

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Revised
DATE: November 21, 1967

TO :

FROM : Research

SUBJECT: Socio-economic profile, Dayton, Ohio

Population--1960 and 1966

Dayton had a population of approximately 262,000 in 1960. Non-whites made up about 22% of the population. Numerous estimates of unknown validity have been made of Dayton's population in recent years. OEO figures, the only ones available that give racial breakdowns, estimate the population as 267,000 in 1966. Of this, 72,400 are estimated to be non-whites (substantially all Negro). These estimates suggest:

- an increase in population since 1960.
- a loss of white population (about 5%) and its replacement by an increase of Negro population (26%)

Almost one-half of Dayton's non-white population in 1960 were children and young people. About 42% of Dayton's white inhabitants were children and young people. About 67% of non-white children under 18 lived with both parents. 85% of Dayton's white children under 18 lived with both parents.

Education--1960

There was a significant difference between the levels of achievement of the white and non-white portions of Dayton's adult population. The median school years completed by the white population was 10.6, more than a grade higher than the median level of education of the adult non-white population. 38% of adult whites (over 25) and 46% of adult non-whites had 8 years of schooling or less.

Income--1960

Median income of white families was 42% higher than that of non-white families. 29% of non-white families received



less than \$3,000 per year income; 14% of white families were in this poverty category.

Employment--1960

Non-white men were participating in the labor force to the same degree as white men in 1960. Non-white women were participating in the labor force to a slightly greater degree than white women. In each case, they were experiencing great difficulty in finding jobs. The unemployment rate for non-white men was almost twice that of whites. Non-white women had an unemployment rate 1/3 higher than white women.

39% of employed non-white men and 60% of employed non-white women worked in unskilled occupations or as domestics. Only 11% of employed white men and 17% of employed white women worked in similar jobs.

Housing--1960

Non-whites had somewhat less of the kind of stake in the community that comes from home ownership. Of the housing units occupied by non-whites, 47% were owner-occupied; some 57% of white-occupied housing was owner-occupied. 22% of non-white occupied housing was overcrowded; less than 9% of white housing was overcrowded. 70% of non-white-occupied housing was sound and had all plumbing facilities; 84% of white-occupied housing met these criteria for adequate housing.

Median rent paid as a proportion of median income indicates that non-whites had to pay about one-third more of their income for housing than did their white fellow citizens.

Crime--1961-1966

Crime in Dayton is relatively low. 61% of all American cities of 100,000 population or more had a higher crime rate than Dayton in 1966. Crime has increased more rapidly in Dayton since 1961 than in most large cities. Dayton has a large police force as measured by the number of law enforcement personnel per 1,000 population. By this measure, only 9% of America's big cities have larger police forces.

The Area of the Disturbance (June 14-16, 1967)

Population-1960

The disturbance area of Dayton had much greater concentrations of non-white population in 1960 than did the city as a whole. 86% of the disturbance area's population was non-white. The proportion of children and young people in the non-white population of the disturbance areas was about the same as for non-whites in all of Dayton. The proportion of white children and young people of these areas was slightly less than that for the city as a whole. The proportion of non-white children in the disturbance area living with both parents was about the same as that for non-white children in the city as a whole.

Education-1960

A higher percentage of adult non-whites in the disturbance area had 8 years or less of formal schooling than did the non-white population in Dayton as a whole. The median level of education was 8.8 years. White residents of the disturbance areas had a slightly lower level of education than their non-white neighbors. A substantially larger proportion of white adults in the disturbance area had completed less than 8 years of school than white adults in the whole city.

Income-1960

The non-white residents of the disturbance area fared somewhat worse than non-white residents in Dayton as a whole. White families living in the disturbance area had higher median incomes than their non-white neighbors. The proportion of non-white families living in poverty in the disturbance area was higher than was true for the city as a whole. (29% for the city, 32% for the disturbance area.) Far more striking was the difference in the proportion of white families living in poverty (14% for the city, 32% for the disturbance area).

Employment-1960

Non-whites in the disturbance area participated in the labor force to a greater degree than their white neighbors. There was no substantial difference in the degree of participation in the labor force by non-whites who lived in the disturbance area compared with non-whites in the city as a whole. Unemployment rates for non-whites and white men were higher in the disturbance

area than in the city as a whole. But, both non-whites and white women had lower unemployment rates in the disturbance area than in the city as a whole. The unemployment rate for non-whites in the disturbance area was higher than the unemployment rate for whites resident in the area. The differential between white and non-white unemployment rates in the disturbance area was narrower than the differential between white and non-white unemployment rates in the city as a whole.

The proportions of disturbance area non-white men and women employed in unskilled occupations or as domestics was substantially the same as that for the city as a whole.

Housing-1960

Home ownership among non-whites in the disturbance area was lower than among non-whites throughout the city. Overcrowding of non-white housing was slightly less prevalent in the disturbance area. About 20% of non-white-occupied housing in the disturbance area was overcrowded, compared with 14% of white-occupied housing. Sound housing with all plumbing facilities was available to 58% of the non-whites and to 64% of the whites in the disturbance area.

Median rents as compared with median incomes suggest that residents of the disturbance area paid greater proportions of their incomes for housing than did their neighbors in the rest of the city--and that non-white residents of the area paid more proportionately for housing than did their white neighbors. Again, the margin was narrower. In the disturbance area, non-whites paid 18% more of their income for housing than did whites. In the city as a whole, they paid one-third more.

Some General Conclusions

Dayton has had an increasing population. The non-white population has grown, whereas the white population has declined. The proportion of Dayton's population that is non-white is currently estimated to be 27%.

The non-white population of Dayton has a lower level of educational attainment than the white population. Non-whites are more disadvantaged than whites in terms of income, employment, and housing.

In many respects, the socio-economic conditions of non-whites living in the disturbance area are not markedly different from those of the non-white population as a whole. There were two notable exceptions:

-- Incomes were lower.

-- There was more male unemployment.

The white inhabitants of the disturbed area were less disadvantaged than their non-white neighbors, but they were substantially more disadvantaged than the white population of the city as a whole in education, employment, income, and housing.

DAYTON, OHIO

Characteristic	SASA		CITY		DESIGNATED POVERTY AREAS		DESIGNATED RIOT AREAS	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
POPULATION								
Number of people.....							2,170	13,461
Age distribution:								
Male, under 15.....							289	2,194
15-24.....							123	738
25-64.....							540	3,105
65 and over.....							160	402
Female, under 15.....							272	2,279
15-24.....							134	964
25-64.....							462	3,333
65 and over.....							190	146
Number of children under 18 living with both parents.....							478	3,358
Percent of persons age 25 or above having received 8 years or less education.....							64.1	53.5
Median school years completed.....							8.4	8.8
Households:								
1-person households.....							187	646
2-5 person households.....							468	2,389
6 or more person households.....							73	682
ECONOMIC								
Median family income.....							\$5,048	\$4,419
Percent of families with income under \$3,000.....							32.3	32.1

(Continued)

DAYTON, OHIO

Characteristic	SMSA		CITY		DESIGNATED POVERTY AREAS		DESIGNATED BLVD AREAS	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
	Percent of males age 14 and over in civilian labor force.....							70.3
Percent of males in civilian labor force who are unemployed.....							9.1	11.9
Percent of employed males who are managers, officials, professional, technical, etc.....							7.2	5.9
Percent of employed males who are laborers, service workers, private household workers.....							26.8	40.9
Percent of women age 14 and over who are in the labor force.....							33.4	41.1
Percent of females in the labor force who are unemployed.....							3.0	4.5
Percent of employed females who are managers, officials, professional, technical, etc.....							6.6	5.6
Percent of employed females who are laborers, service workers, private household workers.....							35.4	63.7
Percent of women in labor force with own children under 6 yrs. of age.....							9.7	11.1

(Continued)

DAYTON, OHIO

Characteristic	SMSA		CITY		DESIGNATED POVERTY AREAS		DESIGNATED RIOT AREAS	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
HOUSING								
Total occupied units.....							728	3,717
Percent owner-occupied units.....							41.3	36.0
Median value of owner-occupied units.....							\$7,400	\$8,900
Percent renter-occupied units.....							58.7	64.0
Median rent.....							\$74	\$80
Percent with 1.01 or more persons per room.....							14.1	19.9
Percent built before 1939.....							94.0	96.3
Percent sound with all plumbing facilities.....							64.3	57.6
Percent of household heads who moved in 1958-1960.....							35.3	38.2

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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

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To: Mr. Sagalyn

From: David Ginsburg

*file
DAG*

For your information.

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UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 19104

The Law School
3400 Chestnut Street


November 27, 1967

David Ginsburg, Esq.
Director, President's Commission on
Riot and Civil Disorders
Ginsburg & Feldman
Suite 300
1700 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear David,

I urge you to look into last week's riot in Philadelphia. This started out as a demonstration of hundreds of Negro teenagers against the suspension of a small group in a controversy over teaching Negro history. It ended up in a clash of police and demonstrators involving vandalism on one side and brutality on the other. There are many credible non-involved eye-witnesses. The occurrence in the cool of November adds to the interest for your study. A thorough analysis of the event might be crucial in pointing the way towards improved police-community relations.

Yours,


Louis B. Schwartz

LBS:hm

MEMORANDUM

TO: TEX WILSON

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FROM: Tom Popp

Interview with Captain Kenneth Williams and Major H.J. Book of the Dayton Police Department. The interview was conducted on Oct. 31, 1967, by Tom Popp.

I ask^{ed} Captain Williams how he thought the police performance had differed in the three disturbances which Dayton has had, and he said this: "the first time we were not prepared; several hours elapsed before we could mobilize, the last time we were on top of the situation; we had manpower available, we moved in more quickly and did not allow gangs to assemble." I should point out that when he says the first time he means the riot which Dayton had in Sept. of 1966, and when he says the last time he means the riot which Dayton had in Sept. 1967. There was also a riot between those two in June of 1967. *Captain Williams went on,*
~~Captain Williams went on and I quote~~ ^{No 4} "then" in Sept., "we knew it would happen, in June we were right on top of H. Rap Brown, we followed him in from the airport and out to the place where he was going to give his speech.

No 4 Twenty-five minutes after the first incident happened everyone was notified, and within an hour everyone was on their way in." [†]
By this he means that after Brown's speech the disturbance began, and within twenty-five minutes of that first incident of the disturbance all the various police officers who were to come in had been ^{notified.} ~~to come in~~ within an hour after that same disturbance

all of the police

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although some officers were on their way. The Captain went on, "we had ^a the plan two years ago before any of the riots began, but the difference was that we now have had the experience. After the first riot we had experience in dealing with these situations."

¶ I ask^{ed} these two gentlemen what they felt^{was} the most valuable equipment available to them during the time of the civil disturbance, ~~was and~~ their answer was ~~that the most valuable equipment was~~ the communication capability and the fact that they now had shot-guns with ~~six~~ ^{fixed} bayonets and swing sticks. Their weapons had changed as well as their communications. In other words, ^{during} the first ^{disturbance} they had ^{had} guns, and all they could do was shoot, since then they have developed a different kind of weapon ~~for officers~~ which can be used without firing, ~~a shot~~. The rifle with a fixed bayonet is ~~and I quote~~ "a great psychological weapon." ¶ Major Book expressed ~~an~~ interest that I report on his behalf the need ^{which} the Dayton Police Department has to get a still better communication system. They need to have a radio with the ability to conduct three conversations at once, ^{Now,} ~~as it stands,~~ if one officer calls in from the field he is tying up the entire communications capability and no other conversation can take place. Unfortunately, the Major told me, because it would cost two hundred thousand dollars to get transmitters and receivers which would be capable of handling three ^{bands} ~~bands~~ of conversation. "We have," the Major told me, "accumulated sixty peices of walkie-talkie equipment." ^{This serves only part of the need.} ¶ The problem with getting more bands for transmisson is that the frequencies we need are not available in the low bands, which is where our current radio operates. if we could transfer the entire operation

to the high band then we would be able to do it."

I ask^{ed} Major Book and Captain Williams how to prevent riots

and civil disorders; ^{did they not} ~~If they didn't~~ think that two hundred

thousand dollars could ~~be~~^{not} spent more profitably in some other ways ^{for prevention.} to prevent.

They said ~~no~~ they did not ~~think that it could~~ be, ^{They did feel, however} that they don't know how to prevent riots, ^{but} that one important

factor which ~~is very important~~ is that ~~premissiveness~~ in allowing

civil disobedience, ^{his} must be curtailed. It ^{is} now the policy of

the Dayton Police Department to crack down ~~on~~ as strongly and

as quickly as possible on ~~any~~ civil disobedience, ~~and~~ the

gentlemen that I was interveiwing felt very strongly that this

was an important factor ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ a prevention of future disturbances.

Another point which Major Book brought out ^{was that} ~~is both~~ "we ought

to get officers back on foot ⁱⁿ on the streets, ~~that~~ would be the

single most important thing we could do. The automobile," said

Major Book, "has been the greatest impediment to law enforcement

^{have had,} we ~~know~~ because it takes officers off the foot beat and puts

them in the cars, ~~consequently~~ ^{no longer} they cannot ~~develop~~ the same kind

^{a rapport} of ~~report~~ and first-hand knowledge of the people who live in

the area they are patrolling, ^{like} ~~they could be before.~~

Major Book also began describing for me the recruitment program

which the Dayton Police Department has to interest more Negroes

in becoming police ^{careers.} officers in Dayton. At the present time ~~the~~

^{department is devoting two and a half} there are 2 1/2 man days per day with ~~no responsibility~~ other

^{to} than ^{them} this recruitment program. He told me the names of the

officers and I interviewed ~~the~~ following day.

Tom Popp/GMT
TGP

Attached is EXHIBIT (A)
Capt. Williams (over)

The exhibit is

DISTURBANCE Sept. 19-21, 1967

SYNOPSIS

Reports of Arrest

Offense Reports

Juvenile Reports

Complaint Memoranda

Tow-in Reports

I obtained this exhibit by signing a statement that none of the material would ever be made public. I rely on the users of the exhibit, of course, to respect my pledge.

Captain Williams is a good man, I think. He is somewhat isolated by his middle-classness and his age, but he tries harder. He seems surprised if not shocked at specific examples of the depth of the hatred of the police within the Negro community, but his liberalism of heart is unquestionable.

(A) EXHIBIT (A)
Cop. Williams
New York City

MEMORANDUM

TO: TEX WILSON
FROM: TOM POPP

Schulte

Interview with Lt. R. J. Schulte and Patrolman Brame of the Dayton Police Department, Personnel Division conducted by Tom Popp, November 1, 1967

During the interview, another officer, whose name I ^{do not} know, and Captain Kenneth Williams were also present part of the time. Patrolman Brame is in charge of a ~~program~~ ^{program} which the Dayton Police Department has to recruit more Negro officers. He himself is a Negro. ¶ The first point ^{these officers} which ~~was~~ ^{was} made in this interview ~~by the men I was interviewing~~ ^{is} that for both whites and Negroes, the percentage of applicants who are hired is within two-tenths ^a of the percentage point of being equal. It is about 41%. ¶ We discussed the program of recruitment which these men are attempting to mount. I should point out that their program ^{on Monday, October 30, 1967, only two days} began ~~only the day before I interviewed them, Monday, October 30, 1967.~~

No ¶ We discussed the obstacles which are in the way of Negroes' becoming members of the Dayton Police Department, and they cited two main obstacles as being the worst: ^{one} ~~one~~, the initial salary for a Dayton policeman is low (^{this dollar} that figure is quoted elsewhere; I ^{do not} remember what it is off hand); two, there is a feeling ^{among a great many people} in the Negro community ~~among a great many people at least that~~ ^{that to} if a Negro joins the police force, ^{is to} he is selling out to the enemy. Patrolman Brame refuted both arguments, ~~by saying that~~ in the case of low pay, the rate at which the officer's ^{salary} pay can increase is very good, and that after a few years he can be making much more than the factory ^{waker} who starts off at an initially higher salary, ~~than the police officer does.~~ ^{regard to the} In ~~the second case,~~ the

feeling that joining the police force is a sell-out to the enemy, Patrolman Brame ^{stated} that this is certainly not ^{his} the experience; ~~that he has had~~ he has never been discriminated against in the department, he ^{thought;} thinks and this he ^{felt that} feels, ^{could this fact} he can convey, to some of the potential Negro candidates. ~~The campaign seems to be getting to some people he feels.~~ ^{By their campaign} They are trying ^{to} to not only recruit ~~in their effort,~~ but ^{also} to screen. They are not only looking for a large number of people to apply but ^{also} for people ~~who are going to make it~~ for qualified Negro applicants. This is also part of their job. There are people who have prepared themselves for other kinds of work Patrolman Brame told me, the guy, for example, who has the education to be a teacher could still work with the police department and work with kids if that ^{is} his interest in teaching. There are ways whereby an officer can spend a great deal of time working with children. ⁴ They pointed out, however, that there is no quota that they are looking for. They want literally as many Negro officers as they can get. There are, however, Lt. ^{Schulte} ~~Shulte~~ pointed out, only 5,000 available candidates probably, considering the size of the Negro community and the number of males in the age group of 20 to 32 years. "We could take as many as 80 new officers," Lt. ^{he} ~~Shulte~~ told me, "about half of those who take the Civil Service test to become police officers wind up being sent to us by the Civil Service. ^{then}," said he, "45 percent" ^{45%} approximately, of those become policemen." I wondered what some of the disqualifying factors were, and he described

to me a number of different kinds of things referring specifically to a man's background. "If a man has a history of bad debts, if he has been involved in serious crimes, if his character is unreliable, these kinds of things can prevent a man from becoming a police officer in Dayton. We are, ^A Lt. ~~Shulte~~ ^{Schulte} told me, one of the strictest departments in the United States, ~~one of the~~ hardest to get into, but once we accept a man, we stand behind him. We have never had a major discipline ^{problem with} of a man we have recommended," said he. "One time the chief of ~~police~~ overrode our recommendation and took a man whom we felt was not properly qualified, only once did this happen, and in that case, several months later, ~~the~~ man was discredited and had to be fired." "I asked what specifically the program was doing to recruit people and the answer was that there is an attempt to explain the police program to as many and as various a ~~group of~~ people as ~~is~~ possible. Already two branch offices have been set up in the Westside for the purpose of recruitment. Another point which these men feel to be important is that they need the support of Negro organizations. They will try to work with groups like DARE, FORCE, and the NAACP to get references from them and recommendations from them as to potential candidates for the force. They also hope to visit schools to interest the young people and thereby to ~~increase some of the~~ ^{improve} better image ^{of} which the police department has. "We, in working with these organizations," Lt. ~~Shulte~~ ^{Schulte} told me, "will get them to refer people to us, but we won't wait for those people to come to us, we will go to them and to the organizations with

applications in our hands, so that the people will feel free to apply. We admit the crucial need of changing the image that the police in Dayton have," said Lt. Shulte, "but both we and the militant organizations have to change, ~~he pointed out~~. There are some people whom we cannot sway, but on the other hand, there are some that we can. Some of our officers will have to be phased out and many will have to be retrained and controlled." On the whole, I feel that their department is not basically racially discriminatory in nature. The men who have to be phased out can be phased out in five to ten years, Lt. Shulte told me.

"One other point we would like to have instituted," he said, "is to extend the probationary period for an officer from six months to a year. A man may be able to be on especially good behavior for six months, but after a year we would know for sure what kind of a guy he is. This would help tremendously in getting officers of high quality and weeding out the bad ones before they are full fledged policemen. It is very difficult to fire a man after he is off probation; but during that time we can fire him easily. Unfortunately, it would take a formal change in the City Charter to get a year-long probation period, and it seems unlikely that we will be able to do it."

Attached is EXHIBIT (A) Lt. Schulte
"An Action Career" describing opportunities
with the Dayton Police Department.

These men seem to me to be very open-minded. They know relatively little about actual methods of recruiting other than the cardinal point of getting out to where the people are. But they certainly convinced me that they are sincere. I do think that they underestimate both the importance and the difficulty of changing their image in the black community. But I believe they will see this quickly as they proceed.

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: The following notes are based on an interview with Mr. C. J. McLin, State Legislator from the West Dayton Area, and funeral director.

After the September 1966 disturbance, Mr. McLin had organized a committee which came to be known as the "Man in the Street" committee. This committee was later given official recognition by the city government, and came to be known as the "Mayor's Ad Hoc Riot Study Committee". This committee, in late 1966, submitted an interim report to the city government, and had not, by the time of our prior visit to Dayton, received any reply. I interviewe Mr. McLin again to determine whether or not he had had any response from the city government.

Mr. McLin presented me with three documents connected with the Mayor's Ad Hoc Riot Study Committee. The first, which is ^{annexed} next to this tape, and marked "Exhibit A", is the preliminary report of the Mayor's Ad Hoc Riot Study Committee. The second, which is appended to this report, and marked "Exhibit B", is a press release dated August 18, 1967, over the signature of C. J. McLin. The third, which is appended and marked "Exhibit C", is entitled "Interim Statement of the Mayor's Ad Hoc Riot Study Committee, dated September 1967", and comprising the city of Dayton's response to the Mayor's Ad Hoc Riot Study Report.

Exhibit A sets forth some of the findings of the Mayor's Ad Hoc Riot Study Committee, and contains a lengthy series of recommendations to the city government. The second document, or Exhibit B, is a press release which includes a kind of progress report on what has been done, or what had been done up to August 18, 1967, and sets forth other areas which urgently need attention. Mr. McLin told me that prior to the August 18 press release, there had been no written response from the city of Dayton with regard to the recommendations contained in Exhibit A. Exhibit C, which was made available to members of the Ad Hoc Riot Study Committee after the time of our initial visit to Dayton in late September, contains the City's response to the various recommendations embodied in Exhibit A. Mr. McLin told me that he was not very happy with the City's response to the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee, since they ^{it} contained very little in the way of ^{positive} ~~causative~~ statements as to action presently underway or to be taken to alleviate or eradicate the underlying grievances behind the riot activity in Dayton over the past 13 months. It was his feeling that the City's response was simply a re-hashing of a number of things that had been going on for some time, and that little or no commitment was made by the city of Dayton to move into the area of alleviation and/or eradication of underlying grievances.

Mr. McLin is also one of the organizers of the "White Hat" program, or youth patrol. This organization was set up after the September 1966 disorders, and played a role in the June 1967 disorders.

It was not used, however, during the September, 1967 disorders. Mr. McLin stated that he has been attempting for several months to obtain funding by the city of Dayton for some full-time staff to operate the White Hat program, and also to expand it to include three distinct age groups. He told me that he has recently obtained funding for a six-month period from a group of Dayton businessmen. He has not obtained funding, as yet, from the city of Dayton.

Mr. McLin gave me a copy of the document which is entitled "The White Hat Program" (Youth Patrol). The document is attached to this report, and marked "Exhibit D". The document states ~~that~~ some of the objectives of the White Hat program, and sets forth a proposed budget for one year's operation. I asked Mr. McLin whether or not there was any sort of constitution or rules of conduct or anything of that sort for the members of the White Hat patrol, and he advised me that there was no charter or constitution, or any document of that sort. To the extent that there are written rules or regulations, they are contained in the document which is appended hereto and marked "Exhibit D".

Mr. McLin advised me that as far as he knew, there was no comparable organization of young Negroes in the city of Dayton. He feels that the program is becoming more accepted by all levels of the Negro community, and if it can be put on a professional footing with a full-time staff, he thinks that it might play an important part in any future racial disturbances in the city of Dayton. In

connection with the more general acceptance of the program by all segments of the community, Mr. McLin stated that Arthur Thomas, one of the leading black militants in the city of Dayton, is now a member of the board of directors of the White Hat program.

Mr. McLin went on to point out, however, that the black community in the city of Dayton was by no means united at this point. He stated that the unity which seemed to exist following the slaying of Robert Barbey^e had pretty well dissipated by this time.

Mr. McLin stated that he had supported the school bond issue, even though he knew many people in the black community were opposed to the school bond issue. He told me that he is also in the position of supporting a candidate for the ~~common council, who is for the~~ city commission, who is opposed by a number of people in the black community.

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson
From: Mr. Wilson
Subject: The following notes were based on an interview with Mr. W. Sumter MacIntosh.

Mr. MacIntosh has been involved in civil rights activity in the city of Dayton for a good many years. He is reputed by a number of people to be ~~one of the, if not the,~~ earliest activists in the protest movement on behalf of the black community in Dayton.

Mr. MacIntosh is the head of an organization called the "Ohio Freedom Movement. While he seems to have the respect of a good many of the black militants in the city of Dayton, primarily because of his pioneering activities in the city, his organization does not seem to have a very significant following. Mr. MacIntosh and I only had an opportunity to talk briefly, as he had another engagement, and we discussed mostly the situation in Dayton after the September 1967 disorders, and with particularity his arrest on October 27, 1967.

Mr. MacIntosh was of the opinion that the situation in Dayton is worsening daily; that the black community is becoming more militant, and in this connection, he stated to me that he personally knew of a good many younger Negroes who were completely fed up with the system, and were willing to die in an attempt to change it. He stated that there is very little organization among the younger Negroes in the city of Dayton, and he is desirous of forming an organization with a base of young Negro males.

Mr. MacIntosh stated that he was not aware of any organized activities during any of the three disorders; although he conceded that some particular stores may have been looted in retaliation for their practices in the Negro community.

With regard to the incident of Friday, October 27, 1967, which resulted in his arrest, Mr. MacIntosh told me that the record album which was being played at the time was one containing excerpts from various speeches by Malcolm X. The album is entitled "Grass Roots". Mr. MacIntosh states that when he arrived on the premises, the police were already there, and that one of them went over into the living quarters, where the record player was situated, and removed the record from the record player. Mr. MacIntosh objected to this, and words were passed, and there was some general scuffling as he attempted to retrieve the record from the police officer. The result of this was that he was arrested, along with his son and daughter-in-law. They were taken downtown, booked, and later released on their own recognizance.

With regard to the future, Mr. MacIntosh stated candidly that his leadership potential in the city of Dayton was not very great. He thought that younger black militants would necessarily take over the movement in the city of Dayton, and would operate it in the manner in which they saw fit. While he might be called upon from time to time for some advice, he thought that his role would decline in terms of his active leadership role. He stated that young men of the stripe of Art Thomas would probably be the ones who would

come to leadership positions. He, however, bemoaned the fact that Art Thomas seemed to be willing to work with and cooperated with some of the more moderate elements of the black community. He was particularly critical of C. J. McLin, and stated that McLin was backing a racist for city council. The person being backed by McLin is Mike Liskany.

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: The following notes are based on an interview with Mr. James Miller, the Executive Director of the West Dayton Self-Help Center

In response to a question, Mr. Miller stated that the following organizations have ^{been set} gone up in Dayton over the past two or three years:

FORCE, the Black "MO-JO" Society, which Mr. Miller describes as a female organization, largely a social organization rather than activist; the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee; Moving Ahead Together, which was at one time funded through the local community action agency; and Dayton Action for Racial Equality, or DARE.

Mr. Miller states that there are many interlocking memberships and these organizations, and that no one of them has any sizable following in the black community; however, with the exception of the Black Mo-Jo Society, all of these organizations are led by people who are considered to be militants.

On the question of who originated the idea of an opportunities industrialization center for the city of Dayton, Mr. Miller told me that the idea was basically that of Curtis Hicks, who is now the Executive Director of OIC, and Mr. Al Holland, who ^{was} ~~is~~ formerly the Executive Director of MAT, or Moving Ahead Together.

Mr. Miller advised me that the city of Dayton was seeking the assistance of the West Dayton Self-Help Center and its staff in

connection with the planning of its Model Cities program. He told me that the city is ostensibly embarked upon a concentrated code enforcement program in the West Dayton area, and had asked the West Dayton Self-Help Center to make available ~~to it~~ questionnaires which had been used by the Self-Help Center in an early housing survey, and other materials developed by the Self-Help Center. Also, in connection with the code enforcement program, the neighborhood aides employed by the Self-Help Center will, on a one-to-one basis, accompany housing inspectors on their rounds with regard to inspection of sub-standard housing. Mr. Miller states that the reason for having neighborhood aides accompany the housing inspectors is two-fold; one is to direct the inspectors to certain known sub-standard housing, and the second is to insure that the inspectors detect all code violations on the premises which are known to the neighborhood aides.

Mr. Miller stated that the housing problem was a particularly difficult one, since ^{if one} it ~~once~~ succeeded in getting the city government to inspect a particular house, and ^{if was} ~~if the house were~~ found to be ~~sub-standard or~~ uninhabitable, it was then necessary to find a place for the family to live, because ^{it} they would be evicted from uninhabitable housing. He concludes, therefore, that there can never be a beneficial code enforcement program until relocation facilities are available. At present, no such facilities are available. To bring sub-standard housing up to code standards, Mr. Miller states that he has suggested a West Dayton area rent commission, which would be

empowered by ordinance or statutes to collect rents on properties which are sub-standard, and use those rental payments to bring the premises up to code standards. If the rents did not completely cover the cost of bringing the premises up to code standards the commission would be empowered to bill the owner of the premises for the remaining cost, and to collect that remaining cost out of rents falling due after the date of the completion of the repairs.

← Mr. Miller conceded that he did not hold out much hope of obtaining statutory creation of the sort of rent commission which he has in mind. ^{# Commenting further on housing,} ~~In this regard,~~ he stated that tenants are treated very shabbily in the courts, and ~~he stated that~~ in a lawsuit involving non-payment of rent, tenants ^{are} ~~were~~ not permitted to raise as a defense the fact that the premises were not up to code standards. and if they ^{do} ~~did~~ not pay the rent they ^{are} ~~would~~ simply be evicted, even though the building may be almost uninhabitable, by code standards.

← He concluded that if nothing could be done about that sort of situation, it was not likely that he was going to get statutory authorization for something like the West Dayton Area rent com- mission.

Mr. Miller also referred to the incident of the previous Friday afternoon, during which Mr. Sumter^p MacIntosh was arrested by members of the Dayton Police Department. Mr. Miller stated that he had been told that approximately ten squad cars were called into the area in order to effect the arrest of two men and one woman. He feels that this was very provocative action on the part of the police

department, ^{and} but it simply indicates to him their lack of understanding of how provocative the presence of ^a mass force of police officers is in the Negro community.

Interview with Don Crawford, Administrative Assistant to the City Commission of Dayton, Ohio
September 23, 1967

Mr. Crawford is a Negro who ran for mayor against the present mayor, Dave Hall, two years ago. Mr. Crawford lost the election by the slim margin of 2,000 votes, which is a remarkable feat. However, rather than indicating that the community was willing to elect a Negro mayor, the number of votes he obtained is probably an indication that Dave Hall was considered by many people to be an extraordinarily inferior candidate. Mr. Crawford, prior to the election, had been a member of the city commission and he was at one time a college roommate of Whitney Young. He is extremely articulate and aware. While my interview with him lasted some two hours, his conversation consisted primarily of the expression of abstract propositions rather than of specific facts. He knows all of the conventional arguments propounded by the white man and he has the perspicacity to probe beneath the surface and expose their fallacies. For example, it is the common refrain of almost all men that the riot participants consist always of a small group of young men most of whom have felon records. The fact may be true, but even if it is, Mr. Crawford points out the importance of recognizing that to a large extent the felon records of these young men are the result of their having been Negroes. In other words, the young Negro ^{has} frequent brushes with the law and often pleads guilty of charges of which he would be exonerated had he adequate counsel or advice. These young Negro "felons" are for the most part not felons in the strict legal sense of the word. ~~Another~~

Another problem with which some Negroes are confronted is the fact that other Negroes who have obtained for themselves a middle class existence seem to have no sympathy for the unemployed and uneducated Negro. Rather they point to themselves and say, "All right, I did it on my own; why can't he?"

Mr. Crawford points out that he didn't do it on his own, He did it because his mother was obsessed with the desire that he should become preeminent and because his father worked 17 not 12 hours a day so that he could go to college. He says that it is not fair to impose these rigid requirements on all Negroes. He feels that President Johnson's recent speech in Kansas, in which Johnson eschewed the use of the sociological terms underprivileged or disadvantaged and chose to use instead the simple phrase "poor people" is a salutary thing because it gets right down to the fundamental problem, and it is easier to sell the proposal to whites when one speaks in terms of rich and poor than it is when one speaks in terms of white and black.

Mr. Crawford feels that while the disturbance in Dayton was not of great moment insofar as the numbers of people involved or the damage inflicted, ~~He feels~~ that Dayton does represent many of the nation's cities in microcosm. Crawford has no end of such similar propositions to discuss, but I do not recall them sufficiently well to dictate them here. He feels that in Dayton there has been a pronounced improvement of the Negro employment situation and that Dayton industries are actively and aggressively recruiting Negroes and that some industries are taking unskilled Negroes and giving them as much training on the job as they possibly can.

He feels that the school integration has not proceeded very satisfactorily. However, there is talk of establishing one centralized school in Dayton which would accomplish this purpose at some time.

He feels that the police department is a great bone of contention and rightfully so. Negroes complain that there are an insufficient number of Negroes on the police force. The police force, on the other hand, contends that it has attempted in every possible way to recruit Negroes without

success. Crawford says this is due to the fact that the police are mortal enemies of the Negro and that police employment not considered by many Negroes to be an honorable profession. Further, those young men qualified for the police department can no doubt obtain a job in industry at a greater level of compensation.

Crawford feels that in the past in the white community's desire to communicate with the Negro community they ~~would~~ ^{the whites} always invite certain recognized leaders representing the local NAACP or Urban League together with a couple of Negro ministers and that their ~~intention~~ ^{inclination} continues to run in this vein. He does not feel that the white community sufficiently recognizes the fact that many Negroes do not feel they are adequately represented by those traditional pillars of the Negro community. He feels that it is important in the future to negotiate and discuss matters of concern with the militant leaders as well.

Crawford feels that a useful step forward could be taken by the city if it made a good-faith attempt to comply with many of the recommendations contained in the ^PMcMinn report. Mr. Crawford says that many of these can be done immediately and provide short-term solutions. He feels that the city must reevaluate the priorities it has assigned to various city projects and that road improvement and other major expenditures be deferred until street lights have been installed on certain streets in the West End, for example. He feels that improvements such as these have the value of being highly visible and effective illustrations of the city's commitment to progress. Measures such as these he views as indispensable palliatives until federal funds are secured for massive efforts.

(End of interview with Donald Crawford)

Ron Bailey stated that he was on the street for most of the day during the violence, attempting to persuade people to stop looting and to get off the streets. He states that he heard a number of younger Negroes talking about "getting it on" that evening. He took this to mean more looting. In any event, he advised them not to engage in any such activity, because it would only get them killed. He did observe some people looting, particularly the Famous Clothes Store. He observed instances of indiscriminate police brutality and arrests of ^{some} more persons whom he knew not to be involved in the riot activity, ~~as such.~~

He stated that once the National Guard was on the scene, and the violence and looting had subsided somewhat, the local police became more repressive and indiscriminate in their attacks upon the few people remaining in the area.

One of the interviewees stated that the police continued to harrass people, even in this tense riot situation. He recounted an incident, which he witnessed, wherein a Negro, walking along the sidewalk and talking to someone in an upstairs window, accidentally stepped off the curb and into the street. A policeman walked over to him and gave him a ticket for jaywalking. This incident was reported to City officials, and the ticket was reportedly "adjusted" by a City official named Bill Schmidt. He and one Curtis Hicks, or Robert Carter, could confirm this particular incident.

There is some feeling among this group that the local police, in some instances, provoke Negroes to rioting, or at least to continue rioting, in order to earn additional money in overtime. One of the interviewees states that a Negro policeman said to him, a few weeks after the riot, "When are you going to riot again? I made \$50 per day overtime during the last one."

We were advised by this group that almost all of the persons arrested

during these disorders were unemployed, young adults. In the aftermath of the September, 1966 disturbances, we were told that a number of committees of various sorts were organized to look into the situation, but that very little change was effected between September, 1966, and June, 1967. They stated that the police became more repressive than they had been prior to the September, 1966 disorder, and that they were more brutal during the June, 1967 disorder than they had been in September of 1966.

This group stated that they had been advising young Negroes in Dayton to refrain from rioting, since it is their feeling that the policemen would have no qualms at all about killing a Negro in a riot situation. This group also pointed out that the local government and power structure chose to deal primarily with a few, select Negroes in the community, who have almost no influence with the people who are actually on the streets in these disturbances.

Interview
view Based on what they told us, it would be my opinion that Art Thomas and Albert Holland would be most influential among the younger, black militants, in reaching the people who are normally on the street during these disorders. Of the older Negro leadership, only two are respected by this group. Those two are State Representative C. J. ^{McLynn} and Don Ellis. The Executive Director of the Urban League is considered to be an opportunist, and the head of the local NAACP chapter is considered to be a "Tom".

In attempting to deal with the tense racial situation in Dayton, it is my opinion that the City government would be well advised to set up a continuing sort of communication with people like Art Thomas and Al Holland. I think these two men are probably best acquainted with the potential

rioters among the Negro population in Dayton, and could be quite instrumental in anticipating possible violence, and dealing with it if it should occur, in terms of talking the young people out of the streets. They must, however, be in a position, I think, to show the young Negro in Dayton that some change is going to occur without riots. This means, of course, simply that the city government and local power structure must begin to do something to redress the legitimate grievances of the Negro community.

Brachman #1

Following is a summary of an interview ^d with Brother Norman Brachman ^{held on} September 22, 1967. ^{The interview began on} 10:45 a.m. ^{and continued} until 12:15 p.m. The interview was conducted in Brachman's office by Miss Eleanor Robbins and David Bierenbaum.

I. Biographical Information

Br. Brachman is the Chairman of the Political Science Department of the University of Dayton. He has been in Dayton off and on since 1952, and on a permanent basis since 1962. ^{He teaches a course on police work and has made a study of the Dayton police force, not yet in written form.}

II. Riots and Aftermath

Brachman did not recall the details of the 1966 riot. He did indicate, however, that it had been his view, ^{before that disturbance} and (likely the view in the white community), ^{being} that such a disorder could not happen in Dayton. ^{The white} community, ^{he said,} ^{had} is particularly inclined to ^{maintained} free and open lines of communication, ^(with the Negroes) and ^{discussed openly and in public matters of} being inclined to talk out all ^{common concern.} ^{concern} openly. His view is that ^{the major} change introduced by the 1966 disorders was in the attitude of the young Negroes, who, for the first time, ^{are} were no longer willing to wait for reforms, ^{and} ~~etc.~~ who had begun to ~~xx~~ think that ^{they} ~~_____~~ could themselves ^{change} the conditions to which they objected.

III. Description of Grievances and Community Response Prior to the 1967 Riot

(a) Housing:

Brachman first indicated that housing is not a problem in Dayton. On reflection, he indicated that ^{told us} open housing could help, but that it was not a pressing need.

XXXXXXXXXX

(b) Employment:

h Brachman felt that 5 jobs with greater upward mobility were vital. He emphasized the need for upward mobility and his feeling that employment alone is not already exists. is insufficient.

(c) Police:

h Brachman considers himself ^{most} knowledgeable about the Dayton police force. He has ^{taught} directed police administration courses at the University and has had a

great deal of contact with the police force in connection with his position as ^{Director} head of the ^{Police} Civilian Task Force of the ^{Civil Rights Study} Commission on Human Relations.

General Carniny, who was at the Negroes' trust the police, was inclined

to ^{Brachman} say. He said that although he had heard frequent complaints of police brutality, he was aware of very few actual incidents; most ^{the difficulty he attributes to} comes from discourtesy.

^{He did state} However, feel that there was little opportunity for the individual ~~to~~ to obtain

effective redress for grievances against the police department, ^{and admitted that} no action had been taken to implement recommendations made in this regard.

^{human} He said that there was little outright bigotry, but that police

^{to} officers were handicapped by their southern accents. He agreed that there

should be ~~more~~ ^{more} Negroes ^{police} on the force, but was ^(not) willing to lower standards to

accomplish this. Establishment of existence now a ~~is~~ police-community relations pro-

gram with contacts with the force which he feels would be useful, ^{but again}

^{admits that nothing yet has been done about this.}

Brother Brachman now is working meetings between _____

and police _____ to have gone through channels for a communication period.

Brother Brachman conceded that virtually no action was taken on any of the recommendations for police reform subsequent to the 1966 disturbances.

(d) Education:

h Brachman ^{described} addressed the Board of Education in the school authorities as conservative and unimaginative. In his view, the schools in the Negro areas have

not been doing a good job, and as a result the _____
W would indicate, however, that ^{that} he thought, the militant Negroes are more
concerned about this problem than the man in the street. With respect to inte-
gration, he pointed out that Dayton schools are neighborhood ~~xx~~ schools, and

that bussing/~~xx~~ not an issue, and, indeed, could not be an issue because ^{the} schools
have dining room facilities.

that the Catholic schools are planning to integrate
to the extent that buses, ^{which may put the city schools} under some pressure to integrate.

~~He pointed out that this was a serious issue since~~ The Negroes ^{community is} were opposed to
a pending bond ~~xx~~ issue which would provide for the expansion ~~fx~~ of an existing

school, ^{because of the failure of the school system to consider}
integration plans.

IV Institutional Responses

(a) City Hall:

^{Branchman talks}
It has been felt that Watts and Igelburger are first rate public offi-
cials, ^{who} in particular, he felt would ^{are} was anxious to make
contact with the ^{militants} Daltons privately and ~~was~~ ^{was} most anxious to be responsive to
the needs of the ^{spots} community.

Anti-Poverty Program:

^{Branchman is}
It was not clear whether or not the poverty program has been
successful.

V. The June Riot ^{14 Disturbance}

Branchman had no first-hand information on the rioter. His belief was
that H. Rap Brown, although a somewhat dull speaker, had successfully in-
cited the Negro youth and that the riot was neither planned in advance
nor organized ^{after it began}. ^{It is likely that the} provocative situation was sufficiently
tense that _____. He felt the police had done a very good job of controlling

Branchman is proud, almost chauvinistic, about the cities' non-partisan form of government. It produces the good government type of candidate, he stated. He did not appear concerned about the effect of these

and suppressing the disturbance
and believes that this view is
shared by the white and Negro
communities. In support of this,
he cites the fact that there was
no shooting and very few injuries.

The White Hat organization, he
said, had been very effective
in colling the young Negroes during
the time of disturbance, but were not
used in the ^{recent} Barber disorder because
the police were not certain that they
could be adequately protected.
Plans now are underway to
~~we~~ put the organization on a

permanent ~~basis~~ foundation. He is a member of the committee which is working with the White Hat group. The committee, he told us, is committed to allowing the members to decide which organizations what the organization actually will do. Brachman viewed this as an essential demonstration of trust in the members of the organization.

The June 14 Period

Brachman had no direct knowledge of the events of June 14. From his contacts with the police force and his general information, he believes that the police

and performed well.

Regarding the ~~negro~~ reaction of the white community to the Tumor disorder, Bachman told me that there was an inclination to attribute the disturbance to kidneys and ~~that~~ ~~with~~ ~~reference~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~work~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~author~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~paper~~ ~~referred~~ ~~to~~ ~~above~~ ~~by~~ ~~H. Ray Brown~~. The paper structural, which he ~~regards~~ ~~as~~ ~~particularly~~ ~~enlightened~~ ~~and~~ ~~conscious~~ ~~socially~~, but does not truly understand the depth of feeling in the Negro community.

Bachman believes that the

response to the June disorders -

Operation Rescue - was successful in reducing tensions ~~on which~~ and resulted in the relatively minor damage which occurred ~~at~~ in at that time. Citing the Barber disturbance, Buchanan believes that the Negro community understands its situation and therefore is not likely to engage in a full scale riot. He expects disturbances and even accepts disturbances as the order of this summer if it occurs next year; he nevertheless believes that

Dayton, because of its
industrial opportunities and
sophisticated leadership, is in
a position to develop into a
truly integrated community.

With respect to this week's
disturbance, Bachman told us that
the white community has ~~officially~~
been shocked. For the first time,
he said, the leaders of the
community were not talking
publi in publi about the problem,
reflecting ~~to the community~~

The seriousness with which they
view the incident. He told us,
quite proudly, that he had
drafted a resolution which was
passed by the Human Relations
Council and which called upon the
community not to dismiss the
shooting as a single worker act
but to ~~accept the~~ regard it
as bearing upon the effectiveness
of the police training and the
quality of the Port Peyton Police force.

Telen Evaluation: R. S. Bachman, as
president of many other physicians
whom we interviewed, is intensely

proud of his society and has great
difficulty acknowledging ~~that~~ ^{there} ~~is~~
these ~~flaws~~ ^{flaws} which intellectually
he cannot ignore. He is sunny and
satisfied by self-satisfied, given to
believing that the problems are
solved merely by the establishment
of committees and the adoption of
resolutions.

Rosenberg #3 & French #1

The following is a summary of an

held on

Interview with John French, superintendent of the ~~Ray~~ Dayton schools, September 22, ~~from~~ ⁸ 2:00 ^{and continued until} to 3:00 p.m. The interview was conducted by Eleanor Robbins and David ~~Birenbaum~~ Birenbaum.

Superintendent French has been the superintendent of the Dayton school system for some 21 years. He is an elderly man who, in his words, eagerly anticipates retirement.

We asked Superintendent French to identify the principal objections of the Negro community in the area of education prior to the June disorders.

~~French~~ ^{He} Superintendent French replied by stating that there had been allegations that the West Side schools, which are predominantly Negro in student body, were inferior, that they had the poorest teachers, the highest class sizes, the poorest equipment and facilities, etc.

Although, reflecting the housing pattern, the Dayton schools are de facto segregated, Superintendent French told us that integration had only recently become a goal sought by some members of the Negro community; this drive, indicated, ~~it~~ had commenced prior to the June disorders.

When asked to identify areas for attaining redress of grievances with respect to the Dayton schools, ~~the~~ Superintendent French told us that the Board of Education held frequent meetings and that representatives of the militant groups attended. He further indicated that one Negro sits on the school board, which is elected on a citywide, at-large basis. As with the Council, the All Dayton Committee selects the candidates for Board of Education and finances their campaign.

We asked Superintendent French about the controversial school bond issue which would provide funds for expansion of the existing Negro high school. Superintendent French ^{told us} that the Nonviolent Direct Action Committee had taken a position opposing the school bond issue unless the Board of

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Education agreed to establish a committee which would explore possible opportunities for integrating the ^{public} city ~~school~~ school system. The Board did not accede to this demand, the committee was not established and the Nonviolent Direct Action group has come out in opposition to the school bond.

We asked ~~Superintendent~~ French about the use which the school system had made of funds available to it under the ^{and} elementary ^h secondary Education Act. ~~Superintendent~~ French indicated that he was not familiar with this, and, in our presence, ^{Offered} referred to a reference book which he had on his desk. He ^{listed} read to us a number of programs which he appeared to believe were funded under the ESEA; in fact, some of them, including Head Start, are ~~lx~~ funded by OEO.

~~Superintendent~~ French was not familiar with the functional illiteracy rate of graduates of the Dayton school system, nor did he know the number or percentage of dropouts. In both instances, he expressed the view that Dayton's rate was probably normal.

When asked, ~~Superintendent~~ French ~~lx~~ told us that the ^{Board of Education} school system recently had included the teaching of Negro history in the curriculum. He also informed us that some of ^{the} his teachers -- particularly ^{Ad} R. Thomas -- were in the militant group.

We ~~lx~~ then asked ~~Superintendent~~ French for his views about the general causes of the disturbances in Dayton. ~~Superintendent~~ French indicated that the disturbances had been caused by a very serious situation for which he had no solution. Open occupancy housing, he thought, would help but ~~that it~~ would not be sufficient because it was not available for economic reasons to most residents of the West Side, ~~area~~. With respect to bussing, he felt that this was opposed not only by the white community but by the Negro community as well. In his view, the Negro community is quite angry about the activities

of the militants.

We asked Superintendent French whether he could discern a change in the young Negroes attending the West Side schools. ^{He replied} ~~Mr. French advised us~~ that the younger Negroes were more critical of education and less tolerant of the status quo than had been their predecessors. ~~XXXXXX~~ In his view, this hostility was encouraged by the press and other media.

With respect to the police he indicated that he could express no ~~px~~ opinion as to whether or not brutality was a problem. He did say that he thought the police probably had ~~an~~ ^{the} adequate background for their responsibilities and were inadequately paid.

He thought that the city administration was responsive and that the Board of Education was, as well. Superintendent French indicated that the business community, in his view, was anxious for peace and quiet, and will do whatever is necessary to obtain it. He clearly feels put upon by the business community, which, in his view, is anxious to lay as much blame as possible for the disturbances on the educators. More particularly, he told us that the business community ^{was} pushing for the establishment of an educational park, and ^{that he was not sure whether this would be desirable.} ~~point of view.~~ Regarding the intensity of feeling in the Negro and white

communities, French believed that the white community had been remarkably tolerant, although increasingly frightened. In his view, the disturbances did not really amount to riots and were not as serious as they were represented to be by the press. He believes that the Negro community condemns the violence; he told us that he had been to several large Negro congregations recently and had heard the ministers ^{taking} expressing opposition to what had been ~~taken~~ place.

Team evaluation: Superintendent French, by his own admission, is a tired old man with neither the interest nor the energy to confront the educational

problems which are his responsibility. Our interview with him causes that the

School system ^{is} was the city's weakest area.

(The interview began on)

The following is a summary of an interview with Ron Bailey and Harris held on September 22 from 9:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. The interview was conducted by Eleanor Robbins and David Birnbaum.

Ron Bailey is a young, energetic, articulate Negro who is the Area Coordinator for the Montgomery County poverty program. He works for SCOPE and has been in Dayton for some three years. Previously, he had been in Chicago. Mr. Harris is youth worker with SCOPE.

Bailey had been president of the meeting of protest of the Barbee shooting. He told us that the meeting had been going well, but that some of the younger people were impatient. One apparently jumped up and shouted that it was time to move on.

The leaders tried to cool the younger people, but were unable to do so and the disturbance broke into minor looting - looting.

Bailey told us that the militants had lost faith entirely in the Human Relations Council. He said at the meeting held to discuss the Barbee shooting was entirely unsatisfactory and that the Negro people could not get answers to their questions, particularly whether or not the city was going to purchase an armored car. This connection, he told us that quite emphatically that the militants were tired of talking and that no desire to continue or improve the dialogue with the White community appeared. He also told us that each time something happens in Dayton, the militant groups draw close together and that it's just a matter of time as to when a full-fledged riot will develop.

He told us that the feeling of the older people about the disturbances had changed considerably during the last year. He said specifically that the older people had tried to stop the riot in 1966. This year, he said, they do not oppose the disturbances, but want the violence to take place in the white areas and not in their own neighborhoods. Harris told us that the younger people identify very closely with Rap Brown and with the Black Power advocates. He told us that Afro-type hairstyles were very popular and that young people imitated Rap Brown way of dressing.

He also told us that young people feel they are going to make America moral, even if she doesn't want to be. He said that the Negroes were beginning to reject values held by white society and to resist being imprisoned by the notion

As far as police brutality is concerned, he thought that efforts should be made to get rid of ^{racist cops} ~~soil-crops~~ and that Negroes ^{should} increasingly handle problems of law and order in their own communities.

Regarding education, he thought the community should have a greater measure of control over the school systems.

We asked Bailey about the possible influence of the city's at large elections and the city manager ^{system} ~~permit~~ upon Negroes. He thought that this could be responsible for some of the difficulties, and indicated that the Negroes do not accept either ^{McBee} ~~Magee~~ or Crawford as their representatives. In this connection, Harris told us, quite emphatically, that the Negro community categorically ~~objects~~ rejects any Negro appointed by a white man to represent them, ~~simply because they are appointed by a white man.~~

Bailey #2

Bailey -- Tape #2

... ~~and~~ Team Evaluation it seemed evident to both members of the team that Mr. Bailey was most anxious to communicate to us and through us, his views not only about the Dayton situation but about the nation as well. It was quite clear to us that Ron Bailey ^{is} representative of the ^e ~~merging~~ movement among younger Negroes to identify along racial lines, and, in fact, to reverse the ~~tendency of the~~ dependence of the Negro upon white values. In particular, both Bailey and Harris referred to each other and to other Negroes as brothers and sisters. Bailey told us that he would not allow his wife to wear a blonde wig and that women dressed in that fashion were now objects of scorn among the younger Negroes.

(The tape ends here, abruptly -- that's all that is on it)

~~He thinks we believe that he was bullfaced and that his views, in all likelihood,~~

French #2 & Hug Anger #1

The (A summary of)

Following is an interview of Mr. Frank Anger, president of the Winter National Bank. The interview was held on September 22, from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m.

The interview began at 5:00 and continued until 6:00 p.m.

The interview was conducted by Eleanor Robbins and David Birenbaum.

150 silver haired, middle aged banker, President of the Winter National Bank. Mr. Frank Anger, prior to our interviewing, had been identified by a

number of people as a member of the Dayton power structure.

Mr. Anger identified the major West Side problems as ~~being~~ involving education, housing, and employment. The real answer to these problems, he

~~said~~ ^{felt}, comes from the exchange ^{an} ~~between~~ ^{views} Negro and white communities, and ~~the~~ ^{an} ~~kind of~~ ^{successful} full discussions which can lead to solutions. In his view the

Negroes want everything right now and does not fully realize that

Much time is

Mr. Anger told us that

Commercial

The business community had been particularly active in working ~~ing~~ prior to the June disturbances. Operation Motivate is the prod-

Prior to

uct of a committee of businessmen, Chamber of Commerce personnel, educators

and representatives of the Negro community, but not apparently the militant

groups. ^{had been meeting to discuss these problems for some years.} Its chairman is the president of the University of Dayton. Mr. Anger

told us that Operation Motivate had involved the following projects:

the following:

- # (1) A summer, ~~xx~~ Upward Bound-type project funded privately,
- # (2) The Dayton Job Fair, which last year had produced 200 or more jobs,
- # (3) Work with unions to eliminate discrimination. In this connection, Mr. Anger told us that the building trades unions had presented the greatest difficulties.
- # (4) Work with the Urban League in establishing a youth opportunity center and cooperate ⁱⁿ with it in providing ~~fx~~ employment for youth referred by the center for positions.

- # (5) Had committed approximately \$140,000 to finance the OIC, ^(post June 1951)
- # (6) Had provided financial support for the White Hat group, ^(post June 1951)

In this connection Mr. Anger told us that the White Hats would be put on a full-time basis and that a director would be hired, ~~again~~ again with money provided ~~xxx~~ by the business community.

Journal

Anger

(7) Had worked for expanded recreation on the West side. * (8) Had done some work in the area of home rehabilitation. # (9) Had approved a new program which will be implemented this school year and which will involve sending personnel, people employed by local businesses into the school system to provide job counseling assistance. (7) sic Finance a police training program which would pay some twelve Negroes to attend special classes designed to enable them to pass the police examination, *(not yet determined)*.

With respect to the Negro community, ~~the~~ Anger feels that it is internally divided, that there there is little identity of views and that although the militant s get considerable attention, they do not command the true support of the people.

He believes that the White attitude about the problems of the West Side residents is hardening. He told us that following the 1966 riots, people generally were more aware of the magnitude of those problems but were less concerned now.

His view is that the intensity of the disturbances is subsiding, reflecting the support provided by the business community, among others. He believes that the more recent disturbances were the result of juveniles looking for ^{an} opportunity to lay their hands on TV's, etc. He further believes that the evidence is that the riots fomented but not planned or directed; in this connection, he thinks H. Rap Brown is a spell-binder who, under the right circumstances, could incite anyone to violence.

He also regards the news media as having some responsibility for the disturbances. His point was that the news media inclines to play up the unusual but does not inform about progress that is being made.

The city administration, he feels, is responsive. *See support* Poor to this, he pointed to improvement of services rendered to the West Side, particularly with respect to garbage collection. He feels that the new city manager, *Wait(?)*, is much better than his predecessor. *Regarding* ~~Pointing up~~ police community relations, Anger believes that the problem mainly derives from the existence within the Negro community from a sub-culture which espouses values different from those White Society. The effort to enforce these white values, particularly in the area of prostitution, results in the tensions which have produced strained relationship between the police and the Negro community, in his view. # So far as the Barbee case is concerned, Anger does not believe that Barbee was identifiable as a Negro; he told us that he had been informed

by the new chief of police that Barbee had been identified as a white on a traffic ticket some time prior to the shooting. Anger did not know whether brutality was a legitimate grievance.

Anger thought that the anti-poverty program had not been very effective and had been attempting to move too rapidly to solve these difficult problems. In his view, ~~Mr.~~ ^{Mr.} Anger did not have the support of the Negro community.

We asked ~~Mr.~~ Anger about the possible effect of the city's non-partisan government at large selection system, a city-manager form of government upon representation afforded to the Negro community. Anger told us that Dayton enjoyed a refreshingly clean government, that there was no grounds ^{of fact etc.} to print. In his view, the Negro community was ably presented by councilman ~~Magee~~ ^{McSherry}, who is a Negro and who ^{is} vocal and forthright and Don Crawford, the mayor's administrative assistant, who is a Negro also.

~~Mr.~~ Anger told us that he was not clear on as to why Dayton had experienced three disturbances in such a short period of time. He felt that Negroes were dissatisfied, that the community now has the desire for change, but lacked the motivation and education required. He does not expect violence next summer, unless H. Rap Brown or some other person comes into Dayton and incites it.

His personal view is that most of the grievances felt by the Negroes may or may not be justified, depending upon individual philosophy. Anger did say, quite firmly, however, that he would under no circumstances negotiate under the threat of violence and resented that this approach had been attempted by some of the more militant groups.

Anger #2
and Bailey #1

~~Continuation of the Anger interview -- tape #2~~

Tenn The ^{U.S.} evaluation team felt that ^{is} Mr. Anger ~~was~~ currently a member of the reigning power structure of the City of Dayton. He seemed to lack sympathy for the Negro community. Otherwise, ^{quite} he was impressively pragmatic in his approach to problems, and gave us the impression that he, and through him, the business community, could be moved by considerations of self-interest to provide ^{access} egress for grievances, even if they did not accept their legitimacy. He was quite proud of what the business community had already done in this connection.

Next interview.

*reflected
substantive
out of view
ideally*

Rosenberg # 1 and #2

summary Jan

held

information began on

The following is an interview of Mr. Al Rosenberg on September 21, 10:30 a.m. until 1:30 p.m. In addition to Mr. Rosenberg were Eleanor and David Reinbaum. They adjourned about 1:00. The interview

The interview was conducted by Eleanor Robbins. In addition to Mr. Rosenberg were Eleanor and David Reinbaum. ~~Biographical Information~~

Mr. Al Rosenberg is the Director of Scope, the Supporting Council on Preventative Effort, Scope is the ^{anti-} poverty organization which serves ^{MONTGOMERY} ~~Montgomery~~ County (which includes Dayton) and five other Ohio counties. ^{ITC} Services are principally directed to the ^{DAYTON} community group area.

Rosenberg is approximately 52 years of age. He has been actively interested in civil rights activities all his adult life. ~~Mr. Rosenberg is~~ ^{Although} not a native Dayton, ~~He had~~ ^{and has been the Director of Scope since September of 1966.} lived in that city during the period 1953-1954. Before accepting the directorship of Scope in September of 1956, he served in a similar capacity in connection with the New Orleans anti-poverty program.

1966 Riot and Aftermath

~~Mr. Rosenberg~~ came to Dayton following the 1966 riot, and therefore has no firsthand ~~information~~ ^{knowledge about} concerning that disturbance. Following the 1966 riot, ~~Mr. Rosenberg~~ ^{McLain} told us Representative Glenn, the Negro member of the Ohio legislature, established a man-in-the-street committee for the purpose

of identifying grievances brought by the Negro community. ^{felt} ~~operated~~ ^{The committee} by ~~identifying~~ ^{Asking them} ~~to~~ ^{to} describe the conditions ~~which they objected most~~ ^{revealing to} people ~~of~~ ⁱⁿ the West Side ghetto and ~~to~~ ^{to} describe the conditions ~~which they objected most~~ ^{to} ~~Mr. Rosenberg~~ ^{told us that the survey} was ordered to ~~report~~ ^{identify} among

~~other things~~ ^{police}, housing, jobs, schools, rat clearance, welfare, etc. ~~as the major~~ ^{as the major} grievances, of ~~the~~ ^{the} survey group. (They then reported the transfer to a close friend.)

The ^{McLain} report was updated in April 1967 by the Dayton Committee on Civil Rights, in cooperation with the Ohio State Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights. This report, entitled "Dayton's

Call to Action", was the product of the Dayton Civil Rights Committee, a ^{biracial} racially mixed group comprised predominantly of professional Negro and white middle class people, ^{but including some} Some ghetto residents were included. The committee was in- ^{divided into task forces to study} _____ to specific problems. ^{The Negro} _____ was presented at a large public meeting ^{in April 1967} which was well attended.

Response to
Description of Grievances and Community Response
Prior to the June, 1967, Disturbance

Mr. Rosenberg, ^{described the community's} ~~the~~ previous response to grievances identified ^{in the} ~~in the~~ civil rights studies mentioned above, ~~were~~ as follows:

(a) Police. ^{characterized} Mr. Rosenberg felt that police brutality was a major issue. Complaints from the Negro community about it were frequent, but little if any thing was done to alleviate the problem. ^{is that} Mr. Rosenberg's judgment of the leadership of the police force is quite enlightened, but that there is a great gap ^{personnel at the top} ~~between the~~ personnel between the people of the town and the police man on the beat. ^{civil} Although the rights report recommended establishment of a ^{mechanism} police review board and other procedures for processing grievances, nothing was done in this area: ^{Not has there been a action implementing the} ~~recommendations with respect to improve community relations efforts and~~

Mr. Rosenberg indicated that police frequently assumed ^{told us that the} that Negroes were ^{are} guilty of crimes, simply because ^{the seek to avoid confrontation.} ~~the seek to avoid confrontation.~~ Specifically, ^{and} he said "if you're black, you run, far too many ^{white cops} cops assume you're guilty and shoot." ~~the committee had recommended establishment of~~

~~screening requirements designed to weed out~~ ~~XMR~~ ~~police of anti-Negro~~ bias, no efforts were made in this direction. ^{Mr. Rosenberg told us that} ~~A~~ police training program was ^{had been} conducted under a grant through Wayne University, but ^{it} it appeared to have little impact. ^{to} Mr. Rosenberg said that ^{calling} ~~there are far too few~~ Negroes on the force, but although much talk has been ~~there has been~~ but no action on recommendations for increasing the

Negro representation on the police force.
no action on this recommendation.

In sum, ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg said that the Negro com/ ^{West Side} munity, and in particular the young Negroes, ~~from the ghetto~~, had become ^{most} ~~more~~ cynical about the possibility of change in the area of police-community relations. ~~The house~~ ^{ghetto} ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg ^{(b) Housing} had worked on on the West Side some 15 years ago and therefore was familiar with the background of the ^{housing} situation. Particularly, ~~he~~ told us that in 1953 some integration in the housing projects was beginning, ~~but~~ ^{reversed} was ~~not~~ by an effort, deliberate ~~and~~ ^{including} by real estate agents, ~~even~~ Negro, ~~real estate~~ agents, to mark out the Westwood area for exclusively Negro settlement.

Although ~~at~~ that time Westwood was predominantly white, blockbusting and other techniques (some of them not so standard) were utilized by agents with great success. As a result, ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg told us ^{of these tactics, the Westwood area was} ~~in areas~~ ^{turned into a ghetto,} recently inhabited by Negroes the condition of the housing was ~~very poor,~~ ^{degenerated,} and the pattern of "vicious segregation," ~~and absentee landlords in part~~ ^{absentee landlords were having} little interest in ~~or~~ ^{which exists today, was established,} repairing their properties, that overcrowding was a serious problem, and that, in short, there was

"vicious segregation".

With respect to efforts to improve ^{the} conditions and ~~the~~ quality of housing on the West Side ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg told us that a model cities application had been submitted ^{recently (after the same disaster), but that} for the inner West Side area. Housing... was essential ^{yet had been taken to alleviate the housing} ~~that no action or no commitment had been taken at all.~~ ^{conditions complained of.}

(c) Welfare. ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg told us that ADC ^{is} was set by the Ohio legislature at/up to 80 percent of minimum subsistence. In addition to being ^{inadequate,} ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg advised us that ^{the} program ~~in~~ Dayton is poorly administered, and badly required ^{of} decentralization. Specifically, ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg ^{believed} expressed the view that it was essential that ^{an} their office be established in the ghetto community.

(d) Employment: Here too, ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg ~~felt~~ ^{told us} that ~~_____~~ ^{the response of} to the community ~~as~~ the employment needs identified in the ~~_____~~ ^{Mch.} and civil rights studies was inadequate, ~~to the need~~. While some additional jobs had been generated, they were far too few and had little impact. ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg told us, however, that following the June episode, an OIC had been established, under the leadership of Rev. Hughley, an aggressive Negro minister. The OIC ~~will endeavor to~~ ^{is planning to} raise money from private industry for its operations.

(e) Education: ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg told us that ~~de facto~~ ^{de facto} segregation ~~was~~ ^{is} the rule in Dayton, reflecting the _____ neighborhood school ~~rupture~~ ^{system} and ~~its~~ ^{the rigidly} severely segregated housing pattern. He ~~told us~~ ^{told us} that ~~he~~ had not responded to the educational needs identified in the foregoing surveys, and had not even commenced a program of using schools for ~~community~~ ^{good} purposes.

(f) Consumer problems. ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg told us that most of the stores in the ghetto area ~~are~~ are owned by whites and that there ~~ixxxxx~~ has been considerable talk about high interest charges and unequal costs, etc. He did state, however, that a study of consumer problems had been conducted by the University of Dayton, and that it indicated that there was ~~concern~~ ^{little} about this problem among ghetto residents. A neighborhood legal services program has just been funded, but has not yet commenced operation.

(g) Anti-Poverty effort: ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg indicated that the anti-poverty effort had some impact, but that it was, in his words, a "teaser" which had engendered expectations ^{beyond} / the capacity of the program, as currently funded, to satisfy.

3. Responsiveness of City Leadership:

a) City administration: ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg told us about ~~the new city~~ ^{that the new} manager, Mr. Graham Watts, who had come into office in February of 1967, ~~and~~ ^{was} that ~~he~~ was committed to alleviating ~~the~~ ^{ghetto} problems, ~~of the ghetto~~. ~~Mr.~~ Rosenberg felt, however, that despite the good intentions, City Manager Watts

city

response had been inadequate. Specifically, Watts, upon assuming his office, established a so-called "Operation Response", which was intended to implement the recommendations made in the civil rights report committees' reports. *Operation*

Response provided better services to the ghetto *residents*, in particular more *active street* sweeping and garbage collection, but little impact on what, in ~~the~~ Rosenberg's ~~point~~ *view*, were the real problems, *i.e., employment, police relations, education and housing.*

In this connection ~~he~~ *asked* ~~Mr.~~ *Mr.* Rosenberg *regarding* the effectiveness of the political process in Dayton. ~~Mr.~~ *He* Rosenberg told us about *that* the city and the city manager form of government; the mayor is part-time, and that the

city council, which is elected on an at-large ~~basis~~ and non-partisan basis, *and at the candidates are selected by a committee which funds their campaigns.* is part-time as well. The system has resulted in one of the council seats

going to a Negro, *(Mrs. ...)* but little political voice *for the ghetto* in the community *and a virtually total absence of political life in the community.*

b) Business community: ~~Mr.~~ *Mr.* Rosenberg felt this *(business)* community had done little in advance of the June disturbance to respond to the needs identified following the 1966 riot.

c) Churches: The churches, ~~Mr. Rosenberg believes,~~ have exercised little influence on the life of the community. *(Neyden, in particular)* Although there are a few Negro ministers who have exercised real leadership, the clergy has been little involved in the problems of the ghetto.

d) Negro organizations: ~~Mr. Rosenberg advises that~~ *Rosenberg believes that* to understand the *current* situation, currently prevailing with respect to Negro organizations, it was necessary to go back a number of years to the *history* establishment of the CORE group in Dayton. CORE, at one time, had a very effective *chapter* in *Dayton*. Its director was W. Sumpter MacIntosh, who was then and is now a most controversial figure. For various reasons (largely concerned with MacIntosh' integrity) a number of young, militant Negro leaders split with the director and prevailed

upon ~~the~~ national CORE organization to ^{suspend} ~~the~~ Dayton charter. MacIntosh then founded the Ohio Freedom Movement, of which he is now director. However, his former CORE associates have ^{not} been able to get together under the aegis of a single organization. As a result, there is a great split within the Negro community ~~at this time~~ and ^{a considerable} they ~~are~~ proliferation of organizations, both militant and moderate groups. Mr. Rosenberg feels ^{that despite} this split and notwithstanding lack of ^{grass root} support for any single militant organization, ~~and the absence of indigenous CORE leadership~~, the militants had, through their aggressive tactics, provoked a response from the white community which otherwise would not, in his judgment, have been forthcoming. Specifically, he said, " ^[white] The community would not have begun to move, if it had not been for these people."

4. Precipitating Events

at OEO, not refund
land, the MAT directors
June
Shortly before the disturbance, the Board of Scope ^{West Side} decided to ^{organization} ~~recommend~~ against commending that MAT (Moving Ahead Together), a ghetto reaction program, ^{Controversy} ~~is~~ ^{in his view, of} ~~is~~ Rosenberg described the Scope-MAT program in some detail, ~~the~~ ^{the} MAT directors a militant leader who is closely associated with

kernel organization which itself had to get the community work cut off had under consideration then 2 years and on June 7 for the
MacIntosh, ^{lead to} Mr. Rosenberg told us that he had been warned by MacIntosh that cutting off MAT would be likely to produce trouble, and that he had then discussed this with the police and the Human Relations Council, ^{who advised} taking their advice. ^{that Scope} groups counseled Rosenberg to ^{take any action if felt indicated} on the merits, without regard to hostility. ^{the possible repercussions} the decision against refunding MAT was made on June 7. Following announcement of ^{Loyalist M.A.T.} that decision, ^{the} MacIntosh ~~actively~~ to protest, the protest taking the form of demonstrations, including the burning ^{of an} in effigy of Rosenberg, ^{assumed}.

Continuation of interview with Mr. Al Rosenberg, Belt #2

The tension resulting from the decision against funding ^{MAT} mat steadily grew.

Sometime following the June 7 decision a public meeting was scheduled to be held at the Wesley Center for the purpose of considering the need for jobs and the ^{MAT} mat situation. H. Rap Brown was invited to speak. In advance of the meeting Rosenberg was called by McIntosh ^{and} who warned Rosenberg that trouble might ensue following the rally.

While Rosenberg was not at the Wesley Center meeting, he understands from people who were there ~~that~~ that Brown made a number of highly inflammatory statements and did not discuss either jobs ^{or} the ^{MAT} mat problem.

June DISORDER
The Riot Itself

Rosenberg did not witness the disturbance of June 14. Based upon his conversations with people who did observe the situation and his reading of the press, he ^{believes} felt that the police had handled the situation in a satisfactory manner, that the young people predominantly were the riot participants and that the view of the older members of the West Side community was one of sadness because of the loss resulting from the destruction. With respect to the White Hat group, Rosenberg felt that they had performed a valuable service. He did indicate, however, that the idea primarily was useful as a gimmick and that, rather than ^{funding} invest in the ^{organization} White Hat group and ~~put it~~ on a permanent basis, the community would better be served ^{by} investing in improved police practices.

VI. Evaluation of Certain Aspects of the Riot

Rosenberg does not believe that the riot was planned in advance, despite the McIntosh warning. He explained that McIntosh rather frequently would use the threat of trouble as a way of inducing acceptance of his pro-

posals, always without success in the past. He did feel, however, that those who planned the Wesley Center had ample reason to ^{anticipate} ~~expect~~ ^{actually} ~~that~~ what ~~did~~ happen ^{was} ~~was~~ would ~~happen~~. He did not know whether the activities of riot participants ^{were} ~~had been~~ initiated after the disturbance had ^{was} ~~been~~ initiated.

In Rosenberg's judgment, the Cincinnati riot had no effect upon the disturbance in Dayton.

Rosenberg believes that H. Rap Brown exercises great influence, particularly over the young who identify closely with him.

Rosenberg does not believe that the media had a substantial effect in ^{indirectly} ~~bringing~~ about the violence.

VII. Aftermath

Rosenberg believes that the white community, following the events of June 14, ~~is inclined to~~ and does not want to understand its ^{conditions} ~~true cause~~ of ^{which produced it} ~~spirit~~. With respect to the Negro community, Rosenberg believes that it is badly split, some viewing the disorder as essentially in their interest; and the others abhorring it. Largely, this ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{division} along economic lines.

The press coverage of the ^{disorder} ~~riot~~ and its ^{causes} ~~conditions~~ was mixed, Rosenberg feels, the ^{one} ~~morning~~ paper tending to examine into root causes ^{with} while the other paper calling increasingly for greater ^{suppression measures} ~~control~~. ^{With respect to} Rosenberg ~~discussed~~ the ^{Rosenberg believes} ~~Barbey~~ shooting, expressing the view that it had produced a feeling of shock in the white community. With respect to the public meeting which preceded the violence of this week, Rosenberg's view, again, was that the disturbance which followed that meeting should have been and probably was anticipated by planners, but that there had been no ^{advance planning} ~~organized rioting~~.

Rosenberg sees ^{current} the situation in the Dayton ~~community~~ as particularly tense, even explosive. In his view, a full scale riot could be set off if someone wanted to do it by design; ^{the} ~~in~~ ^{fact} ~~that~~ this has ^{not} ~~now~~ already happened,

He views as evidence that there is no professional at work in the ghetto.
In ~~some~~ sum, Rosenberg ^{described} feels that the Dayton ^{white} community ^{as} is self-satisfied and smug, ~~and does not~~ ^{unaware} realize that it is ~~xxx~~ sitting on top of a volcano which could be easily erupted.

Team evaluation: Both members of the team were quite impressed with Mr. Rosenberg's sincerity and with his readiness to accept the sincerity even of those ~~xx~~ who had opposed him. He certainly gave us the impression, confirmed by our subsequent interviews, that he was quite ~~knowledgeable about~~ knowledgeable about ~~parts thereof~~ ^{the} Dayton.

Summary of Interview of

James Fain

Conducted by David Birenbaum and Eleanor Robbins

September 23, 1967 2:00 to 3:00 p.m.

Mr. Fain has been described as a "Georgia liberal", ^{He} and has been a resident of Dayton for 14 years, and is the editor of the Dayton Daily News.

Mr. Fain recalled that the civil disturbance of September, of 1966, was ignited by the shooting of a Negro named Mitchell. It has never been determined who shot Mitchell, but the Negroes in the west side of Dayton are convinced that his assailant was white. Mayor Dave Hall went into the West Side area after the shooting and invited negotiations with Negro leaders. After meeting with the Mayor, the Negro leaders announced that they had been granted concessions. The announcement was made in an emotionally-charged atmosphere, ^{with} and there was a lot of liquor around. About 200 Negroes threw objects and looted stores in a three-block area for approximately 1½ hours. Most of the Negroes in the community were not in sympathy with these actions. There was no plan or system in the disorder; however, Mr. Fain believes that Sumter McIntosh attempted to plan the trouble.

After the disturbance, the McLin Report was prepared. Mr. Fain termed the report "pretty good". He said the white community was surprised to find that the grievances spoken of by the Negroes didn't always relate to whites' impressions of Negro grievances. For example, one of the requests made by the Negroes was the transfer of two Vice Squad policemen, who called themselves "Batman and Robin". They have a reputation in the Negro community for brutality and for using Negro prostitutes for their own ends. The white community was completely unaware of this.

Mr. Fain called Rap Brown the catalytic spark in the disturbances of June 14, 1967. There ensued one night of very limited looting. ^{followed his speech.)} After this the

~~incidents~~ ^{disturbance,} petitions signed by Negroes were passed to Sumter McIntosh, requesting that he not bring in any more outside agitators. ^{There} It was generally a very negative reaction in the Negro community to the ~~incident.~~ ^{disturbance,}

Grievances.

1. Police Department. Mr. Fain believes the police department has improved ~~in~~ its relations with the West Side, ^{in the past four or five years} but not nearly enough. There are still racist policemen on the beat. ^{He had several suggestions} ~~Mr. Fain felt that a complete~~ ⁽¹⁾ overhaul of the Vice Squad concept is necessary, especially since this squad deals almost exclusively with prostitution. ⁽²⁾ The personnel division of the Police Department now handles ^(complaints about the police) grievances, and Mr. Fain ^{feels} that there should be some agency outside the Department to handle complaints. ⁽³⁾ ~~He felt that the charge that policemen do not~~ ^{should} service calls from the West Side as much as they ^{frequently as they do calls from any other area} should was a justified one. ~~But~~ ^{praised} Mr. Fain would give the Police Department ^{'s behavior during} good marks ~~in~~ the riots themselves. They have never fired a shot in any of the disturbances, because they have always gone into the area in sufficient numbers to make ^{shooting} this unnecessary.

2. Housing. Mr. Fain said that housing was more a symbolic issue than a real one. Militant civil rights groups in Dayton backed an anti-fair housing amendment because the NAACP, ~~white establish-~~ ^{opposed} ment and newspapers ~~backed~~ it, and also to show up Dayton for the bigoted city that it was.

3. Employment. ~~Mr. Fain said that~~ Only General Motors and Wright Air Force Base hire without discrimination as to race. There has been some progress in the last few years at National Cash Register. ~~But~~ Small businesses are still very discriminatory, and have begun an exodus from the ghetto area. Business leaders have made some response to

this problem. Fairs are held each year, and there is a program wherein counselors in Negro schools spend the summer working in the personnel departments of companies, in order to ^{better} understand ~~completely~~ the hiring ^{requirements} processes of the companies.

4. Education. Mr. Fain ^{feels} said that the education received by students in the West Side area ^{is} was inferior to that received by ^{students} those in white areas. Dayton has achieved faculty integration, but certainly not student integration.

~~Mr. Fain stated that~~ ^{is} while there ~~was~~ a dialogue between Negro leadership and white leaders, communication between militant Negroes and the white power structure ^{is} was not good. He ^{feels} felt that the white community leadership ^{is surprisingly} was extremely sensitive to the Negro problem, ^h however, the attitude of the average white in Dayton ^{is} was hardening in a frightening manner against the Negroes.

According to Mr. Fain, the Anti-Poverty Program has not ^{been} done ^{very effective} much good so far. Many of the programs are good in blueprint, but not operatively. Head-Start is a success, ~~of course~~. Mr. Fain ^{feels} felt that these programs ^{won't} really ^{future} wouldn't affect the disturbances for at least several years.

Under the city manager form of government, Mr. Fain said that the average individual, white or Negro, ^{feels} ~~is~~ unrepresented by the government. ~~While~~ ^{he} he, personally, favors another form of government, ^{which} ~~his~~ is a minority view in Dayton.

Charges that insurance policies are being withdrawn from the ghetto area are largely unjustified at this time, according to Mr. Fain.

The status churches in Dayton do nothing at all about these problems. "They speak piously, but take little action." Mr. Fain said

that the Catholic Inter-racial Committee and Willis Ford, chairman of (?) have both been doing some good work.

Mr. Fain said that the Barbee incident was a testimony to the amazing ~~power~~^{tolerance}, maturity, and ~~ability~~^{stability} of the Negro community. Barbee's family even made a plea for justice through legal channels, ~~and~~ not ~~through~~ violence on the streets. Since the incident, there has been no sniping, little burning, and only limited looting. Mr. Fain, an admitted optimist, said that he thought prospects were good for both the Negro and white communities. However, if Collier ^(the policeman who shot Barbee) is acquitted, that "could blow it".

If Mr. Fain could take one step to ^{diminish} ~~diminish~~ the prospect of future civil disorders in Dayton, he would find a good-paying job for every unemployed Negro.

Evaluation of Mr. Fain: Mr. Fain was very cooperative and open in answering our questions. He knows more about Dayton and its problems than anyone else we interviewed in the private sector, with the possible exception of A. Rosenberg. He seems involved and concerned with the plight of the West Side people.

Summary of Interview of Marvin Purk

The interview was conducted from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M., Sept. 21, by David Birenbaum and Eleanor Robbins.

Mr. Purk is the Executive Vice President of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce, and has been a resident of Dayton for 26 years.

Mr. Purk was not an eyewitness to the disturbances in September, 1966, nor did he witness either of the disturbances this year. He feels that the disturbance in 1966 had the greatest impact on the white population of Dayton ^{because} last year not that many cities had ~~riots~~ ^{Thus} riots, and so Daytonians' pride in their community was shaken. This year's riots are a fact of life in many cities.

Grievances.

A. Police Brutality. Mr. Park believes that Dayton has a good Police Department. He feels the police officers have integrity, sincerity, and capability. He understands that Negroes feel discriminated against by the police, but he thinks these feelings are unjustified. Mr. Purk is unsure of what Negroes ^{want} ~~in the way of~~ law enforcement. He remarked that whites abhor prostitution and bootlegging, but generally Negroes accept these things. "Prostitutes speak of harrassment, so what? Why should a vice officer tip his hat when arresting a whore?"

B. Housing. We asked Mr. Purk if anything had been done since the disturbance last September to improve housing in the ghetto. ^{His answer was negative.} ~~He answered no.~~ While Negro leaders are unhappy about housing, Mr. Purk had serious doubts that the Negro people themselves are that unhappy. Mr. Purk has hopes that the section of the city called Dayton View will be the first integrated section of Dayton. Dayton View is predominately white now, but "there are already Jewish people living there." The homes are expensive so only "superior Negroes, financially and culturally will be able

Purk 2

~~to move there.~~ to move there."

Robbins

Dayton

Group B (last 2 of 5 belts)

Type after return of the first 3 tapes, which contains Purk #1

Purk #2 Shiel #1

This is the second tape for Marvin Purk.

3. Education. Mr. Purk feels that Dayton has a "pretty good" school system. He judges the system by the attitude of school officials to innovation and their dissatisfaction with the present conditions. As an example of educational innovation in Dayton, he cited carpeted classrooms. Although the Negroes and the upper middle class (whites) are the supporters of school drives, for a long time the Board of Education has not heeded the requests of Negroes.

no para here This year, the Chamber of Commerce is organizing a special committee for the purpose of finding a solution to defacto school segregation. The committee will be made up of 50 members, 6 of whom will be Negroes chosen by the Chamber of Commerce.

4. Employment. Mr. Purk said that there are probably 3,000 job openings in Dayton today. Unfortunately, most Negroes do not have the qualifications to fill these positions. He understands the Negroes' lack of motivation to become skilled ("they couldn't get jobs anyway in the past"). But with state educational opportunities, Mr. Purk feels that it is the responsibility of the Negroes themselves to become qualified for a good job. ~~Mr. Purk~~ ^{He} feels that not every Negro wants a job, many want the easy life.

Mr. Purk was not an eye witness to the events of June 14. He ^{believes} feels the disturbances were caused by the conditions existing in West Dayton (the Negro community) and the coming to town of H. Rap Brown. He ^{thinks} believes there was no organization beyond the fact that Rap Brown was invited to Dayton. The afternoon of June 15th, there was a meeting of the Human Relations Council with the police chief and Negro militants in attendance. The purpose of the meeting was

to give Negro leaders an opportunity to air their grievances. Mr. Purk feels that the violence of the night of June 15th wasn't at all necessary since the Negro leaders had been listened to by the Council.

Mr. Purk sees no relationship between the riots in Cincinnati and the disturbances in Dayton. ^{According to Mr. Purk,} Mr. Purk said that the business community is terribly confused about what it can do to solve these problems. While business leaders today are more liberal and more willing to work with Negroes, they are very confused about which Negroes and which Negro organizations they should work with. As a result, they don't work with any. Mr. Purk said that businessmen are pretty smart "especially about a buck." They are aware that the more money a Negro has, the more he can spend. So, naturally, they are for greater Negro employment. They also believe that Negroes with jobs will not riot; they will be too busy.

The disturbances have helped the Negroes in some ways. Mr. Purk reported that for ten years responsible Negro leaders had been asking for more recreation programs for Negro youths in the summer. Within two days after the June disturbance there were many contributions from business men and programs were set up.

Mr. Purk stated that the white community at large realizes that Negroes had been morally wronged for centuries. He believes that many whites are very frightened of Negro violence now, but Mr. Purk doesn't "fear the burning of Main Street (downtown business street) at all."

Evaluation of Mr. Purk. Both team members found Mr. Purk to be extremely pragmatic; a man who would be moved to action when and if it were to the advantage of the business community and/or the image of Dayton.

Summary of interview of Vincent Shiel. The interview was conducted on September 23rd, from 12 to 12:30 p.m., by David ^{Birnbaum} and ^{Eleanor} Robbins.

Mr. Shiel is the president of the Dayton Gun ^{Headquarters.} He stated ^{the} that gun sales in his store have climbed 10 to 15 percent over the past four or five years, as have all other sporting goods. He said that the reasons for this were that people had more money and more ^{leisure} leisure time than ever before.

Mr. Shiel can see no evidence whatsoever ^{of an} increase in ^{gun sales} sales in guns before ^a the disturbance. ~~The police are an exception to this.~~ ^{However,} Before the June riots ^(Gun) Dayton headquarters did get orders for ^{riot} guns from the police. During the trouble the police deputized 50 bus drivers and the ^H headquarters equipped them.

After each disturbance, there ^{has} had been a surge in hand-gun sales for two or three days, ~~after the disturbance.~~ Mr. Shiel believed this to be panic buying because the customers were not selective about the type of hand-guns they bought. This increase in sales usually lasts for 30 days or less, ^{after a disturbance} ~~The bulk of gun sales are to whites because Dayton Gun Headquarters is located in a predominantly white neighborhood.~~

Mr. Shiel has noticed no increase in sales during this week's disturbance. He thought this was due to the fact that the Dayton market for hand-guns is saturated. "Everyone who is going to buy guns, has."

Mr. Shiel was not an eye witness to any of the disturbances. He believes the disturbances are caused by hard core criminals and young people. Mr. Shiel feels that there are just a few hundred people who are involved in every disturbance of this type in Dayton. A lot of them just want an excuse to steal and loot. He believes that the only solution to this problem is to convince these people that ^{they} ~~cannot~~ ^{accomplish} get anything by rioting or looting. When asked how they could be convinced of this, he stated that you might have to shoot some of them.

(continued)

Shiel # 2 (Hise, Fahy)
Cooper

Continuation of summary of Vincent Shiel.

According to Mr. Shiel, ~~feels that~~ the Dayton Police force handled the disturbances quite well. He does not believe that charges of police brutality are justified.

Grievances.

1. Employment. Mr. Shiel said there was no serious unemployment situation in Dayton. Everyone who wants a job can get one. He said that there is a particular need for skilled workers and that if Negroes wanted to work, they were going to have to get skills.

2. Education. Mr. Shiel conceded that education for Negroes did have to be improved. He said there was no particular problem with school segregation.

Mr. Shiel said he believed in equal opportunity for everyone, but since ~~no~~one is equal, there will never be equality.

Evaluation of Mr. Shiel: Mr. Shiel was a very hostile interviewee. He answered our questions only after repeated assurances that he would not be quoted in the Press.

Summary of interview of Gilbert G. ^FSahy. Interviewed on September 22nd from 2:15 to 2:30 p.m. by David Birnbaum and ^{Eleanor}Elinor Robbins.

Mr. ^FSahy is an insurance agent for M. J. Flynn Insurance Agency.

According to the Dayton Press, he signed a cancellation notice for a building in the disturbance area.

Mr. ^FSahy reported that there have been no cancellations of insurance policies in Dayton due to the disturbances. The insurance policy referred to in the Dayton Press was cancelled not because of the disturbance, but because of the state ^{condition} of that building. Mr. ^FSahy said the building was dilapidated and in generally bad ^{repair.} condition. He suggested that we look at the building ourselves if we had doubts about this.

According to Mr. ^FSahy, premiums in the West Side (the ^{disturbance area} ~~area where the dis-~~ ~~turbances occurred~~) have not gone up since the disturbances. He stated that premiums were not higher in the West Side area. Insurance rates are set according to dwellings; the area of the city is not a factor. ^{no para}

~~Mr. Sahy stated that~~ Standard insurance policies cover looting and ^{pillage} and can be cancelled without reason with five to ten days' notice.

Evaluation of Mr. Sahy:

Unfortunately, Mr. Sahy could speak with us only for a limited time. He was defensive and answered our questions only after repeated assurances of confidentiality.

Summary of interview of George Cooper conducted on September 22, from 12:30 to 1:30 p. m.
by David ~~Birnbaum~~^{Birnbaum, Eleanor} and ~~Elinor~~^{Eleanor} Robbins

Mr. Cooper is President of SCOPE and the Director of the Adult Education Program at Antioch College.

~~Mr. Cooper~~^{He} feels that Dayton has some very serious ~~social~~ problems, but the man in the street isn't capable of doing anything about them. The power in Dayton is in the hands of a few, and this White Power structure has not as yet accepted the depth of the problem. The committees formed by those in power after the disturbance in June were initiated not out of concern, but so that Dayton would not be "torn up."

Communications between whites and Negroes have broken down so badly that most militant Negroes are rejecting any more attempt at communication. According to Mr. Cooper, the more successful Negroes in Dayton feel that the disturbances were not justified. The poorer Negroes feel that there was ample justification. The Negro people generally are beginning to accept the validity of a violent approach.

Mr. Cooper stated that there had been an attempt to plan these disturbances, but the plan^s had not proved very effective.

~~Mr. Cooper believes that~~^{one of the reasons} that Dayton has had three disturbances in the past year has been the fairly successful anti-poverty program here, ^{according to} the program has given segments of the population a glimpse of what life in America can be like and has thus increased the Negro's dissatisfaction with his lot.

Grievances.

1. Police brutality. Mr. Cooper believes that charges of police brutality are not unfounded. He feels that the police chief is "a good guy, but he just doesn't have it."

^{He feels} 2. Housing. Mr. Cooper spent several years as a housing inspector in Dayton. ^{and he said that} Dayton housing ordinance is one of the best in the country on paper, ^{but not} There are only two housing inspectors in West Dayton; Mr. Cooper ^{said} feels 20 would be an adequate number. He feels the city desperately needs a housing court with enough power for a meaningful ~~and~~ enforcement of regulations.

3. City Hall. "It stinks". The Negro has little voice and less faith in the city government. City Hall is responsible to the White Power structure; its constituency is the Power Structure.

Mr. Cooper feels there has been a small measure of progress since the first disturbance in September 1966. The hope brought by this progress has been a factor in limiting the disturbances in Dayton. None of the city's three disturbances have escalated to riot proportions. Mr. Cooper feels that the riots in Cincinnati influenced the Negroes of Dayton. There was an attitude of "they're doing it, why not us?"

^{Although} Mr. Cooper has spent many years working toward ^a "conversion in the religious sense" of the White Power structure and system, ~~but~~ after the death of Robert Barbee, ^{he} ~~Mr. Cooper~~ wanted "to pick up the first brick myself."

Evaluation of Mr. Cooper: We talked with Mr. Cooper right after the funeral of Robert Barbee. He was visably shaken, saddened, and angry.

Tom Popp on trip with
Capt. Stewart & Sgt. Faulkner
of Dayton Police
Night of September 22, 23, 1967

This is Tom Popp, and on Friday, September 22, 1967, at 9:00 in the evening I went to the police station and proceeded from there to go with a Capt. Stewart & Sgt. Faulkner in their cruiser to the west side of Dayton, just for the purposes of my own observations. This was cleared with the Chief of Police.

I was interested in seeing what the officers did and what their relationships were in the Negro community of Dayton. They finally delivered me back to my hotel at 20 minutes to six on the morning of the following day, Saturday, September 24.

One of my purposes, of course, was to assess in whatever way would be possible under those circumstances, the truth of the charges which are continually coming into the Department of police brutality. I got a certain answer in discussing this with Capt. Stewart; mainly that his philosophy, and that which is ascribed to the Department, of response to a situation in which force may be needed, is that if a man resists arrest, and if a man has to be taken in, that man must be taken; but the police must demonstrate their strength and their superiority in order that law and order be preserved.

Perhaps I should have expected this; perhaps I accept too much of this almost without questions, but I felt that at least in the behavior ^{of} or Capt. Stewart and Sgt. Faulkner that this was probably true.

During the evening we questioned ^a the known prostitute, but did not charge her, as she was not soliciting at the time. The handling of the

situation by the police was firm, but not in any way unfair. We also jailed a man for drunkenness, who, when we picked him up, was urinating against the side of a wall outside of a bar. It seemed to me that he was picked up more or less at random, since there was any number of people about who could have been jailed on the same charge. ^S

No 9 Both of those people were Negro, on the west side. ⁹ We also went to a bar in another section of town, frequented by whites, the kind of music there was mostly Appalachian, mostly hillbilly, leading me to believe that the people were of that geographical extraction; and while we were there, we calmed a fight between a man and his wife, in which the police had to subdue the man by force. Before the incident was over, there were about 12 policemen on the scene, nearly all of whom were needed, I must admit, in order to subdue these people and take them in without using excessive force.

We also went to a Negro bar on the west side, and had a very enjoyable rib sandwich, and where the captain smiled and gave his benevolent benediction to the whole scene, just as if he ^{were} some kind of god, and although it didn't seem to be apparent to him, it was instantly obvious to me that the reaction of the people to him was, "let's be nice to him while he's here, and hope he leaves pretty soon".

No 11 He kept saying how he had "known these people for ^{years} years and years", and that they were all his friends; and he kept having these conversations with various people who were ^{conversations} there, which were, from his point of view, very friendly and fair interpersonal interchanges, but which I regarded as being a façade on the part of the Negroes in the bar, ^{They were} to be nice to him because they knew they had to be.

My judgment of the police--Negro community relationship was that it was very much forced and strained; that the cops could go wherever they

wanted to ^{go} and do whatever they wanted to do, and know that everything would be all right, and believe that they were the friends of these people, whereas the fact is we know this wasn't the case. I could see in the responses and in the actions of many of the people we encountered a resentment of the presence of a policeman, which the police themselves did not seem to be able to see.

There was a very intense concentration of policemen on Dayton's west side that evening; we would encounter other squad cars every three or four blocks, going in one direction or another, and it was, in fact, a very quiet night, perhaps because of this intense concentration.

During the time, the eight hours, that I was with these two officers, however, we developed a very casual and honest, I felt, rapport with one another, and their feelings and reactions and attitudes tended to come out perhaps more openly than they realized. It seemed to me in many of their comments that they demonstrated a harshness of attitude, not specifically racial, but very, very tough. I was surprised, for example, to hear the sergeant who was with us say things like, "these looters in these disturbances ought to be shot". To be sure, they were making his job more difficult, and he resented their flouting of the law in the way they did, but I felt his reaction was unduly harsh.

I kept thinking over and over again how much I wished that I had been a militant Negro leader riding along in this car, rather than the person I was, because the kind of communication which I was able to establish with these men is precisely, I think, the kind of communication which is lacking. The policemen don't seem to understand ^{or} comprehend ^{or} to appreciate the kind of problems and resentments which their very presence causes in the

Negro community. They continually asserted the importance of showing their superiority in any kind of situation as soon as possible, as a deterrent to further crime, and a means of bringing a situation into control as soon as possible, but in spite of the fact that I pressed them again and again, they did not seem able to understand the point that perhaps their doing so caused even further resentment, which would be expressed in subsequent disturbances and protests on the part of the Negro community. They felt that individual men, whom they had conquered, ^{or} as ~~it were~~; beaten, perhaps; or, in fact arrested; ~~that these men~~ respected them and were more law abiding because of the respect they had for these policemen as men; as individuals. However, they couldn't seem to see the point that I tried to make; that this better relationship did not carry into the whole community; and ^{that} in fact, the contrary was true, that the people on ^{the} a whole resented the presence of a policeman very much, and that their continually showing their strength whenever they possibly could was a source of widespread irritation.

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Officer Paul Gettys
Dayton Police Force
September 21, 1967

The interview with Officer Paul Gettys, of the Dayton Police Force, was conducted on the 21st of September, 1967, by John Boswell and Tom Potts, and lasted for about half an hour.

Chief Igleburger suggested we talk with Mr. Gettys to get his viewpoint, because Chief Igleburger says that Mr. Gettys is one of the few men on the police force who has a rapport with the Negro community. By "rapport", I take the Chief to mean that Officer Gettys is able to carry out his function as a police officer in the Negro community with the assistance of Negro cooperation and Negro informants, and his own easy-to-get-along-with personality. Officer Gettys has been with the Dayton police force approximately five years; most of which time he has spent in the Negro section of town. He is a graduate of the Police Academy which is operated by the City of Dayton and provides for its officers a 17-week training course, during which time the police candidates are instructed in the constitutional rights of criminal defendants, and in the concept of due process of law, together with the routine police functions. Officer Gettys said he knew the constitutional rights of criminal defendants "upside down and inside out".

"Hey, baby, what's happenin'?" I mean, you know, you don't walk up to a guy on the street and say, "Sir, would you please step into this cruiser, here, please?" I mean, you got to talk to these people, you say, "Baby, you split, you move, you get into that cruiser, I'm gonna whup you ass." You've got to know how to talk to these people, in other words, Officer Gettys was telling us.

Officer Gettys said most of our Negro people in Dayton are happy; they have new homes and cars, but in these riots, you have got five percent

of people you are talking about, and they're going to do it if they can cause a stink. After the ball gets rolling, lots more people get involved. Lots of them feel resentment towards the police just for things like traffic tickets. But you do have lots of people, the officer was telling me, who make up complaints just to help themselves. All they want to do is loot.

The officer said that there is no difference between colored and white, but that you ^{have} also got "niggers" and "white ^{trash} guys", and you will always have them. Most of our Negro people in Dayton, he said, live fairly well, but some don't and wouldn't if they could.

We asked him what justifiable complaints the Negroes of Dayton have, and he said, "Well, there ^{are} always some policemen who will do something wrong no matter what you try to teach them, and who, in fact, are prejudiced. But the people who make the complaints make up 25 or 30 or 40 gripes for every good one which they actually have."

Eighty percent of the people at a rally or in a disturbance are just innocent bystanders, the officer felt. But lots of them inevitable get sucked into the action. Many officers get very hardened because they have been abused so much themselves. An officer has to exert his authority by meaning what he says. If he says "this man is under arrest", this man is under arrest, and he goes to jail and the officer has to prove that he means it.

Officer Gettys also felt that the police had an uphill battle against the courts, ^{An officer may} because when you arrest someone for a burglary and send him to jail; ^{the arrestee} he gets a sentence which is suspended, and two days later, ^{the officer} you find him out there doing the same things again. So, what is the cop going to feel? It's not worth it. He's going to ask himself what purpose he has out there.

We talked to the Officer for perhaps 30 minutes, and although he had much more to say, it was mostly entertaining_x and not specifically relevant to the kind of questions we were trying to answer.

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Graham Watt
Dayton, Ohio
September 22, 1967

This is an interview with Graham Watt, the City Manager of Dayton, Ohio. The interview was conducted on September 22 by John Boswell and Tom Popp, and lasted about an hour and a half.

Mr. Watt appears to be a thoroughly professional city manager, and was, until six months ago, when he came to Dayton, Ohio, ^{Watts} the City Manager of Portland, Maine, where he was highly regarded. Mr. Watt is articulate and astute, and has an appreciation of the complexity of the problems facing Dayton. He appears to be a determined individual, and has already evidenced this by implementing many of the recommendations made in the McLynn report.

Our first question to Manager Watts was whether or not he felt the Negroes in Dayton had grievances which justify their civil disturbances.

"No", he said, "the disturbances were not justified, but the Negroes in Dayton do suffer the same frustrations suffered by Negroes in urban areas all over the country."

"One of the sad parts about the situation", the Manager felt, "is that there is so much backlash which comes from these things, and does a serious disservice to the Negro cause."

"The group involved in the civil disturbances is generally known as a group of young people, many of them felons. They raise hell in the ^{game} cloak of civil rights, and in the ^{instigate} ~~aura~~ of the breakdown of law for the purpose of stealing and vandalizing."

"I don't feel, however", said the Manager, "that there was a plan

or direction in the disturbances, except for the geographical one of ~~standing out~~^{spreading} from the location of the speech of H. Rap Brown. We asked Mr. Watts why a disturbance had happened in Dayton, and not, say, in Indianapolis. His answer was this; that each of the disturbances has been smaller than the one before in Dayton, and less intent than disturbances elsewhere in the country. Some of the Dayton police officers went to Cincinnati and Detroit during their disturbances, to see what was happening there; but one distinct difference between our community and the others is that here we have a very high degree of Negro nationalism. This is true not only of the leaders of the Negro community, but of the community itself, as well.

There are too many groups, too many organizations of Negroes in ~~which~~ west Dayton which purport to speak for the whole community of people. Another reason why Dayton ~~which~~ may have had difficulties which didn't happen elsewhere, ^{is} mainly that it is hard for the city power structure to communicate with the people of the Negro community because there are so many different organizations.

"Also here in Dayton", said the Manager, "where our economic strength strength is sound, many people have tasted some economic fruit; have been making money; but they don't get enough fast enough, so they move toward militancy, where they think they can get more, faster."

We asked the Manager about the problem with community--police relations. He felt, first of all, that the upper echelon of the police department is broadly recognized in the Negro community to have good intentions; but that these intentions don't filter down to the cop in the street, who still calls people "boy", "bitch", "nigger", etc.

"Furthermore", the Manager said, "the police are the most obvious object of criticism within the Negro community, and it is simply popular to kick police departments; all over the country this has been seen."

Also in relation to the police problem, the City Manager felt, in these situations of civil disturbance, the Dayton police department's response has been quick and positive. This may not be popular, but it is necessary.

"We here in Dayton", he said, "want to show our superiority over the situation and control it as early as possible. We know we will have to do it finally, anyway."

"No shots have been fired by any policeman in Dayton", said the City Manager, "but force, of course, does have to be used against those who resist arrest."

The Manager made a distinction between two kinds of police brutality, as he thinks they are defined in the minds of the Negroes of Dayton; namely, that it can be psychological brutality as well as physical; that while police brutality in its physical form is bad enough, still the police are very broadly unfair in their attitudes toward the Negroes. This was the Manager's assessment of the Negro opinion.

We asked the Manager about police--community relationships in terms of the kinds of programs the Department might undertake.

He said, "No, we have no PAL program, for several reasons; one of which is that the police of Dayton are unionized, and therefore they are not willing to do this kind of thing on their free time. Furthermore, the City does not have the money to assign police during their duty hours to play ball, or to work in such a program, nor does it have the money to pay

them overtime to do this kind of activity when they are off duty. Also, our Dayton police are not on consistent shifts; that is, you wouldn't have the same officer or the same playground on the same day even if you set up this kind of program, because some police work at night and then shift to day schedules during the next week."

A possible way of improving relations between the Negro community and the police, the Manager thought, is to put individual policemen out on foot, so they could get to know individual members of the Negro community as friends. However, this is an extremely inefficient use of manpower, he felt, and while they are working on the idea, they haven't been able to come up with a practical solution.

The Manager told us that the Dayton police force has made special recruiting efforts on the west side; that is, in the Negro neighborhood; in the schools and in other places, to try to get Negroes to apply; but the strongest barrier the Dayton police department has against getting more Negroes, he felt, is that the community thinks of a policeman, no matter what color he is, as being one who is on the opposite side. The Negro policeman has sold out; he has gone over to the enemy; to the oppressive force, and the profession of being a policeman, in the mind of the west-Daytonian, is not an honorable one.

Through the Negro organizations which do exist, the Manager told us, the City has been able to improve its services in the area of street lighting, housing code enforcement, and street sweeping. Also, he said, they have improved their program of rat control, as a result of association with these neighborhood groups. But there are practical problems, he felt. Housing code enforcements, for example, is a real problem, because there is no place

to relocate people who are living in bad housing. This problem is less important, however, the Manager felt, than is the problem of unemployment, or more specifically, underemployment, of Dayton Negroes.

For those Negroes who do get jobs, the lack of a chance to advance within the job, and for others to have employment training, are the specific employment gripes.

I explored a theory of the City Manager, and asked him what he felt about the role of the agitator and felons in the civil disturbances of Dayton. The City Manager made the point-blank statement that it was his conviction that, had there been no felons and no agitators, there would have been no civil disturbance in Dayton. He did feel, however, that had there been no disturbances, there would probably ~~wom~~ have been a higher crime rate among juveniles in Dayton during the entire year.

The City ^Manager, ~~himself~~, raised the question of what is behind the militants; what are their motives, and he answered it for himself this way:

"We think", he said, "that they get funds from outside Dayton to run their activities, and that these funds primarily through things like the sale of dope. The funds are provided to take care of people like MacIntosh, personally, so that MacIntosh and his friends can help to decrease the power of law and order. A nation-wide dope ring, the Manager thought, would be at least one obvious example of someone who benefited from this decrease of the enforcement of law and order."

"We know there must be outside money", the City Manager said, "because young felons who have recently been cleaned ~~up~~ suddenly break out with a new car and new wardrobe and new girls, and we know that they are not getting this money within Dayton."

"MacIntosh's son, for example, was caught with \$50,000 worth of dope, in Chicago early this year. It is therefore, entirely possible that

MacIntosh may have invited Brown because of his need to promote his own personal power. Certainly because of the civil disturbances, and because of the need to prevent further accusations of police brutality, the police have had to be more gentle recently. This has, in fact, led to a serious breakdown in the enforcement of some laws in Dayton."

This is the end of the transcription of the formal interview, but I also want to point out that William Schmitt, an administrative assistant to the City Manager, was present during our interview, and commented ^{briefly} on some of the questions we were asking.

Edward King
Dayton, Ohio
September 21, 1967

Interview By John Boswell and Tom Popp

Our first topic of discussion with Mr. King was the disturbance which took place on the 1st of September, 1966.

In Dayton, the ^{Ku}Klu Klux Klan is no longer strong, but was at one time. The States Rights Party has now taken over where the Klan left off, and during the last week of August, 1966, there was a convention of the States Rights Party in Dayton. The Mayor and Manager of the City had met with the Human Relations Council prior to the ^{convention}meeting of the States Rights Party, in order to discuss Negro greivances and City responsibilities and to make contingency plans in event of trouble at or during the time of the convention. They had talked about the newsmedia's role and how trouble might come about. The Human Relations Council was afraid that some of the things that came out of the convention would be inflammatory. Mr. King felt that the meeting was successful, and ^{that} the newsmen had been convinced that it was very important to try to represent the convention fairly, lest trouble take place. But, during the week after the copvention of the States Rights Party, when tensions were at a fairly high level, there was a Negro man shot in West Dayton by a party still unknown, ^{the person,} presumed and alleged to have been white, who, passing by in a car, shot this man as he was sweeping the sidewalk in front of his after-hours joint ^{at} about 3:00 A.M. ~~in the morning~~. The police were called, and it was alleged that the police were very show in getting there, and consequently very slow in apprehending the car, but ^{these things} instead of doing this, and instead of taking care of the man who had been shot, there were asking questions and wasting time, and didn't seem to be interested. This was at 3:00 A.M., and by about 4:30 that morning, some rock-throwing began,

involving a very angry crowd. Finally the car was caught, and the men who were presumed to have done the shooting were caught and jailed, but they were released after a few days, and there was a certain amount of subsequent dissatisfaction with this, but as far as the incident was concerned, it lasted only that night, which I think was the first night of September, and the following night.

On the morning after the shooting, the Mayor met with the Human Relations Council and with some of the local people, to discuss the situation and ^{to} try to alleviate tension. At one o'clock that afternoon, the National Guard was called in, and during that evening, then, there was some window breaking and some scattered trouble here and there, but that was the end of the incident in September.

After the disturbances in September, a committee was set up under C. J. ^{McLinn} McLynn (?), who is a State Representative from Dayton in the Ohio Legislature. The committee intended to find out the causes and problems of Negro unrest. Mr. King was a member of this committee. They submitted a report several months later, but for a long time, not very much was done about it, because of the situation in the City; and the City Manager retired ⁱⁿ ^{December} and a new manager was not ^{appointed} elected for two months. There is a copy of this ^{McLinn} report annexed to our report, but basically the things it recommended were that the ^{problems} needs were these: garbage collection, rat extermination, absentee landlords problems, high rent in the Negro slum areas, crowding in the houses in those same areas, ^{and} street lighting, ~~was bad~~; there was greater need for police action and interest and care; there was a need for better housing and schools; the whole gamut of things came out of this report.

The police, in the report, were accused of brutality, foul language, and failure to respond to the calls of people on the west side, which is the Negro area, when ~~the police were~~ called.

We asked Mr. King the history of police-community relations, and he told us that prior to 1963, there was out-and-out, straight-forward, discrimination against Negroes' becoming policemen, and that this was a grievance which was very widely felt, but that the situation had changed, and is now somewhat different in Dayton. There are now many complaints of police brutality, but the police department is hesitant to acknowledge the truth of these complaints, and tries within its power to protect its own men as much as it can. Mr. King himself, on the night before we interviewed him, had spent 45 minutes ^{prying one admission out of} ~~trying to get~~ the police chief, ^{namely,} ~~to admit~~ that one specific man, whom he mentioned, had ^{gotten} ~~wound up~~ with a gash on his head, which ~~was in fact the case~~. Mr. King went on to suggest that as far as Negroes becoming members of the Department is concerned, that there is discrimination in the testing which Negroes ^{applicants} are given, and that the police may, in fact, "know" which men are going to pass the test before it is even given.

In addition to ^{McLinn} the McLynn report, then, there were ~~some other~~ ^{was another} committees set up after the September disturbance, called the Civil Rights Committee, but there was very little participation of the poor people, the slum dwellers themselves, on this committee, and the feeling in the west side in the Negro area was that this report would be followed up, and that McLynn ^{the McLinn} report would not be. ^{McLinn} McLynn, himself, is a Negro, but people felt that his recommendations would not be accepted, and that the Civil Rights Committee, which represented the power structure itself, would be more likely to have its report accepted. In general, the Negro community felt that they had ~~gotten the run-around on both the reports.~~

the city had not responded fully enough to either report.

During the time between September and June, when there was another disturbance, there occurred in Dayton a split between the traditional, and conservative Negro ^{leadership} youth and the newly-emerging leaders, who were much more militant. The new leaders were assuming a certain amount of power because of the active programs which they were recommending and doing in the Negro community.

Again, in relation to the police, another reason why there are not more Negro policemen in Dayton is that Negro youth are not attracted to the force. They know that they can't get on the police force; they feel that ~~this is the case,~~ and they will not be accepted, that the police don't want them and are unfair. Mr. King said that he felt that the police department, (and it is widely felt) ^v goes out to the west side every evening with a certain ^{the} intention, mainly, to "beat so many Nigger heads tonight."

Preceding the June disturbance, there was a dispute between SCOPE, which is the local agency in the war on poverty, and MAT, which is one of its delegate agencies. MAT was run and directed by a man by the name of Al Holland, who had been involved in a rent strike against a local realtor by the name of Paul Tibbs, (S), and ~~(noise on record)~~, ^{and had been more militant} more so than SCOPE was willing to allow, and the dispute between the two organizations widened into a community-wide split between the militants and the conservatives in Dayton.

Among other things, the militants felt that if MAT were not re-funded by SCOPE, this would take a large source of revenue out of the community; at least thirty persons were hired by MAT and would be fired if it were not re-funded. Its budget of \$300,000 would also be money taken out of the Dayton community.

(The remainder of the record is unintelligible; there is a noise like a horn being blown into the microphone.)

There was a great amount of tension between the militants and the conservatives in Dayton, ^{when} and H. Rap Brown came to Dayton on the 14th of June, 1967, at the invitation of the militants; specifically, Mr. MacIntosh invited him and got him to come. ^{Brown} He held a rally ^{and gave a speech} on the evening of the 14th of June, which was followed by a disturbance within 20 minutes. ^{At the beginning} There were ^{at least} a hundred people out ⁱⁿ on the street; ~~at least at the beginning there was that~~ number; ^{pulled} they beat a white man and ~~took him out of his car and beat him in~~ such a way that he had to be hospitalized, and this disturbance lasted all that evening and the next; ^{it consisted of} principally, ^{of} smashing windows and looting.

The Mayor became active, and tried to prevent a recurrence of the thing by encouraging a follow-up on the ^{McLinn} McLynn and Civil Rights reports. There was a crash employment program set up following this disturbance. We asked Mr. King if he felt that the employment program was set up chiefly because ~~of~~ the disturbance ^{had} having happened; and he went so far as to say that it was ^{implemented} followed up much more fully because of the disturbance, but not necessarily only for that reason.

Progress continued to be made, Mr. King felt, over the summer, and things were improving for the Negroes in Dayton. The City Manager was very concerned and was trying sincerely to get the Fire Department and Police Department and all other agencies to listen to the recommendations which the two committees had made. Mr. H. Rap Brown's appearance triggered the disturbance which happened in June, Mr. King said, but the SCOPE - MAT tension was already ^{high} in Dayton, very strong. Brown only brought the elements together to allow the disturbance to happen. The tension had already been there, not only because of SCOPE - MAT, but because of discrimination of youths, ^{against} or towards, youths, in private employment.

Our conversation then turned to a discussion of Mr. MacIntosh himself, who runs an organization called the Ohio Freedom Party. He seems

to get his funds from private contributions; this is how he makes his living as well as how he keeps his organization going. His method is to ask private individuals and corporations which are in the Dayton area for donations; and it appears to be a protection racket. He goes, for example, to Coca-Cola company, and says "I need \$50," or "I need \$25." The people in the Coca-Cola company are afraid that if they don't give it to him, that the next time there is a disturbance, their places will be hit, ^{during the next disturbance,} and this to some extent has turned out to be true. Places who have MacIntosh's protection don't ^{seem to} get smashed during the disturbances in Dayton.

In 1963, in Dayton, CORE was active, and MacIntosh was ^{its} a chairman, ^{CORE} but it split, and CORE is no longer active, because of misdealings on MacIntosh's part; ^{it} it was felt he had been stealing CORE funds. The organization split into DARE, which is the Dayton Alliance for Racial Equality, and NDAC, which is the Non-violent Direct Action Committee. DARE was more conservative; ^{was more militant and} the NDAC ^{was} led by MacIntosh. He later split, again, from the NDAC, and formed his current Ohio Freedom Party.

What were the greivances; [?] what were the purposes which Mr. MacIntosh claimed to have, we asked, and ^{these} these were somewhat vague, but seemed to consist of unfair employment practices and unfair advancement ^{for Negroes} in employment once Negroes were hired. I developed the distinct feeling, as the result of this conversation with Mr. King about MacIntosh, that the reasons which ^{MacIntosh had} he had for inviting H. Rap Brown to come to Dayton were at least as much ^{the advanced} for his own personal power and satisfaction as they were for anything else.

^{In relation} Coming up to the present time, Mr. King made ^{this} a statement, which I copied down in toto, quote:

^{certain} "Officers are beating up Negroes, getting back at them for rioting, and saying that the Negro resisted arrest."

^{these individuals are resisting arrest.} " "

In other words, that the Negro, when he...when the policeman wants to arrest ^{a Negro} him, he can say that ^{the Negro} he resisted arrest, and in fact the policeman's motive is ^{revenge} to get back at him for the disturbances which had happened ^{earlier} already.

This week, in Dayton, there has been trouble because of an incident which happened this Sunday, and this is what Mr. King is talking about as far as the current situation with the policemen.

On Sunday, September 17, at about 1:00 A.M., a Negro man by the name of Robert ^{Barbee} Barbey was shot by an off-duty white policeman, and this has ^{was} again been the spark, or the trigger, for the disturbances in Dayton, ^{this week}.

No 11 At 3:30 On Monday afternoon, at 3:30 this week, i.e., the day after Mr. Barbey was killed, there was a meeting at the Human Relations Council office with the Mayor and the City Manager and a group of Negro militants, ^{The militants} who include ^{Mr.} Art Thomas, and ^{Mr.} Jessie Gooding, Mr. MacIntosh, and Mr. Tate.

After In the meeting, Mr. King felt that the militants had been satisfied this time that they were getting the truth about what happened on Sunday, but not that anything was being done by the power structure to prevent a recurrence of the same thing, i.e., that a policeman might ^{again} shoot a Negro, ^{they felt,} which they felt was done simply for the reason that he was a Negro.

Negro community-police relationships have been very bad in Dayton, Mr. King felt; and the Negroes have simply gotten tired of filing complaints against the police department and getting no results. They were encouraged when Mr. Watts came in as City Manager, and ^{when new} the ^{new} Chief of Police, ^{Igleburger} Mr. Egleberger, and Mr. O'Connor were promoted, there was a new look in the Department as far as they were concerned, but still the "cop on the beat" ^x the cop on the street, was the same as had been there before, and the Negro

community feels that this cop is being protected by his department no matter what he does, and it is his word against that of the Negro he beats up as to whether or not it was brutality.

So, because of this incident on Sunday, the Negro community - police relationship has worsened considerably, Mr. King felt. In June, most of the "responsible" civil rights leaders in Dayton did not want H. Rap Brown to come; they simply weren't interested in him. But now, they are on the fence, Mr. King felt, because they know that the police department stinks. ^{Because of the shooting of Barber} They don't feel that they can preach to any of their followers that they shouldn't do anything about the police department, that it's really all right, because of ~~this incident on Sunday~~. In other words, even the conservatives, ^{are} even the NAACP, ^{have} gotten much more actively involved and ^{is} much more concerned about the police department. They have changed their ideas. ^{Judge} George Fisher, ^{a Negro,} for example, who is quite conservative, has become very concerned that the police department is, in fact, guilty of the things which the militants have been charging all along.

Robert Barbey^e was a very respectable man, an established man working for the Civil Service Commission. I think he was around 60 years old, and the Negro community felt that if he ^{could be} shot because of his being a Negro, ~~that~~ it could certainly happen to anyone else. He wasn't a militant, in other words; ~~he was a respectable man~~. They felt that, if a man such as Barbey could be shot, ~~they felt~~ no one was safe, so ^{at} the moment, one specific grievance in the Negro community is that the policeman who shot Barbey^e is out of jail on his own recognizance, whereas two young men who have been accused of arson are still in jail, not even able to get out on bond.

Much more than in June, the biggest grievance in Dayton now in the Negro community is the police. There is also a serious problem in housing. The night before we talked with Mr. King^X that is to say, ^{on} the night of the 20th of September^X a fair-housing ordinance was passed by the City Commission. It sounds good, but in fact, one of the ^{main} reasons^X it was passed is that it ^{must} be submitted to the voters, 75% of whom are white, and it is expected that the ordinance will be defeated. Ohio law says that this kind of thing must be submitted to the voters before it can pass.

But the ^{housing} problem is^X that while most Daytonians have a place to live, ^{who wants a house} any Negro^X in the \$14,000 - \$20,000 bracket ~~who wants a house in that bracket,~~ ^{has} have no place to move except Dayton View ^(X) where the whites who live now ^{very strongly} are ^{Thus} resisting his coming, very strongly, and so ^{he} is very much interested in getting an open-housing ordinance.

Mr. King felt that if the police question could be settled, and also if the model cities money came through for Dayton, ~~that Dayton could~~ ^{in fact} make it. ^{There are} Their^X needs for better jobs and better housing equality and better employment; these problems are making some kind of progress. The main problems, he felt, were police and getting the model cities money.

What could Dayton, in fact, do about its police, we asked him, and he felt fairly pessimistic that they could, in fact, do anything for a long, long time, because in spite of the change in the attitudes of the topmost police chiefs, still^X ~~again~~ the policeman on the beat has the same attitudes which he has always had^X, it is hard for his overseer to convince him to change his attitude; it is hard to get the entire force converted overnight from a policy of discrimination to a policy of fairness. The City Manager, Mr. King felt, could help very much, and he has an attitude which is very

progressive, and ~~he felt that he would help~~. Perhaps a committee to monitor the police activities may be needed; perhaps an entire new force is needed, he didn't know, and he was somewhat discouraged that this problem could be solved in the near future.

When we asked Mr. King for his prognosis of the future in Dayton, he stated that he felt that the police department problem was probably the greatest obstacle toward improvement of relations, and that if that problem could be quickly solved, and that if sufficient progress is made on the other fronts, that is, specifically, if the model cities program was implemented and if affirmative action is taken in the fields of employment and housing, he felt that the Negro population would be satisfied.

Throughout all of our interviews, it became apparent that it was the police department that was the biggest bone of contention in the community. There have been three police chiefs in the last four years; Chief Price, who resigned in 1963, was an ardent segregationist. He was followed in office by Chief Keeler, who was powerless to bring about reforms largely because he had come up through the department and had been party to many of the activities about which the Negroes are presently complaining.

When City Manager Watts came into office six months ago; he had the present Chief, Col. ^{Igleburger} Egleber, promoted from within the Department. Although ^{Igleburger} Egleberger comes from within the Department, he is a man with some insight and sensitivity to the problems the community is confronted with, and he is almost universally acknowledged to be capable of instituting the necessary reforms.

11

Col. Igleburger
Chief of Police
Dayton, Ohio
September 21, 1967

Interview conducted by John Boswell and Tom Potts on Thursday, September 21, 1967, at 3:15 in the afternoon, and lasted for about 1½ hours. We told the Chief that the interview was off the record, and he said he didn't care what we did with it; that we could tell anybody we wanted to. Annexed to this interview is Exhibit #1, entitled "A Journal of Events Related to the Uprising of Criminals in Dayton, Ohio on September 1, 1966". Annexed also is Exhibit #2, entitled "Synopsis of the Dayton Disturbance, 8:00 P.M., June 14, 1967 through 1:00 A.M., June 18, 1967", and also Exhibit #3, entitled "Critique of Police Operations During West-side Disturbance, June 14, 15, and 16, 1967". These three exhibits set forth the chronology of incidents which took place during the civil disturbances of which we were looking at in September 1966 and June 1967.

In our interview with Police Chief Igleburger, he told us that preceding the June riot, there was no tension or incidents more than the usual Negro complaints about not being treated properly. H. Rap Brown was the catalyst which brought out resentment; but, said the Chief, there are muggers and thieves who live by their wits and who just want a chance to loot; they profit by riots. MacIntosh, ^{for example} ~~from the~~ protection racket, urged ~~them to contribute to him~~.

MacIntosh fronted for the group which brought H. Rap Brown to Dayton, and consisted of Tate, Gooding, Collins, and Taylor. This is the committee that invited Brown.

The Chief felt that housing, rats, filth, and these ordinary kinds of complaints are the things that Negroes are ^{really} clamoring about in Dayton. He

also felt, however, that the City Manager is giving the Negroes more than their fair share of services; that they are getting extra care because of the kind of things which have happened. We asked him if there was a problem with employment, and he said that some Negroes are complaining about discrimination in ^{job} advancement at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

Where do most of the Dayton Negroes come from, we asked; and without exactly answering our question, he said that in 1940, 12% of the population of Dayton was Negro, and now 24% of the population is, and he supposes that they come from the South.

What did he think the image of the police was among these people, we asked. He said that in September, the image was perfectly all right, ~~it was~~ ~~OK,~~ but that the shootings this week had certainly not done the police any good. He said he had been submitted this week to the rantings of militants at various ~~different~~ meetings; and that before this incident this week, the police were pretty well accepted, except among the very militant people. Now the Chief's impression is that among these militants, there is a power struggle going on, and that the militants feel that the one who screams the loudest and comes forth with the strongest invective will get the largest followings. These Negro militants are very egotistical, in the Chief's opinion, ~~that~~ Art Thomas, for example, is nothing but a demigod struggling for leadership. They aren't, however, the whole Negro community. He said that if he listened to them, the image of the policeman in the Negro community was nil; but he, himself, was confused; he didn't know what his image was, he didn't think he ought to listen only to these people.

There are 15 Negro policemen, out of 400 policemen, on the Dayton force. They have tried to get qualified Negroes, the Chief said, to apply, by asking the NAACP and the Urban League and churches and various groups

to give recommendations, and also by giving the police test at various Negro schools. But, the Police Department is not responsible for the examination for entrance. This is contracted out. The Police Department is not discriminating against Negroes in its tests, because it doesn't even know what is going to be on the examination, so how could it discriminate? Negroes believe that only Negroes are being refused, whereas, in fact, the Chief told us, of the qualified applicants to the department, the percentage of whites accepted and the percentage of Negroes accepted is just the same.

"Do you have a Police--Community Relations Department?", we asked him.

"Yes", he said, "but it is just getting started; we don't have any 'PAL' type programs, what we do have is a 'white-hat' group of youths, which is a junior police force which is in control of Art Thomas", which the Chief considered to be very bad hands....Art Thomas is a Negro militant.

The white hats are a group of young men who have been organized by Mr. McLynn to try to be available in a situation when a disturbance occurs, to cool it. ~~xxxxxxx~~ They are the peers of the people who are involved in the disturbances, and the idea[^] that they go in and talk to their friends and try to get them to calm things down. But the Chief has very little confidence in the organization because of the fact that it is in the hands of Mr. Thomas.

The Chief stated that he did not think that there was a large amount, or an appreciable amount, of outside agitation stirring up the Negroes in Dayton.

"What has caused these incidents to cool down, once they get started", we asked the Chief,

"Well", he said, "they seem to be 3-day things. The steam just seems to run out after three days and they are all over. If we know in advance

that an incident is going to happen, we put in as many men as possible", he said. "This week, for example, a meeting was called by some of the militants to show their followers how to handle guns to protect themselves from white racist cops. During the meeting, agitators in the audience were chiefly responsible for stirring up riot feelings, but the police were aware of all this and knew what was happening, and were in fact on the scene, and as soon as the meeting broke up and things started to happen, the police clamped down with double strength immediately".

At 7:00 P.M. on the evening of that rally, the police called in their midnight-to-morning platoon, to control the situation as strongly as possible when it broke out. The arrested seven people almost immediately.

One of the lessons which the Dayton Police Department has learned from these things is that its officers have to be armed with sticks, and not just with shotguns. They haven't shot anybody yet, the Chief told us, but if you have only a shotgun, you have no other weapon with which to protect yourself; the only thing you can do with a shotgun is shoot it.

Crowd reaction to police activities such as jeering, screaming, and calling "white honky racist cops", and this sort of thing; and we try to teach our men, said the Chief, not to react by losing their tempers; they have to just take it. It's hard on the cops not to be able to retaliate by losing his temper; but if he does so, he knows that he will be on the carpet in the department.

"Don't do more than you need to do", the Chief advised. "Arrest the people who are violating the law, when they are looting. You have to take and take and take ^(abuse) and not hit back".

We asked the Chief how to prevent a recurrence of these incidents in Dayton, and the Chief said he really didn't know. There is a certain

percentage of the people involved who simply want to loot. A larger percentage, he felt, feels discriminated against, truly. The criminals and the youths seem to start the incidents, and those who feel that they have been discriminated against, join in later on.

No one ever talk about the problem which is most serious; that the real trouble in the relationship between whites and Negroes is that white men simply "don't want to share the black man's skin; the white men are scared to death that their grandchildren will be half-breeds, and the Negroes are aware of this; they resent deeply that white men consider ^{the negro} themselves unfit to mix racially. White men don't want their daughters to marry colored.

We asked what the police could do to improve their relationships with the Negro community, and the Chief suggested three alternatives; one, you can coach some young Negroes to try to pass the examinations. "But this is impractical", said the Chief, "because the Police Department does not know what the examination is going to consist of". The examination is neither written nor administered by the Police Department.

The second alternative is to lower the standard for entrance of policemen into the Force. The Chief rejected this possibility, saying that they needed better policemen, not men of lower standards.

The third alternative is to set up a group, under police authority, of non-policemen who have some kind of limited authority.

"Qualified Negroes", the Chief said, "simply are not attracted to the Police Department, pay-wise. If they are well-qualified, they can make more money doing something else." In the Police Department, after 40 months as a policeman, the highest wage a man can earn is \$153.00 a week. In industry

a man with the same qualifications could earn \$200 - \$300 a week. The Chief described the setup under which the Department operates in the event of a civil disturbance, and it is something like this:

Policemen are assigned three to a car, and each car is given an area not greater than 25 square blocks to police intensely. The command post for these men is another car in which a Captain keeps track of all that is going on.

The Chief told us that the militants are saying that the man who was killed this week was shot because he was a Negro, and was out of his place, "off the reservation."

"Hell", said the Chief, "there's no limitation on Negroes! You see them all over the place".

Mayor Dave Hall
Dayton, Ohio
September 21, 1967

This interview, with Mayor Dave Hall of Dayton, Ohio, was conducted on Friday, September 22, 1967 by John Boswell and Tom Pops, and lasted for about an hour and a half.

We did not say to the Mayor that this was confidential or off the record.

Mayor Hall is a white man who is in the second year of his four-year term as Mayor of Dayton. The job of Mayor in Dayton is essentially a part-time job, and the salary is eighteen hundred dollars a year (???). The Mayor and City Council formulate and act upon legislation affecting the city. However, the executive powers of the city government are held by the City Manager, who is a full-time appointee, which arrangement, of course, relieves the Mayor from a great deal of responsibility for the implementation.

It is my impression that this form of government has its advantages and certain distinct disadvantages; one of them being that the Mayor is not always cognizant of what precisely is going on. This is true, also, of another important area of the city; that is, education. When we asked the Mayor what the status of desegregation in the local schools was, he appeared to be almost totally ignorant of the extent of the progress in that direction. He deferred to the Board of Education, which he says is a separate, independent and elected body vested with all responsibility for the school system.

Mayor Hall is in the real estate business. He is not a real estate broker, but invests in real estate, which he operates and maintains for his own profit. He has converted several office buildings into rooming houses

^{to}
of sort which are largely inhabited by elderly, white citizens. Mayor Hall has had only two years of high school education, and is the first to admit, with a touch of pride, that his education has been deficient.

The Mayor struck me as a man of extreme good nature, but with rather evident limitations, and ^{as} a man without the necessary qualifications or perspective to be the head of a city with a population of something in the ^{neighborhood} nature of 300,000 people. It occurs to me that the mayor's job in cities of this size today is no longer a part-time job for amateurs.

(The preceding have been general comments about our interview with the Mayor; the following is a specific ^{account} transcription of that interview.)

^{real}
The only ^{one} riot which Dayton had, in the Mayor's view, was the one in September, ^{1966,} and its cause was simply ^{that} because a man was shot ^{allegedly by a} ^{motorist.}

"If I had it to do again", the Mayor said, "I wouldn't go out there and talk to those people, because I could have been killed."

We asked for Mayor Hall's opinions of Mr. MacIntosh, and he said that MacIntosh is just a chiseler--he's nothing--he runs a protection racket. Newspapers won't take his stuff any more; he sends telegrams to himself. In September, he asked to have three people released from jail, so I delivered them, in two hours' time, and then they started the riot!"

"The pattern seems to have been, in September ¹⁹⁶⁷ and June ^{1967,} that the rioters go to MacIntosh's office and come out of it and go into the riot. In other words, he is one of the principal sources of instigation. Most of the people involved in the riots had previous felony convictions.

"We in the City are really doing everything we can, even though we know it's not enough. We are doing some things we should not do," he said.

"We closed a ditch, for example, near one of the schools five years ahead of schedule because of demands. It's clear that the ditch should have been closed; it was a hazard; but, the Mayor said, we only did it because of these demands, and we couldn't really afford to do it when we did."

In relation to the complaint about not having enough Negroes on the police force, the Mayor said that he would take 25 more Negroes who were well qualified any time he could get them.

"I won't lower the standards for the police department," he said, "but we could try to train more men to help them pass the test."

"Is low wages a factor in deterrence?", we asked him.

"No", he said, "we have higher wages than any other police force in the State, by about \$20.00 per week." *(average Dayton patrolman gets \$153 per week)*.

"Relating to employment, I, the Mayor, have called many meetings about hiring people who may not be the brightest in the world, but our problems are the unions, and that the wages the unions are demanding are so high that industries and businesses cannot afford to pay unskilled labor these wages."

"The National Committee on Civil Disorder", said the Mayor, "should convince the unions that they ought to allow unskilled people to be hired at the minimum wage, and then bring them up to standards."

We asked him what were the motives of the people who participated in the riots, beside those who only wanted to loot and were only thieves.

The Mayor's reaction was to say that those on the edge of the riot who do join in do so simply because they are filled with the idea of being discriminated against, not that they believe it, or that they really have specific grievances themselves. The news media, and the television, convince

them that they have been given second-class citizenship, and they believe this not because they have grievances, but because it gives them an opportunity to join in.

"The H. Rap Browns, you will notice", said the Mayor, "don't join in the riots themselves. They leave, in a hell of a big hurry."

"I don't really know why people like this are mad at white people," said the Mayor, "except that I am sure that they feel the need to be big shots and leaders, and so they are screaming and yelling and inciting riots in order that they won't be left out of leadership roles."

"Chief of Police Igleburger", said the Mayor, "is going to be hard on his men to keep them from calling Negroes 'boy', 'nigger', and all the rest of it. The language we use, regardless of our intent, is a problem. It's difficult not to say 'boy', when you have been used to saying it all your life, just for anyone you meet."

We asked about law enforcement, and if he thought that the police are protecting law violators by getting a payoff.

"No", said the Mayor, "I really don't think there is a payoff. One of the reasons we do allow some of these places to run, however, is simply so that the police can continue to get information from them."

"I think", said the Mayor, "that the police have to show their muscle as soon as they can in any civil disturbance, but how they continue to hold their temper as well as they do, I don't know".

"Eighty-five percent of the crime in this city," the Mayor guessed, "is on the west side, in the Negro neighborhood."

The night before we interviewed the Mayor, the City Commission had passed a fair-housing ordinance, with one dissenting vote; namely, that of

the Mayor. We asked him about this, and he said that his point is that if a man owns a house, a single dwelling, he should have the privilege of selling to anyone. The Mayor went on to say that he would do anything in the world he could to help to solve the Negro problem; but ^{at} in the same ^{time} way he could allow a system to continue which clearly fosters de-facto segregation. He didn't care if a man sold to black, white, or polka-dot, but a man should be able to sell to whomever he wants.

The Mayor expressed the opinion that he did not expect there to be further trouble in Dayton, unless another incident of police brutality came off.

"In Dayton", he said, "there are a great many ^{negro} homeowners, and these people do not have an interest in burning down their own places".

"In Dayton", said the Mayor, "we don't have all the demands that they have in other towns. Our Negroes are fat. We could put anybody to work that wanted to work, but, we also have ~~(noise on record)~~"

Thomas, Bailey, Holland
(Dayton) (by Hunt) *Sept. 22, 1967*

Interview with Al Holland, Director of Moving Ahead Together or MAT; Art Thomas, Assistant Principal of the McFarland School and a militant leader; ~~and~~ C. Sumpter McIntosh, Director of Freedom Movement and Director of the Ohio Freedom Committee; *and Ronald Baskin of SCOPE.*

Holland told us that the NAACP and Urban League members of the SCOPE Board of Directors voted against refunding of MAT at the June SCOPE meeting in which this action was taken. The only two who voted for the refunding of MAT at that meeting were white members of the SCOPE. Holland and Thomas were questioned on the presence in Dayton of militant young Negro lawyers who were helping in cases of the poor and they said there were none. They mentioned an attorney McGree who had worked on some cases but who was considered inadequate and that the legal services program of the Office of Economic Opportunity had just gotten started in Dayton. Holland said that the purpose of MAT was to create change in the community of the poor by working for better health, education and welfare programs and also to improve the youth and recreation services in the poor community.

method of operation

Holland's ~~story~~ was to hire people from the community to do professional type work for MAT and to upgrade them on the job as they did this work. He considered that the MAT program in this area had been successful and that while the people had made some faux pas that on the whole the attempt to hire people from the poor community to do the organizational and administrative work of MAT had been successful. Holland mentioned that at the June meeting at which MAT was not refunded by SCOPE a homemaker's program separate and apart from the regular home-

maker's program already being financed by SCOPE ^{was submitted to SCOPE} would fit in in the morning of the meeting and was approved at the meeting that evening, although the homemaker's program was not fully developed nor had the proposal been completely written at the time it was sent in or at the time that the action was taken.

Holland and ^{Bailey} Clemens were of the opinion that conditions in the that is, since the ~~December~~ ^{September} past 12 months ~~following the~~ 1966 disturbance had not changed at all for the better in the ^{Dayton} Westside Haven community. Police brutality has not changed nor have any welfare programs been substantially upgraded. They also mentioned that two ^{vice} riot squad policemen, Messrs. Wiley and Riley, who are commonly known at Batman and Robin because of decals on their car, have only been temporarily removed from the Westside and will probably be reassigned there. These ^{vice} two riot squad ^{members are} the more disliked ~~of the police force~~ than any other single thing or any other ~~single~~ people who work on the police force in Dayton.

Holland and Thomas mentioned that the people who were in Dayton for the State's Rights Party Convention had been harassing West Dayton residents for the entire time that they were there. Holland also mentioned that a car fitting the same description as that ^{of} which Mitchell was shot had attempted to run over his, i.e. Holland's family, earlier in the same evening . . . telephoned a complaint with the Police Department upon learning of this . . .

In the September 1966 incident, Holland and Thomas reported that police were stationed every 15 feet or so on West Dayton's Main Street. On the morning ~~later after~~ Mitchell was shot, ^{curfew} law was declared at 11:30 a.m. The guard arrived in Dayton around noon and

although it was ~~not~~ detached until about 5:30 p.m. of the same day.

Holland mentioned that looting of guard's supplies brought vigorous response by local police and Montgomery County's sheriff's deputies, but that the guardsmen were present to obviously frightened made no response when young teenagers thought of looting their supplies.

County deputies and city police were patrolling the streets. The National Guard was detailed to guard property. Holland and Thomas reported that people were stopped from going to meeting at which leaders and ministers were attempted to quell to disturbances at about 6:07 p.m. of the day Mitchell was shot. Abusive language was used on those people ^{stopped.} Thomas being one of those who was stopped and prevented from going to a meeting in mass headquarters.

Holland related that around 7 p.m., when the police sought to clear the street, he was arrested from ^{inside} the MAT office where he had gone when hearing the police order to clear the street. One of the people who was in the MAT office with Holland was roughed up by police and when he was taken to the paddy wagon, when all the people in the MAT office were arrested, the policeman attempted to hit this person from behind and he was physically restrained by Holland.

Holland and Thomas also complained of the Dayton police tactic of putting handcuffs on people during the riots so tight that it stopped circulation. If the person handcuffed complained, rather than loosen the handcuffs, the police made them even tighter and this resulted in a very painful experience.

^{After}
When Holland was taken to the city jail, teargas was shot into the cellblocks where most of the people ~~were~~ who were arrested during the

riots were being arraigned. While he was at the jail and Thomas was still on the streets, Thomas reported that by-standers were snatched from yards in the riot area and from the street although they were obviously not participants, arrested and taken down to the jail.

One of the Negroes arrested during the disturbance ~~at 6:30~~ between 6:30 and 7:30 in the evening was a David Jones who was in fact working with the Dayton city government trying to ^{quell} ~~quar~~ the riots. He was not released from the city jail until 9 a.m. the next morning after finally getting through to the city Mayor.

Holland was also ~~at the~~ released about nine the next morning, and along with other leaders was taken to see the Police Chief, City Manager, and City Prosecutor and ^{then} ~~been~~ released on his own recognizance. *Holland then.* went back to the MAT office to lock it up and with police escort, then went home.

Ron Vaughn Bailey, program coordinator for SCOPE, was on the scene of the disturbance from approximately 6 a.m. through 11 p.m., off and on. He said that people ^{were} grabbed out of cars, off the street, and out of their yards by Dayton police and Montgomery County deputies during the entire time of the disturbance. Bailey was very active in attempting to send young teenagers home who were looting the stores because of the fear that they would get seriously injured ^{by Dayton police and county deputies}.

Bailey was of the opinion that those young teenagers looting were engaged in imitative acts since they saw so many of their older friends looting the same stores at the same time. Bailey also recalled a police squad car driving up and arresting people after the stoning of another police car. However the police who made the arrest were not

on the scene when the stoning occurred, did not know who had done the stoning, and were arresting people indiscriminately -- those that they could put their hands on. No attempt was made, according to Bailey, of the police to find out who was doing the stoning or who had done it. But since some people in the area were arrested and taken to the city jail.

The Star Furniture Company on West 5 th Street in the heart of the Dayton area was, according to Bailey and Holland, selling TV sets at color TV prices but delivering black and white sets in the summer of 1966 prior to the September disturbances.

Enough evidence was finally gathered on the owner of the Star Furniture Company to indict him. Holland and McIntosh saw him early in September *and said they were aware of his fraudulent sales,* and he closed the store *shortly thereafter*.

Prior to going to the owner of the Star Furniture Company, however, Holland had given a report to the City Prosecutor relating that the Star Furniture Company was engaged in ~~fraudulent~~ ^{fraudulent} sales. Prosecutor O'Connor told Holland and McIntosh that he would get back to them as soon as he had been able to check out their complaints of fraud on the part of the Star Furniture Company. ~~HERE HERE~~ However, it took him three months to get back to Holland and McIntosh with the information that they had enough information on the Star Furniture Company to indict the owner.

However, the Star Furniture Company was indicted only days after complaints had been received by the City Prosecutor from customers of Star Furniture Company who reside in the eastside section of Dayton.

Holland and Thomas were of the opinion that no real improvements had been made in the ~~West~~ ^{West}side area since the September 1966 disturbance and, in fact, were of the opinion that police brutality had increased after the 1966 disturbance.

Thomas mentioned that two months ago many people in West Dayton were picked up on fraudulent jaywalking tickets officers patrolling the West Dayton streets. He thought this was because of a rumor rampant in the city that another disturbance was coming and this was an attempt by the Dayton Police Department to use force in putting it down before it got started.

In terms of police brutality, Holland also mentioned one juvenile who ~~xx~~ was arrested during the September 1966 disturbance who became hysterical after being taken to jail. The officers moved ~~him~~ ~~of~~ him out of the area where most of the people ^{were being detained} ~~arrested~~; ~~in the riot were~~ after he began attacking the officer with his fists. However, Holland reported that minutes thereafter they heard this youth screaming from another section of the jail and when they saw him again, it was evident that he had been brutally beaten by several police officers.

On the question of the June 1967 disturbance, Holland and Thomas were of the opinion that the speech by H. Rap Brown was not the precipitating incident nor was it inflammatory but that because of rumors in the city which had been widely publicized by the news media, people were waiting for an excuse upon which to riot and that ^{the} a speech by Brown provided this excuse.

They also mentioned that resentment ^{of} ~~by~~ the Dayton police was if anything more widespread and ~~strongly~~ in June of 67 than it had been in September 1966 because of what they consider the increased use of brutality by the Dayton police force.

Holland also mentioned that in his view, the administrators of the SCOPE office were grossly incompetent and not fully aware of many

administrative directives handed down by regional and national OEO offices. He stated that on several occasions he had had to advise the administrators of the SCOPE program on methods and procedures to be followed in light of new OEO directives when in fact these people should have been informing MAT and his organization as to what to do in light of these directives.

Holland also mentioned that at the June meeting in which SCOPE arrived at the decision not to refund MAT, the entire program *of the* was meeting ~~and~~ was open to the public, save for that portion at ~~the~~ which the MAT refunding was discussed. *of* That portion, both the discussion period and the voting was closed to all people not on the SCOPE Board of Directors. This included Holland who was not allowed to sit in or listen to the discussion of the SCOPE decision not to refund MAT.

Thomas, an assistant principal in the Dayton school system, was of the view that the *West*side Dayton schools did a very poor job in giving education of any kind, either for further academic work or for getting jobs immediately after graduation from high school. He mentioned that while approximately 25 percent of *West*side High School graduates went on to college, 90 percent of this 25 percent were girls and that therefore the percentage of *West*side ~~High School's~~ young males who were going to college was very small.

He stated that on the average the graduate of *a* the *West*side High School read no better than a National Junior *High* School student.

On the subject of the White Hat Program, operating in Dayton during the last summer to *quell* ~~squeal~~ disturbances, Thomas stated that ~~x~~ the

young men involved in the program ^{had} with also leadership capabilities and that ^{through they} that had been more successful in curbing the riot than most of the people had been.

He also mentioned that ~~since~~ the June ~~1966~~ 1967 and September 1967 disturbances had involved more people ~~x~~within the ages of 18 and 21; whereas the September 1966 disturbance had involved more young adults between the ages of 21 and 25. ~~understandably~~

The White Hats had been very successful in ^{quelling} ~~quelling~~ the disturbances in the two '67 disturbances because the majority of the people participating were in their peer group.

However, Thomas thought that the providing of picnics and so much publicity for the youngsters involved in the White Hat Program had tended to alienate some of the other youngsters in the ~~West~~ ^{Westside} community ~~from~~ from those participating in the program and that also the news media in Dayton had been very derogatory toward those members of the White Hats who had police records.

However, the program has been meant to use these people to get them off the streets and to use their leadership capabilities which the news media, according to Thomas, knew; but they still publicized ^{reports} ~~their records~~ of the number of people in the program who had previous records.

Thomas feels that community response to the White Hat Program has been very poor, particularly from the business establishments because rather than giving the ^{participants} people jobs, they have given them picnics and publicity which is not what ^{was} people needed nor wanted. No ~~xxxx~~ significant response has been received in the community in terms of giving the

people participating in the White Hat Program either jobs or educational scholarships which would help them more than the publicity and these picnics they have received from the business establishments of Dayton.

Both Bailey, and Holland and Thomas were of the view that the vice squad detectives working the ^{W.S.} Westside area were continually engaged in ^{harassing} a rat's nest and persecution of those people arrested by them, particularly ^{sex} misuse of people picked up on prostitution charges, and bribery of those ^{picked up on most charges by} who while ^{thought} not involved with those vice squad members to have knowledge ^{pc} could have been ^{which} useful to the police force.

Thomas indicated that C. J. McLinn, the State Representative for the westside area, had obtained a signed affidavit by some people who had been victims of this harassment by Dayton police.

Thomas also mentioned that in the course of preparing the ~~Man-on-the-Street~~ report, Mr. McLinn had picked up several stories of police brutality which were included in the report. The people participating in the ~~man-on-the-street~~ report were those people living and working in the heart of the ghetto and these are the people who, according to Thomas, suffered the most brutality from members of the Dayton police force.

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Interview with Leo Lucas, Accountant and sole Negro member of the Dayton School Board. *Sept. 23, 1967.*

This is Lucas' second year on the School Board. A Reverend Broadus, also a Negro, had served 12 years on the School Board prior to Lucas' election, and upon his retirement, Lucas was selected by the All-Dayton Committee to run for a seat on the School Board. The All-Dayton Committee is a non-partisan organization open to all citizens which tries to encourage qualified members of the community, black and white, to run for seats on the City Commission and places on the Dayton School Board.

Lucas is of the opinion that the West Dayton schools are not as good as the Dayton schools at large, which he considers reasonably adequate. He mentioned that presently many more supplies and more money, including workbooks, are being supplied to the West Dayton schools, and that presently there is a program to provide the workbook type of material to needy children in all sections of Dayton who cannot afford to buy it themselves. He said the pupil/teacher ratio may be a little better on the West Side than in the Dayton schools, on the whole.

Superintendent of Schools John French is considered an apathetic, non-productive, non-community oriented person with racist attitudes. He mentioned it was very difficult to get Negroes upgraded to positions of principal and assistant principal in the Dayton schools, and that there was only one Negro principal and one Negro assistant principal in a high school in Dayton. Also, this year is the first time that there is a Negro assistant school superintendent on the third echelon or level of the school board hierarchy. Lucas considers the communications media the worst

enemy of the West Side and its residents. Negro registration is ample, but Negro voting is not considered ample. Moreover, since the school board is elected at large from throughout the city, any Negro ^{Lucas elects to seek a} who selects ^{seat} the school board needs white support to get a position on the board. Lucas considers the Dayton Head-Start program, ~~for instance,~~ a success in reaching those people who are most culturally deprived in the several Dayton communities.

There has been no bussing in the Dayton school system to alleviate de facto segregation, but there has been bussing to relieve overcrowding and to transport the children who live more than two miles away from the closest school.

There is some trade training in the West Dayton schools for tin metal work, woodwork, auto mechanics, etc., and Lucas states that these people do not find it difficult to get jobs in the Dayton area. Dayton area industry has been cooperating some with on-the-job programs through the efforts of the Community Action Committee, which is a committee of 12 prominent whites and 12 prominent Negroes, which meets once a month.

Lucas mentioned the school curriculum. There is a general course, a college preparatory course, and a commercial course. Lucas thinks that the general course is worse than useless, in that the people who take this course are neither prepared for college nor prepared to get jobs in industry. He would like to enlarge the trade programs, and to de-emphasize the general courses as much as possible. He also thinks that the Garfield School, on the West Side, which is the one Dayton school giving substantial amounts of vocational training, other than the ^{elite} Patterson Cooperative Schools, should be enlarged and upgraded.

Lucas mentioned that students have upward and downward mobility between the three curricula presently in the Dayton school system. Lucas thinks that the counseling is reasonably good where it exists, but there is a crying need for more counsellors in the Dayton schools, and particularly those on the West Side.

Lucas informed ^{us that} ~~of~~ the principals in the Dayton schools ^{etc} ~~being~~ paid by the size of the student body of their particular school. The highest paid principal presently makes about \$15,000 per year. There is no credit given to any teacher for work above the master's level, and Lucas thinks that both this and a merit system of pay for the school teachers should be instituted.

The school population of Dayton is about 30 percent ^{Negro} which is more or less the same as the general Negro population in relation to the total Dayton population. Lucas does not think that a marked improvement in the school system makes much difference in the temperament of the West Side ghetto, since the people who are now out of school would still have a difficult time getting employment in Dayton industries; and also, the police problem and the media problem would not be solved by an upgrading of the Dayton School System.

John French, the School Superintendent, is in his last year as the administrator of the Dayton Public Schools, and Lucas hopes that when a new superintendent is selected, there will be marked improvement in the school system. He hopes to have some Negroes interviewed for the job of school superintendent, although he does not think that Dayton is "ready" for a Negro school superintendent. He mentioned two Negro candidates he had in ~~mind~~ ^{mind} he hoped to get to Dayton, at least for interviews with the school board.

Lucas is of the opinion that as long as French is superintendent of the schools, very little in the way of progressive programs or an attack on de facto segregation is going to be attempted in the City-wide school system.

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~~His proposal is~~ to get together ^{school boards of} with the suburban communities ~~under de facto~~ and have inner-city children transported to suburban schools, and suburban children transported into the city, but he does not think there is much chance of this ~~now~~ or any time in the foreseeable future.

Lucas mentioned the difficulty he found in trying to make the more militant element of the Negro community understand his position as the sole Negro board member in getting any changes made in the school system or in the attitudes of the other members of the school board. He is also somewhat concerned about the position of one of the more militant people in town, Art Thomas, who is a teacher, and his public utterances at school board meetings. He thinks that this may serve to jeopardize Mr. Thomas in the eyes of the school ^{board} board, and particularly in the eyes of those who are predisposed to racist attitudes.

Interview with Don Ellis, President of the West Dayton Self-Help Center, and James Miller, Director of the Self-Help Center *Sept. 23, 1969.*

Ellis has ^{an eye} ~~been~~ a witness to the Barbee slaying on Sunday evening. He says that Barbee was handcuffed when he was shot. [Ellis is going to try to see this witness this evening and let us ^{be present} ~~know~~ if at all possible.]

Ellis mentioned rumors of a protection racket in the West Side area run by a prominent civil rights leader. He had a conversation with a store owner who paid off this protection racket on Monday night, ^{September 16, 1969} in hopes of not having his store attacked during the next disturbance, and the owner's store was burned and looted in the disturbance on Tuesday evening. He was very upset and *angry* about *paying and losing \$15* protection money. Ellis also mentioned that another Vice Squad man, *Benniger*, was on the scene when Barbee was shot by a *Collier* party of the Vice Squad. He mentioned that this has not been *reported* in any of *media* accounts of the Barbee slaying. Ellis expressed *5* ~~that~~ *stated*

that there existed a wide spread belief that city government was corrupt. He mentioned the expenditure by one city commissioner of \$8,000.00 to get elected to the position of city commissioner, which position paid only \$1,200.00 per year.

Ellis informed us of the death of one Josh Kelly, a Negro, in the Dayton jail on Friday evening ^{September 22,} Kelly had been arrested for drunkenness on Thursday evening. The coroner stated that the death was due to a heart failure. Kelly had had a history of heart trouble at the Veterans' Hospital near Dayton. The coroner called in several Negroes to review the autopsy, and when they ~~got~~ there, the autopsy had already been performed and since none of the Negro leaders who were called in were physicians,

they could not determine whether or not there had been any foul play involved in Kelly 's death.

Both Miller and Ellis mentioned that the disturbances in June and September of '67 had more middle income participants and observers than had the disturbance in September of '66. The Barbee killing, particularly, has seemed to arouse more middle income Negroes in Dayton and get them more concerned with the civil rights struggle, ~~and the~~

The possibility that the stories of police brutality are true seems to have invaded the middle class Negroes in Dayton *in the aftermath* of the Barbee slaying. Some of the leaders seem to think this is a good sign and because of the Barbee slaying will get involved in the struggle to improve the West Side *situation* of the more educated and more affluent Negroes from here on.

Interview with Mrs. Miley Williamson
President of the Dayton Chapter of the NAACP

Mrs. Williamson lives very close to the scene of the September, 1966 killing of Lester Mitchell, which precipitated the September riot. She arrived on the scene at 5:30 A.M.; Mitchell had been killed between 2:30 and 3:00 A.M., approximately. She reported that there had been several arrests in the same block ^{in which} Mitchell was killed ^{earlier} ~~in during~~ early in the evening. These arrests had aggravated people and created tension in the area. Tension had also been built up because of the meeting of the States Rights Party, which had been going on at the same time in the community.

Mrs. Williamson thinks that the Dayton Mayor, the Police Chief, and most high city government officials were quite cooperative. She termed Mayor Hall an innocent ^{when elected}, and thinks he has tried very hard to improve conditions in the west side Dayton area. The Mayor was on the scene of the Lester Mitchell killing at about 5:30 A.M., soon after she arrived on the scene.

Mrs. Williamson is a member of the Mayor's committee which meets once a month to discuss city-wide problems. The committee includes members of the private establishmnet such as the manager of McCall's Publishing Company, ^{the} presidents of several of the banks, ^{the} city government officials, and the Negro member ^{of} of the school board and other established Negro leaders in the community. This committee had met earlier in the week to discuss ^{tensions} which had ^{risen} appreciably because of the ~~the~~ meeting of the States Rights Party. This committee has been meeting since June of '66, and has continued to meet through these three disturbances Dayton has had in the last 12 months. The idea for this committee came

from the white private power structure, rather than from the Negro community. The Dayton Chamber of Commerce ^{sponsored} sponsored a Job Fair every year in Dayton. The second annual Job Fair was held last Friday and Saturday. Mrs Williamson felt it had been very constructive in pointing out to the young West Side residents what opportunities were available for employment in the Dayton area.

Mrs. Williamson reports that ^{concrete} ~~no~~ cases of police brutality have come to her attention in the last year, ~~also~~, although the image of the police in the West Side area is extremely bad. She reports that in all instances of police brutality which have come to her attention, the people arrested have had prior arrest records, and that this has mitigated the credence which she has given to their reports of police brutality.

Mrs. Williamson thinks that of all the problems affecting Dayton, the housing situation on the West Side is the most aggravating problem. The NAACP has asked for and received a moratorium on all public housing projects in the West Side area. They hope to have the city government spread public housing throughout the Dayton area, rather than concentrate on the West Side. Mrs. Williamson also mentioned the

The housing ordinance ^{which} is to be put on referendum on the November ballot. Mrs. Williamson mentioned that a local civil rights organization, DARE, was responsible for the amendment to the city charter, ^e which provides that every housing ordinance must be submitted to a city-wide referendum before ^{becoming effective}. Mrs. Williamson thinks that very little has been done in urban renewal under the urban renewal program on the West Side. She mentioned that Dayton Towers, a new high-rise apartment on the east side of Dayton constructed under an urban renewal program, is now integrated. There are five or six different public housing projects in the West Side, which is what prompted the NAACP request for a ban on additional public housing in the West Side area. Mrs. Williamson feels that the housing code is not rigidly enforced, either in these public housing projects nor in the West Side in general. The ^{Protestant} inter-racial council, organized two years ago in Dayton, and the Catholic inter-racial council, organized four or five years ago ^{are} two religious organizations which are working for better community dialogue in the Dayton area. Mrs. Williamson is a member of the ^{Ohio} Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil ^{Rights}. Mrs. Williamson also mentioned the role played by ^{C. Melin} J. Melynn in the September, 1966 disturbance. Mr. ^{Melin} Melynn arrived on the scene at 8:30 in the morning that Mr. Mitchell was shot, and ~~that~~ when the Negroes who had been arrested upon the arrival of the police earlier in the morning were subsequently released, she, Mr. ^{Melin} Melynn, and several others met at the Chief's office when the riot got out of control on the West Side area, that Thursday evening. ~~Because~~ The riot calmed down during the day Friday and got bad again Friday night, after the National Guard had been called in, ^{but} Friday night was the last

serious disturbance the city felt during the September, 1966 period. Mrs. Williamson said that the people involved in the riot were much more responsive to the orders of the National Guard than to the local Dayton police force. This response was mostly out of fear, since the National Guard was more heavily armed than the Dayton police force. She also mentioned that Dayton Negroes are very reluctant to apply to the police force because of its bad image in the community.

She feels that the main problem with the police force is the lack of community training, especially at the patrolman level. She mentioned that last Christmas one police platoon selected and purchased clothing for two needy families in the Dayton area; one Negro and one white; but that the majority of police had not improved at all in their treatment of West Side residents since the September, 1966 disturbance.

Mrs. Williamson also mentioned Mr. William Harrison and the harrassment he felt from the police because of his very fair-skinned wife, as had Miller and Jackson.

Mrs. Williamson mentioned the programs of meetings of various West Side clubs or community organizations, at which the captains, majors, and *the* chiefs of the police force had come to talk to these organizations and clubs. She said that these meetings have been going on for about two years and that the people who attended these meetings have gotten a better understanding of the working of the police force. However, she was of the view that the people who are most directly involved in cases of police brutality are not being reached by these meetings, which by and large are with organizations identified with the black middle class, rather than with the man on the street.

In terms of education, Mrs. Williamson is of the view that the West

Interview with James Miller and Mel Jackson
Director and Program Coordinator of the West Dayton Self-Help Center,
Sept. 21, 1964.

Miller went to Dayton in October of '66; Jackson ^{has} had lived there for 22 years; ~~out of this 22 years,~~ ^{he has also spent} ten years was in the military. They informed us that the same two policemen who were involved in the Barbee killing on ^{the} Sunday prior to our visit, had also been involved in an incident at the Elks Club on West Fifth Street, in which Jackson had been arrested. Jackson, a member of the Club, came downstairs in the Elks lodge to get three beers, and found two white men talking to the bar manager. On inquiring as to who they were and ~~what was~~ the reason for their presence, these two white men, who were dressed in plain clothes, got belligerent with Jackson and refused to identify themselves. The plainclothesman asked Jackson who he was, and he refused to identify himself, saying that he had a right to be in the Elks Lodge, being a member, and they did not, and they would have to identify themselves. One of the policeman then told Jackson that he was taking him downtown and make him identify himself. Jackson said that they ^{were n't} ~~were~~ going to take him anywhere, they reached for him, and Jackson hit one of the policemen. He was then subdued by the use of a chemical mace by the other policeman, taken downtown [and arraigned] ^{le} and he put up ^{\$125} ~~\$25~~ bail to get out. While he was at the station, Jackson related that the police officers there would give no other information as to what he was charged with; nor would they give him any change to make a phone call, ^{after} ~~since~~ he had used all the change he had in his pocket.

A Judge Fisher, who is a Negro, before whom Jackson was to appear, arranged for Jackson to get his bail money back. When Jackson appeared

for arraignment, [he walked to Judge Fisher's chambers,] ^{ye} Judge Fisher motioned to his secretary, who got the money back, and no charge was ever filed formally against Jackson.

Three nights later, Collier and the other cop were involved in the shooting of Barbee on Second and Ludlow in downtown Dayton.

Jackson and Miller were of the opinion that in the pre-incident periods, police, especially the Vice Squad police, engaged in continual harrassment of Negroes in the ghetto; including the bothering of prostitutes and attempts at maltreatment of prostitutes arrested, and the beating of people arrested on drunkenness charges. They mentioned the case of a Mr. Brackus, whose wife was killed by a Negro, who Mr. Brackus thinks was trying to kill him because he objected to police treatment. Brackus alleged that the police had harrassed him over a very long period of time, and Miller and Jackson reported that any Negro who had a wife as fair as Brackus' wife had been was subject to continual harrassment by the police whenever seen riding in a car with a fair-skinned Negro woman in the evening.

They also mentioned a William Jackson, assistant principal of Dunbar School in Dayton, who was also harrassed by police while in his car in the evening with his wife, who is a very fair Negro woman.

Jim Miller is a member of the Mayor's Committee on police-community relations, which was established six or eight months ago. He said that in his work as a member of this committee, he finds that poor whites in Dayton's east side complain of harrassment by the police as do the Negroes on the west side; but not being a member of that community, he had no specific incidents to relate to us as he had with respect to ^{Messrs.} Mr. Brackus and Harrison, who are Dayton Negroes.

Miller feels that the Mayor's committee on police--community relations is likely to recommend drastic changes in police operations in the west side community, including the establishment of neighborhood offices where complaints of police brutality can be made. Miller and Jackson both felt that the higher eschelons of the police force were reasonably responsive and sensitive to problems in police--community relations; however, the big problem seemed to be that the cop on the beat ^{has} had not gotten the message as to how to treat all citizens courteously and with respect.

organizations
In the pre-incident period, ~~public community relations~~ were considered by Miller and Jackson to be ineffective in seeking redress to complaints of harrassment. The disturbance in Dayton in September of 1966 arose out of the shooting on a West Side street of a Mr. Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell was shot down before dawn on the night of a meeting of the West Side Community Council, in front of his home while sweeping. ^{There had been} In a States Rights Party meeting in Dayton over the same weekend, and many attribute ~~to~~ the tension that existed at the time Mitchell was shot ^{to} the meeting of the racist States Rights Party during the same period of time in Dayton. A Police Department investigation, which was conducted immediately after Mitchell was slain, supposedly proved scientifically that he could not have been shot by a passing car nor by a white person. Police surmised ^{that} rather he was probably shot by a light skinned Negro from a nearby alley. However, in May of 1967, several prominent Negroes were asked by the Human Relations Council to sit in on a closed-door meeting of the City Commissioners, the City Manager and Mayor to work on ways to ease tension, the Negroes present suggested that one way to ease tension was to solve the murder of Lester

Mitchell, ^{as} ~~the~~ ^{had} This ~~created~~ a lot of *tension* in the Negro community. The *slaying* was solved the next week. A white criminal was named as the murderer. He had been killed in a gunfight the week before, so that no testimony was taken from him as to whether or not he had slain Mitchell. No information was ever given by the police as to how they solved the murder so quickly after the meeting, or as to why their supposed scientific proof that Mitchell could not have been shot from a moving car, was in fact disproved by the identity of Mitchell's slayer.

There was no feeling by Miller and Jackson that the riots which occurred after the Mitchell slaying had been instigated by any agitators, either from Dayton or from outside the community. They also felt that the TV-Radio coverage of the riot occurrences was reasonably fair, although ~~the reporters and two~~ feature stories in Dayton papers in the period after the riots were considered to be inflammatory.

There is a feeling that no real changes have been made in the Dayton situation since September of 1966. The City Commissioners have recently passed a public housing ordinance, and plan to put it to a ballot in November. The local NAACP plans to challenge this in court, using the Proposition 14, California precedent as a means of ^{establishing that} requiring such referendum approval ^{is} ~~unconstitutional~~ *illegal*.

The people organized by the West Side Self-Help Center do inspection of housing on the West Side ^{and report findings} to the Dayton Housing Authority. However, there is a feeling that ~~the~~ minimal action is had on the complaints turned in by the West Side residents, and that it is all just a game being played.

Miller and Jackson also feel that the Dayton schools, particularly the West Side schools, do a poor job in educating and training the people for jobs available in the Dayton area industry. In terms of employment, the West Dayton Self-Help Center *has done a study that indicates* *that in the plants and factories* in the West Dayton area hire two Negroes for every ten whites presently employed.

The unemployment problem on the West Side could be eliminated. Also in the area of housing, Dayton has an Urban Renewal program, which has been centered on the east side. The West Side has only received a new high school, which is completely segregated, and a new area of \$23,000 to \$27,000 homes, but there has been no urban renewal of lower income, lower priced homes in the *core of the* West Side area.

In August of '67, the West Dayton community, through the efforts of "FORCE", which is a *Saul Alinsky* oriented, *community* new organization in Dayton, began an attack on de facto segregation in Dayton schools. So far nothing has come out of the first month and a half of activity in this area.

However, the Dayton Chamber of Commerce, in giving its response to the Board of Education's attempt to float a \$20 million bond issue for *public school* construction, refused to support this bond issue ~~XX~~ until the Board of Education answered 47 questions. Included in these questions were several dealing with de facto segregation.

Miller and Jackson feel that there was no pressure on the Chamber by any effective Negro community organization, but that rather the Chamber of Commerce, of its own volition, was making an attempt to solve some of the problems that lead to incidents in the Dayton area.

Miller and Jackson feel very strongly that the private establishment in Dayton is much more responsive and forward-looking than the city

As regards
government. Welfare and ~~other~~ health services, Miller feels that there is a strong need for a West Side office, particularly for welfare recipients, since at present it is necessary to take two busses to get to the downtown welfare office to receive welfare checks. The only organizations in Dayton which distribute food stamps are banks. Three of these banks are on the west side area, and they refuse to distribute stamps on Fridays or on Mondays. In an attempt to make the food stamp program more effective, Miller approached the city government with a program to have other ^{organizations} ~~citizens~~ in the Dayton west side area distribute stamps on the weekends, including the West Side Self-Help Center, ^{of} which he is the Director.

The Director of the Dayton Health Department did not give this proposal serious consideration, saying that certain bonding requirements and security requirements can only be met in the West Side area by these banks. Miller proposed to do whatever was necessary in community service organizations to set up other offices, and ~~City~~ Health Department Director proposed to review these things when renewal of the banks' contracts for stamp distribution came up. However, the contract was renewed without any discussion of this with the bank officials, according to Miller's conversation with these bank officials. The banks have taken this on reluctantly as a public service, and would like to get out of it, but the city Health Department seems reluctant to let anybody but the banks in the West Side area distribute these food stamps.

In June, 1967, the disturbance in Dayton arose immediately after a speech by H. Rap Brown at the West Dayton Community Center, in the West Dayton area. The sponsors of this meeting were DARE, The Ohio Freedom

Committee, and the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee of Dayton. There were many people in the audience who felt that Brown spoke the truth about conditions in the West Side area, and the riot which came immediately after the speech was not considered to be the result of his speech. There had been much talk about riots in ^{other communities} areas around the West Side during this period, and the feeling is that many of the young adults and teenagers were looking for an excuse to riot, which Brown's speech was, rather than it being an instigating ~~incident~~ or precipitating incident.

Tex Wilson
No. 1

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The following is a record of interviews conducted in Dayton, Ohio, during the period September 22-23, 1967. These interviews were conducted by Tex Wilson and Ike Hunt. The following is a transcript of the interview with Reverend E. A. Hughey. Reverend Hughey has lived in Dayton for only two years. During that time he has been very active in community affairs. It should be noted that there have been three civil disturbances in Dayton, Ohio, during the past 13 months. The first occurred September 1 and 2, 1966. The second occurred June 14 through 16, 1967, and the most recent occurred September 19 and 20, 1967. In describing the period prior to the first incident of September 1966, Reverend Hughey stated that Dayton is probably the same old story. There is a compacted ghetto area which is open at one end. Ninety-five percent of the Negro population live within that ghetto area. As in many other places he stated that there was unrest in the Negro community growing out of unemployment, poor housing and police brutality. These he thought were the major grievances during the period immediately preceding the September 1966 disorder. He stated that unemployment in the city of Dayton on a citywide basis is probably less than 3 percent, while unemployment in the central part of the Negro ghetto ranges from 14 to 20 percent. On housing, Rev. Hughey stated that the public housing authority has a waiting list of approximately 600 families. He stated that there exist^s in the West Dayton area, which is the Negro section of town, a great deal of substandard housing. He alleges that the city government has not done a very ~~jan~~ good job of enforcing the building code. To his knowledge he stated that there were only _____ only four inspectors, all of whom are white. Police-community relations ~~xxxxxx~~

were particularly bad. He heard many ~~xxxxxxx~~ stories of police brutality and maltreatment of Negroes. He referred to two vice squad detectives who were known in the Negro area as ~~lx~~ Batman and Robin. Apparently they drove with around/Batman and Robin ~~xxxxxxx~~ decals on the rear of the car in which they patrolled ~~xxxxxxx~~ the Negro area. I later learned that these two detectives were named Walley and Riley. Their conduct became so notorious that the police department was ~~ask~~ asked to take them off the West Side. Rev. Hughey stated that they were removed from West Dayton for a period of time, but he now thinks that they are back on the West Side. Rev. Hughey stated that these conditions did not significantly change between the September 1966 and June 1967 disturbances, nor between the June 1967 and September 1967 disturbances. The incident which Rev. Hughey thinks precipitated the disturbances of September 2x 1966 was the murder of a Negro named Lester Mitchell. During the latter part of August 1966 there had been several incidents of whites riding through West Dayton throwing cherry ~~xxxxxxx~~ bombs at Negroes along the sidewalks. Near the end of that month the National States Rights Party held a meeting in Dayton, and on the night of that meeting Lester Mitchell was slain/ by a white man shooting from a passing car. This occurred at approximately 2:30 or 3:00 in the morning and by daybreak or shortly thereafter the ~~dist~~ disturbance was in full swing. Rev. Hughey states that whites driving through West Dayton on the ~~mor~~ morning of September 1 were ~~ppkx~~ pulled from their cars and beaten by Negroes. The police investigation of the Mitchell slaying was apparently quite unsatisfactory. We were advised by Rev. Hughey and others that the ^{police} policy theory was that Mitchell was not slain by a white man from a passing car, but by someone shooting from an alley across the street ~~wh~~ from where he was killed.

Rev. Hughey feels that the incident in June of 1967 was precipitated by Rap Brown's speech. The September 1967 disturbance was precipitated by the ~~xxxx~~ ^{vice} slaying of a Negro by a white ~~xxxx~~ squad detective. Rev. Hughey feels that the grievances ~~expr~~ expressed by many people in the ghetto are legitimate ones, and he has worked through a number of organizations to try to obtain redress for those grievances. / He is a member of the ~~Dayton~~ board of the Dayton chapter of the NAACP, a member of the ~~Direct~~ ^{Direct} Nonviolent Action Committee, a consultant to Moving Ahead Together, chairman of the board of the Opportunities Industrialization Center. Rev. Hughey is also a charter member of an organization called Force. Rev. Hughey was not on the streets during any of the three disorders and could not give me an eye-witness account of anything that occurred during any of the three separate disturbances. In my opinion Rev. Hughey is well respected in the Negro community, but does not have any great following. His thinking is more attuned to the Negro middle class, with whom he associates than to the young, ~~xx~~ unemployed Negroes who are likely to be participants / in a riot. He is apparently viewed by the power structure in Dayton as a man of some influence in the Negro community since he is often asked to attend meetings or serve on various sorts of committees dealing with racial problems.

Tex Wilson
No. 2

The following notes were taken during the interview of Duke Ellis and Charles ^SFlanders of the Dayton Urban League.

Chapter I - Pre-Incident

Both Ellis and Sanders feel that the major problem in Dayton has for many years been lack of job opportunities. Unemployment among ghetto Negroes runs approximately five times as high as unemployment for Dayton citywide. They both feel that this has been a cause of unrest in West Dayton for a long period of time. Police-community relations in Dayton ~~are~~ were not good in the year preceding the September 1966 incident. They have gotten worse since that time, and these ~~gentlemen~~ gentlemen think that they probably reached an all-time low with the slaying of Robert Barbee on Sunday, September 17, 1967. Of a police force of approximately 400 men, there are only 13 Negroes on the force. Only one of them is at a level of sergeant. We were advised that the city states it has attempted to employ more Negro police officers, but can find few Negroes with the ability to pass the entrance test. ^{These men} They seem to be little convinced by the latter statement. They stated that there is very little respect for the policeman on the beat, and almost open hatred for members of the vice squad. ~~And~~ we were advised ~~that~~ that there is a long history of ill feeling in the Negro community toward the vice squad. We were advised that there were many stories of vice squad officers forcing Negro prostitutes to have intercourse with them in lieu of being arrested and fined. It was also alleged that members of the vice squad were shaking down a number of people in West Dayton who were engaged in activities which were violative of the law. We were again told about the two vice squad

officers who refer to themselves as Batman, and Robin. They stated that this duo became so infamous the community ~~was~~ insisted that they be removed from their West Side beat. It should be noted that the two officers involved in the slaying of Robert Barbee were also members of the vice squad. These same two officers had been involved in another incident with ~~xx~~ a Negro approximately ten days prior to the Barbee slaying.

On the subject of housing, they felt that housing in West Dayton was fairly good. There is a good bit of public housing and many of the homes are owner-occupied. They advised us that there is in effect at present a moratorium on the construction of additional public housing in West Dayton. This moratorium was sought and obtained by certain segments of the Negro community who felt that the construction of additional public housing in West Dayton would tend to increase the segregated living pattern of the city. It is their feeling that any additional public housing should be constructed in other sections of Dayton, and ^{if} Negro families moved into ~~the~~ that public housing it would increase the integration of other Dayton neighborhoods. They advised us that there were not a great many dwellings in West Dayton which could be accurately termed tenements. While admitting that code enforcement in West Dayton is fairly lax, they simply did not consider ~~xxx~~ housing to be a major problem of the Negro in Dayton.

On the subject of employment, both Ellis and Sanders considered the situation extremely poor~~xx~~. They felt that the city government and industry had done too little ~~xxxx~~ in attempting to solve the unemployment problem of the ghetto. They thought this ~~xxxxxx~~ extremely sad ~~xxxx~~ because ^{there is} ~~they had~~ a great deal of industry in and around Dayton, Many of them having large forces of semi-skilled personnel. There are four divisions of General Motors

in Dayton, the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, McCall's Magazine, National Cash Register, and several others. They pointed out that National Cash Register has a payroll of approximately 20,000 people, only 500 or so of whom are Negroes, and even that number represents a 300 percent increase over the situation of three years ago. It is felt that the city government could do something to alleviate this situation because the real power behind the city government consists of most of the enterprises listed above. There is in Dayton an organization called the All Dayton Committee, which is technically open to all citizens/ of the Dayton area. While membership on this committee is technically open to all residents of the Dayton area, the membership in fact consists largely of upper income people. ~~XXXXXX~~ We were unable to determine the exact size of the membership of the All Dayton Committee. However, there is an executive committee of the All Dayton Committee which is the effective voice of the committee. The committee membership is nonpartisan and it endorses certain candidates for certain public offices in Dayton. Members of the committee help to finance the campaigns of persons endorsed by the committee. We were advised that people endorsed by the All Dayton Committee seldom lose an election. Ellis and Sanders felt that the members of the committee could use their influence with the city government to obtain more positions for Negroes in the employ of the city. Likewise, the members could open their own payrolls to Negroes to a much greater extent ~~than~~ than they have done in the past. Ellis felt that the summer employment program had been a miserable failure. Of approximately 4,000 people available for work, only 200 were hired. These were employed mostly by OEO funded programs operating in ~~the~~ Dayton. Only about 50 youngsters were hired by the city government. At about this point Mr. Sanders had to leave and the

interview continued with Mr. Ellis. Ellis felt that the skills test which are administered by various industries in the Dayton area/~~is~~ administered in a discriminatory manner. He felt that a Negro would have to be overqualified in order to obtain a job where a white was competing for the same job. ~~He~~ He admitted that industry had been fairly generous to the Urban League ~~and~~ in providing monies for an Urban League scholarship fund. Industry had not been as generous in employing ^{people} referred to it by the Urban League.

On the subject of schools, Mr. Ellis advised that they were de facto segregated and apparently this point is not even contested by the Board of Education. Mr. Ellis also stated that the quality of education in the schools in West Dayton is bad. There are many Negroes who graduated from high school ^{graduates} who are unemployable. When asked whether there were trade or technical schools in Dayton, Mr. Ellis stated that one of the best technical high schools in the country is located in Dayton. That school is the Patterson Cooperative School. However, it has extremely high academic standards, and is not open to all pupils. For instance, we were advised that there were only three Negroes in the 1967 graduating ~~is~~ class. Apparently graduates of the Patterson Cooperative School are able to walk immediately into jobs in the industries in the Dayton area. Mr. Ellis advised that another trade or technical school is now being discussed, but its construction will probably await the outcome of a \$20 million bond issue which is being voted upon in November.

We were advised that very little consideration has been given to bussing as a means of altering the de facto segregation of the schools. Ellis admitted that there was very little pressure for this kind of solution from the Negro community, and the Board of Education had determined that the per pupil expense would almost double if large scale bussing were undertaken.

Ellis advised us that the various social welfare organizations funded through the United Fund provided very little service in West Dayton. The Urban League is the one agency funded by the United Fund which works primarily in the Negro section of town. Ellis stated that relations between the Negro community and the white community in Dayton were not extremely bad nor very good. He felt that the animosity and unrest in the Negro ghetto was directed more towards city government than toward whites generally. However, he conceded that whites were attacked rather indiscriminantly during the disturbances in Dayton.

This then is basically the situation in Dayton as one approaches August 1966. During that month and especially toward the latter ~~part~~ part of the month there were a number of incidents of young whites ~~xx~~ driving through Negro neighborhoods tossing cherry bombs at people along the sidewalks. This was increasing tension considerably. Matters were not improved at all when some whites were finally apprehended and were released with a lecture from the Negro judge who sat on the case.

During the last week of August the National States Rights Party held a meeting in Dayton. It was on the last day of ~~the~~ that meeting or immediately after the conclusion of that meeting that the September civil disturbance started.

Chapter II - Precipitating Incident

In the early morning hours of September 1, 1966, a Negro, one Lester Mitchell, was slain while sweeping the sidewalk in front of his home. Witnesses to the occurrence state that Mitchell was shot by a white man ~~at~~ ^{from} in a passing car. It was reported that there was considerably delay in getting

the police and an ambulance to the scene. There was a feeling on the part of some people that Mitchell's life may have been saved had the police responded more promptly to the call. In any event a crowd of considerable proportion gathered and there was a good bit of discussion about the events of the last several weeks. Special emphasis was placed on whites driving through the neighborhoods, throwing cherry bombs and shooting people. It is not clear how long this crowd stood around the neighborhood discussing these matters. However, at approximately 8:00 a.m. a white bus driver was dragged from his bus and beaten by a crowd of ~~young~~ young Negroes. Shortly after the bus driver was attacked, ^athe route man for a local bakery was also attacked. The general stoning of cars driven by whites passing through the neighborhood started at about this time, and by 11:30 or 12:00 the situation had become so desperate that martial law was declared. At this point the situation was completely beyond the control of the city and county police department. In the early afternoon the National Guard entered town but was not deployed until the latter part of the afternoon. During the morning and afternoon there was ~~widespread~~ widespread looting but no fires. Ellis told us that he had not heard of any sniping activity at any time during the disturbances of last September, June or this ~~2nd~~ September. Most of the arrests that were made were made in the late afternoon and early evening after the National Guard was deployed. Most of the people were arrested for failing to clear the street on orders from the local police. There was some additional looting and a couple of fires on the night of September 1. ~~widely~~ With the exception of the fires, things were fairly quiet through the night of September 1 and looting was brought under control the ~~following~~ following day. Ellis advised that between this disturbance and the one of June 1967

almost nothing was done about the long standing grievances of the Negro community. Several committees were appointed to look into various aspects of the riot, and specific recommendations were made to the city government by a committee headed by C. J. McLenn^{McLenn}. Very little has been done to put into effect any of the changes suggested by the McLenn^{McLenn} committee.

Unemployment is said to be as ^{bad as} it was last September. The gulf between the Negro community and the police department is probably wider than it was in September of 1966, and the education situation ~~is~~ remains exactly what it was in September of 1966.

Ellis feels that relations between the Negro community and the upper echelons of the police department have improved somewhat but that this improvement in relations does not exist between the ~~px~~ Negro community and the police on the beat, and particularly the vice squad officers. He is hopeful that the appointment of Graham Watt as city manager in the spring of this year will lead to improvement in the responsiveness of the city government to the problems of the Negro community. It is his opinion that both the new city manager and the new police chief are trying to improve relations with the Negro community and to redress some of the long standing grievances. He is ~~is~~ skeptical as to whether or not change can be effected rapidly enough to keep the lid on. In the aftermath of the September 1966 disorder Ellis stated that the city government, instead of preparing to eradicate the causes of the Negro grievances, bought an armored car for riot control. His statement was ^{that} instead of eradicating unemployment, poverty, etc., ^{+ the city} he ~~said~~ it put itself in the position of appearing to ^{be preparing to} eradicate the Negro. ^{It} It is Ellis' opinion that the ~~is~~ telecasting of riots in other cities has had an effect on the temperament ~~xxxxxx~~ of the Dayton Negro. He thinks that the

June disorder was probably precipitated most immediately by Rap Brown's speech. However, he goes on to point out that the Negro community was frustrated because nothing had changed since the September disorder. He stated that Brown merely pointed out conditions that many people ~~kw~~ already knew existed. It was the manner in which he pointed them out that may have precipitated the violence. He pointed out to us that most of the people arrested in the September 1966 disorder were in the 21 to 25 age group, while the people arrested during the June disorder were largely in the 21 and under age group. It was also the latter age group that accounted for most of the arrestees in the September 1967 disorder. He advised us that the local newspapers had not been ~~of~~ a great help in the between riot periods. He pointed out that while coverage of the actual disturbance was quite fair, in the periods between the riots there was some very biased coverage given to various activity in the Negro community. He told us of two ^{reporters} ~~reports~~ who covered only racial news. It was his feeling that during the nonriot days these reporters twisted stories in order to make them ~~readable~~ or of more interest to the readers of the newspapers. One newspaper he regarded as extremely conservative, ^{the} and one ~~which~~ editorializes against most of the ~~gx~~ things that the Negroes would like to see come to their community. The other he considers quite fair in terms of editorial policy. However, ~~xxx~~ of the two reporters mentioned earlier, one works for each of the two newspapers.

It was Ellis' opinion that the police ~~wx~~ were more repressive in their tactics in the June disturbance than they had been the prior September, and he felt that in September 1967 they were most repressive. He told us of driving through the streets and seeing people attacked indiscriminantly by the police during the September 1967 disorders. Ellis' ~~rx~~ prescription for racial peace and civic progress in Dayton is more jobs for the Negro community. He feels that Dayton has the resources to solve its problems, ~~if~~ the city government and the members of the All Dayton Committee have the will to

solve the problems. At this point in time, he feels that the Negro militants have no great following in terms of numbers but their voices are being heard by more and more Negroes. Unless there is progress of a tangible and visible nature he feels that the Negro community may very well heed the call of the Negro militants *in ever increasing numbers*

Notes on interview with black militant group. Present at the beginning of the interview were the team members, Art Thomas^{and} at Holland. Arriving

at
.....interviewed.....various points later in the evening were Ronald Bailey, 20
Sumter MacIntosh, and Lawrence Nelson. With the exception of Lawrence Nelson, the other people are considered by many in the Negro community to be the black militants.

We began by discussing conditions in Dayton during the year preceding the September, 1966 disorder. Great stress was laid on the unemployment situation in west Dayton and police brutality. In connection with the charges of police brutality, the group immediately mentioned Batman and Robin, and ascribed to them rather continuous harrassment of Negroes in west Dayton, particularly Negroes who were allegedly involved in the vices ~~of certain sorts~~. They recounted a number of incidents of having heard of these two officers arresting Negro prostitutes and then threatening them with jail unless they had sexual intercourse with the officers in question. They also told us of instances in which a person with a record would be approached by a policeman and told he would be given \$20 to lead a raid on some bootleg operation. The person was pressured into taking the money and leading the raid, at the conclusion of which he would be arrested, along with anyone in the establishment; ~~his arrest being on the basis of having~~ ^{He would be charged with having solicited} and accepted a bribe from a police officer. We were told that there was a general hatred and distrust of police officers by the Negro community in west Dayton, based on a number of incidents of the sort mentioned over a period of years.

With regard to unemployment, we were told that the unemployment rate ran as high as 20 percent in the central ghetto, and that a large part of the unemployed were young men in the 18 to 25 age group. The West Dayton high schools were reported to be very deficient in preparing students for

gainful employment, and in any event, the major employers in the Dayton were reported to discriminate against prospective Negro employees. In this connection, we were told that Jesse Gooding had filed complaints against his employer, ~~the~~ Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. The complaint was that Wright-Patterson Air Force Base discriminated against Negroes in initial employment opportunities, and also in job promotions once hired. The National Cash Register Company was also charged with using discriminatory tactics in its hiring policies. We were told that of the 20,000 people on the National Cash Register payroll, approximately 500, or fewer, were Negro. We were told that these grievances were well known to city officials, and to the people in private industry, and no steps had been taken to remedy any of these grievances; in fact, as late as early August of 1966, we were told that Albert Holland sent a telegram to the Mayor and the City Commissioners, setting forth in some detail the grievances of the Negro community, and no action was taken with respect to any of the grievances between the date of the telegram and the date on which disorder started, September 1, 1966.

These men also reported to us incidents of whites driving through the Negro community, tossing cherry bombs at people, during the period which immediately preceded the September, 1966 disturbance. They also told us that the National States' Rights Party had held a convention in Dayton approximately three days before the September disorder started. The spark which set off the September, 1966 disturbance was reported to be the slaying of a Negro, Lester Mitchell. This occurred at approximately 2:00 A.M. on the morning of September 1. Mitchell was allegedly sweeping the walk in front of his home when a white man in a passing car fatally

wounded him with a gunshot. Police were called and were very slow in reporting to the scene of the murder. We were told that it was not unusual for police to respond very slowly to calls from anywhere in the west Dayton area. In any event, Mitchell was still alive when the police finally arrived on the scene, but he was not immediately taken to the hospital. It is the feeling of a number of people in the Negro community that Mitchell's life might have been saved, had the police responded promptly to the call, and had Mitchell been taken immediately to a hospital. As it happened, he reportedly died enroute from the place where he was shot to the hospital.

We were told that tension in ~~this particular area, the area being~~ the area where Mitchell was shot, was already high on that particular evening, due to the fact that Batman and Robin had been "beating heads" in that area. People started to gather in the area shortly after the shooting and the crowd continued to grow for several ^{hours} thereafter, and it apparently never completely broke up, and in the early morning hours of September 1, ^{the} ^{incidents} a first incidence of rock-throwing, stoning of cars, breaking of windows, and looting of shops were reported. By 8:00 o'clock in the morning, the violence was in full swing. A white bus driver was dragged from his bus and beaten by a group of Negroes. The same treatment was accorded a bakery routeman. Cars driven by whites going through the area on their way to work were stoned by Negroes, and police were stoned. There were no reports of sniping activity at any time during this disturbance.

The violence continued throughout the day. We were told that at approximately 11:00 o'clock, martial law was declared. The National Guard were brought in at approximately 2:00 o'clock, but were not deployed on the streets of West Dayton until approximately 5:30. During all of this day, the violence had continued to grow in intensity. Up to the time the National Guard took the streets, several of the interviewees were on the street during most of that day, and told us that they were attempting to quiet things down and stop the looting. At approximately 6:00 P.M., the Chief of Police, or some other ranking officer of the Police Department, gave the order to clear the streets. Al Holland states that at this point, the National Guard, or several members of the National Guard contingent, moved directly toward his offices. Several people who had been standing on the sidewalk in front of his office, which is in the riot area, moved into his office. Holland had called a meeting for 6:30 in his offices, and had invited several people; among them, Jesse Gooding, Charles Tate, Art Thomas, and Floyd Johnson.. Thomas states that enroute to the meeting from his home, he was stopped by local police, and told in rather abusive terms, that he should get back to his home and stay there. At some point, the police started arresting people who were standing on the sidewalk in front of the MAT offices. Holland states that he walked outside his office and heard people inquiring as to why they were being arrested. No answers were given. At one point, as an arrestee was entering a patrol wagon, a member of the National Guard attempted to strike him in the back of his head with a riot stick. Holland states that he reached up and caught the stick before it struck the person. The guardsman then turned on him, and he was knocked to the ground. Upon recovering his feet, he went back

into his offices, where a number of people ^{were} still gathered, among them ^{were} one David Jones, who, unknown to any of the other people at that time, was acting as the eyes and ears of the City Manager during the disturbance. Apparently because Holland had been involved in the incident outside, the National Guard entered the offices and arrested all on the premises, including David Jones. At the time of the arrest, David Jones was trying to reach the City Manager on the telephone. At approximately 7:00 o'clock, this group of arrestees arrived at the downtown police headquarters, and were booked. Because of the large number of arrests during that day, there was some delay in getting everybody booked and processed into various cells. The group, which included Holland, was moved from the reception area to a bull pen. From there, the group was moved to an upper floor cellblock. Holland states that the entire cellblock was filled with teargas because some of the prisoners had allegedly become unruly. He states that a number of prisoners had become sick from the effects of the teargas, and that no attempt was being made to treat them. He also states that he observed a youngster of approximately 14 years go berserk and attempt to attack a police officer. Some of the other prisoners subdued the youngster, who was then taken to another part of the floor, and allegedly beaten. Holland states that he heard screams coming from the general direction in which the youngster had been taken.

Holland was eventually placed in a cell along with 13 or 14 other people who had been arrested in the MAT offices, including David Jones. Jones had, during the time the prisoners were being booked and processed into cells, attempted to convince several officers that he had been erroneously arrested, and was, in fact, working for the City Manager. It was not until

approximately 9:30 in the evening that he finally convinced someone, who checked with the City Manager, and Jones was released.

At approximately 11:30, Al Holland and the other people who had been arrested in the MAT offices, were taken downstairs. There they were advised that they were being released on their own recognizance, because of the testimony of David Jones, that they had not been engaged in the riot at the time they were arrested.

Holland advised the police that he was returning to the riot area, because at the time of his arrest, he had not had time to lock his offices, ^{which contained some} ~~and there was a good deal of~~ expensive equipment, ~~in the offices~~. He says the police tried to persuade him not to go, stating that the machinery and other equipment would be safe, since the area was being patrolled by the police and National Guard. Holland would not accept this, since the police would not accept the responsibility for anything that might be missing the following day. He returned to the area, locked the offices, and then went home. By this hour, in any event, the National Guard had fairly effectively quelled the disturbance. There was still some isolated looting going on, and a couple of buildings were ablaze. There had still been no sniping incidents, and the firemen were not harrassed in the performance of their duties when they responded to the fire alarms.

Tom Wilson
No. 7

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The following are notes on an interview with Arthur Thomas on the morning of September 22. Art Thomas is a very articulate, young Negro who is rapidly becoming the spokesman for the black militant segment of the Dayton Negro population. He is an assistant elementary school principal, and a very active worker with teenage Negroes. ^{She then stopped} ~~Mike Hunt and I~~ went by the McFarland^e Elementary School to talk with Thomas for a short while, preparatory to an evening meeting at his home, to be attended by the two members of the team, Art Thomas, Al Holland, Sumter MacIntosh, and Ronald Bailey.

During the morning meeting, Thomas advised us that the young Negro in Dayton was extremely frustrated, particularly the 18 to 25 year old age group, who found themselves unemployed or underemployed. He stated that most of the people who have been involved in the various disorders over the past 13 months in Dayton were in that age group. He advised us that police brutality was rampant in the West Dayton community, and that there was a great deal of resentment of certain officers of the Vice Squad. Again, we heard the mention of "Batman and Robin". He advised us that he was personally opposed to violence because the Negro could never win in a shooting war. He stated that he was trying to influence the young Negro in Dayton to refrain from acts of violence, because he feels the white man is prepared to destroy the black man on the slightest provocation.

Art Thomas advised us that a great deal of the problem in Dayton stemmed from the fact that the Negro community was extremely divided along several lines. This permitted the city government to play the "divide and conquer" game, and he stated that the city government was a past master at playing that game. He voiced little or no respect for the Negroes who are considered by the city government to be the community leaders in West

Dayton. He mentioned particular some NAACP people, some Urban League people, and a number of Negro ministers. He stated that he had little or no faith in the Human Relations Council, because the organization had no power to effectuate any of its decisions. He voiced the opinion that the Community Action Agency in Dayton was virtually worthless; that the only OEO funded program which was really reaching the grassroots people was ^{not refunded.} cut off, that program ^{is} was called "Moving Ahead Together", and the Executive Director ^{is} was Al Holland, another young Negro in the militant sector.

It was Thomas' feeling that MAT had been ^{denied refunding} cut-off for the very reason that it was reaching the grassroots Negro, and had become controversial. MAT had had some difficulties with a ^{big} real estate man, who owns extensive holdings in West Dayton, and that ~~real-estate~~ man, Paul Tipp, had stated that MAT would be destroyed.

That concluded our initial interview with Art Thomas.

Following are my notes on an interview with Mr. C. J. McLin, a state representative, and Mr. Don Ellis, president of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ West Dayton Area Council. C. J. McLin represents the West Dayton area in the Ohio State Legislature. He is in his first term, and is the first Negro Democrat to be elected in Montgomery County. Don Ellis^d is one of approximately 15 Negroes in the 400 man fire department. Both McLin and Ellis were of the opinion that conditions in Dayton were bad prior to September 1966. It was their opinion that there were four major grievances: unemployment, housing, police brutality, poor quality education. They stated that ~~in~~^{MDTA} MDTA type training programs had been a failure in Dayton for two reasons: the programs were not training people for jobs that existed, and the programs were not reaching the hard-core poor. It is hoped that the Opportunities Industrialization Center, which has recently been established, will do a better job in the area of training Negroes for existing ~~jobs~~ jobs. They agreed that Dayton had the resources to solve the problems if the people who run things in Dayton determined that the ~~xxx~~ problem should be solved. They stated that the city government talked to Negroes whom it considered to be the leaders of the Negro community, but that in fact these people had very little influence among most Negroes, and certainly ^{not among} young Negroes, in the community. They stated that things are starting to change somewhat because the city government will ^{now} not talk to some of the more militant Negroes. However, they do not meet with the militant Negroes and the moderate Negroes at the same time. ~~McL~~⁺ McLin and Ellis feel that these meetings are held separately so that the city government can find out what differences there are between the two groups and exploit those differences. They advised us that there was a tremendous tendency on the part of the city government

to set up a committee anytime a grievance is brought to it. These committees would meet over a period of time and there would eventually be some sort of report and nothing would be done further.

Ellis stated that there was a great deal of substandard housing in West Dayton and that code enforcement was extremely lax. He pointed out that there had been a great many inspections last year looking for fire hazards, but he did not ^{know} think of any case where corrections were ordered. Both gentlemen told us ^{of} and reported incidents of police brutality. The two chief offenders in that regard were the two vice squad detectives who referred to themselves as Batman and Robin. McLin showed me a copy of the request sent by a West Side Citizens Committee to the police department requesting that these two officers, whose names are Wally and Riley, be reassigned to some other area of the city. They told us that there had been some pressure at one time from the Negro community for the creation of a civilian review board. However, this move was ~~_____~~ or died as a result of ~~opposi~~ opposition from the ~~R~~ police department and the city commission.

We were advised that the schools were de facto segregated and the education in the West Dayton Schools was of a very poor quality. They told us that many people who graduated from the West Dayton high schools were unable to obtain jobs in industry in the area. They were of the opinion that most of the people who were involved in the disorders in Dayton were people who had either dropped out of school prior to graduating or who had graduated and found themselves unable to get a job. They were of the opinion that teacher assignment in Dayton schools was handled on a discriminatory basis in that the better qualified teachers were assigned to schools outside the Negro area, ~~without regard as to whether or not the teacher herself or himself was white or Negro.~~ They viewed the superintendent of schools as a doddering

old man and probably a racist. The incumbent superintendent has held ^{the job} ~~the job~~ for 19 years, and ^{is} approximately 75 years of age. He is expected to retire at the end of the current school term.

McLin and Ellis also spoke of whites driving through the neighborhood ~~xx~~ in late August 1966 throwing cherry bombs at Negroes. They were aware of ~~a fight~~ ^{that} when a ~~xx~~ National States Rights meeting was being held in Dayton in ~~xx~~ the last days of August, although they state this fact was not recorded in the local newspapers. It is their opinion that the murder of Lester Mitchell is the incident which sparked the violence in September ~~of~~ 1966. However, they point out that that particular incident may not have started a riot had it not been for the fact that earlier on the same ~~evening~~ evening Batman and Robin had been beating heads in the same area where Mitchell was killed. They feel that the conduct of ~~xx~~ Batman and Robin had a great deal to do with the September 1966 disorder.

After the 1966 disorder Mr. McLin and several people in the West Dayton community formed a committee to look into the causes of the riot. This committee was given official recognition by the mayor of the city of Dayton and came to be known as The Man on the Street Committee. Mr. McLin stated that the committee would set up public meetings at various places around the West Dayton area. At each meeting they would try to get people from the three ^{adjoining} ~~surrounding~~ blocks ~~and~~ in each direction. Tape recorders were there. They asked the people to voice their grievances. At the conclusion of each meeting three of the people attending the meeting would be asked to join and serve on the committee. There were eventually 27 people chosen in this manner.

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Approximately three months after the September disorders, the Committee submitted a report to the Mayor and City Council. A copy of that report is being forwarded to me by Mr. McLynn. In August of 1967, the Committee, through its chairman, Mr. McLynn, sent a letter to the Mayor, suggesting that many of the Committee recommendations had not been acted upon. A copy of that letter is also being forwarded to me. It was their opinion that there had been some slight increases, or improvement, in relationships between the Negro community and the city government following the 1966 disorder. However, it was not nearly enough to persuade the Negro that he could obtain redress of his grievances without again taking to the street.

Among the improvements mentioned was something called "Operation Response". This was instituted by Graham Watt, the new City Manager who was appointed in March of 1967. This program started with the providing of trucks to haul away debris collected by citizens on the west side community. It also provided more street lights, upon the request of the residents of the community. It is soon to launch a rat-extermination program. A new ordinance was also enacted, permitting the destruction of vacant and dilapidated buildings in the community, when the owner could not be found for a period of ninety days.

There is also a program called the West Third Street Improvement Program, which Mr. Ellis says benefits only the businessmen who operate along Third Street. This program consists of a five-foot widening of Third Street and the construction of a center island in the street. Mr. Ellis stated that if one took 100 percent of what the city does in West Dayton, 70 percent of it would be for the benefit of the businessmen

who operate in that area, and only 30 percent of it to benefit the people who live in that area. These gentlemen feel that the June, 1967 disorder was caused by the failure of the city to redress the legitimate grievances of the Negro community. They conceded that Rap Brown's speech may have been a spark, but that the people would not have rioted on the basis of what Brown said, had there not been underlying grievances.

The disorder of September, 1967 stemmed directly from the slaying of a Negro, Robert Ellwood Barbey, by two Vice Squad officers. The slaying of Barbey and the city admission as to what happened has created a great deal of resentment in the Negro community. It should be noted at this point that the same two Vice Squad officers were involved in another incident with a Negro ten days prior to the date on which Barbey was slain.

The official version of what happened at the time Barbey was slain does not coincide with much of what ~~Mike Hahn and I~~ ^{the team} heard in the Negro community. We were told that there were eye-witnesses to the slaying, who would be willing to testify that Barbey was handcuffed at the time that he was shot. No mention of this is made in the official version, as told by the City Manager. We were also told by someone who saw the body that Barbey had been shot three times, rather than the two admitted by the city government. It is quite likely that the Negro community is going to seek an independent, outside investigation as to what happened. I do not think it likely at this point that they will give their evidence to the local police department, for use in the police department investigation. The community has no faith in the police department investigation, and hence is inclined not to cooperate.

^{Michie} McLynn told us that Barbey's family was not notified of his death until 14 hours after he had been slain. It is the feeling of many in the

Negro community that Barbey^e was being checked out as to whether he had a police record. Had he had a record, many think that this would have been used ⁱⁿ as an attempt to justify his slaying, *by stating that he was engaged in some criminal activity at the time of his slaying.*

The City Manager and the Executive Director of the Human Relations Council called a meeting for Monday afternoon and invited a number of local Negroes. This meeting was called for the purpose of explaining to the Negro community the circumstances surrounding Barbey^e's death. The meeting became quite heated, and some harsh things were said by certain representatives of the Negro community. Other Negroes gave the City Manager a courteous audience, but from what we could learn in the community, none of them really "bought" the official police version of what occurred.

On Tuesday morning the police officer involved was arraigned on a charge of first-degree homicide, which created a great deal of resentment in the Negro community, where many people feel he should have been ^{arraigned} indicted on first-degree murder. At his arraignment, the police officer was released on his own recognizance. This, again, was a sore point in the Negro community, because a number of Negroes who had been arrested in the June disturbances were still in jail under high bonds, ~~which they could not meet, and~~ they felt the release of this policeman, who had been charged with first-degree manslaughter, was dramatic evidence of the double standard of justice which prevails in Dayton.

A number of organizations then started passing out handbills, calling a meeting for the night of September 19, and these handbills purportedly read "this is another case of a Negro being killed by a white cracker cop" and he is now out walking the streets". At the conclusion of the rally on the night of September 19, another disturbance broke out. There was some

window breaking and looting, but no fires on the night of the 19th. The following night, there was further looting and window breaking and one fire.

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On the night of September 20, the West Dayton area was fairly quiet; -
the police business had returned to normal. Both ^{McLynn} McLynn and Ellis feel
that the potential for further violence still exists in the Negro com-
munity, and recommend that this ^{Commission} committee, or someone, do something in
terms of getting the city government in Dayton to respond to some of the
legitimate grievances of the Negro community, so that violence in the
future can be averted.

It is my opinion that Mr. ^{McLynn} McLynn and Mr. Ellis could be key people
in the future of Dayton as far as violence is concerned. They are both
respected, I think, in the white community, and they have the respect and
trust of the Negro militants, most of whom are much younger than Mr. ^{McLynn} McLynn
and Mr. Ellis. It would seem, therefore, to be to the advantage of all con-
cerned to give as much support as possible to Mr. ^{McLynn} McLynn and Mr. Ellis in
their attempts to deal with the tense situation in the city of Dayton.

^{McLynn}
That concludes the E. J. McLynn and Don Ellis interview.

DAYTON

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INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson
From: Mr. Wilson
Subject: The following notes are based on an interview with Judge Arthur O. Fisher.

Judge Fisher is a Negro who is just completing his first six-year term on the Municipal Court in the city of Dayton. Prior to his election to the Court, he was with the Prosecutor's Office for approximately ten years.

Judge Fisher was interviewed primarily for the purpose of obtaining his views on the administration of justice during and after the disorders in the city of Dayton. Judge Fisher stated that in all three of the disorders, most of the people arrested were arraigned within two days of their arrest, and the great majority of them were arraigned the day following their arrest. He told me that bails had averaged approximately \$100 in the September, 1966 disturbance; and while he did not have figures for the two later disturbances, he thought that the bail had averaged approximately the same amount. He states that in some cases, where persons had long criminal records, or there was some fear that they might leave the jurisdiction, the bail was somewhat higher. He also told me that in many cases, persons were released on their own recognizance. He states that this is not unlike the usual situation in the courts in Dayton, because the city courts are following a modified form

of the Manhattan Bail Project, and wherever the judge deems it advisable, the accused is released on his own recognizance, rather than being required to put up bail.

The main charges involved in all three disorders, Judge Fisher told me, were disorderly conduct, throwing rocks at cars, and breaking and entering. The numbers of offenses apparently declined in the order just stated; most disorderly conduct, significantly fewer throwing rocks at cars, and even fewer were breaking and entering. Judge Fisher told me that he had not sat in criminal court during any of the three disorders, so he had not personally handled the cases of any of the people involved.

On the question of representation of counsel, Judge Fisher stated that there is no provision for appointment of counsel in a misdemeanor cases in the state of Ohio, but that number of the arrestees were represented, especially in the more recent disorders. He stated that a Negro lawyer named Bush Mitchell had represented a number of the arrestees during the September, 1967 disturbances. In many cases, he stated that people charged with disorderly conduct represented themselves. He did not have any statistics as to the percentage of the people found guilty and the percentage found not guilty. However, he stated that for those found guilty, fines averaged between \$25 and \$50, plus costs. Very few people were sentenced to jail terms, and he knows of only one case where an individual, ~~growing out of the September 1966 disorder~~, was sentenced

prison term in the State Prison. That particular case involved a man who had a fairly extensive previous record, and who had been caught coming out of a store with stolen goods in his possession.

According to Judge Fisher, at no time during the three disorders were any emergency ^{court} procedures invoked. He stated that there was a proposal during the first disturbance of September 1966 to hold night court, but the judges were opposed to this particular idea, and it was never instituted. Judge Fisher stated that he personally was opposed to the idea of holding night court, since he thought that spending the night in jail might serve as a dampening effect on some of the people who had been arrested for participating in the riot. He also states that some people who were released in the early stages of the September 1966 disorder later were re-arrested for participating further in the disorder.

I asked Judge Fisher whether or not the legal services program funded by OEO had been active at all in the representation of persons arrested during the disorders. He stated that as far as he knows, the program was not functioning during the first two disorders, and that it was very new and did not participate in the representation of any persons arrested during the September 1967 disorder. He stated it was his understanding that they did not handle criminal cases. It was Judge Fisher's opinion that the court system had functioned well during and after each of the three separate disorders.

In discussion of the Police Department, Judge Fisher stated that he knew that police brutality existed in some cases. Relying

on his experience as a prosecutor in the city of Dayton for a number of years, he stated that he had seen people who had obviously been given a working over by the arresting officers. He also referred to a case involving a police officer, where the police chief and the city government were agreed that the man should be dismissed from the force; however, ^{he} this particular policeman went to court and obtained an order reinstating him to his job, with 18 months' back pay, which was the period during which he had been suspended. Again relying on his experience as a prosecutor, Judge Fisher stated that there were a number of officers on the Vice Squad who probably should not be on the Vice Squad, and perhaps not on the Police Force at all. He stated that if he had the power, he would remove all of the present Vice Squad officers, and create an entirely new squad. He states ^{that} the problem now is not so much one of physical abuse as it may have been in years past, but rather one of policemen simply lacking understanding of how to treat people. He states that this problem is particularly acute because the more militant young Negroes have very little respect for police officers in any event, and if they are the least bit offended by police action, you have a potential riot on your hands. Judge Fisher stated that the channels for filing police brutality complaints were to first file a complaint with the Police Department itself; particularly with certain aides to the Chief of Police, who handled such matters. If no satisfaction is obtained within the Police Department, one can then go to the City Manager.

On the question of disposition of the riot-connected cases, Judge Fisher told me that most of the cases had been disposed of quite quickly; but that those requiring trial were set down for trial in the ordinary course of business of the court. He stated that there were still a few cases growing out of the September 1966 disorder which were just coming on for trial during late October or early November of 1967. He stated, however, that as far as he knew, none of the defendants had been incarcerated during this entire period of time, awaiting trial.

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Interview with Mr. ~~Max~~ Melvin/Jackson, Program Coordinator of the West Dayton _____ Self Help Centers.

Mr. Jackson was interviewed primarily for the purpose of clarifying the circumstances surrounding an incident involving Mr. Jackson and the Dayton Police Department early in September. According to Mr. Jackson the facts regarding the early September incident are as follows: On the evening of September 7, 1967, Mr. Jackson was attending a meeting in the Elks Lodge in Dayton, Ohio. At some point in the evening, Mr. Jackson came downstairs from his meeting to get several bottles of beer at the bar, which was located on the first floor of the Elks Lodge. Upon entering the first floor room, Mr. Jackson noticed two white men there whom he did not know. One man was talking to the bartender and Mr. Jackson approached the other, and inquired as to his identity. The white man then asked Mr. Jackson for his name, and Mr. Jackson refused, saying that he was a member of the club and was entitled to know whoever was there who were not members. The white man stated that he would take Mr. Jackson downtown and find out who he was. At this point, Mr. Jackson states that he said to the gentleman, "If you are a policeman and you're placing me under arrest, I'd like to know for what reason I'm being arrested." There was no ^{oral} response to this remark verbally. However, the white man did reach for Mr. Jackson's collar and at the same time reach toward his rear pocket. Mr. Jackson hit the man and knocked him down. At this point the other white man came over and with a chemical mace subdued Mr. Jackson. Mr. Jackson was then arrested and taken downtown by these two white men, who turned out to be members of the vice squad

in Dayton. He states that upon arrival at the police station he inquired of the desk sergeant as to the identity of the two arresting officers, and the desk sergeant would not tell him who these men were. He was booked on several charges and was permitted a telephone call. This call, I was told, was made to Commissioner Joseph Wine. Mr. Jackson was subsequently released on a \$125 cash bond and advised to appear in court the next morning. Mr. Jackson told me that when he appeared in court the following morning, no one had any record of his having to appear there and no record of any charges being filed against him. The newspaper the following day did carry an article regarding the incident and the two officers involved were mentioned in the newspaper article as Detective David L. Michael and Detective Robert S. Collier. These were the ~~two~~ same officers who were involved in the slaying of Robert Barbee on September 17, 1967. Mr. Jackson states that through the intervention of Judge ³Arthur Fisher he did obtain a return of his bail money, and as far as he knows there are no pending charges against him growing out of the incident. I did, however, check at the courthouse later on and found out that a charge is pending against Mr. Jackson, growing out of this incident, and has not yet been assigned to any particular judge for trial. When I later mentioned this to Mr. Jackson, he was surprised that there was a charge pending, ^{he} and concluded that this has probably been left on the books so that if he ever filed any charges of police brutality because of this particular incident they would be able to bring up this old charge against him.

Mr. Jackson advised me that he is presently consulting a lawyer with regard to filing a lawsuit against the Dayton Police Department because of this incident. He is not certain whether the lawsuit has in

fact already been filed, but he expects that it will be filed in the federal court and will allege violation of his civil rights.

We then turned to a discussion of the general situation in Dayton since the time of the team's prior visit in late September. Mr. Jackson advised me that matters had probably deteriorated in that period of time. He particularly noted that the apparent solidarity in the black community immediately after the slaying of Robert Barbee had disintegrated and that there was now a great deal of bickering and competition between a number of organizations for the allegiance of the individual Negro. He told me that there were no visible signs that the city was taking any steps to remove the underlying causes of the three riots over the past year.

He discussed the fact ^{that} a \$20 million school bond issue will be on the November 7 ballot; ^{the} money to be raised through sale of bonds is to be used to improve the physical school facilities in the city of Dayton. This bond issue is being opposed by an organization called Force, of which Mr. Jackson is a member. That opposition is based on the fact that enlargement ^{of slum schools will} simply perpetuate a de facto segregated school system. ~~Enlargement of some schools~~ _____. (End of tape blurred for a few words)

Mr. Jackson invited me to accompany him to a meeting of certain members of Force and members of Force Associates. Force is an organization with an all-black membership, and Force Associates is composed of whites who are sympathetic to the aims and goals of Force. There had been a motorcade on Saturday, October 28, with sound trucks to induce people in the West Dayton area to vote against the school bond issue. The purpose of the meeting which I attended on the night of October 31 was to discuss another motorcade for Saturday, November 4, at which time they hoped to

have 2-300 automobiles and several pieces of sound equipment to parade not only through the West Dayton area but through other areas of the city of Dayton, attempting to induce people to vote against the bond issue.

At the time of our conversation on the morning of October 31, Mr. Jackson also told me that on October 27, 1967 there had been an incident which resulted in the arrest of Sumpter MacIntosh, his son, and his daughter-in-law. As reported in the newspapers, the police had apparently been called to ~~his~~ the office of Mr. MacIntosh because speakers were protruding from the window of that office and a record was being played very loudly. The newspaper article stated that the police said the sound could be heard three or four blocks away. Apparently when they arrived on the scene Mr. MacIntosh and his son were not present. Mr. MacIntosh's daughter-in-law was there and the police advised her that she was in violation of the anti-noise ordinance. Apparently, at that point one policeman went over to the record player and took the record from the record player. At about the same time Mr. MacIntosh and his son entered the premises. Mr. MacIntosh objected to the policeman removing the record from the record player and some pushing and shoving ensued. This resulted in the arrest of all three of the MacIntoshes and charges of assaulting a police officer, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct being lodged against Mr. Sumpter MacIntosh. All three were released later in the day on their own recognizance.

Mr. Jackson also told me about another incident involving the police which occurred on October 28, 1967. He states that a young man named Chico ^{Jovatos} ~~Tovatos~~ (sp?) came to the West Dayton Self Help Center about

4:30 p.m. on Saturday the 28th and asked someone to drive him to the hospital, where he needed to obtain injections for some sort of illness for which he's been treated over a long period of time. Mr. Jackson stated that he and Wilfred Dotey, (sp?) who also talked to Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos, were unable to drive him to the hospital, but asked him whether or not he would like to have them call a police squad car to take him, and he consented to this. A squad car was called. There were two officers in the car, Mr. P.G. Shepherd and Mr. W. A. Houston (sp?). Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos was helped to the squad car and driven by the police to the hospital. Mr. Jackson states that he later learned that after Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos was treated at the hospital he was driven by the same two officers to the police station, where he was charged with public drunkenness. Mr. Jackson concedes that he does not know what occurred after the patrol car with Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos left the West Dayton Self Help Center, but he does know that at the time Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos was in the West Dayton Self Help Center he appeared to ~~xx~~ be quite rational and not intoxicated. Mr. Jackson advised me that when the public drunkenness charge against Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos comes up for trial he expects to testify and has offered Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos his services as a witness as to what transpired up to the time Mr. ^{sp}Tovartos was taken away in the squad car.

I then asked Mr. Jackson whether or not he was aware of any organized activity during the course of any of the three disorders over the past 13 months. Mr. Jackson stated that he could not definitely say there was no organized activity; however, he had not heard of any and from what he observed on the streets there did not appear to be any organization.

He further stated that had there been organized activity, he would probably have been aware of it, since he has connections in all levels of the black community in Dayton. He told me that very little organization exists among the people who were involved in the rioting activity during the three disturbances. They were mostly, he said, younger people in the 18-25 age group who do not belong to any particular organization. He also told me that there does not exist in Dayton as in larger cities youth gangs as such, so that there is no organization even at that level. Most of the looting, he felt, was opportunistic and not at all organized ~~or-~~
~~ganized~~ raids on particular business establishments.

As stated earlier, it is Mr. Jackson's opinion that the situation in Dayton continues to deteriorate. He feels that the city government is of the opinion that with the ^{coming} advent of cold weather ^{there will be a} and, ~~hopefully,~~ the ^{city feels} dissipation of new riot threats. ^{the} city will become more intransigent in dealing with the black community and will refuse to accede to any of the legitimate demands of the black community. He feels that with the ^{approach of} ~~advent of spring, near~~ summer next year there will develop, as was the case this year, renewed communication between the two communities to forestall violence in the summer of 1968.

(End of interview)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Addendum to Mel Jackson interview.

Mr. Jackson mentioned to me another incident involving the Dayton Police Department which he witnessed. He stated that on October 29, a Sunday, he was visiting with some friends in a public housing project and observed, through the window, a police department squad car drive into the parking area of the public housing development. It apparently is a practice of the Dayton Police Department to go into low income neighborhoods near Halloween and distribute candy to the children, as part of public relations. Mr. Jackson stated that this patrol car contained four police officers, who drove into the parking lot, and without getting out of the patrol car, reached into boxes of candy and threw the candy from the window onto the surface of the parking lot, where the Negro children scrambled for it. Mr. Jackson said "it was like feeding chickens".

MEMORANDUM TO TEX WILSON FROM TOM POPP

an assistant to

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Interview with Mr. Bill Schmidt, formerly ~~with the~~ City Manager, Mr. Graham Watt, now the Director of the Model Cities Program within the office of the City Manager of Dayton, Ohio. Mr. Schmidt has his own separate office which is located in the West Side which is the Negro area of Dayton. Interview conducted on November 1, 1967 by Tom Popp

Schmidt had just opened this office since our previous visit to Dayton. He is trying, among other things, to set up a Planning Council which will serve for a year to make the plan for what the Model Cities Program ought to be in Dayton. He has at the moment an ad hoc committee to advise him on the setting up of the Planning Council. The ad hoc committee is composed of 13 people. Names for it were suggested by five different sources; one was the organizations within West Dayton, another was ^C J. McLynn who is a State representative and a prominent man in West Dayton, a Negro; another was Art Thomas who is an assistant school principal and a very militant and outspoken West Dayton Negro; another was Curtis Hicks who is the Director of the OIC Program, formerly with MAT (Moving Ahead Together), an organization that is now defunct; and the fifth is a man by the name of Bubby Carter who runs a store in the West Dayton area. All of these sources are Negro. ⁴ The point of ^{doing} this, according to Schmidt, is to solidify ^{the} many groups which exist in West Dayton into one group capable of advising him on Model Cities and capable of representing clearly and without

question the viewpoint of the citizens who are to be affected by the Model Cities Plan. The Planning Council will have 21 members, contrary to the comments I made in the Debriefing Session and the comments which are therefore on that tape, This Committee will consist of 21 people who are elected in nine neighborhood areas of West Dayton; two from each area, plus three elected at-large from the whole area. The hope is to get a group which is as responsive as possible to the needs of West Dayton. ^{Schmidt} They want to get the group elected by the first of December. They will go into bars, go into barbershops, go into laundermats^{ro}, go any place they need to to conduct the meetings to elect the people who will be on the Planning Council. Schmidt has the real hope that it can be representative. I pointed out to him that I felt that it would not however have any power^{of its own,} because it only exists because he, Schmidt, wants it to exist. and he said that ~~in fact,~~ in legal fact this was true; in practice, however, he fully intends to abide very closely by the wishes of this Council and the expressed desires for Model Cities planning that it makes. He points out that all of the money spent so far in Dayton which, amounts to around \$6 million, I believe, has been spent without the consultation of any West Daytonians, ~~that is to say,~~ any resident of the area ~~it's~~ it's supposed to effect, and he wants to overcome this by establishing an organization which can represent the ^{indigenous} viewpoint and

which will in fact do so because of his allowing it to will have a large say in how the Model Cities planning proceeds.

We discussed recruitment of Negro officers for the police department, and Schmidt who seems to be a very thoughtful man, raised several questions about the value of doing this. He said that there is a problem in getting qualified Negro officers--what do we do if we want them, do we give special training, do we give special consideration, do we allow different qualifications, do we make extra efforts to recruit them and then bring them up to the qualifications which we have for all officers now, and furthermore, once we have more black officers, is this going to help, or will they all just be called "Uncle Toms"? They, after all, have to enforce the same law which white officers or any officers now have to enforce. Is this going to help community relations? The police are, in fact, he believes trying to get more black officers. They've relaxed some of their standards such as the height, the age, the weight; they've relaxed these qualifications ^{somewhat} marginally but there is still the problem of getting candidates with appropriate frames of mind and appropriate capabilities other than physical characteristics to do the job.

Schmidt is one of the most thoughtful, sincere, honest, concerned, non-self-aggrandizing young white men I've met in any city I've visited. If the commission needs testimony for Dayton, it should call on Bill Schmidt.

MEMORANDUM TO TEX WILSON FROM TOM POPP

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Tom Popp

OCTOBER 31, 1967

Interview with Lt. St. Pierre of the Community Relations Division of the Dayton Police Department. I don't have Lt. St. Pierre's first name, he is the man who is in charge of the Community Relations program ^{which} with the Dayton Police Department has been operating for six months. The interview took place on Oct. 31, in Dayton and was conducted by Tom Popp. ¶ It was rather ^{an} abbreviated interview, he described the program to me and gave me an exhibit which is included here as exhibit number 1 Lt. St. Pierre. This Community Relations Program which the Dayton Police Department has, has been operating since the first of May, 1967 in conjunction with Michigan State University. The grant for this program expired on Oct. 31, it was a fifteen thousand dollar grant from the office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Federal Government. Lt. St. Pierre told me that the Dayton Police Department had submitted a request on its own to the Federal Government.

¶ Lt. St. Pierre said, "I think we've made real good progress. 15 hundred people came thru here in May." By this he meant came thru the Safty ^e Building in Dayton where the Police Headquarters are located. I asked ^d him what his criteria were for judging the ^c success of the program, and he said that he felt they had ^{had} ~~made~~ ^c success because of the contacts they have now with people in ^{the} Negro Communities ^y that they had not had before they began the program. "There is now some slight ^{rapport} ~~repose~~ with ^{them}." ~~these slight was his adjective not mine.~~

More so than they had before starting the program, and also ^{they have} they've begun making good contacts and writing some good programs for the schools. I ask^{ed} him how the program would now ^{succeed} ~~perceed~~ if the grant had expired, and he told me that the city would continue to fund the community relations division of the police department on its own without federal funds. He felt that every-
one in the community had reacted well to the program; this is another reason for its success. One other thing that have done which he told me is that, ^{Also have} they had had sixteen one week courses in human relations for their own police officers under the direction of auspices of this program.

St. Pierre is basically hostile to the Commission, I believe, though he is polite. I put little stock in the imagination or potential effectiveness of the operation he is running. I think he rather disparages the make-work (as he appears to view it) task he has been given - though he makes all the right motions.