are currently studying at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He stated that he has been told that they may be contributing financially to the support of the newspaper but participated in no way to its publication.

On August 19, 1965, BS T-1 advised that in addition to the persons mentioned above, FLOYD HARDWICK and RAY WOODEN are instrumental in publishing "Rebellion."

On June 2, 1964, BS T-4 identified ALBERT MAHER as Treasurer of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

A characterization of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba is found in the appendix of this report.

On March 9, 1965, MICHAEL PAYNE advised that JOHN MAHER was at that time attempting to organize a May 2nd Movement group at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts.

A characterization of the May 2nd Movement is in the appendix of this report.

ROGER PAVS, Coordinator for the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, advised on August 12, 1964, that 84 students who had gone to Cuba would be returning on the evening of August 14, 1964, at the John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, New York.

As these students returned they completed forms furnished by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). One of these was completed by KAREN SACKS, Passport #D433574. A second was completed by ROLAND F. BEDFORD, Passport #E395527. A third was completed by TANIA MOORE, Passport #E028921. All admitted on the INS form that they had visited Cuba.

On October 27, 1965, Mr. and Mrs. EVERETT WALKER, previously mentioned, advised they have been quite friendly until recently with FLOYD and ELAINE HARDWICK. The WALKERS have been present at HARDWICK'S home, 23 Cheney Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, on several occasions when a group was meeting and discussing the preparation of "Rebellion" for publication. Two of the individuals who wrote articles for the paper are HUGH and JACQUELINE GUILDERSON. HUGH is a white male and JACQUELINE is a Negress. Another individual who has participated in the discussions of the makeup of the paper is a male Negro known to them as RON BEDFORD who is married to a white girl whose first name is TANIA. The WALKERS have discontinued visiting GUILDERSON'S home since they feel that GUILDERSON and his companions are very militant in their talk and appear to have no love for the United States. In addition to this, they believe that the editors of "Rebellion" deliberately distort the facts of articles printed in the newspaper. Although the paper claims to investigate all authenticity stories before publishing them, Mr. WALKER has been present when the staff was discussing a write-up of an incident and they were embellishing it and adding to it as they went along. WALKER questioned FLOYD HARDWICK about this and HARDWICK admitted that they accept whatever they are told as being factual and never investigate beyond this point. With respect to embellishing the facts, HARDWICK explained this made the articles more appealing to the Negro population.

V. GENERAL ACTIVITIES

A. Newspaper Articles and Editorials

The July 7, 1965, edition of "Rebellion" consists of eight mimeographed pages. Page one contained an article captioned "Cops Attack Family." This article stated that at 1:30 a.m. on June 24, 1965, two policemen entered the TERRY home at 361 Balfour Street, Roxbury, without a warrant and arrested THEODORE TERRY, a 14 year old Negro boy. In the process of the arrest they assaulted THEODORE and his sister, PATRICIA, and used abusive language. Mrs. TERRY was also assaulted when she tried to help the children. Twenty minutes later, seven policemen returned and broke into the room and beat PATRICIA and took her to jail. While in the station house,

PATRICIA was thrown against the wall, beaten in the chest, kicked in the sides and beaten in the face backhanded. The paper quotes some of the statements made by the policemen during this process as "all Negroes need to go back to Africa where they belong"; "I'll kick you in the ass." The policemen also referred to PATRICIA as a "black b____" and "animal." Another article appearing on page three is entitled "Cop Clubs Roxbury Youth." This claims that JAMES LUMPKIN, 14, of 361 Dudley Street, Roxbury, accidentally fell off his bicycle into a bed of roses on the Boston Common gardens on June 8, 1965. A motorcycle policeman pulled him up without asking questions and hit him with his billy club and told him to "get the hell out of here." The article points out that LUMPKIN received this cruel, merciless beating for no other crime than being black.

Page five of this edition contains an article entitled "The Congo and U. S. Policy." The article claims that the United States newspapers tell the public that the United States is in the Congo to gain independence and freedom for the Congolese by defeating a communist conspiracy; that the red trained black savages seek to kill innocent white European hostages; that Tschombe is a patriot; and that natives from South Africa fighting in Tschombe's army are patriots. The article points out that the public is not told that NELSON ROCKEFELLER owns the largest mining company in the Congo; that DAVID ROCKEFELLER owns the bauxite mine; that the Morgan Guarantee Trust Company just bought out a large bank; that ARTHUR DEAN, United States Delegate to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, is Vice President of American Metal Climax in the Congo. The article questions just what the United States is protecting in the Congo. It questions how the Congo Government can be politically independent without controlling its own economy.

The August 9, 1965, edition of "Rebellion" consists of 10 mimeographed pages. Page one contained a picture of what appears to be uniformed and helmeted policemen beating a Negro on the ground.

Under the picture is an editorial which claims that the staff of "Rebellion" had been attempting to chase down the facts of a number of police brutality cases. Most of the victims of these assaults are not willing to make their story known for fear of another beating and it is this fear which keeps police brutality from becoming a public issue. The editorial points out that "silence will not keep the blood off Roxbury's sidewalks." The editorial demands a civilian review board having the power to examine a prospective policeman's racial attitudes and if found to be a racist to cancel his appointment to the force. This board would have the power to establish whether a policeman is guilty of brutality and misconduct and if guilty to suspend him permanently from the force. The board must be independent of the policemen and the mayor. It asks for a law by which the people would elect judges rather than have them appointed.

Page three contains an article "Cops Drive Puerto Rican Family From South Boston." The article states on the night of July 2, 1965, the SANCHEZ family, living at 27 West Seventh Street, South Boston, was terrorized by racist white neighbors and the notorious Blackhawk gang who threw gasoline bombs through their windows. The neighbors yelled "murder the spics," "kill them." The police stood idly by while racist neighbors attacked MARTIN SANCHEZ with a butcher knife. Then the police proceeded to arrest MARTIN SANCHEZ, his wife and his mother, instead of the people who had been trying to murder them for three weeks. The article relates numerous acts of violence which it claims were committed against the SANCHEZ family who were unable to obtain police protection.

Page two contains an article captioned "South Africa: Concentration Camp for 13 Million Blacks." In substance, this article claims that the United States Government supports the white government in South Africa because American companies are making \$80,000,000 a year in profits from the blood and sweat of the Africans. It suggests that reasons for the government's support of white supremacy in South Africa beyond these investments are that ex-Secretary of State JOHN FOSTER DULLES was attorney for the American Metal Company having investments in South Africa and that DULLES' law partner, ARTHUR DEAN, who was United States delegate to the world Disarmament Conference, is a director of a company which has large investments in South Africa and the Congo. The article claims that C. DOUGLAS DILLON, Secretary of the Treasury, is the business lawyer for CHARLES W. ENGLEHARD whose investments in South Africa total 82 million. It claims ENGLEHARD paid the entertainment bill for HUBERT HUMPHREY'S vice-presidential campaign.

The August 21, 1965, edition consists of eight pages. It features an article concerning an incident which "Rebellion" claims was an act of police brutality by officer JOHN GHILARDI of Station 4 of the Boston Police Department against JOHN HUNTER. The article claims that HUNTER had been accosted by a prostitute and after ignoring her the police officer suddenly appeared in a restaurant where HUNTER had gone and ordered him out. HUNTER left and, as he did so, the police officer hit him on the back of the head, cracking his skull. When HUNTER attempted to defend himself instinctively he pushed the police officer against the wall. HUNTER then walked down the street away from the officer thinking the incident was over and heard a shot and discovered the officer was shooting at him. The officer then put him under arrest and took him to jail where he was beaten.

This edition contains a one page insert in offset print. An article appears on this page captioned "U.S. Wars Don Black Mask" and carries the byline of BILL EPTON. This article points out that in sharp contrast to World War II where news stories and motion pictures seldom if ever showed a picture of a black soldier, the current wars in Santo Domingo and Vietnam have been carrying pictures of black soldiers. The articles claims that this is a new twist for United States propaganda and is one of the methods used by United States imperialism in its drive to bring the world under its hegemony and split the militant and progressive forces. The article states that this so-called integration within the United States Army did not stop defections of black and white troops to the Korean people's army during the Korean War. It claims the real purpose of the integration was to prevent insurrections that were going on within the all black units.

On page four under the caption "Editorial" there was a discussion concerning the solving of the Negro problem. It describes the praise given by the white press to the Government and the white populace for their success in solving this problem. The editorial claims that the problem in fact has not been solved. It points out to the reports of riots in Springfield, Chicago and Los Angeles as proof that the problem still exists. It states that it is certain that the white press will continue to write page after page of racist attacks filled with words such as "violent Negroes," "hateful blacks," "communist organized," and "young hoodlums." The article states "They will say we are a savage, uncivilized people. They will say we are evil for hating them. They will say 'you people should be grateful for all we have done for you.'" The editorial continues that these comments

in the white press are all lies and that the white people have done nothing for the Negro but the greatest lie of all is that the white press will claim that the Negroes are responsible for the riots. The white press will never put the blame where it should be, namely on the white cop, the white merchant, the white slumlord, the white teachers and the white politicians. The article ends with the comment "When someone hits you it is natural to hit back. Black people of Springfield, Chicago, and Los Angeles have started to hit back. As one early American patriot said, 'we have not yet begun to fight.'"

On page eight of this edition there is an article captioned "Words of Malcolm X," part of which is "If we are going to talk about police brutality, it is because police brutality exists. Why does it exist? Because our people in this particular society live in a police state. A black man in America lives in a police state."

The "Rebellion" issue of September 29, 1965, consists of 15 mimeographed pages. The feature story is captioned "Exodus: From the Inside." This is a discussion of bussing of Negro school children from schools in the Roxbury Section of Boston to various schools in other districts. The bussing was instituted by some of the parents of the school children involved and is commonly called "Operation Exodus." The reason for the bussing, according to parents of students, is their belief that the Negroes receive inferior education in the Roxbury schools and also their education suffers from the fact that the schools in the Roxbury districts for the most part are not integrated.

Page three of this edition features two pictures together with an announcement that the Boston Friends of the Deacons for Defense had held a rally on August 21, 1965, in protest over such incidents as shown in the pictures. One, alleged to have occurred in the North, shows a picture of Negroes being beaten by uniformed policemen. A second, alleged to have occurred in the South, shows a white man attacking a Negro woman lying on the ground.

On page five an article entitled "Are Our Children Doomed?" claims that the education the Negro children receive in white schools is deliberately directed toward creating a lack

of respect and contempt in these children for their own race. As a result of this, the Negro children aspire to be like the white race and the white race will find the Negro child as putty in their hands and because they are disunited they will remain powerless and under white domination.

On August 23, 1965, Deputy Superintendent EDWARD BLAKE, Intelligence Division, Boston, Massachusetts, Police Department, advised that he had reviewed the August 9 and August 21, 1965, editions of "Rebellion" which featured two actual police cases and accused the police of brutality in both of them. Deputy BLAKE stated that he investigated the two cases in question and determined that "Rebellion" had completely and deliberately misstated the facts in an effort to portray the police as vicious, brutal and heartless. He pointed out that one issue contains a picture on the front page showing police beating a Negro and creating the inference that the picture was that of the Boston Police Department. Deputy BLAKE stated that from the uniforms they wear they are definitely not the Boston Police Department. He stated that he has recommended to the Corporation Council of the City of Boston that the city file a libel suit against "Rebellion," citing these two articles as evidence of libel.

B. Miscellaneous

On October 13, 1965, ROLAND BEDFORD, also known as RON BEDFORD, was interviewed by FBI Agents in the vicinity of his residence on Follen Street in the Back Bay Section of Boston. BEDFORD stated that "Rebellion" is a newspaper published in mimeographed form which is supposed to be issued twice each month. This schedule is not always met. The purpose of the paper is to educate the Negro population as to what is going on in civil rights locally and nationally. It accepts articles from all sources. Its staff is made up of JACQUELINE and HUGH GUILDERSON, FLOYD HARDWICK, KAREN SACKS and BEDFORD himself. BEDFORD stated that KAREN SACKS has furnished some monetary support to the paper but he would not think this support could be called substantial. He indicated that other financial aid came from college groups which he could not or would not identify. BEDFORD stated that "Rebellion" has supported a group in Boston known as Boston Friends of the Deacons of Defense and Justice. HUGH GUILDERSON and himself, as well as being on the staff of "Rebellion" are members of the Deacons. However, he claimed "Rebellion" and the Deacons are two separate and distinct entities.

BS 157-372

On November 23, 1965, Colonel THOMAS WRIGHT, previously mentioned, made available the following literature received by him from "Rebellion" newspaper:

"Rebellion Newspaper
P.O. Box 407-Back Bay Annex
Boston, Massachusetts 02117

"Saturday, November 20, 1965

"Dear Friend:

"There will be a workshop on Wednesday evening, November 24, at 8:00PM at 599 Columbus Avenue (Newcastle Court), House #1, Apartment #5. Please feel free to bring along a black friend or two who will be interested in working.

"The workshop will be concerned with setting up a full-time voluntary staff, to be known as Rebellion Associates. Therefore, it is imperative that you be present at this meeting.

"Enclosed, please find a Calendar of Duties to be retained for your personal reference. Also, please find a poster regarding a forum to be held on Monday, November 29. This event will be more fully discussed this coming Wednesday.

"UHURU!

"Mrs. Jacqueline Guilderson
Editor, Rebell_on Newspaper

"Gary ~~X~~ Hicks
Publicity Agent,
Rebellion Newspaper

"JG/gh"

"REBELLION NEWSPAPER
P. O. Box 407
Back Bay Annex
Boston, Massachusetts 02117

"*REBELLION CALENDAR OF DUTIES*

"REBELLION WILL BE ON THE NEWSSTANDS EVERY FIRST AND THIRD SATURDAYS OF THE MONTH. ALL NEWS STORIES AND ARTICLES FOR ANY ISSUE MUST BE IN BY MONDAY previous to the saturday deadline date. FOLLOWING IS A BREAKDOWN OF THE JOBS NECESSARY IN PRODUCING REBELLION, AND A DESCRIPTION OF EACH. THE DATE THESE JOBS ARE PERFORMED IS ALSO LISTED.

<u>"JOB</u>	<u>"DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>"DAY TO WORK</u>
"Reporters	"To gather news, and report on speeches and meetings in the community. All staff members will act as reporters.	"work in accordance with deadline schedules.
"Proofreaders	"To proofread all items to be printed in REBELLION.	"To work in conjunction with typist.
"Subscription Mailer	"To mail out copies of the paper to subscribers. The operation will also entail sending out copies of REBELLION to various organizations, addressing envelopes, adding new names to mailing list, checking the mailbox three times per week.	"Work on Fridays
"Secretaries	"To answer all inquiries concerning REBELLION. To purchase supplies. To make deposits to the bank accounts. To file and handle all REBELLION CORRESPONDENCE.	"To work on Monday and Thursdays.

<u>"JOBS</u>	<u>"DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>"DAY TO WORK</u>
"Printers	"To print copies of REBELLION on new, automated REX-ROTARY machine. Also included: pre-checking of pages and counting.	"To work on Wednesday and Thursday.
"Lay-Out Artist	"To design the printing and picture arrangements of pages of the paper. To decide length of articles, and placement for psychological effect.	"Monday and Tuesday
"Typists	"To type stencils for REBELLION. Also type up other REBELLION publishings.	"Tuesday and Wednesdays.
"*Production Artists	"To prepare REBELLION for distribution. This includes stapling copies, assembling REBELLION.	"To work on Thursday and Friday nights
"Photographers	"To get pictures for REBELLION of scenes in the neighborhood. To keep a file of all pictures.	"Will work on Fridays and Saturdays previous to newspaper deadlines.
"Salesmen	"To obtain points of distribution for REBELLION, to place copies in popular stores and to collect Money for sales.	"To collect funds from sales on the Wednesday previous to deadline date, and to work on Saturdays.

BS 157-372

<u>"JOBS</u>	<u>"DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>"DAY TO WORK</u>
"Distribution manager	"To keep records of all copies of REBELLION distributed, to keep records of all people distributing the paper. To keep records of how many papers actually reach the public, and to think of ways to expand production.	"To work on Friday, Saturdays and Mondays.
"Distributors	"Everyone working on REBELLION will distribute the paper.	"To perform this duty whenever the paper comes out
"Publicity Agent	"To inform all interested groups of the function of REBELLION, and <u>dissiminate</u> information to the general public. To make regular visits to people who are interested in working on the paper, explaining the policy to them.	
"Fund Raising	"To be carried out and planned by everyone on the staff.	"-----

"* denotes volunteer already enlisted.

"AS PAPER EXPANDS MORE POSITIONS WILL BE AVAILABLE.

"November 16, 1965
EDITOR

"(p-2)"

1.

APPENDIX

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M) is the name used by the May 2 Committee which was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium, "Socialism in America," being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam.

The M2M is dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and has as its aims and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations and formation of university-level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis are taken of United States domestic and foreign policies.

This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the current headquarters of the M2M is 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP) PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT (PLM)

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the PLP, formerly known as the PLM, held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly," a theoretical magazine; "Progressive Labor," a monthly magazine; "Challenge," a New York City newspaper; and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life - where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

1.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

A source advised on March 13, 1961, that the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, was formed in the latter part of the 1930's. This source stated that as of July, 1958, this group was the Boston local of the Socialist Workers Party.

A second source stated that as of May 21, 1965, the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, is the local affiliate of and follows the aims and purposes of the national Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA

"The Columbia Owl," weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962, issue, page one, contained an article entitled "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962, by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College, and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks' stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as guests of the Federation. The Committee accepted the offer and applied to the State Department of the United States for passport validation which was refused; however, over fifty students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962, it was learned the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the summer of 1963, fifty-nine individuals traveled to Cuba; the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement; and the trip was planned and organized by Progressive Labor Movement members.

A third source advised on October 9, 1963, the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York, New York, as its mailing address.

On March 12, 1965, Philip Abbott Luce, 504 West 55th St., New York, New York, a self-admitted member of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba Executive Committee and the Progressive Labor Movement National Coordinating Committee, advised as follows:

The Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC) was formerly known as the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Luce was a leader and participant of the 1963 trip to Cuba and an organizer of the 1964 trip to Cuba and both trips were sponsored by the SCTC.

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APPENDIX

2.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA

By the Spring of 1964, the Executive Committee of the SCTC was considered to be members of the Progressive Labor Movement.

No trip to Cuba or China was being planned by the SCTC for 1965.

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19c

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts
November 29, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title "REBELLION"

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report of Special Agent JOHN F.
NOONAN, dated and captioned as
above, at Boston, Massachusetts.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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19-d



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Boston, Massachusetts

September 30, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

PUBLICATION "REBELLION"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On August 19, 1965, a source with whom insufficient contact has been had to properly evaluate his reliability advised that he is a member of the Boston Branch of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE). This source stated he has become worried about the publication called "Rebellion" which he believes to be quite militant in tone and which is being published by four or five members of the Boston Branch of CORE. This is being published without the sanction of CORE and the source feels that the publication may become identified with CORE. It is for this reason the source furnished the following information:

The first issue of this publication appeared on August 9, 1965. It has been followed by several other editions, all of which consist of about eight pages in mimeograph form. Approximately 1,000 copies of each issue are published and circulated throughout the Roxbury area of Boston, Massachusetts. The paper suggests that after the reader is through with it that it be passed on to a friend. The source stated that this is apparently happening since no matter where one goes in Roxbury people have either read "Rebellion" or have a copy of it.

The paper stresses racial incidents, coloring each one to make it look as though the white race or the police are at fault. Two issues have articles concerning incidents in which the Boston Police are portrayed as being inhuman and brutal. The August 9, 1965, issue has a picture on the front page of a group of policemen beating some victim. This is carried alongside of an article discussing Boston Police brutality and infers that the picture is one of the Boston Police.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ/RAC 10-35
By 12 NARA, Date 10-18-10

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GROUP 1

Excluded from Automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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PUBLICATION "REBELLION"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

The source stated that he has learned that Karen Sacks, one of the CORE members responsible for the publication, admitted to somebody that the picture is actually one of the New York City Police Department and was taken during the riots in New York City. The source stated that the CORE members responsible for the publication hold no official positions in CORE and in fact are hardly ever active in CORE affairs. The source identified the persons responsible for the publication as Mr. and Mrs. (Karen) and William Sacks, Ron Bedford, Floyd Hardwick, Ray Wooden and Mr. and Mrs. (Jacqueline) and Hugh Guilderson.

On August 23, 1965, Deputy Superintendent Edward Blake, Intelligence Division, Boston, Massachusetts, Police Department, advised that he has seen two copies of "Rebellion," one published August 9, 1965, and the other August 21, 1965. In each of these the Boston Police are accused of brutality and two actual police cases are discussed. The August 9, 1965, issue deals with a Puerto Rican family named Sanchez which was evicted from a public housing project in the South Boston section of Boston, Massachusetts, for nonpayment of rent. In addition, the various members of the family were constantly in trouble with the police for various infractions of the law. "Rebellion" has taken this case and in Deputy Blake's opinion completely and deliberately misstated the facts to portray the police as vicious, brutal and heartless. Deputy Blake stated that a picture on the front page of this issue showing police beating a Negro is definitely not the Boston Police Department which can be determined from the uniform they wear. However, a person reading the paper would be left with the impression that the picture portrayed the Boston Police Department.

Deputy Blake stated that the August 21, 1965, issue discusses an arrest made by a Boston Police officer, John Ghilardi, of a Negro by the name of John Hunter. The paper again completely misrepresents the facts to place the Boston Police in a bad light. This issue also advertises a rally to support the "Deacons for Defense and Justice in Bogalusa, Louisiana." Deputy Blake stated that in the South the Deacons are an armed Negro vigilante group organized for the purpose of

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PUBLICATION "REBELLION"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

protecting Negro women and children. Deputy Blake stated that no such organization exists in the Greater Boston area at the present time but he feels that this may be an effort to start an armed Negro group in Boston and the fact that "Rebellion" supports such a rally is an indication to Deputy Blake of the militancy of the group.

Deputy Blake made available copies of the August 9 and 21, 1965 editions of "Rebellion." It is noted that this newspaper suggests that the staff of "Rebellion" can be contacted through Telephone Number 442-1174 or by writing to Post Office Box 407, Back Bay, Boston, Massachusetts.

On September 17, 1965, a second source which has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Post Office Box 407 in the Back Bay Postal Station, Boston, Massachusetts, was rented on August 3, 1965, by Jacqueline R. Guilderson, for "Rebellion" newspaper. This source advised that Jacqueline Guilderson resides at 599 Columbus Avenue and her business address is 25 Cheney Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

On September 17, 1965, the listing service of the Boston Office of the Roxbury Branch of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company advised that Telephone Number 442-1174 is assigned to Mr. Floyd S. Hardwick, 23 Cheney Street, Roxbury.

On September 17, 1965, Colonel Thomas Wright, Executive Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, 401 Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, advised that on August 22, 1965, a group reserved the Young Men's Christian Association auditorium to hold a rally in support of "Deacons for Defense and Justice." Colonel Wright stated that he is not aware of the identity of any of the group but attended the meeting himself and found that there were approximately 50 persons present, 20 of whom were members of the white race. These 20 were asked to leave the audience and they immediately got up quietly to leave. Colonel Wright stated that he would stop the meeting if there was any discrimination shown since he could not allow discrimination in a public meeting within the Young Men's Christian Association. The members of the white group assured the Colonel that they were perfectly willing to leave and were in complete sympathy

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PUBLICATION "REBELLION"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

with the Negro group. The members of the white group waited in the entrance to the Young Men's Christian Association until the meeting was over. Colonel Wright stated that speakers, whose identities were unknown to him, discussed the problems of the Negro in Roxbury, stressing discrimination and police brutality. At this meeting the newspaper "Rebellion" was distributed in the hall but Colonel Wright stated that the distribution was completed before he noticed it. He displayed copies of the August 9 and 21, 1965, issues of "Rebellion" and stated that both copies were distributed in the hall. Colonel Wright stated that the paper appears to be militant. The group which used the hall on that date, August 22, 1965, appeared to be quite militant and he was told that the white group was made up of members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Colonel Wright made available a mimeographed letter sent to him through the mail by "Rebellion" newspaper. This describes the purpose of the paper and seeks a contribution for the paper. It is set out below.

"REBELLION NEWSPAPER
P. O. Box 407
Back Bay Annex
Boston, Massachusetts

"September 7, 1965

"Dear Mr. Wright

"REBELLION is a new paper being published in the interest of the Roxbury, No. Dorchester, and South End communities.

"At this stage of the black American's struggle for freedom, justice and equality, we, the staff of REBELLION, feel it is imperative that he be told the truth about his condition.

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PUBLICATION "REBELLION"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

"In our communities we now face deteroiating police-citizen relationships, an upswing in the black unemployment level, increases in rent for slum dwellings, and a decline in the rate of economic advancement. (Only eight per-cent of black Bostonians make over \$5,000 a year.)

"REBELLION is printing the truth, the triumphs and the defeats we meet in our struggle. News from the south is covered as well as news of urban, northern areas.

"This paper is striving to reach deep into the souls of black folk-their logic, their humanity and pride.

"We are trying to help educate the black community economically as well as politically.

"There are so many people we want to reach: the many who feel defeated before learning why their progress is so slow, those who become disillusioned before learning the forces that keep his family in the slums and him in low-paying jobs.

"If we, the black people are to win our fight for human rights, we must first learn what forces are keeping them from within our reach, then we can start tumbling these blocks down. REBELLION is informing thousands now. Please help the truth to continue to be heard.

"Please send contributions to REBELLION Newspaper, Box 407, Back Bay Annex, Boston, Mass. Checks can be made payable to the same.

"Thank you very much.

"Yours in freedom,
REBELLION NEWSPAPER"

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PUBLICATION "REBELLION"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

A characterization of the Young Socialist Alliance appears in the appendix hereto.

On June 22, 1965, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Ray Wooden had been voted into membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past on June 17, 1965, identified Roland Frank Bedford, Karen Helen Sacks and William Michael Sacks as persons who traveled to Cuba in 1964 under the auspices of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba in defiance of a United States Department of State travel ban. A characterization of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba appears in the appendix hereto.

On August 23, 1965, Officer Peter Ryan, Intelligence Division, Boston Police Department, identified Floyd Hardwick, Jacqueline Guilderson and Hugh Guilderson as being active in the civil rights movement in the Greater Boston area and as having participated in various civil rights demonstrations in Boston.

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APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA

"The Columbia Owl," weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962, issue, page one, contained an article entitled "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962, by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks' stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as guests of the Federation. The Committee accepted the offer and applied to the State Department of the United States for passport validation which was refused; however, over fifty students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962, it was learned the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the summer of 1963, fifty-nine individuals traveled to Cuba; the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement; and the trip was planned and organized by Progressive Labor Movement members.

A third source advised on October 9, 1963, the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York, New York, as its mailing address.

On March 12, 1965, Philip Abbott Luce, 504 West 55th St., New York, New York, a self-admitted member of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba Executive Committee and the Progressive Labor Movement National Coordinating Committee, advised as follows:

The Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC) was formerly known as the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Luce was a leader and participant of the 1963 trip to Cuba and an organizer of the 1964 trip to Cuba and both trips were sponsored by the SCTC.

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APPENDIX

2.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA

By the Spring of 1964, the Executive Committee of the SCTC was considered to be members of the Progressive Labor Movement.

No trip to Cuba or China was being planned by the SCTC for 1965.

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APPENDIX

1.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" ("YS"), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication "YS."

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the "YS" have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 7, 1965, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left-socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 7, 1965, YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA is located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE OF BOSTON

A source advised on October 30, 1959, that at a closed Socialist Workers Party (SWP) meeting held on October 29, 1959, at SWP headquarters in New York, New York, it was stated that a youth organization named the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) of Boston had just been officially formed.

The publication "Young Socialist" of May, 1960, reported during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled YSA was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Boston was reported as one of the cities represented at this founding conference.

A second source advised on May 21, 1965, that the YSA of Boston continued to be active and that meetings of the YSA of Boston were regularly held at the headquarters of the SWP at Boston, Massachusetts. This second source further advised that the YSA of Boston is the Boston affiliate of the national YSA and follows the aims and purposes of that group.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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PUBLICATION "REBELLION"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Sources of this Bureau whose identities are concealed in this document have furnished reliable information in the past

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Const 20

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 14, 1964

SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF THE RACIAL
DISTURBANCES AND RIOTING DURING
THE PERIOD FROM JULY 17, 1964,
THROUGH AUGUST 31, 1964, AND
YOUTH DISTURBANCES SEPTEMBER 4,
1964, THROUGH SEPTEMBER 7, 1964

STATE OF NEW YORK
New York City
July 17, 1964, through July 31, 1964

Following the shooting of fifteen-year-old James Powell, a Negro, in New York City on July 16, 1964, by off duty police officer Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan, several demonstrations occurred in the New York City area culminating in riots which commenced on July 18, 1964, in the Harlem Section of New York City and subsequently spread to the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn. Powell had attacked Gilligan with a knife. He had a police record for assault and attempted robbery.

New York City police officials believe that a contributing factor to the rioting stemmed from the teachings of Malcolm X. Little, a former leader of the Nation of Islam, a black supremacist hate group, who has a very large following of Negroes in securing what they consider to be their full rights which includes overcoming the white race.

The Progressive Labor Movement, a Marxist-Leninist group oriented toward Red China, was also active prior to the outbreak of violence in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant areas and once the rioting started the Progressive Labor Movement took advantage of the situation by exploiting the shooting of Powell. The Progressive Labor Movement printed thousands of copies of a leaflet containing a photograph of Lieutenant Gilligan and setting forth the words "Wanted For Murder." These leaflets were distributed in the Harlem area and also alleged police brutality against the Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York City.

Sources familiar with Communist Party activities in the New York area were of the opinion that the riots and unrest in New York City were not instigated or inspired by the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and that the CPUSA was actually caught by surprise when the riots broke out.

**ANALYSIS OF THE RACIAL DISTURBANCES
AND RIOTING DURING THE PERIOD FROM
JULY 17, 1964, TO SEPTEMBER 7, 1964**

Individuals active before and during the violence that occurred in New York City have been identified by police officials as William Epton and Jesse Gray.

William Epton is Vice Chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, who prior to the riots organized several groups in the Harlem area to handle whatever situation might arise in whatever way possible and with whatever weapons were on hand. Epton has also allegedly preached violence and stated that the Negroes must be free, that they were going to kill "cops" and judges, that no revolution can be won by peaceful means and that they would have to fight and would not be fully free until they smash this state totally and completely.

Jesse Gray, former organizer of the Harlem Region of the CPUSA had on July 19, 1964, called for one hundred skilled black revolutionaries who were ready to die to correct what he termed the "police brutality situation in Harlem."

Other sources have attributed the riots and unrest to "young punks" without a stake in the past or much hope in the future and members of various teen-age gangs who rule various neighborhoods.

Various sources have advised that they have no information to indicate that any parties outside the City of New York, either organizational or individual, had any influence or participation in the New York City riots.

**Rochester, New York
July 24, 1964, through July 25, 1964**

During the evening of July 24, 1964, a licensed street dance was held in Rochester, New York, in a predominantly Negro area. At about 11:30 p.m. two officers of the Rochester Police Department arrested an individual at this dance for intoxication and disorderly conduct. A group of bystanders attempted to interfere with the arrest and officers and police cars arrived on the scene. By that time a large mob had gathered and the police were unable to communicate with the mob or disperse it.

Additional aid was then called for from a nearby law enforcement agency but by that time full-scale rioting and looting had erupted. The resultant damage was estimated to be

SUMMARY ANALYSIS FO THE RACIAL
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1964, THROUGH SEPTEMBER 7, 1964

in the amount of some \$600,000 to \$1,000,000. Twenty-nine Rochester police officers, three deputy sheriffs and one New York State Trooper were injured during the rioting.

Contact with responsible public officials and civic leaders in the Rochester area, reveals that the consensus was no individual or organization outside of Rochester had any part in the rioting and that no subversive or racial organization was involved in the instigation of this rioting. It was also the consensus that the rioting and looting got out of hand and went unchecked because the police had no adequate plan for dealing with such a situation and were caught completely by surprise. It was the opinion of responsible individuals contacted that this racial disorder was a spontaneous thing which resulted from the crowd's hostility toward the police who were arresting a fellow Negro.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Jersey City, New Jersey

August 2, 1964, through August 5, 1964

Rioting broke out in Jersey City on August 2, 1964, when the Jersey City Police Department was called to investigate a report of two Negro women fighting at a Negro housing project. According to the police, both women were drunk and when police attempted to break up the fight, other Negro residents of this housing project interfered. Arrests were made and following these arrests Negroes from the near-by area gathered in the streets in protest of the arrests. Rioting then erupted and several police officers, rioters as well as innocent bystanders were injured. Rioting of a sporadic nature and looting continued on August 3 and 4 during which time considerable additional damage was done.

A responsible police official advised that while he felt the rioting was of a spontaneous nature, this situation had been building up for several years and resulted from the smoldering resentment on the part of the Negroes in Jersey City regarding inadequate housing, play areas and lack of equal employment opportunities.

Responsible sources advised that the rioting in Jersey City was quickly seized upon by the Negro hoodlum element as a means of expressing their hostility toward the police as well as a means of obtaining material things through looting various business establishments.

ANALYSIS OF THE RACIAL DISTURBANCES
AND RIOTING DURING THE PERIOD FROM
JULY 17, 1964, TO SEPTEMBER 7, 1964

City officials met with leaders of the Jersey City Negroes and established civil rights organizations. These leaders alleged police brutality in making arrests was the primary cause of the rioting. No evidence is available to indicate that the rioting was instigated by any organized racial or subversive group.

Paterson, New Jersey
August 11, 1964, through August 14, 1964

Rioting in New Jersey spread to Paterson on August 11, 1964, when police attempted to disperse a disorderly crowd of Negroes which had formed in a section of a Negro neighborhood. This rioting continued throughout the evenings of August 12 and 13 and resulted in considerable damage to numerous business establishments and private property as well as looting.

During the initial stages of the rioting, acts of vandalism did not appear to be directed against any specific racial group; however, on the evenings of August 12 and 13 no instances were reported where damage was incurred by establishments owned by Negroes as the looting and acts of vandalism were restricted to establishments owned by white persons.

It was the opinion of responsible police officials as well as leaders of the Negro community that the rioting and acts of vandalism were primarily carried out by irresponsible Negro males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. These sources stated there did not appear to be any plan or pattern for this rioting but that it appeared to have been an outgrowth of the rioting which had taken place previously in New York City and Jersey City. No evidence was uncovered to indicate that this rioting was instigated by any organized racial or subversive group.

Elizabeth, New Jersey
August 11, 1964, through August 14, 1964

Rioting broke out in Elizabeth on August 11, 1964, and continued through August 14. Police officials state that this rioting was instigated by young Negro hoodlums who were running wild through the streets harassing police and annoying anyone and everyone on the streets regardless of race. Several :

ANALYSIS OF THE RACIAL DISTURBANCES
AND RIOTING DURING THE PERIOD FROM
JULY 17, 1964, TO SEPTEMBER 7, 1964

persons were arrested on disorderly conduct charges up until the time the rioting ceased in the early morning hours of August 14. All of the individuals arrested were from the metropolitan Elizabeth area.

Responsible sources advised that there were no outside organizations connected with the rioting and that, in fact, the rioting and vandalism had the appearance of "mischief night" at Halloween.

STATE OF ILLINOIS
Dixmoor (Chicago), Illinois
August 15, 1964, through August 18, 1964

This racial disturbance developed on the afternoon of August 15, 1964, at the Foremost Liquor Store in Dixmoor, Illinois, when a young Negro woman was reportedly caught stealing a bottle of whiskey. In the ensuing argument and disturbance, she broke several bottles of whiskey and the owner had her arrested. Following the arrest, a crowd of Negroes gathered in front of the store and attempted to persuade customers arriving at the store not to make a purchase. The local police who were sent to the scene were unable to disperse the crowd. The crowd grew to approximately one thousand persons who commenced stoning automobiles and in general causing wide-spread damage.

The police and local authorities are of the opinion the riot was caused by long-standing resentment of the people of the area against the owner of the Foremost Liquor Store, one Michael La Pota, who is of the white race. He has been closely associated with the hoodlum element of the Chicago area. Local authorities as well as leaders of the racial movement in this area have stated they believe the riot was spontaneous and was not started by subversives and racists. No information has been developed to indicate any outside element caused or directed the riot.

Because the local police force was unable to handle the early stages of the riot, it was necessary to get additional police from near-by areas as well as the state police. During the riot there appeared to be a lack of communication, cooperation and direction between the various local and state police forces involved. The delay in getting the additional help allowed time for the riot to gain momentum, thus making the crowds more difficult to handle.

ANALYSIS OF THE RACIAL DISTURBANCES
AND RIOTING DURING THE PERIOD FROM
JULY 17, 1964, TO SEPTEMBER 7, 1964

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
August 28, 1964, through August 31, 1964

Philadelphia police records indicate that the riot began in the Negro area of north Philadelphia on the night of August 28, 1964, when two police officers were attacked by a Negro male during the routine arrest of a Negro woman who was causing a disturbance. A large crowd of Negroes gathered but with the aid of reinforcements the police were able to remove the attacker and the woman who was arrested from the scene. Shortly thereafter, numerous false "assist officer" calls were received by the police department which brought a large number of police officers back to the original scene and riot activities began with bricks and other objects being thrown from the roof tops at the police. Several police officers reported they had observed Abyssinia Hayes, the leader of a small black nationalist group, in the riot area several times during the night, haranguing the crowd and falsely claiming that a woman had been killed by the police. He was urging the people to retaliate against the police. Hayes was not arrested at that time but was arrested on August 31, 1964, following a police search of his house and was charged with unlawful storage of volatile liquids on his premises. Property damage resulting from the riot and looting was estimated by city officials to be in excess of two million dollars.

There were an estimated five hundred police officers in the riot area during the evening of August 28, 1964, attempting to restore order. They were under instructions to use no dogs, fire hoses or horses. In combatting the looting in the early hours of August 29, 1964, a flying wedge of police officers proceeded through the center of the looting area, driving the looters out with liberal use of night sticks. They attempted to make no arrests but merely made the individuals drop the stolen property. The police were forced to remain in large groups because of the debris and stones hurled from roof tops.

City officials pointed out that the riot occurred in a densely populated area with high concentration of Negroes and an area which produced the most "juvenile crime, adult crime, tuberculosis, venereal disease, unemployment, poverty and other social ills." It is the feeling of the police department that irresponsible hoodlums caused the trouble. The police further

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pointed out that a large number of Negro juvenile gangs are active in the area. A Negro leader in a public statement attributed the riot to the work of a few hoodlums who used the opportunity to vandalize and loot. A leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stated the riot began when the Negroes heard a false report that a woman who had been arrested on the night of August 28, 1964, had died.

Police and local officials have stated that investigation failed to develop any evidence to indicate outsiders were responsible for the instigation or continuation of the riot. No information has been developed pointing to any subversive influence in the riot.