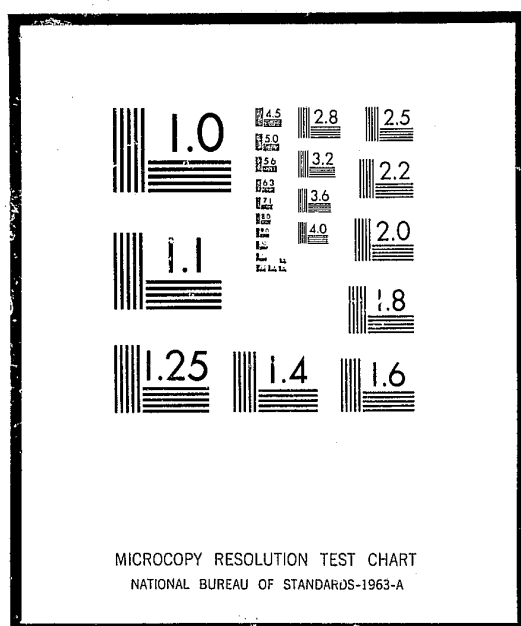


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ANNOTATION:
DEVELOPMENT, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF A POLICE- COMMUNITY RELATIONS TRAINING PROGRAM.

ABSTRACT:
TRAINING INSTITUTES WERE DEVELOPED IN THE RECOGNITION BY THE TUCSON POLICE DEPARTMENT THAT THE PRIMARY MEANS TOWARD FOSTERING GOOD POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IS IN LAYING AN EDUCATIONAL BASE AMONG OFFICERS TOWARDS THOSE ENDS. PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE WAS SECURED AND INSTITUTES DEVELOPED ON A TOTAL SYSTEMS APPROACH WHICH ATTEMPTED TO CONFRONT THE UNDERLYING NORMATIVE POSITION OF POLICE OFFICERS. A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW IS MADE OF THE STRUCTURE OF EACH OF THE TWO INSTITUTES AS WELL AS THE COMMENTS OF GUEST SPEAKERS, AND PARTICIPANTS' EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAMS.

0003

**POLICE - COMMUNITY
RELATIONS**

A REPORT ON THE TUCSON POLICE DEPARTMENT'S
COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROJECT

Final Report to
Office of Law Enforcement Assistance
U.S. Department of Justice



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INTRODUCTION

The current widespread concern with crime and violence, particularly in large urban areas, demands a reshaping of the function of the police in American society. The traditional role of the police officer has been strictly that of enforcing law and order. Today our society is constantly changing and searching for a better way of life. To cope with this, law enforcement has found it necessary to change. Law enforcement has, and must be, concerned with all the social issues that affect society. In order to accomplish this new role, the police need the understanding and support of the community. This is the objective of the subject of police-community relations.

Police-community relations should not be thought of as being solely aimed at relieving racial tensions. It should be much broader in scope than that. It can reasonably be expected to help channel the developing attitudes of the community, regardless of race, into more constructive views of the police function.

Good relations between the police and the community are not achieved alone by a small specialized unit in a police department which functions by and for itself. Neither is good relation with the community accomplished by the mere bringing in minority group members to speak for a few hours before a group of police officers. Rather, they are the product of the policy of good police-community relations affecting every decision made in the Department, both operational and administrative. Not only must the

police improve, they must make sure that their improvement is recognized-- to erase beliefs now held by many, who are quick to endorse criticism of the police and slow to recognize deserved praise. A good image is necessary for strong support. It is not enough just to build an image in the eyes of the public; but this image must be maintained by good, fair and effective service to the community.

The police role today must be the preservation of the rights and freedoms of the constituents and all those that pass through the portals of their community. The saving of lives and property is only incidental to this mission. To accomplish this new role within the community, it was believed by the administration of the Tucson Police Department that a groundwork of knowledge would have to be laid. It was believed that the traditional police-community relations training did not fulfill this need. To this end, the following training program was established.

THE PLANNING OF THE PROGRAM

The police service represents one of the most dynamic phases of government. Each day produces a new facet in the complex business of protecting the rights, welfare and the peaceful pursuits of the community. Because of this, the need for new horizons in the police service are constantly confronting members of the police profession. To this end, the research and planning group of the Tucson Police Department was organized in January of 1966. The research and planning group is made up of several selected lieutenants of the Department. The purpose of the group is to research, explore, discuss and formulate recommendations considering changes in present procedures, improving policies and innovations.

The initial request for support in conducting a training program in community-police relations was prepared by the planning and research group. The group recognized that the first step toward an understanding of community relations must originate with the police themselves. They felt, and it was proved correct, that professional assistance appeared to be one of the more reasonable methods of attaining this understanding. Realistically, police may be considered a minority group, subject to bias and prejudice resulting in a lack of communication and understanding between the police and the public. This project was proposed and later designed in order to assist the Police Department in overcoming those barriers which preclude effective police-community relations and understanding of mutual

problems and responsibilities. Taken into consideration at the time were several factors that are even more important today than they were at the time of submission in October, 1966. Some of these factors are:

1. The Tucson population is 77 per cent Anglo-American, 17 per cent Mexican-American, three per cent Negro, and three per cent Indian, Chinese, etc. Problems contributing to an atmosphere of unrest and misunderstandings are high unemployment, inferior educational achievement and substandard housing among minority groups, which also results in feelings of hostility and prejudice toward the police and the government.
2. Community relations is a 24-hour-per-day program, one that requires each and every member of the Department's utmost attention. The training would, in one way or another, be made available to all members of the Department.
3. Human relations training in the past has been restricted to a few hours per recruit session, and very little has been done to train police officers in understanding some of the underlying causes of crime and delinquency.

The training objectives as set forth in the initial request were quite broad and allowed the project director, along with the consultant, a lot of freedom in establishing the course of instruction. Briefly, the objectives were:

1. Identify historical development of community relations problems.
2. Show the need for police acceptance of community relations concepts.

3. Cover the benefits accruing to the police and the community from a sound community relations approach to policing.
4. The most important objective was the acquisition of sufficient knowledge and skills to enable the supervisors to relay to their subordinates the acquired learning.

In order to get the full value from the Institute, it was proposed that a video-recorder be bought in order to record some of the program. The recordings then could be used for in-service training, recruit training and community relations work. It also could be used on the local television stations and the University of Arizona educational TV.

At the time of the Institute, different companies were contacted, and it was found that the equipment needed would not be available until the coming spring. This was brought about because the equipment needed was still in incomplete form. Thus an arrangement was made with the best of the speakers. When the equipment arrives, the speakers will give their presentations again so that they may be taped.

On April 1, 1968, bids were called for by the City of Tucson for a video tape recorder and related equipment. As of this writing, it has not been received but is expected at any time.

In addition to planning to video-tape some of the speakers, all of the speakers were tape-recorded and the tape recordings transcribed. The transcriptions would be used for both in-service and recruit training.

ESTABLISHING THE CURRICULUM

Timing is a very important factor in establishing a program in which you intend upon using people connected with the local institutions of higher learning. Starting a project in May causes many problems, as it was impossible to ascertain whether or not the professional assistance desired would be available for the actual program some six months hence and in what would be another school year. As a result, the actual formation of the training content was delayed, causing somewhat of a crash program to begin in late August. As part of the grant, three command officers attended the Thirteenth Annual Police-Community Relations Institute at Michigan State University. While there, they conferred with Dr. Radelet and with Dr. C. S. Mihanovich, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Saint Louis University. Dr. Mihanovich was selected as our project consultant and brought with him some ten years of experience as the consultant to the St. Louis Police Department on community relations.

Dr. Mihanovich and the project director, Captain Kessler, worked on the formation of the curriculum in late August for a period of one week. The structure of the eighty-hour session was very important. The first week was intended to build a foundation of knowledge and information for future thought and discussion. Small discussion groups were to be used as much as possible so as to involve all the personnel to the fullest extent. It was very important that the individual become a productive part of the Institute, especially when we were asking for recommendations as to future community relations activity.

A main interest in the program was to give the personnel attending the institute a basic foundation in human relations before they were confronted with the people and problems they would have to face. This laying of a proper foundation was something that has been lacking in the traditional police community relations training. It was believed that by giving this information first that the personnel involved would be more receptive of later training involving the minority groups themselves. The initial plan called for sending 35 supervisors to each of two eighty-hour sessions; however, the interest was such that almost twice the initial number participated. Each institute would be highlighted by a nationally known speaker who would start off the session. We were fortunate in securing Dr. Neil Danberg, Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Chicago as our keynote speaker for the first institute. For the start of the second institute, we secured Dr. Mihanovich, our project consultant. The securing of these national figures proved to be a very wise investment. The first day in both sessions got off to an excellent start as a result of the messages of our guests, as well as their contribution to the question-and-answer sessions which took place.

The institute was divided into two sessions of 80 hours each. The first started January 22, 1968, and the second started February 16, 1968. All the supervisors were to attend. One-half would attend each session. Field supervision suffered, as was expected, but it was thought that this was better than having the men work a 16-hour day.

It was first planned to have only 70 supervisory personnel attend the Institute; but the response was so great that in addition 29 patrolmen and civilians from the Police Department, two representatives from the fire department and a representative from the City personnel office attended. The last week of the last session was attended by the recruit class then in the academy, which numbered 16.

Studies have shown that the most citizen complaints are received during the patrolman's probationary year (from academy to the end of probation) and from that point through the second year. A record will be kept to see if the one week the recruits received at the Institute will lessen the number of complaints received during the first two years of service.

The instruction was aimed at about the second year college student level, as personnel of the Tucson Police Department have attained approximately two years of college.

THE INSTITUTE

The program started with opening remarks from the Chief of Police, Bernard L. Garmire. His remarks at the beginning of the second session are so representative of the feelings of the planners of the program that they are included at the start of the program as an introduction to the Institute.

"I think you should recognize the problem that lies before us. Through the graciousness and the generosity of the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Department of Justice, this seminar of 80 hours is made possible.

"You all know, of course, that about 50 to 55 of your peers were here for two weeks. Their sessions ended last Friday afternoon; and we had a very interesting session from three o'clock on, at which time that group presented approximately thirty recommendations for changes, modifications and new approaches to a problem that confronts each and every one of us.

"Tucson is not peculiar so far as communities in the United States of America are concerned. Tucson probably has the same problem that every community has in the United States. It may be different in one area than it is in another; but on the main, we are a political subdivision of the United States of America, and, as such, we must participate in every problem that confronts the constituency of the United States of America.

"There are many, many problems that are going to be discussed these next couple of weeks. There are going to be many things said and done in these next eighty hours that are going to create some consternation

so far as you are individually concerned. They are going to create some anger so far as some of you are concerned. And I think they are going to give you a new perspective so far as all of us are concerned.

There have been some very snide remarks made by people on the Department to those who were participating last week--some things that certainly I wouldn't want to repeat from this lectern, some things that were said because of bigotry, because of ignorance, because of crudeness and because of just plain cussedness. These remarks have been made by members of the Police Department. So long as we have people within the Police Department who subscribe to these types of things, this epitasis, this philosophy, we have some real problems, because we can't possibly go out here and do the job that we are going to have to do if we have that type of people in our ranks. That is basically why every command officer and every supervisor in the Department has been required to attend.

There is a bright side of this story, too, because last time we had any number of patrolmen who volunteered to come up here on their own and study this problem. I know we have some in this session, and this is gratifying. Your main job and your mission here is to learn more about our problems as they relate to minority groups, minority thinking within our community. You are going to learn, for instance, during this session that it isn't so much what is right or wrong as it is what people really think that causes the problem. It is a comparatively simple thing to say

that everything is either black or white; and if everything were black or white in this life of ours, we wouldn't have many problems. It is only when we get into the gray area that our problems manifest themselves in such a way as to create various problems of a political and philosophical nature.

Three weeks ago I was privileged to study two weeks at Airlie, Virginia, on the subject of preventing civil disorder and, if not being able to prevent it, control it.

There were twenty-five of my peers there from all over the United States of America--from New England on the northeast to California, and from Washington down to Florida. All of these people were genuinely concerned, and we studied together and worked together for four days. I mean we worked. And on the fifth day, the mayors and managers of the various communities represented there came in; and we all got together and studied the problem from the standpoint of top management and administration and the police administration. It was generally conceded that every community has a potential problem--at least, every community that was there. In analyzing the situation throughout that week of study, we came to the conclusion, as I said before, the problems are not dissimilar. They may be of greater magnitude in one area than they are in another; but, basically, they are the same, and, basically, I think we all agreed that the single greatest need on the American scene today and particularly within the rank of the police today is empathy.

I think that we all generally agreed that never having been a Negro, we couldn't really think and feel like a Negro does. We all agreed that never having been a Porto Rican or a Mexican-American or any member of the various minority groups as they are identified today, that we couldn't develop one hundred per cent empathy for their situation, for their thinking and for their frustrations. This doesn't mean that we shouldn't try to develop as much empathy as we can, and this is part of the purpose of this seminar: to give you the thinking and the philosophy of the minority groups and why they have arrived at such a frustrated point in their existence. The sociological transitions that have confronted our country during these last few years are only growing in magnitude; and as we progress throughout our history, which certainly we are making today, until such a time as we do develop an empathetic attitude and we work at it and we employ it, until such a time as we do this, we are going to be confronted with more and more problems because these people are going to have equal rights one way or another.

I know there are some sitting here today who say they have it. They are entitled to go to the schools that all the people are entitled to go to; they are entitled to take any job available in the community; they are entitled to move into any area of our community; they are entitled to anything that I am entitled to. Well, by law this is true, but as a matter of practice, it isn't true and you know it is not true. Until such a time as it is true as a matter of practice as well as a matter of law and we change our social approach to things, we are not going to be able to live together in harmony. We are not practicing the tenets of

democracy; and, certainly, each and every one of us is violating the principles that were taught to us by the Man who died on the cross.

To the best of my knowledge, every one of you here today subscribes to the Christian philosophy. Every one of you is a member of the Christian church. And it certainly is a basic tenet of Christianity that we do practice every tenet of that religion. We aren't doing it, and, consequently, we have problems.

While we were in Virginia, a man by the name of Seeley spoke with us. Seeley is a deputy chief inspector of the New York City Police Department. He is a Negro. He is a good police officer, having spent nearly twenty-five years with the department. He has risen from the rank of patrolman right on up to one of the highest positions that any man can get on that department. He put it very astutely when he said, "You know, I've been a police officer for almost twenty-five years; but I've been a Negro for about forty-six years." There is quite a difference. He said, "I can give you examples of what is going on and what the thinking is." He said, "Let me give you an example of what I consider the type of police service we are going to have to develop more and more in this country." Let me tell you a little about the thinking that goes behind some of these things. He said it wasn't too long ago--last year, as a matter of fact--when in one of the apartment buildings in New York City, the tenants were having trouble with the landlord and the distribution or getting rid of the garbage. They tried everyway they could to get this management to develop a system where their garbage would be

removed regularly and in an orderly way. They did everything that they knew how to do to prevail upon him to get this done, and it got worse and worse. More and more garbage seemed to stack up around their doors and on their landings. One day they all got together and they all carried their garbage cans down to the lobby, and they piled all the garbage right in the middle of the lobby of this building. The management was encensed, and, of course, you know what happened--call the police. The police officers responded, and they saw what the case was. Here was a lobby virtually full of garbage and the management ranting and raving and tearing his hair, demanding that every member that lived in that apartment house be arrested. The police officer looked at the situation, and he could have done two or three things. First of all, he could have abided by the letter of the law, and he could have gone through and methodically arrested every person in the whole building; or he could call the sanitation department and ask them to come over and remove that mess; or he could have done nothing. He could have told the management, look it's your problem; if you don't take care of these people who live in this building, you are probably going to get more of the same. But the police officer who responded called the sanitation department and told them this was a crisis and that he needed help and he needed it at once. The sanitation department responded; and after the mess had been cleaned up, then the police officer called for assistance from headquarters, and a couple of men responded from the community relations section of the department. They went throughout the building interviewing the people. Then they went to management, and they interviewed management; and within a matter of a very short time the problem had been resolved.

Management had agreed to give these people orderly pickup of their garbage, and the people agreed not to throw it in the lobby any more if management did that; and everybody was happy, and the police had succeeded in doing basically what they are supposed to be doing--protecting the rights of people and keeping peace within our community.

He also told another story about a situation that developed in one of the areas, a Negro area, presumably Harlem, where the people there had been concerned about an intersection. Although they didn't do anything about it, they were concerned about it within their immediate neighborhood. One day a child was struck at this intersection and killed; and immediately there was a hue and a cry for something to be done, and they demanded that an automatic traffic signal be put up there the next day. You know and I know this is a physical as well as financial impossibility in most instances. It wasn't done, but the people in that community couldn't understand that because they knew, in their opinion, that had this been a white community, the traffic would have been functioning the next day. You know as well as I do that it is not any easier to spend money or erect automatic traffic signals in a white neighborhood than it is in a Negro neighborhood; but the Negro thinks the white community will get these things where the Negro community will not, and they think this will happen not because of anything except the white people get things that the Negro people can't get. Inspector Seeley pointed this out. He said you know and I know this isn't true, but he said don't try to convince those people it isn't true because they know

differently. This is part of the problem.

You have two examples there, one of an action type and another of a thought type. The action type, of course, is the type that we should be developing a great deal of contact with trying to understand and trying to work with. I think you will find during these next eighty hours that you are going to see that more and more the police officer is going to take on the aspect and complexion of being a community service person, a person who is in reality a servant to mankind, a servant of the constituency--not only so far as law and order is concerned, but so far as the problems of the community in general are concerned. And in areas, especially, you are going to have to develop more awareness to the thinking of people in our community, regardless of where they live, but, especially, if they live in the so-called ghetto areas.

We are going to have to be more and more concerned with what appear to be minor complaints to us. We who work in the area of investigating homicides, robberies, and rapes, etc., frequently have a tendency to overlook these things which we consider to be petty complaints. I think we are going to have to pay more attention to those. I think we are going to have to look. I think we are going to have to eliminate our tunnel vision. We are going to have to forget many of the concepts that the police service used to accept as being the basic tenets of the police service. We are going to have to modify our thinking. We are going to have to broaden it. And we are going to have to start studying philosophy more and more. We are going to have to become more and more acquainted

with the anthropological origins of people because of the anthropological origins of people lie many of the problems that are manifesting themselves today.

This is one of the reasons why we encourage more and more of our people to attend college and improve their academic background: because the more you know of these things, the better police officer you are and the easier it is for you to understand these things which, if not taken care of, can create a chain reaction and be the fuse which ultimately detonates the cap that sets off the explosion.

You are the defusers. You are the ones who are going to be called upon more and more to defuse situations, regardless of where it is in our community.

By now, if you haven't gathered that I unequivocally support this seminar, I have missed getting the point across to you. As I said before, when we opened this session, this is probably the single most important, far-reaching and beneficial session that we have ever had in the Tucson Police Department.

During the next eighty hours, the next two weeks, please apply yourself. Please come with an open mind and study that which is given to you. You are going to have some of this which will be old-hat as far as you are concerned; you are going to have some other stuff that is just going to make you madder than hell, and I hope they do. I hope you are spitting fire about every other night when you walk out of here, because it has been my experience you've got to get someone's attention before you can really teach them anything.

We are not going to hit you in the head with a ball bat up here, but we want to get your attention; and if we can get your attention, we can get you to thinking; and if we can get you to thinking, we are well on the way to giving this community the type of police service that will be constructive and will maintain and protect the rights of people and keep it quiet in our community.

Please apply yourselves. This is a tremendous session, and it will pay vast dividends. Thank you.

INSTITUTE ON POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

FIRST WEEK

MONDAY (22 January 1968 and
5 February 1968)

0800 - 1200 hours A. Meaning, Purpose, Function of Police-Community Relations

Speaker: Bernard L. Garmire

1. Introduction by Chief of Police of distinguished guests.
2. The unequivocal endorsement by the Chief of Police of both the institute and the idea of police-community relations.
3. History, development and current trends in community relations at Tucson Police Department, lieutenant in charge.

1300 - 1700 hours B. Discussion of Topic A

- 1300 - 1430 Small group discussions
1430 - 1700 Questions and answers with Chief of Police and other command officers as well as with any guests.

DOCTOR DANBERG - FIRST SESSION

The first speaker of the opening session was Dr. Danberg, who came in from Chicago, with experience in New York and other places with the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He talked about the police role in the community. He talked, of course, about the importance of community relations: what it means to the police department, why it is necessary and what it can hope to do. Dr. Danberg mentioned, among other things, the police department has to have a reputation for fairness, impartiality, integrity and professionalism. These are some of the points that he indicated. He talked about some of the problems that have developed for police departments across this country because of the factor that the population is becoming urbanized. In 1920 this country

was over 50 per cent rural, but since that time the United States has become an urbanized nation with all the problems that urbanization brings with it. Most of the people are living in the urban centers. There is a statistic somewhere that approximately one-half of the population of the United States is living in basically ten per cent of the land area of the United States. He pointed out, as well as some other speakers did, the density of population in New York and that if this density were equalled around the United States, you could really place the entire population in the seven boroughs of New York. He discussed the problem of the poor--that the poor are invisible. By this, he meant that we don't so readily see them as we used to see them, that being poor is not a general factor as it was in the 1930's. The poor are those people of the ethnic groups and minority groups and some of the Anglo group, that these people have problems that they don't seem to be able to bring to the attention of the general public. They don't have access to the power structure or to government. This is a possible source of our problem.

His last hour had to do with civil disorder and violence. One of the main points that he brought up was this thing that he termed the cycle of a riot and the various things that happen in that riot cycle, one thing leading to another. The first one that Dr. Danberg pointed out is some sort of incident that sparks the immediate problem. It may be, and has been in most cases, one that involves the police. Whether or not the police action is correct and adequate to the problem is perhaps immaterial because of what the people believe about the incident.

The second thing that happens is that rumors spread regarding this incident, most of which are exaggerated and false, but nevertheless believed by some people; and other people are influenced by them.

The third step is the confrontation between the police and a collective group of people. Some words are exchanged. Quite a bit of tension is in the air, and the thing rapidly escalates and, finally, the rocks and bottles begin to fly. The problem has then started in its violent form. This is described as the cycle or the pattern of a riot. We are going to have to recognize this pattern when it occurs--one step leading to the next one. We have to do this so that we can do everything within our power to break this cycle.

Dr. Danberg pointed out that the community must be prepared--that there is going to have to be extensive planning in perhaps two basic areas: Planning in terms of activity to prevent a riot, to increase communication, rapport with the minority groups; and then planning for the containment and suppression of a riot should it occur. This planning is going to have to be detailed.

OPENING REMARKS BY DR. MIHANOVICH - SECOND INSTITUTE

In this opening talk, Dr. Mihanovich gave the primary purpose of police, community relations, which is the drawing of the people closer to the police and the police closer to the people. It is the development of rapport, understanding and cooperation between the police and the community. There needs to be a knowledge of each other's problems. Dr. Mihanovich told how there had to be courtesy on the part of the police to all the community. When you speak of police-community relations, you are talking about everyone in the community. Dr. Mihanovich said that you will find literally no matter what you ask for, the individuals as a group will not be satisfied with what you do. He brought out that one of the developing problems in police work is that of

the impersonalization of the police. The only time the police officer has personal contact is during an arrest or reporting a particular catastrophe. Lastly, he said that it is not the problem of the police to solve the problems of society, but it is the problem of the police to meet the situation--a crisis situation and a very serious crisis situation.

TUESDAY (23 January 1968 and
6 February 1968)

0800 - 1200 hours Topic 1: The Nature of Prejudice and Discrimination
Speaker: Dr. Roger I. Yoshino

1300 - 1700 hours Topic 2A (Part I): Basic Principles of Intergroup Relations
Speaker: Dr. Ronald W. Henderson
Purpose: General basic principles on how to understand human relations, what motivates the people, why they act the way they do.

WEDNESDAY (24 January 1968 and
7 February 1968)

0800 - 1200 hours Topic 3: How to Communicate with Minority Groups
Speaker: Dr. Roger I. Yoshino
Purpose: Not to learn the language, but to learn how these people think and what they mean by the use of certain words as well as how they are influenced by their culture traits.

1300 - 1700 hours Topic 2B (Part 2): Basic Principles of Intergroup Relations
Speaker: Dr. Ronald W. Henderson

COMMENTS BY SPEAKER, DOCTOR YOSHINO

Dr. Yoshino spoke for approximately eight hours. He stated that some of the basic causes of the unrest, the social upheaval that is occurring in this country are due to three basic factors: poverty, unemployment and poor housing. Also involved is something called nationalism, that which every country in the world is facing, particularly in Africa and Asia. He also pointed out that contributing to these three root causes (poverty, unemployment and poor housing) was the concept of human rights. People are becoming more aware as human beings that they should have certain rights and certain privileges and that this is

motivating people, not only in the United States, but across the world. He mentioned as a possible avenue for approaching these problems is something called the scientific approach--that, if at all possible, we should approach some of these problems objectively and in the spirit of finding out what the causes are, rather than denying that the problem exists or in trying to find a rationalization for why we have not been able to cope with it.

He talked about prejudice in terms of how we experience it and how other people, perhaps, can sense it. He talked about the cognitive level, the prejudice which is the mental picture we have of certain groups, of certain people, the emotional level which we sometimes reflect in our action and in our word, and then the action level. Perhaps it comes from the fact that you have a mental picture or image of someone, and then it moves to emotion; and, finally, if there is no control or self-discipline, it moves into the area of action where some problems stem from.

Dr. Yoshino indicated, as did other speakers, the role of culture in the problem of discrimination and prejudice, that the culture in which we were raised gives us certain sets, the images of people, and that this contributes to the problem of prejudice and discrimination. Finally, particularly for those who took the delinquency control institute, he gave us Robert Merton's classification of people and their problems with prejudice. He talked in terms of the first one being the nonprejudiced, the nondiscriminator.

Dr. Yoshino gave the distinction between prejudice and discrimination. Prejudice, in the terms that these people use, is what you think--thinking and feeling, rather than action. Discrimination is acting upon your prejudices, exhibiting your prejudices. In other words, prejudice is thinking and discrimination is the action--the carrying out, perhaps, of the thoughts.

The second category the doctor talked about was the nonprejudiced discriminator. He is the sort of person who doesn't really have any prejudices; but if the group happens to have some, he will go along with them. He will discriminate if it is convenient for him in terms of going along with the group.

The third person is the prejudiced nondiscriminator. By this, he meant the person who has prejudices but has learned to control them.

The fourth type is the prejudiced person who does discriminate. Dr. Yoshino made the point that perhaps of all these people, this person is the least hypocritical; but, again, he faces the greatest problem for all of us because he is prejudiced and practices his prejudices. Perhaps with this type of individual we can do some work.

COMMENTS BY SPEAKER, DOCTOR HENDERSON

Dr. Henderson spoke to us for approximately eight hours on something called intergroup relations. He talked about the various needs of mankind and what people mean when they say something and the problems that stem from just the communication process itself. A point that can well be remembered about Dr. Henderson's comments is that words don't mean--people mean. Words have no meaning in and of themselves; they have meaning in the context that they mean something to the communicator and to the recipient of the communication. If they don't have a conception of what is being said, they don't have some common belief as to the meaning of the word. Then they are not going to be able to communicate. The point he tried to bring out is what we say doesn't always mean what we think it does.

If we can possibly recall the lectures we have had at the police academy and elsewhere, the problem really boils down to the fact that people mean and words don't. We have to be very careful of what we are saying. Make sure that the content of our message is what we want to get across, that such things as our gestures, facial expressions and other things are in agreement with the message. Of course, the final point would be how we speak to people. The impression they get from our conversation leads them to believe certain things because they have an image of the person who is speaking; they have an image of themselves and a set of beliefs, perhaps, of the environment in which they are operating. This is important, perhaps, when a policeman is talking to a member of a minority group because, as we have been told time and time again, that they have certain impressions of us, and they are not necessarily favorable. So they are not going to be listening to what we are saying; they are going to be listening for what they think we are saying because it

fits into their beliefs. For this reason, we are going to have to be very careful when we communicate with them so they really understand what we are trying to say to them.

Something else that Dr. Henderson talked about was the "set." It has been expressed as the "mind set." This is a combination of factors which dictate how we look at different things. It is the mental pictures we have of certain situations. These mind sets are influenced to a large degree by our culture and by our upbringing as children. We tend to see what we want to see. This, again, is very important when we are dealing with the minority groups.

THURSDAY (25 January 1968 and
8 February 1968)

0800 - 1000 hours Remarks from Lieutenant Greer and Lieutenant
Gilkinson concerning their experience in
Airlie, Virginia, at the conference on civil
disorder.

1000 - 1200 hours Questions and answers

1300 - 1500 hours Topic 4: Public Relations and the Police
Officer
Speaker: Representatives from
Harland-Garland Associates
Purpose: Tips on public relations that
police can use to secure help
from the public, improve their
image and improve police com-
munity relations

1500 - 1700 hours Discussion on Topic 4

Some time was spent listening to the tapes that Lieutenant Gilkinson and
Lieutenant Greer brought back from the Conference on Civil Disorder in Airlie,
Virginia. Among the various things that were discussed was the fact that
planning was absolutely necessary, and this was brought out briefly before.

Inspector Seeley, of the New York Police Department, brought out that
policemen represent the entire government when they are on the street and that
people look to them for solutions. One of the outstanding examples was how
the policeman handled the problem of garbage in a tenement in New York. They
have several alternatives, but the one they utilized was getting another
agency of city government to work to solve the problem. Inspector Seeley
talked about the community relations effort of the New York Police Department,
that they had it down on the precinct level and that they have various councils
and that they have several means of communication with the people living in
the neighborhood.

Another point that was brought out was the chief of police or his
staff would have to get out and meet the people in their community, that
there is no substitute for the action of getting out and meeting the
people. There would be no choice but to do this.

One of the points that was brought out in the tape that we heard was
made by the Chief of Police in New Orleans. He pointed out that perhaps
they had not done as much in New Orleans as they should have. He was talking
about the responsibility of a chief and of the people of a police department
to detect and to know the tone, the pulse and the tenor of a community.
They they have identified this, they must take action in accordance with it.
It is something that has to be done. You have to operate within the confines
or within a limitation of what seems to be the community desires. This is
quite difficult for policemen because by nature they tend to approach things
somewhat more objectively, and they don't really have the intuitive sense of
what people are thinking, as perhaps politicians would. The New Orleans chief
pointed out that if this is not articulated, it has a lot to do with the basic
decisions made in a community about the problems of race and possible dis-
turbances.

REMARKS BY MISS SARLATT, HARWOOD
ADVERTISING COMPANY

Miss Sarlatt, of the Harwood Advertising Company, spoke to us for
approximately two hours. She was always going to define public relations,
but she was never heard to really define it. She talked about it. As close
a definition as she came to was that public relations is something of the
effect that it is an applied social science and that public relations in the
public service is really a continuing act of commendable service. This
seemed to be her definition of public relations.

Miss Sarlatt then went into some of the basic problems and mechanics of public relations and how to get along with the people in the news media. She pointed out, particularly, that public relations is both a science and an art--perhaps a little more of an art than a science.

She indicated that there were several "don't's," things that we should not do and which we should keep in mind. If a story is published in a newspaper or comes out over the radio or television, if it is basically correct, even though it may vary in some detail from what we think are the absolute facts, let it go. Her philosophy is don't go to the people and complain because the last little detail wasn't correct. She indicated the important factor of being courteous and fair to the various members of the press and to keep this in mind at all times.

The third point that Miss Sarlatt brought out was don't call the editor or the news director of a radio or television station and ask him why a certain story wasn't run or why it wasn't run the way you wanted it. Just let it go if it has basically the essence. Above all, don't go over this poor guy's head to his boss, the editor or the publisher of the paper or the owner of the radio or television station and complain about his activity. It will just ruin your relationship with the press.

She pointed out time and time again in her discussion that public relations is practiced all the time, and this was in the definition that she gave of public relations. It is a continuing act of commendable service. She pointed out that perhaps we have an advantage in the police service because we have things that interest the public. There is always news breaking. This also carries with it a disadvantage. People are always watching; therefore, we have to be that much more careful.

FRIDAY (26 January 1968 and
9 February 1968)

0800 - 1200 hours	<u>Topic 5: The Nature of Delinquency and the Delinquent in Tucson</u> Speaker: <u>Dr. June Morrison</u>
1000 - 1200 hours	<u>Topic 6: The Nature and Extent of Dropouts in Tucson</u> Speaker: <u>Mr. Frank Ott</u>
1300 - 1500 hours	<u>Topic 7: The Young Adult Offender</u> Speaker: Representative from the <u>Arizona Youth Center</u>
1500 - 1700 hours	<u>Discussion of Topics 5, 6 and 7: Small discussion groups</u> Purpose: What can be done by police to meet these problems, limitations of police activities, programs that police can implement to handle these problems.

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, DOCTOR MORRISON

Dr. Morrison, of the University of Arizona, was with us and discussed juvenile delinquency. She indicated that the statistics on juvenile delinquency are not one hundred per cent accurate. We are not sure of exactly what delinquency is because of the different definitions in this country of delinquency. Those of us who were in Delinquency Control Institute have heard that message somewhat repeatedly.

As she tried to point out some of the basic problems in dealing with juvenile delinquency, she pointed out that there have been various theories concerning juvenile delinquency (the mental defect theory, the Lombrosian theory); and the theories that seem to be prevalent now which, basically, go back into one's social background.

Some of the causes, perhaps, of juvenile delinquency--but not the only cause--would be such things as broken homes, the working mother, the lack of discipline or the type of discipline administered in the home, influence of

brothers and sisters, neighborhood in which people live. These factors, all of them, have some sort of influence on juvenile delinquency.

COMMENTS BY SPEAKER, MR. FRANK OTT

The principal of Wakefield Junior High School, Mr. Frank Ott, spoke to us on the problem of drop-outs. Mr. Ott pointed out that some of the dissatisfactions with school, some of the problems which resulted in the drop-out is the fact that (1) some of the kids just want to get out of school and earn money; (2) there is a dissatisfaction with school--that the school is not giving them what they want or they don't understand it. This was brought out by some of the people who had spoken here representing the Mexican-Americans and perhaps the Negroes, that the school is basically the product of white Anglo-Saxon, middle-class culture; and these people don't necessarily come from that sort of a background. They are in school for six hours a day and then go home to an entirely different background, so there is quite a conflict and they can't resolve it. Some of the people resolve it simply by betting out of school. Some of the people quit school because the study is too demanding. They don't see the reason for it.

I.Q. as such was not given as one of the reasons for the basic drop-out problem. It was indicated that Pueblo High School has the greatest drop-out problem in the Tucson area. Second was Palo Verde; and third was Tucson High School. It indicates that some problems exist on the east side of town; however, at this conference, we have been discussing to a great degree the problems of communications with minority groups. Perhaps we have some problems on the east side as well as with Palo Verde being in the neighborhood which draws children and if it has this sort of problem with drop-outs.

COMMENTS BY SPEAKER, MR. JOHN KOHL

Mr. John Kohl, from the Arizona Youth Center, spoke on the young adult offender. He told of how old methods of handling the youthful offender were not working and new ones were being developed. He stated that probation departments and probation officers as individuals are becoming more sophisticated and are learning to diagnose the situation much better than they formerly were able to. He also made the point that we are well past the point where we feel that all offenders are mentally ill. Mr. Kohl felt that youth had to be understood in their own situation and not just by adult standards when trying to deal effectively with them.

INSTITUTE ON POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

SECOND WEEK

MONDAY (29 January 1968 and
12 February 1968)

0800 - 1000 hours Topic 8: Group Dynamics
Speaker: Dr. Raymond A. Mulligan

1000 - 1200 hours Topic 9: Civil Disobedience--Justified or Not
Speaker: Dean Charles E. Ares

1300 - 1500 hours Topic 10: The Nature of Poverty, Its Effects on Crime
Speaker: Mr. Fred Acosta

1500 - 1700 hours Discussion of Topics 8, 9 and 10: Small discussion groups
Purpose: Same as Topics 5, 6, 7 above

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, DR. MULLIGAN

Dr. Mulligan spoke on group dynamics. It seemed that, basically, his lecture had to do with leadership and how groups operate under a leader. He gave ten points; and some of these points were: that the leader will maintain his own position, THAT the leader will do something to keep his status within the group, that the leader is responsive to the values (the norms of the group), that the leader will do things in accordance with what he thinks the group thinks that he should do, that a leader is not necessarily always able to "wheel and deal" as he would like to. Dr. Mulligan pointed out the various factors about leadership so that we could relate them to the group with which we have to work and so that we could understand some of the limitations placed upon the leaders when we go to the leaders and ask them to do this or not to do this. Not always can they do this. There are certain limitations. We were told time and time again that those people who profess to be leaders of minority groups are not necessarily the real leaders. This is one of the central problems of community relations--to identify the leaders.

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, DEAN ARES

Dean Ares spoke on the theory of civil disobedience. He explained what it is and what it is not. In essence, civil disobedience is different from the lawful exercise of freedom of speech and assembly, etc. Civil disobedience is not an ordinary crime. Civil disobedience is a clear violation of the law with intent and deliberateness, and it is committed with no more force than necessary to make the violation and with the willingness to accept the consequences. He suggested that perhaps we should realize that those people committing acts of civil disobedience are motivated by factors which are somewhat different from the motivation, perhaps, of the common burglar or armed robber. He was not suggesting that we not arrest him or that we not take action against a person committing an act of civil disobedience; he merely stated that we should recognize that he is a different sort of person and has a different motivation, and, primarily, that they want to be respected for what they are doing because they are moved by some noble, compelling, moral cause.

He suggested that one of the reasons for civil disobedience is that the people at the bottom of our society feel that those at the top aren't paying any attention to them. The government is so huge, society is so complex that people feel they can't be heard. He suggested that if this attitude should continue, if it should intensify, this could lead to real problems in the country. Whether or not he is accurate is immaterial; it is a point well worth thinking about.

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, MR. ACOSTA

Mr. Fred Acosta spoke about poverty. The basic message he was trying to get across is that the poor are different because they are poor, that being poor is not just an economical thing. Being poor affects your psychology, your social standing, your culture and everything about you. Being poor, as he defined it, influences your personality and the type of person you are. The poor are different simply because they are poor.

TUESDAY (30 January 1968 and
13 February 1968)

0800 - 0900 hours	<u>Topic 11: The American Culture</u> Speaker: <u>Dr. James F. Downs</u>
0900 - 1000 hours	Discussion of first week's material and the above, small discussion groups. Formulate questions to be discussed at 1000 hours. Purpose: An open discussion on all topics and a cultural anthropologist will moderate. The purpose is to find out if they learned anything; to bring back from their discussion answers to some of the problems raised and to secure their general reaction to content of material presented; also, to find out any prejudices and then to work to eliminate these prejudices. At all sessions there should be a committee recorder acting as a participant observer to take down all pertinent exchange of information between the lecturers and the participants. This could then form a basis for future work on conditioning the officers to accept police-community relations, and some of this information could be given to lecturers as the need arises.
1000 - 1200 hours	<u>Questions and answers</u> <u>Topic 12: The Nature and Purpose of Various Civil Rights and Ethnic Groups in Tucson</u>
1300 - 1400 hours	<u>National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.)</u> Representative: <u>Mr. Robert L. Horn</u>
1400 - 1500 hours	Mexican-American Representative: <u>Father Hurtado</u>
1500 - 1600 hours	<u>American Civil Liberties Union (A.C.L.U.)</u> Representative: Reverend Clinton Fowler Purpose: Each representative will be given an hour to present their aims, functions and grievances.
1600 - 1700 hours	<u>Discussion of above: Small discussion groups</u>

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, DR. DOWNS

Dr. Downs spoke on the American culture. He defined culture as that which makes the difference in the way people act. He told how man tends to judge according to standards in his own society. Culture is the way people look at the world around them and put it into categories and organize it. He told of how people explain things in different ways according to their culture and their knowledge. People also act different when living in a new or strange culture. Dr. Downs showed that what people express in words is not necessarily what they express in action or thought. He said that one has to look at the whole person (physical, mental and cultural) in order to understand him.

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, MR. HORN

Mr. Horn spoke on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He stated that its goal was equal justice under the law for all persons, and he began to indicate to us very strongly that the campaign against crime in the street means to the Negro a campaign which is anti-Negro. We heard this over and over again. An important thing to remember is, whether or not this is true, our problem is the fact that these people believe it to be true. They believe this crime in the street program is basically aimed at somehow suppressing and containing them. So when we are commenting about crime in the street, we should keep this in mind and try to leave some assurance or, perhaps, some statement to the effect that crime in the street doesn't mean a campaign against the Negro.

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, FATHER HURTADO

Father Hurtado spoke about the problem of the Mexican-American in the community. He pointed out that three of the problems that Mexican-Americans are confronted with are:

- (1.) Job discrimination
- (2.) Police brutality
- (3.) Illegal arrest

Father Hurtado's definition of brutality was different from that of the Negro. The Negro believes there is such a thing as physical brutality, which we normally think of; and they also conceive of police brutality in terms of even the words an officer uses in expressing his demeanor. With the Mexican-American, when he is talking about police brutality, he is thinking of it in terms of physical violence.

Father Hurtado pointed out, as other speakers have, the cultural conflict that Mexican-Americans come in conflict with. They are proud of their heritage--that they have a different language and that they are torn between the Anglo culture and their own.

REMARKS BY SPEAKER, THE REVEREND FOWLER

The Rev. Fowler spoke on the American Civil Liberties Union. He pointed out that basically the A.C.L.U. is interested in man's right to express his own thoughts. Whether or not they agree with them is immaterial. He pointed out that the two things that he thought were threatening to American democracy as he conceived it are: (1) there is too much dependence in this country to solve problems via police power. The police are entering into areas which they should not, according to him; (2) the matter of dissent,

the problems that we are experiencing right now because of those who are dissenting from our activities in Viet Nam, and there seems to be some activity to suppress this dissent.

WEDNESDAY (31 January 1968 and
14 February 1968)

0800 - 1000 hours Panel A: What does the Mexican-American think of Tucson and the police?

Panel Members:

Councilman Hector Morales

Mr. Frank Soto

Mr. M. R. Barazzas

Purpose: Questions and answers. The discussion could also include what these people expect of the police and of Tucson. The underlying theme is to find out what these people expect of the police, why they have these expectations, what criticism and praise they have for the police.

1000 - 1200 hours Discussion of above: Small discussion groups

1300 - 1500 hours Panel B: What does the Negro think of Tucson and the police?

Panel Members:

Mr. Reuben Salter

Mr. Hubert Davis

Mr. Cress Lander

Purpose: Same as for Panel A above.

1500 - 1700 hours Discussion of above: Small discussion groups

THURSDAY (1 February 1968 and
15 February 1968)

0800 - 1000 hours Panel C: What does the Anglo-American think of Tucson and the police?

Panel members: Mr. Edward Morgan
Rev. Charles Rourke
Mr. Robert McNeal

Purpose: Same as for Panel A.

1000 - 1200 hours Discussion of above: Small discussion groups.

1300 - 1400 hours Panel D: What does the Indian think of Tucson and the police?

Panel members: Mr. Cyrus Preston
Mr. Vincent Matus

Purpose: Same as for Panel A.

1400 - 1500 hours Discussion of above: Small discussion groups

1500 - 1600 hours Who are the people of Tucson?

Speaker: Representative of City of Tucson
Community Development

Purpose: A thorough description of composition of Tucson's population and its future trends; ethnic, racial, in-migration, age, sex, income, geographical distribution.

1600 - 1700 hours Discussion of above: Small discussion groups.

Panels representing the Mexican-American, the Negro, the Anglo-American and the Indian gave presentations and discussions. These panels gave insights into how the different groups see the police. They talked of different problems that they have and how they affect the police and the community. They gave examples of how they thought relations and communication could be improved between the groups and the police. They answered questions about their respective groups and asked some of their own. They made very pointed statements about the police and pointed out what could happen if these conditions were not remedied. They tried to bring the thoughts of their groups to the police.

FRIDAY (2 February 1968 and
16 February 1968)

0800 - 1700 hours Specific suggestions of community relations programs of the Tucson Police that participants can become involved in.

CLOSING REMARKS, BY CHIEF OF POLICE BERNARD L. GARMIRE

The humanizing of the police service, the improvement of communication, what you are talking about is personal responsibility. The epitome of the approach to police service that so many police officers use. Probably the analogy could be used as the storm troopers of the Nazi machine during World War II.

I have been concerned and I have threatened on more than one occasion to issue an order that any member of the police department who is ashamed or for some reason or other doesn't want his name in the telephone book, for instance, has some soul searching to do and some reconsideration available to him.

I believe that if you want to become a police officer that the day you become a police officer, you say to the wide world that I have become your servant as of this time.

Now we talk a good score as far as being public servants are concerned; but, basically, very few of us are really, conscientiously, public servants. If you are a police officer and you assume the responsibility of being a police officer, you assume that responsibility not for eight hours a day, five days a week. You assume that as a way of life, and until you do this in fact, you are not fulfilling your responsibility of being a police officer.

There are many analogies that can be made about this. I think you overlook the fact that many people would like to be your friend. Many people respect, at least, what you represent. You are a representative of the constituency you serve. You claim that you are a public servant; and if

you are these two things, this means that you should be available at all times. How many of you would wonder what was wrong with your minister or your priest, whatever the case might be, if you couldn't in a time of need refer to the telephone book and get his telephone number or his address so you could call him? How many of you would be the patient of a physician who wasn't available to you at any time? I don't think many of you would have him long for your family physician, particularly if you have children. But, still, you say that I am a professional person; and in my category, in my profession, I am dedicated to the service of mankind. I am a public service. But, then, I won't allow anyone to get near me except on duty time. You are giving a half a loaf; and as long as you give a half a loaf, you are going to get that amount of consideration. The humanistic approach is something that each of us should give a lot of soul searching to because I don't think there is anyone in this room, really, that is a police officer in fact. He may be a police officer in name, but I don't think you are making the sacrifices necessary. You say they don't pay us enough for that. The thing I am talking about you can't buy; you can't buy this type of thing. It is something that has to be given. It is something that is going to have to be lived. It is something that is going to have to be projected; and whenever we start projecting this a little more thoroughly than we have traditionally, then I think we are going to be given more respect and more consideration than we have in the past.

So let's all think this over, and I would like very much to have every member of my police department have his name in the telephone book as a beginning; and when you answer your phone at home, project that "Yes, I am a police officer. May I help you? I may not be able to give you

immediate assistance, but I'll sure try to arrange for assistance to come your way at the earliest possible time. The problem you are discussing with me, Mr. so-and-so, is not really a police problem per se; however, the police are interested because if you have a problem, your problem could generate into a neighborhood or a community problem. So, therefore, I will do what I can to assist you with this problem. It so happens that your problem falls within the Department of Public Works. More especially, it falls into this particular division of Public Works. I assure you that I will contact these people and see if I can't get you some service in the very near future."

This business of communication starts with me. And the more we develop our capabilities and capacity for communication, the more humane and humanistic we become. I think it is that simple.

I know that many of you have heard a song which I think is one of the prettiest songs that carries the greatest impact of any song that is sung or that we have heard for a long time. It says, "Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me."

I think this is what we are talking about so far as the human aspects of our business are concerned.

You will recall that two weeks ago I stood up here and said that this program is designed to make you mad, the theory being that if we could make you mad, you would do some thinking. I trust you haven't spent this 80 hours in vain, that you have a much deeper concern for your responsibility, that your eyes have been opened and that you have been relieved of a great deal of this tunnel vision during these last two weeks.

These are problems that are your problems. Any problem that confronts any citizen of the community is your problem. In order that we have the proper empathy for our constituents, I think that we are going to have to more and more develop the attitude that every time a person is involved in a situation which produces anguish or injury that we personally share a little of that anguish or misery with them; that every time a person is killed in a traffic collision, for instance, that we have got to die a little bit, too. Every time that one of our people is involved in an assault or a rape or any situation which is a social problem, we should be concerned about it.

Until we develop this type of empathy and sympathy, I don't think that we can really be a police officer. Now, I am speaking of the majority of our constituents, any one of which can become involved in a situation or can become a victim of a situation. But now, let's take the minority of our community. Without exception, those who are members of minority groups suffer more and have more real problems, in reality, than the majority because they are--if you analyze the situation--people who have been exploited and taken advantage of for centuries or hundreds of years in this country. They have not been given equal opportunities. They have not been getting a "fair shake." This isn't necessarily at the hands of the police. It's

at the hands of the society which we represent. When we walk or ride down the street and they identify us as a police officer, they identify us as part of the cause structure which they identify as being responsible for their dilemma, their frustrations and their positions today. They look upon us as people who are hired by the majority to maintain the status quo, and the status quo has cut them out for all these many years.

These are some of the things that I hope you have learned these last couple of weeks. I know that each and every one of you here is capable of analyzing what you have heard. I know that each one of you is capable of applying it to your own job. And I would just say, "Let there be peace on earth; let there be equity in Tucson, and let it begin with me."

I appreciate your attention and your attendance here these last two weeks. I think we will all be better people because of it.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The last day of each session of the Institute was devoted to discussion groups. The purpose of these groups was to make a final analysis of the material presented by various speakers and to summarize recommendations to develop better police-community relations and respect. Another aspect that was brought out was that all groups and the police have to be honest with each other.

Generally, the personnel that attended the Institute seemed to have thought that the program was informative and helpful. They had some reservations on different points, but, over-all, their reactions were very favorable.

FIRST SESSION

1. Fluid Patrol. Every speaker, without exception, commented that the members of the various communities or neighborhoods, particularly where ethnic tensions are probable, must know personally the man who patrols their area. He must lose his anonymity and become a person. The recommendation of the group is to modify fluid patrol so that the same man is always assigned to those difficult neighborhoods and that he be encouraged to participate in the activities of the neighborhood when possible.
2. Office of Coordinator of Municipal Services. This is a recommendation to structure the city government to include this office which would receive all but emergency incoming calls and direct the call to the appropriate agency. It was thought this office would also handle all complaints, requests and inquiries relative to the services the other city departments provide. It would refer the citizen with a need to the office with the answer--a permanent office was proposed for this function.
3. Store Fronts. This is the idea of having a policeman in a neighborhood, generally in a business area where he is available to the neighborhood for questions, problems, etc. A trailer was also discussed. About two-thirds were in favor. Most thought that the man power demands were prohibitive.

4. Identifying and developing community leaders. There was a consensus that the speakers who were presented to us as community leaders might not actually have a following. This identification might be done by the neighborhood officer after he had become thoroughly familiar with the neighborhood.
5. Encourage all city services to upgrade their communication with minority groups. It was felt that the Police Department was being criticized for things outside our function. This related to the coordinator's office.
6. Civilian Board for Police. This is the idea of having civic leaders and other interested individuals band together with a spokesman to speak before the community and the administration of our needs to formulate recommendations to enhance the service. This vote was split down the middle.
7. Speakers Bureau. This is the idea of identifying members of the Department with (a.) desire to speak; (b.) are expert or are willing to become expert in an area. There was a general idea that some of us are being put on the spot as speakers in areas where we are not expert and, instead of helping, are hindering the public's understanding and sympathy of the police problem.
8. Name plate on the package shelf of the patrol vehicle. Eighteen in favor, twenty-three opposed.
9. Availability light. This was the idea of a light on the package shelf which would let the public know that you were not on call and could be contacted. Opposed.
10. Additional man power. Unanimously in favor.
11. Police-Civilian Appeal Board. Court of last resort for civilians and policemen on civilian complaints. The thinking of the group was that this just might open the door to a civilian review board. Opposed.

12. More equipment (particularly portable radios) to allow the officer to get out of his vehicle and mix in the neighborhood.
13. The uniform helmet to become auxiliary equipment. The helmet apparently produces an image of force and militancy. It was felt that the helmet should be available in the unit, but that some other piece of headgear be standard for routine contacts.
14. Assign press liaison at each individual incident. Such as "at this homicide, Officer Doe will handle all press inquiries."
15. More emphasis on the "human factor" in our operational functions, internal and external.
16. Business cards be given to all officers. Opposed.
17. Brochures to be developed for handout at selected incidents, specific for the incident; i.e., burglary, auto theft, complaint procedure, etc.
18. Officers' names on helmets. Opposed.
19. Training session on fluid patrol. Vote split.
20. Instruction in conversational Spanish.
Mandatory training opposed; voluntary training passed.
21. Monthly incentive pay for college credits. This idea was passed unanimously. It was felt that we could upgrade personnel currently on the Department and encourage recruitment from those who are college-trained.
22. Retain a "research team" to poll minority groups relative to their views on police. Opposed.
23. Evaluate an officer's performance by different criterion. Passed by a large majority. This stemmed from the idea that if officers are to spend a significant amount of time in interacting with citizens in their patrols, a way must be found to accept and measure this activity of work performance; necessarily, there would be less emphasis in evaluation on specific data now considered to constitute work performance.

24. Ground rules for the press.
25. East side substation. Not voted on.
26. Preparatory courses for potential police recruits.
Fifteen in favor; twenty-one opposed.

RECOMMENDATIONS

SECOND SESSION

1. That the Community Relations Unit be increased to include a member of each ethnic group represented on the Police Department.
Purpose: To better fulfill its role and increase possibility of ready communications.
2. That reading of rights be completely eliminated on all minor routine traffic contacts.
Purpose: To alleviate the offensiveness found by many persons in the reading of their rights during traffic stops.
3. That officers be encouraged to work in community activities, such as little league, etc., specifically aimed at the 15-20 age group, by giving compensatory time at the rate of one day off for each two days of involvement.
Purpose: Intended to involve more officers in face-to-face contact with youth in nonpolice activities to establish dialogue with a particularly volatile segment of the community.
4. That the Department subsidize the expense of officers' membership in approved various social, fraternal and community service organizations.
Purpose: To establish better contact with citizens on an individual basis.
5. Establish a citizen's advisory group to make recommendations on citizens' complaints.
Purpose: Intended to resolve the credibility gap felt by citizens who feel that the Police Department whitewashes complaints, although the final decision in disciplinary action would remain with the Chief of Police.
6. That the Chief be advised of the fact that it has been brought to the attention of a number of department personnel that the hard helmet worn by our uniformed officers is marring the image of the Tucson Police Department in that it has created in the minds of many citizens of the community an image of coldness and superauthoritarianism, and that consideration

be given regarding the advisability of revising departmental headgear.

Purpose: Intended to alleviate the offensive appearance of headgear now in use as expressed by some citizens regarding the hard helmet.

7. Instruct officers to always identify themselves by name and unit designation when contacting the public. This would include frequent use of departmental business cards.

Purpose: To reduce confusion and the appearance of "going around the horn" in the minds of the public.

8. Assign the Traffic Section to handle traffic action and investigation during critical hours to relieve uniform officers, allowing time for Community Relations contact. Also, more closely screened calls at the desk, and when possible, handled by desk personnel.

Purpose: Intended to allow more free time for patrol officers to make public contact.

9. Provide additional training time for all personnel at the academy on ethnic group cultural background and in-service training in the same area.

Purpose: To promote better understanding between police and minority groups.

10. Encourage all personnel to make public relations contact and list these contacts on the daily activity reports.

Purpose: Intended to break down the imaginary wall which exists between the police and the community.

11. Modification of the current patrol system and reevaluation of the fluid patrol system to incorporate a neighborhood police program within the fluid patrol contact. Give consideration to existing man power and equipment versus additional man power and equipment. Also, give consideration to short-term walking beats by car-men in selected areas for anywhere from a half hour to half a shift. Inexpensive radio receivers should be carried by officers, such as some firemen do now.

Purpose: To promote better personal knowledge and more personal contact between the police and the citizens of specific problem areas.

12. Assignment of an officer to a mobile booth who would be available daily for contacts by citizens in all areas of the community.

Purpose: Intended to provide easy access to a familiar police officer.

13. Institute a "border" Spanish class or program of instruction for departmental personnel.

Purpose: Intended to enable better communication between departmental personnel and the Spanish-speaking community. Included in this program should be a pamphlet containing questions and answers commonly occurring in our contact with the Spanish-speaking public. The brochure should be eight to ten pages in content.

14. Periodic design and publication of brief bi-lingual brochures informing the general public how to accomplish certain legal goals in misdemeanor and civil problems.

Purpose: Intended to remove some of the false impressions concerning police authority commonly held by much of the community.

15. Establish by all means at our disposal, such as pamphlets, news media, lectures, film, etc., a mass of information relative to police duties, aims, and goals. Professionally devise two-to-five-minute video film clips for selected TV spot purpose, to educate the public on the law, police responsibility, to assist and cooperate with law enforcement for the good of the community. Develop video-tape film and lectures in such an interesting and practical package that all senior high schools would welcome them into their regular curriculum in American problems or civic classes annually. Included in the package would be the police task as a community problem, not merely a police problem. Concentration should be given to the police image.

Purpose: Intended to increase understanding for police problems in the general community and, in particular, among minority groups.

16. Reevaluate the possible waiver of height and weight requirements for police service.

Purpose: Intended to utilize the resources of individuals possessing background suited to police service.

17. Identify some of the young natural leaders in the community and allow them to ride with selected police officers.

Purpose: Intended to promote better understanding and interaction between young people and the police.

18. As a matter of policy, have officers wave a salutation to children and teenagers as the School Resource Office advises children to wave at officers.

EVALUATION BY PARTICIPANTS

To help in the evaluation of the Police Community Relations Institute, a questionnaire was prepared and administered to those who had taken part in the Institute. It was thought that because in the end it would be the participants who would either profit or not profit by the results of the Institute, that their opinion would be of great value in any evaluation. The questionnaire was given about two months after the Institute so there would be a chance to evaluate the Institute from a more practical standpoint. It also gave them a chance to talk it over with others and to use some of the information in their dealings with the public.

The questionnaire was made up of eight questions. These questions will be dealt with in detail later. The questionnaire started with the statement: "This questionnaire is being administered to help evaluate the Police Community Relations Institute held by this Department. You, as a participant in that Institute, still have a very important part to play. As the Institute depended on your participation to make it worthwhile, so now does the evaluation." Next was a place to indicate rank and which session attended. There was no way to identify the individual officers who filled out the questionnaire.

The first question was: "What was your over-all general impression of the Institute?" Of the 73 responses to the questionnaire, all were very favorable, except two. The two responses that were not favorable indicated that what went on was not new to them.

Some of the other responses were:

"It gave basic insight into community and national problems not otherwise available by normal media."

"Informative and down to earth."

"Good--it was well worth while to get 'outside' viewpoints--not just police views."

"Very informative about the thinking of the different segments of the community--not only about police, but also other 'insignificant areas' within our community that we police did not think were problems."

"Very informative, therefore good. The more we can learn, the better position we are in to make the right decisions when problems arise."

"It brought to the fore the existence of subconscious problems to the conscious level and the realization there is no immediate solution."

The second question was: "Do you think that the Institute was worth the time you spent there? Explain." The two responses that were mentioned in the first question answered in the same way for the second. Some of the other responses that represent the feelings of the others were:

"Yes, I do think the Institute was worth the time spent. I was not aware of what the different segments of the community really thought of the police department--I don't think any of us there did."

"Definitely--It gives the police officer a clearer look at himself and of what others are thinking of him."

"Yes. It brings together institutional agencies and ethnic groups on the local level, showing the need for educational communication."

"Yes. Much was learned about myself, other police and other people and cultures."

"Yes, the Institute started interest which should be continued."

"Yes, I obtained an insight into how narrow-minded both the police and the minority leaders are."

"Yes, I feel that I have gained some insight as to how the community as a whole feels about the police department. Some of these expressed feelings were quite shocking."

"Very much so. It gave me some insight on how minority groups think, especially Negroes. I think I understand them a little more now."

The third question was: "Did the Institute change your thinking about the community? Explain." Unlike the first two questions, the third was more divided in responses. About 60 per cent answered yes and the rest responded with mostly a qualified no. Some of the positive responses were:

"Yes, I didn't realize so many problems which concerned police."

"Yes. I was not so totally aware of the impressions we were projecting to the public."

"Negro and Indian history and an insight into their cultural background made me aware of why there are certain reactions on their part."

"Yes, I personally will be more careful in performing my duties, instructing new personnel, making contact with the general public, both on and off the job, not to say anything that could be easily misconstrued or misinterpreted by any member of a minority group."

Some of the negative answers were:

"I can't say that it changed my thinking necessarily, but it did open my eyes to many situations that in the past I may not have believed or thought that it was not feasible."

"I was aware of many of the feelings of the community before attending."

"No, I felt that I already had a good idea of what was going on in the community and how the different ethnic or minority groups felt about the police."

"Not particularly. I believe I was already reasonably aware of the situation as brought out in the Institute."

Question number four was: "What to you was the most important aspect of the Institute? Explain." By far, the aspect that was brought out as the most important was the panel group discussions. A sample of these were:

"I found the panel group discussions very enlightening and informative."

"First-hand report of the representatives of minority groups."

"Panel discussions. The attitudes of the minority group 'leaders' were brought out."

The fifth question was: "Has anything you learned at the Institute been of help to you in your work? Explain." Most responses indicated that it had helped them in their work mainly by making them more aware of the problems of different groups and by informing them of why they act the way they do when different conditions are introduced.

Question number six was: "Do you feel that it would be helpful to have all of the Tucson Police Department personnel go through similar training? Explain." To this question there were only four negative responses. The idea of those who thought it would benefit the Department was that the training should be given to the new patrolman soon after he "hits the street." It was thought by most that the training would be more helpful if everyone in the Department had it.

The seventh question was, "What do you think could have been done to improve the program at the Institute?" The overwhelming response to this question was that more time should have been spent with the panels so that there could have been more dialogue between the panels and the persons attending the Institute.

The last question was given to ascertain what the officer would think was the important aspects of police-community relations. The question was: "What is your definition of police-community relations?" The one aspect that was stressed the most was communication between the police and the community. The point was made that the communication has to be two-way to be effective. Other key words that kept coming up were "understanding," "courtesy," and "respect." Another aspect that was brought out was that all groups and the police have to be honest with each other.

Generally, the personnel that attended the Institute seemed to have thought that the program was informative and helpful. They had some reservations on different points, but, over-all, their reactions were very favorable.

SUMMARY BY PROJECT DIRECTOR

The police officer today stands on the threshold of professionalism. He looks forward to the day of true professionalism and recognizes the problems that may be overcome. This professionalism must be based upon the deeper set of values that currently prevail in most police literature. The philosophy of professionalism needed must convey the idea that the police are as much institution-dedicated to the solving of society's problems as they are an official social organization designed to control misconduct through invoking punitive sanctions.

The officer of today must have a sound grasp of the unique functions within a democratic society. It is very important that he be able to understand the problems of the community and be able to relate well to its members. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in enlarging on this view concludes:

Improving community relations involves not only the institution of programs and the changing of procedures, but reexamining fundamental attitudes. The police will have to learn to listen patiently and understandingly to people who are openly critical of them or hostile to them, since those people are precisely the ones with whom relations need to be improved. Quite evidently, it is not easy for a man who was brought up to obey the law and to respect law enforcement officers to maintain his poise and equanimity when he is denounced, sneered at, or threatened. However, policemen must do just that if police-citizen relationships on the street are to become the person-to-person encounters rather than black-versus-white, oppressed-versus-oppressor confrontations they too often are.

The police must adapt themselves to the rapid changes in patterns of behavior that are taking place in

America. This is a time when traditional ideas and institutions are being challenged with increasing insistence. The poor want an equal opportunity to earn a share of American wealth. Minority groups want a final end to the discrimination they have been subjected to for centuries. Young people, the fastest-growing segment of the population, have more freedom than they ever had. The police must be willing and able to deal understandingly and constructively with these often unsettling, ever-threatening changes.

Several years ago, we began conducting programs aimed at making us better prepared in the service to our community. The six-month Delinquency Control Institute from which we have fifty graduates and the two-year college program conducted completely within our Department has assisted our personnel in building a proper foundation in order to carry out their responsibilities in a fair, impartial and just manner. This Institute is a step toward completion of a bridge linking the policeman with the community. Policing must be reorganized as a part of and not apart from the community.

POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS

DR. C. S. MIHANOVICH
 Department of Anthropology
 and Sociology,
 St. Louis University

(Introduction by LT. KESSLER)

LIEUTENANT KESSLER

I think we are very fortunate to have as our next guest speaker Doctor Mihanovich. As you will note from the program, Doctor Mihanovich was here in Tucson about a week in August assisting in the formation of this Human Relations Seminar.

Doctor Mihanovich is from St. Louis University. He is on the faculty there, and for the past ten years he has been a police community relations consultant for the City of St. Louis.

I have had the pleasure of listening to Doctor Mihanovich at Michigan State, as did Lieutenant Robles and Lieutenant Greer. We asked Louis A. Radelet, the head of the Michigan State Institute, for suggestions as to whom we might secure as a consultant for our grant; and without hesitating, he indicated to us if we were fortunate in getting Doctor Mihanovich, we could look forward to a real good program.

Needless to say, we immediately approached him at Michigan State and put in our bid for his services and not only got him as a consultant, but convinced him to come back to check on us to see if we were following what he suggested and at the same time spend from nine o'clock to noon today talking on police community relations.

After the sub-group meetings this afternoon, he will answer questions from the sub-groups. Our Chief will also be back at about three forty-five to also answer questions from the sub-groups.

At this time, I would like to introduce to you Doctor Mihanovich.

POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS

DOCTOR C. S. MIHANGVICH

I don't think it is necessary for me to tell you that it is a very obvious pleasure for me to appear before you; and sometimes I think it is very important for the audience to know something about the background of the speaker not in terms of egoism, but in terms of understanding his ideas and his position because if you don't understand the background of the speaker, there is always a possibility of misinterrupting him or misunderstanding him.

I am a son of immigrants. My parents came over here at the beginning of this particular century from a country called Yugoslavia. They were illiterate, but they were good parents.

I received my education at St. Louis University and at the University of Colon in Germany.

I ran the Department of Sociology at St. Louis University for twenty-four years and resigned as Director of the Department because I believed I served as Director of the Department twenty years too long. You need a change.

I have been associated with various police departments for the last fifteen years. As Lieutenant Kessler has indicated to you, I am consultant to

the Office of Police Community Relations in St. Louis and have been a consultant to that department for ten years. I have been consultant to the board of police commissioners of St. Louis for fifteen years. I am also a consultant to a number of other police departments throughout the United States, not in the areas of police administration or police science because this is not my particular field of competency, but in the area of police community relations.

I was one of the first individuals that participated in the establishment of police community relations in St. Louis. Some of you know already that St. Louis and the Metropolitan St. Louis Police Department was the first department to establish an office of police community relations. Some critics consider it to be one of the best, if not the best, office of police community relations in the country.

With this little background and with further indication that I have been a member of a minority group in terms of religion and in terms of nationality, you may understand my position. You must also understand, for instance, that I am a neutral when it comes to problems that relate between the community and the police. I think I know as many problems as the police as would the ordinary policeman, and I sympathize with the police. What I am trying to indicate to you here so that no misunderstanding may occur, is that I am not here to pat you over the head; I am not here to criticize you in any manner, shape or form. I know something about the police department in Tucson, and in all honesty I can say that this is a good police department. It is not a question that it is a bad police department, because no one can prove that.

I was very happy to see the establishment of this eighty hours of training, and I can tell you from my experience no police department in the United States has as yet established a program similar to the one you are beginning today. This is an ideal program, and a program that literally encompasses within itself one full semester of work in the area of sociology, psychology, in the area of communications, in the area of anthropology, and in the area of demography. Literally, in these two weeks you are getting one full semester of work. Unfortunately, you are not going to get any credit for it at any particular college or university. I might have hoped that the university here might have given you credit along this line.

My purpose here is to give you an idea of what police community relations is, what it should involve and what it actually entails. Obviously, it is pure unadulterated common sense. Much of what I am going to tell you you already know; however, there are many things that we know and we forget.

As your Chief has indicated to you, some of this may be repetitious. If it is repetition, then repetition itself may force upon you a reconsideration of ideas that you have forgotten.

Let me start off by making a number of statements. First of all, I do believe that 1968 is the year of the policeman. Why do I make the statement that 1968 is the year of the policeman? It is the year of the policeman in a number of senses. First of all, it is the year that in all probability is going to be the first year in the realization of the professionalization of the policeman in the United States. Your role as a policeman

has become increasingly recognized not only as an important role but as a significant role. What you as policemen do this particular year is going to spell whether or not the professionalization of a policeman in the United States is going to continue in the years to come or whether or not the monkey that you carry on your back, the monkey that has been placed on your back by decades of other particular police departments that have malfunctions will remain on your back and will make your task harder.

The second reason for making the statement that 1968 is the year of the policeman is found in the fact that this is the year where you are not permitted to underact or to overact as a policeman. If you underact as a policeman or if you overact as a policeman, you may be the unwitting, the unconscious, catalase that may result in what they refer to as a long, hot spring or a long, hot summer in your particular community. This is the year where you must enforce the law, not by underacting and not by overacting as a policeman.

The third reason for making the statement that 1968 is the year of the policeman is also found in the fact as Ramsey Clark stated a few weeks ago in St. Louis that police community relations is the foundation of law enforcement. Whether you wish to accept this or not, this is a reality. No police department in the United States can successfully and effectively operate unless that police department realizes the importance of police community relations and participates in police community relations from the level of the chief of police.

The last reason for making this statement is that if there is no police community relations activities going on in a community and if this does not

spread throughout the whole of the country according to Ramsey Clark, the Attorney General of the United States, we may have a police state; and, therefore, the best guarantee of not having a police state, according to Ramsey Clark, is the establishment of police community relations.

Let's ask ourselves a number of questions. First of all, really what is police community relations? I think this is misunderstood. It's misunderstood by the newspapers. It's misunderstood by the white majority group, by the Negro minority group, by the Spanish minority group, and by other particular groups. Primarily and solely and fundamentally, the purpose of police community relations is drawing the people closer to the police and the police closer to the people. This is expressing it in the vernacular. This is what it amounts to. It is a rapport, it is an understanding, it is a system of cooperation. If the police better understand all the groups they come into contact, they will render better and more effective service. The Chief this morning explained this to you. On the other hand, if the public better understands the police, the traditionally tarnished image of the policeman will shine more brightly; therefore, police community relationship is a partnership between the police and the citizens in both law enforcement and in crime prevention.

This is brought out again and again by a number of studies. For instance, some studies were conducted in Denver; one study was conducted by myself in St. Louis; another one was conducted in Peoria, Illinois; and a fourth one that I am familiar with has been conducted in Hartford, Connecticut. These are what we call "the study of the citizen's attitude toward the police." We will take St. Louis as an example, and it is typical of all the studies that have

been made. In St. Louis I found, for example, that the majority of the people of the City of St. Louis considered the police department as a good police department. They considered the police department as an effective police department. Every one of these other studies that I mentioned seemed to indicate the same. On the other hand, in every one of these studies, we found out in giving these individuals a series of questions to answer and to express their opinions on, that a significant fraction really had no opinion on, for instance, whether the police were honest, whether the police were brutal, whether the police were interested in doing a good job. This seems to bring out one basic point--that if the citizen can better understand the role of a policeman and the function of a policeman and this can only be done by you through police community relations in relationship to the citizen that many of your present difficulties, even though they be of minor nature, will be reduced and reduced significantly if this dialogue exists.

There are a number of things that we have to keep in mind and that is this. First of all, police community relations is not social work. I am afraid that there are too many individuals that are now engaged in police community relations who seem to operate under the assumption that every policeman is going to be a big brother, every policewoman is going to be a big sister, every policeman is going to solve every problems that he comes into contact with. You must keep in mind, therefore, at least from my point of view, that it is not social work. You as a policeman are not in a position to solve, let us say, all of the personal or all of the group problems of the individuals that you come in contact with. To express it a different way, to prevent crime I think you realize as well as I do that you must remove the cause of the crime; but to remove the cause of the crime, you must bring about

a social and economic, a political and moral and other changes in society of a revolutionary nature. Since the police are not reformers, they cannot prevent crime in a sense of removing or remedying the causes. If by the causes you imply bad housing, if by the causes you imply prejudice and discrimination on the part of employers and other citizens outside the police department; however, their work will not progress, therefore, unless prevention is used. Therefore, the police need the citizen in not only the prevention of crime, but in those functions that are purely police, such as crime apprehension, safeguarding of life, property and rights and the preparation of evidence for prosecution.

Police community relations, therefore, is not curing of those social ills that produce the social problems that result in deviant behavior with which you as a policeman must cope. It is the process of getting the citizens to help themselves by helping the police carrying out their designated duties with the greatest efficiency, the least amount of resistance, the least amount of misunderstanding, and the least amount of conflict. It is also the process of making police work in a cooperative endeavor between citizens and the police, a partnership between the police and the citizens where the policeman in many cases is a senior partner.

Police community relations is also the process where the police assure themselves of satisfied customers. This can be achieved only if both know each other, each other's problems, and each other's needs. This can be accomplished only by police community relations, and it can be accomplished only if you really incorporate in your daily activity all the information that you are going to receive here in the two weeks' training that has begun this morning.

I would say, really, in one very concise way that there are two important things that you will be faced with this year as a policeman which may retard or may "prevent" a serious disturbance in Tucson. It is expressed in something that you have heard so many times before--COURTESY. Courtesy to all, tall and small, black and white, brown and others. Treat the individual as he really is. I believe that if there is any riot in any city in the United States that in all probability the catalase, not the cause--and I emphasize the fact, not the cause of the riot--that the catalase will be the relationship between the individual policeman who in the process of conducting a legal and justifiable arrest has placed himself in a situation where somebody used him as a fuse and lit the fuse and the whole situation exploded. The second source of danger that exists is what is usually referred to as the complaint procedure. I know in Tucson, in my opinion at least, you have a good complaint procedure, and you have a booklet or manual on that complaint procedure. In my studies, I have found that literally these are the two main causes of difficulty between the citizens and the police. One again by way of repetition is the question of courtesy--how the policeman relates to the citizen. The second one is the complaint procedure--how rapidly you process your particular complaints and whether or not the individuals who give the complaint actually believe that the police department is or is not engaging in a whitewashing process. So if you have a complaint procedure that is rapid, efficient, and honest, and legal, and secondly, if you do have policemen who do relate effectively in terms of human relations with the individual citizens that they come into contact with, these plus other particular factors, but these two alone are the significant factors in the possible retardation of serious difficulty in any particular community.

I don't think it is necessary for me to tell you something that you already know. No one can predict a riot. We have a number of tests for potential riots, but these are not accurate. A riot can occur at any particular time in any particular place, but there are a number of things that can be done which literally could possibly retard or possibly blunt the effects of a riot. I don't believe for instances as has been indicated by some communication from Washington on a basis of some meetings that have been held there, particularly the meets that your Chief has attended, which seem to imply that the policeman today, right now at this very moment, until and when the summer months come along, cannot do anything about the retardation of riots. They mean that you are going to be confronted with a situation that you have nothing whatever to do with. I don't believe that. I believe that right now at this very moment and until and when the so-called long, hot summer is over, that there are many things that you can do as well as many things that you have been doing which could retard or possibly blunt the effects of a riot.

This information you will receive in this two weeks' training here. Don't operate under the assumption that from now on you are going to be a sitting duck. Whether you are a policeman in Tucson or a policeman in any other particular city, something can be done, something effective can be done.

Usually when we talk about police community relations, the police officer will get up and say, "What can I get out of police community relations?" I can give you a number of suggestions; and when I give you these suggestions, I can actually in many cases statistically prove this to you. But, obviously, because of time, I am not going to bore you; but I give them

to you as "What are the benefits of police community relations to a police officer."

First of all, if you have an effective police community relations set-up in any city and what do I mean by effective police community relations? By an effective police community relations set-up, I mean that you have a training such as the one you are receiving right now, and that you have organized in your city as many committees or as many groups of dialogue between the police and the citizen as you can possibly establish, that these committees or councils--whatever you wish to call them--operate, and operate quite effectively, that if you have all of this, you are going to see some results that are going to be quite dramatic and quite effective. There will be a better understanding of the citizen and his problem on the part of the policeman. The Chief has indicated this to you. A policeman must understand the problems of the people that he meets. That does not mean--and I am emphasizing this--that you are going to solve the problems of the individual. If you have an officer who is your companion, and he works with you, I am sure that you work with him; and it will be more effective if you understand and appreciate him, if you understand his problems--his problems in terms of health, his problems in terms of his marriage, his problems in terms of his income, his problems in terms of his children, or whatever they may be, that you would have a better relationship with him. That does not mean, again, that you are in a position to really give him money to get him out of his financial situation or that you are in a position to cure him of his illness or that you are in a position to resolve his marital problems. I emphasize this again.

Another factor that must be kept in mind is this. When you or anybody else speaks of police community relations, don't get the idea that police

community relations is directed solely, predominantly, or only to minority groups. This is a basic error. When we speak about police community relations, we are speaking not only about the relationship of the policeman to the Negro minority group, or the policeman to the Spanish-speaking minority group. When you speak about police community relations, you are speaking about the relationship of the policeman to the community that includes the majority white as well as the minority black or the minority brown or whatever they may be, because, unfortunately, there are many minority groups who actually believe that the purpose of police community relations is directed solely at the minority groups and primarily interested in subjugating the minority; and you should never, please, operate under that assumption. You must relate to the holy Joe and the holy Josephine, whether this holy Joe or holy Josephine happens to be white, black or brown, as well as to the unholy Joe and the unholy Josephine, irrespective of their color or creed.

You are going to have greater cooperation with the citizens. An example-- and please forgive me for using examples from St. Louis. I am not using them primarily because of any particular egotistical reason whatsoever. You may not know it; but by way of example in St. Louis, we have nine (9) police districts. In each of the police districts we have what is called a police station. This is headed by a captain, lieutenant, sergeant and all the way down the line. In each of the nine districts, we have a police community relations committee. The membership in this committee ranges from time to time on a minimal fifty to a maximum of one thousand citizens. Each of these committees consists of a chairman. He is a citizen elected by the

citizens, a vice-chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. Each of these committees is then further subdivided into subcommittees, such as the subcommittee on juvenile problems, subcommittee on auto theft, subcommittee on crime prevention and all the way down the line. The captain of each particular district is also a member of this executive board. The lieutenant is also a member of the executive board. The juvenile officer in the district and the sanitation officer is a member of this particular board.

They meet once a month, at which time they discuss the individual problems that they happen to have. This is all organized and coordinated from a central office which is located in the headquarters of the police department of the City of St. Louis. It is called the Office of Police Community Relations. The Office of Police Community Relations of St. Louis now has a personnel of twenty-five (25) people. A consultant such as myself, a director, and associate director, and in addition to that it has nine police community relations officers. One is a sergeant, and the rest of them are patrolmen. One police community relations officer is assigned to each of these particular districts.

We also have in two of our districts a so-called "store front," which is literally nothing else but a neighborhood police station where the individual can communicate.

The central office, as they shift ideas down into the police community relation committees in each one of these district. We are now in the process of organizing also a police relations committee in each one of our public housing projects. There is, therefore, a constant dialogue taking place between the police and the citizens themselves. I am not going to describe

unless you want me to later on the detail functioning of each one of these committees; but one very essential characteristic is there is an agenda given at each one of the meetings, and there is time reserved for anyone at that meeting to come up and make a complaint in regards to anything he wants to make a complaint about. The interesting thing is that these citizens will get up and they will make complaints. These complaints will be taken down, and as these complaints are taken down, when they are completed the captain of the district will get up, and if it is possible for him to immediately answer these complaints, he will answer these complaints. If not, he will take them with him and study them and analyze them and then refer them to the next meeting. Every complaint is answered. When we have a serious complaint, that is a complaint in regard to brutality; that is, of course, taken over by the headquarters. They handle it themselves. Because of this, I think that you have, not perfection in St. Louis. You don't. But what you have here, as I said before, is a better understanding of the citizens and his problems on the part of the policeman. The policeman can then understand these particular problems, because we bring to these meetings not only the Chief of Police, not only the captain, not only the lieutenant. We also bring the sergeant. We are not yet in the position to bring the patrolman because it is a little difficult to do. Rapport exists, and we find out that there is increasing understanding both of the role of the policeman by the citizens and vice versa. You also have great cooperation from the citizens, as I mentioned before. Let me illustrate this point. I am not saying that what I say right now is the result of police community relations, but as an illustration. A few months ago, H. Rap Brown came to St. Louis. He was scheduled to give a talk in a city called East St. Louis, which is in Illinois across the river from St. Louis. He came to St. Louis.

The police met him in civilian clothes at the airport when he came, and he was scheduled to give a talk at a location in St. Louis which has the highest crime area, which has the greatest potential for a riot, the greatest potential for violence of any section of the City of St. Louis. He came down and he stood on top of a car and began to lecture to the people. He had sixty (60) people there out of a potential audience of 20,000. He talked to the people; he expressed his ideas to them. Actually there were more policemen in civilian clothes than there were citizens listening to him talk.

The question is "why didn't the citizens react to H. Rap Brown?" He went across the river to East St. Louis to give a talk, and you had two nights of rioting. Serious riots, burnings and looting and injuries took place. We tried to find out why the effect of H. Rap Brown was not the same in St. Louis as it was in East St. Louis. One reason we found was that an individual citizen who had a candy store across the street from the housing project where H. Rap Brown spoke took it upon himself--he happened to be a member of one of our police community relations committees--to conduct a dance contest on the street in front of his store at exactly the same time that H. Rap Brown was giving a talk. This siphoned off some of the youth. As I said, this is the type of cooperation you can get from the citizens, as you shall see later on. You have other types of cooperation that you are going to get from them, particularly when you are faced with the rumor of a riot or with a potential riot or an actual riot of one kind or another.

You will also have a reduction in crime taking place. Please remember that I don't want to create a misunderstanding. I am not making the statement

that police community relations is a panacea. Neither do I wish to make the statement that the non-effect of H. Rap Brown are due solely to community relations. But we do know that police community relations had something to do with it.

To give you another illustration in this same particular area that I spoke of briefly, the Police Department of the City of St. Louis was forced for economic reasons and efficiency reasons to close down one of the police stations. When this particular police station was closed down, it seemed to create an undue amount of disturbance among the citizens. The citizens were predominantly Negro. The crime rate rose very rapidly. The police were attacked. Firemen were attacked. Vandalism took place. The citizens became aroused. They felt insecure. They petitioned the police department to reopen this closed police station. And although the police department realized that economically this was not feasible, they reopened it because they listened to the citizens. The result was a significant reduction in crime in this area, which was one of the high crime areas in the City of St. Louis.

There will also be, for instance, if you implement everything that you receive in these two weeks here, a greater willingness on the part of citizens to report crimes to you. There will also be a greater willingness on the part of citizens to testify. We have in St. Louis, and possibly you may want to consider here, what we call "Citizen of the Month Award." This is given to a number of citizens. We give this every three months--previously, it was every month--to the citizen who has done the most in terms of a particular act in relationship to police community relations which has assisted the policeman. It consists of nothing else but giving him a scroll, and we find out that this is very effective in getting this type of cooperation among them.

You also have a greater reduction in non-police duties and calls. Again, I don't think it is necessary for me to indicate to you something that you know already--that if you are an average police department, about 70 per cent of your calls are really calls that have directly or indirectly nothing to do with law enforcement. They have to do with various services and many times you have to inform the individual who calls you that this is not the function of the police department. This has to be carried out by the health department, the sanitation department, the water department, or whatever you may have. In relating with a citizen through police community relations, we find that by telling them this again and again, this is what we cannot do, this is what we may not do, this is whom you should call, we find that there is a reduction in these types of calls which gives you undoubtedly more time to act as a law enforcement officer.

Furthermore, you will have a reduction in tension between police and the citizen. "I don't think that there is an ideal situation between citizens and the police in any city in the United States. I don't think that will ever be achieved, but I do believe and I do believe very sincerely, that if you implement again what you are going to get here in the next two weeks, there will be this reduction in tension between the police and the citizen. You are not going to be referred to as frequently as you have as a flat-foot or some other particular derogatory terms, many of them you are more familiar with than I am. You are also going to have a continued improvement of the image of the policeman. You are going to have better help from citizens in crisis situations. Literally, if you begin to engage in police community relations right now, you will find out when and if there is any particular problem in

Tucson this summer. You will have greater cooperation from the citizens, that the citizens will assist you in many situations that eventually could be a potentially dangerous situation. Consequently, you will find that you will have a reduction in the probabilities for riots that are preceded by an arrest because citizen cooperation is not going to block this particular arrest but also assist you in this respect.

For example, again using St. Louis, we have what we call patrol areas. We have, as you have, three shifts. We have assigned one citizen to be what we call a patrol area leader. There is a patrol area leader for each one of these shifts. He in turn is related to the sergeant who is in charge of the patrol area. These individuals communicate with each other as frequently as possible. The patrol area leader presents the various problems of the immediate neighborhood to the sergeant, and the sergeant transmits this to the patrolman; therefore, there is this better kind of understanding. This sergeant can call upon this patrol area leader, who in all probability is what may be referred to as a natural leader in the area itself, for help in a particular crisis situation--not that he is going to shoot or that he is going to arrest, but, to say, allay rumors of one kind or another.

You are going to find out that one of the effective ways of forestalling a civilian review board is really through police community relations.

Again, I will give you an illustration. About ten years ago, there was a tremendous clamor in St. Louis for a civilian review board. It was a clamor that came from the American Civil Liberties Union in St. Louis, from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, from C.O.R.E. and from other particular groups. Through police community relations

in St. Louis, we then began to communicate with these people who demanded a civilian review board. We began to explain to them the process of complaint procedure as it existed in St. Louis. We opened some of our complaint cases to them, and they took a look at them. To make a long story short, within approximately a year and a half, the whole idea of a civilian review board had been dropped. It is no longer an issue in St. Louis between the majority groups and the minority groups and the police department. At the present time, I will admit these individuals are now asking for citizen involvement in what they call complaint procedure of one kind or another; but through this type of communication we had the effect of practically eliminating any particular effective demand for a civilian review board.

You will also find out that you will have an increased potentiality for recruitment in the police department through these police community relations activities.

You will also provide a safety valve for tensions that could result in conflict between police and citizens.

It will also provide police with a sounding board to find out what the community is thinking, feeling and acting.

I think without any attempt at evaluating the situation here in Tucson, many a policeman operates under the assumption that he knows what is going on in the area that he covers. This is to a certain extent true, but at the same time, we must keep in mind that because of the high mobility of the policeman and through the technological development of police work, more and more of you come less and less in contact with the individual citizen

outside of the process of making an arrest. Therefore, you are not in a position to keep your ear on the ground and find out what is going on. What are the rumors? Who is coming to town? What are the dangers? If you have a police community relations set-up as I mentioned in the very beginning, you undoubtedly will find that there is really an opportunity for you and them to find out what in the world is ticking in this particular area. Not that they are going to be spies for you. Not that they are going to be stool-pigeons for you--but they will tell you. Many and many times we have had calls in regards to where a certain individual would come to town. We would not know about it as well as our intelligence should. They would call us and tell us so and so is coming to town, and he will speak at so and so place. This is extremely helpful to us, and you are going to have this type of cooperation. You will also receive status as a policeman.

Another illustration: Take a very simple procedure that has been used in some sections of the United States and St. Louis; and this may sound very elementary to you, and it is very elementary, not significant in any way whatsoever. One of our officers, a man called John Carroll, a Negro, conceived the idea of having the police officer wave to the children in the street as he passed by, and the children wave back. We are speaking predominantly of elementary school children. To make a long story short, this caught on tremendously. Some officers literally became tired of doing this as they went by; but the same children as they kept tab on how many "hi's" they said to a policeman in school, and now in many of these areas literally when this policeman gets out of the car, before school or after school, or

on Saturday or Sunday, these policemen are literally mobbed by these kids. There is this rapport. There is this understanding. There is a greater appreciation. A very simple thing that the policeman said "Hi" when the kid waves "hi"--a very simple process. I admit that this sounds pretty silly to you, and I doubted its effectiveness when I first came into contact with it. In the end result, it was extremely surprising, so that now literally the police can walk into any area of an elementary school and be received without any antagonism whatsoever. There are still some areas that he does not receive this.

To change the pace here a little bit, let me stop and ask if you have any questions or problems that you want to bring up. Although we will have a question-and-answer period in the afternoon, possibly some of the points that I might have brought up might not have been clear to you. I think it is also clear to you that you are perfectly free to express yourself. Nobody is spying on you. Nobody is taking down any particular records; and, consequently, I think a little discussion here would possibly change the pace a little bit. Does anyone have any questions or problems that they want to bring up, or any points that you want clarified in way of discussion or analysis?

Q. What is the population of St. Louis?

A. It is about 750,000. At the present time, the unofficial figure is that about 40 per cent of the population of St. Louis. The official figure of 1960 was 28.9 per cent, and it is actually 40 per cent right now.

Q. Is the police community relations set-up in St. Louis adequate?

A. Adequate? You are asking me to make an evaluation. I would say in my particular opinion that the police community relations system

in St. Louis is adequate, but not totally efficient in a sense that there are many things which they have to do which they have not done, and they cannot do until more money is poured in and more personnel is actually brought in.

There are many problems that they face. Sometimes, and I am being perfectly honest with you, when a police department engages in police community relations, it sets up a printing press and starts dishing out a lot of pamphlets and many other things that are associated with it, hoping that by distributing these pamphlets that you may possibly resolve some particular problem.

Although this is one function of police community relations, the essential characteristic of police community relations is really a face-to-face relationship between the policeman and the citizen. As I have indicated to you, we have not as yet been able to involve the patrolman. We involve everybody from the board of police commissioners all the way down to the sergeant. It has taken us ten years to do this, and now we are in the process of trying to involve the patrolman in police community relations by asking him to attend these meetings and by participating in the activities of the meetings.

I think I can honestly tell you that the police community relations in St. Louis is no guarantee of anything, but no one in St. Louis can tell me what would have happened in St. Louis if there was no police community relations. This is hard to evaluate. As you know, we had no riots in St. Louis last summer.

The chief of police in St. Louis, as does the president of our board of commissioners--we have four civilians who are the board of police commissioners who are appointed by the governor of the state of Missouri--believe the reason we did not have riots in St. Louis is due to the activity of our office of police community relations. I say this is partly true, but there are many, many other factors that are involved in it. It is the efficient operation of the police department; it is the human development corporation or the so-called community action program.

It is many, many things; but, actually, if you were to take police community relations out of St. Louis and if you would do this really; theoretically, in all probability, I would say the situation in St. Louis would be much worse than it is at the present time, much worse than it is.

Q. What is the approximate percentage of Negro population of East St. Louis and does their police department have a P.R. unit?

A. What percentage of the population of East St. Louis is Negro? I cannot give you the exact figures, but I would venture to say that in East St. Louis the percentage would be about 30 per cent. I am guessing on that particular thing. In St. Louis, it is higher.

East St. Louis does not have any police community relations set-up. They have, if you have read the paper, the police commissioner is a Negro and the police commissioner made a statement comparable to the statement made by the chief of police of Miami.

They have been subjected to a number of cases of arson and vandalism, and he made the statement a few days ago in which he indicated that they will shoot first and ask questions later whenever they are confronted with this particular problem. People have been throwing molotov cocktails into jewelry stores, into taverns, etc. They don't have any police community relations set-up in East St. Louis.

Q. How many policemen do you have in St. Louis?

A. It is hard to estimate because it differs. We have approximately 2,000 police officers in St. Louis. I would say that we would have considerably less than ten per cent Negroes. We do have three captains that are Negroes, and these three captains are precinct captains. We have five lieutenants that are Negroes and about four or five sergeants that are Negroes.

We have a problem in terms of recruitment for Negroes. A very serious problem. We just can't get them. We have gone so far as to take members of the minority group who have applied for admission to the police department and who have failed to pass the examination. In St. Louis

we require a minimum of a high school education, and many of these people coming from minority groups are really incapable of orally communicating or communicating in a written manner. They cannot write, etc. So the police department in St. Louis secured a grant from the United States government and in cooperation with the board of education and has taken approximately twenty-five (25) of these applicants who have failed to pass the entrance examination for the police department and given them training in education by way of elevating them, so to speak. Out of this, they have gotten approximately five (5) officers who are now recruits in our training program. They try to upgrade them to meet the situation.

Q. Do you have minority officers working in minority areas?

A. You mean Negroes working in Negro districts? The policy in St. Louis is that there is no conscious and no deliberate effort being made on the part of the police department to assign any one officer because of his color to any one particular district because of the color of the district itself; however, we do find that most of the Negroes, practically all of them, are assigned either to Negro areas or assigned to mixed areas. There may be at the present time two or three Negro patrolmen that are assigned to white areas. Most of them are in the area. This is done not consciously and not deliberately; it just turns out this way.

Negro officers ride with white officers. The assignment is made and whoever comes up takes the lead as such.

Q. Aren't there complaints both ways as far as Negroes being assigned to white areas as well as Negro areas?

A. Yes. I can give you a little history of this which I think you will find corresponds with the history of practically every police department. Without mentioning the years, but a very brief history of the thing itself.

The Negroes in St. Louis have asked first of all that we take out those officers that have been assigned to predominantly Negro areas who are older officers and who are prejudiced. They claimed that they were

prejudiced, who not only were prejudiced, but were discriminating. The board of police commissioners then made certain changes. They some of these officers out and assigned them to a different district and turned in younger officers. These younger officers then were being criticized for enforcing the law too strongly. They wrote out tickets and everything else. They complained about them.

Then, of course, they complained about the fact that Negroes did not ride with white officers in scout cars and cruisers. This was partly true, and now they have changed this. They are working together.

The Negroes are now asking that Negro officers be assigned to white areas; and this is being done to a certain extent, but not very extensively because you don't have that many Negro officers.

You will find literally no matter what you ask for, the individuals as a group will not be satisfied with what you do over there because they will complain, for instance, that the older officers are prejudiced and the younger officers less prejudiced and the younger officer will enforce the law. They don't want only Negroes in Negro areas because sometime they will speak about Negro officers being more law-enforcing than white officers, or they have no respect for Negro officers in Negro areas, etc.

Q. How are these community leaders chosen?

A. Let me indicate to you, first of all, that this began in 1955 and really was instituted in 1957. Let me give you an illustration of the last district that we organized in St. Louis. This was the second police district. This is the district in which I live. This is a high-middle-class district, and at the same time it is 99.44 per cent white. We took one of these police community relations officers, and we trained him and told him it is your task to organize this particular district. What he did do was find out from the captain in the district who were, what is generally referred to as natural leaders.

These are individuals who are looked up to in a community. In this area, we have a section called "The Hill." And it is also called "Dago

Hill" because it is an Italian section and where you have some of your most prominent restaurants in St. Louis. Through the captain of the district and the various officers, he came in contact with and contacting P.T.A. organizations all the way down the line. To make a long story short, he gathered a nucleus of individuals. This nucleus of individuals consisted in the very beginning of approximately twenty-five (25) individuals who were brought together to organize this particular committee.

This was started a couple of years ago, and it failed. It was started again and failed; and about six months ago, this office that I referred to started this. The last meeting that he had of the police community relations committee in the second district, he had eight hundred (800) people--eight hundred individuals. He used a gimmick. You see, this was, comparatively speaking, a crime-free area. It was the second lowest crime area in the City of St. Louis; but within the last twelve months, the area was subjected to burglary, robbery and auto thefts and the people became aroused. And he appealed to them on this, and he organized them; and now he has established himself, and I think from now on he will have from two to three hundred individuals for every particular meeting.

Q. Are these people primarily business people?

A. No, they are not primarily business people. They are housewives, retired individuals; they are business individuals; they are ministers, clergymen, P.T.A. people. We have in each district a separate organization for businessmen where we meet with them. We have a separate subcommittee for businessmen because their problems are a little different than the problems of the ordinary citizen. We discuss burglaries, robberies, break-ins and all the other factors and bad checks, etc.

Again, I will be perfectly frank with you, is that we have not succeeded in doing in St. Louis--and I don't think anybody has succeeded in any particular police community relations organization, and one that is extremely important and very essential, is to bring

in the sixteen-, seventeen-, eighteen-, nineteen- and twenty-year-olds. We have not succeeded in that, although in St. Louis, we have what is called the St. Louis High School Council on Community Relations, where we have a student from each of the four classes in high school, the editor of the paper come in and discuss problems in regards to the high school; but the drop-out we have not.

We have in our employ at the present time a man called William Tripolett, who is a Negro. He was a football player. He was with the Cardinals and then shifted to the New York Jets, if I remember correctly. He is a person now who is supposed to contact the younger ones that I have been talking about and bring them in as much as he possibly can.

Q. You gave several examples whereby requests were made by an ethnic group for certain departmental changes in the assignment of personnel, etc. The changes as the result of these requests were made and proved unsatisfactory. Weren't you jeopardizing the administrative authority of the department to determine where they will assign men and who they will assign?

A. No. We don't do that. Let me make this clear. The citizen does this on his own hook. In police community relations, we avoid this. We tell them we have nothing to do with it, and this is the essential characteristic of police community relations. That is why I was waiting for questions to clarify it. Police community relations has nothing to do with the promotion, demotion or the reprimand of any officer whatsoever. It has nothing to do with setting down policies in the police department. Its only purpose is to communicate with the citizens themselves. Citizens may wish to express certain opinions, and they express these opinions. You may remember that I told you that the chief will attend some of these meetings and the board of police commissioners will attend some of these particular meetings, and these people will communicate with them.

It is very clear that they have nothing to do with the promotion, demotion or reprimand of any particular police officer in any way whatsoever. We forbid political activities on the part of the committee

itself. If they are interested in some political activity, we tell them that this is not the function of the committee. In other words, we don't endorse a particular candidate. We don't condemn a particular candidate in any way whatsoever. But they are a private group, and this must be understood. First of all, the committee itself, although there is a relationship between the police and the committee itself, is an independent body. We have at the head of all of these committees the St. Louis Council on Police Community Relations, which is an advisory group to the police department in terms of police community relations. But they are independent, as is the police department, but they cooperate together. I'm glad you brought up that question because there was a misunderstanding.

- Q. What I was thinking of, if I lived in an Italian neighborhood and my Italian-American club goes to your community relations agency and says, "We want an Italian riding in a car." So you say, "O.K., we will give you an Italian and an Irishman." Then you go to the Puerto Rican section, and they say, "We want a Mexican riding in a car in our area." Where do you draw the line?
- A. No. We don't do anything like that. In other words, as I indicated to you, it is simply this when this communication comes up in a meeting. This, then, is transmitted to the policy-making body of the police department. They decide. We make no judgment on that whatsoever. We just present the information to them. We don't recommend, although, unfortunately, I grant you that in one particular instance not in St. Louis I do know that the man in charge of the police community relations went beyond this; and he had no right to do that. The reports of each meeting are sent to the chief and the board; and they read them, and they decide what they are going to do with it.
- As long as I have been there, I have never come across a particular case where the citizen demanded, for instance, that this officer be

promoted or that this officer be demoted or that this officer be reprimanded or changed or that an Italian should be appointed, etc. Usually, the demand for a Negro captain in a Negro area does not come from the committee; it comes from a Negro organization. It comes from your civil rights organizations but never comes from the committee.

- Q. Doctor, you mentioned that certain requests were made by this colored district and an officer was replaced by a younger officer or a colored was assigned to ride with a white officer. Were any of these requests that were granted, were any of them detrimental to the proper functioning of the department?
- A. Again, see, this is a decision that is made by the chief and the board of police commissioners. As a consultant, we had advised the police department not to open up this district because of money and other things that were involved at that particular time. They decided to do this themselves. There was absolutely no detriment there whatsoever. No detrimental effect in regard to the changes that had taken place. The older officers were shifted to another district, and they usually are shifted all around. They don't necessarily work for five or ten years in a particular district. A good number of our officers don't live in St. Louis; they live outside of St. Louis in the suburbs of St. Louis. There was no detrimental effect, or, at least, none that I noticed.
- Q. Did the origin of this plan start from within the police department?
- A. The origin of what--police community relations? The police community relations in St. Louis started by a number of individuals going to Michigan State University when they had one of these institutes or workshops on police community relations in 1955. The head of this particular delegation was the regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; and when they came back, the officers that went with him, in addition to a number of citizens that went with him, they decided that there was a need for an office of police community relations in the police department.

In the very beginning, the police department was not very receptive to this. They did not accept it. So the National Conference of Christians and Jews established a separate office of police community relations, and they paid for the first director themselves. Then this director was transferred to the police department. He operated at the headquarters of the police department but was paid by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Gradually, the upper echelon of the police department, including the board, accepted this idea of police community relations. Then they appointed a full-time director of the office of police community relations; and he was at the same time a public relations man, and he handled public relation activities. He later on dropped these public relation activities and became director of the office of police community relations.

Our board changes, depending upon the appointment made by the Governor of Missouri. Every time a new governor comes in, he either reappoints the board of police commissioners or appoints a new one. About two and a half years ago, a new board was appointed. At the same time, the director of police community relations in St. Louis resigned and he took another job. The end result was that there was no one in the office to operate police community relations. The present board at that particular time was extremely reluctant to continue with police community relations. So we met with this board a number of times and finally convinced them to continue with police community relations; and during the last two and a half years, the personnel and the activities of the office of police community relations in St. Louis has quadrupled in terms of personnel and activity.

All of the finances are paid by the police department, with the exception of some grants that we get, like O.L.E.A. grants of one kind or another. We establish store fronts through O.L.E.A. grants. Most of our activities in the districts through the committees is financed by the citizens themselves and by voluntary donations made by businessmen, etc.

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We did have in the very beginning, to be perfectly honest with you, a tremendous amount of opposition within the department. We have majors and lieutenant colonels in addition to colonels. The chief is a colonel, and the board of police commissioners are referred to as colonels. We have colonels, lieutenant colonels, major, captains, lieutenants, sergeants and then patrolmen. We did have the rank of corporal, but this is gradually being eliminated.

The last man to oppose police community relations in St. Louis retired two years ago. He was in the upper echelons. Now we have the full support of everyone in the upper echelon. Every one of the captains in the districts is a full supporter of police community relations. Everyone down at headquarters that is either a captain, or major, or lieutenant is a full supporter. I don't know of any one individual who is opposed to it. Now I am not talking about sergeants, and I'm not talking about patrolmen. It did take us quite some time to sell this to them, and they are finally convinced. Now the chief as well as the board of police commissioners take great pride in the fact that they have what they have.

If you have no further questions, let me continue along the lines of these particular problems that we want to discuss with you.

Really, what particular value is police community relations to you as a police officer?

Let me briefly summarize what I have said up to this present point so that you will know how far we are going here.

We told you, first of all, that there would be a better understanding on the part of the policeman of the citizen's problem. There would be a better understanding of the policeman's role, functions, and limits of his particular function on the part of the citizen. There would be greater

cooperation with the citizen. You would have a reduction in crime, not a significant reduction in crime--and here I am not trying to say, for instance, that police community relations is a panacea for everything that comes along; but, in all probability, you would have less crime where you have police community relations than where you do not have police community relations.

There would be a greater willingness on the part of citizens to report crimes, a greater willingness on the part of citizens to testify in various cases. There would be a reduction in non-police activities carried on by the police. There would be a reduction in tension between the police and the citizen. There would be a continued improvement in the police image and better help from citizens in crisis situations. There would be a reduction of the probability of riots and a possibility of riots, particularly in those situations where the riot might have been sparked by a legal arrest on the part of a policeman.

You can also use citizens to calm rumors of riots and help to reduce the spread of riots by this type of communication.

It can also forestall the clamor for a civilian review board, increase the potentiality for police recruitment and provide a safety valve for tension which could result in conflict between police and citizen and provide the citizen with a sounding board to find out what the community is feeling and acting and give status to the role of a policeman.

Not only that, but continuing here, you will also find if you participate in police community relations, you will see that police community relations

is going to be a mirror of your efficiency or of your inefficiency. You are going to know better and more accurately whether your job is effective or not effective, because your results are going to be mirrored in the dialogue and in the communications that you are going to engage in with these individuals. You will also be provided with a greater opportunity of having a personal contact with the citizen, not only with the deviants, but also with the citizens themselves.

I don't know what particular practices you have here. We are again confronted, like every police department is confronted, with the idea that police work has become increasingly impersonal. The citizen does not see the police. The policeman really does not see the citizen until he is in the process of making an arrest or reporting a particular catastrophe of one kind or another. We find that when the officers attend these meetings and we find when these officers are given the opportunity to meet with the citizens, there is greater face-to-face relationship of one kind or another taking place and a greater understanding taking place. For instance, one particular gimmick that the board of police commissioners has introduced in St. Louis in certain particular areas is--and I am sure that some of this goes on here, too--that they permit the officer in the cruiser to get out of the cruiser once in a while during the day and to walk down the street, or walk into a store, or walk into a shop and talk to somebody there to see the citizen and the citizen sees them. This has proven to be, I think, quite effective in some particular areas. You cannot have a patrolman in every particular district. You also find out that this results in a reduction of the impersonal nature of police work. As I said before, there are many monkeys on your back; and their weight will be reduced, and they will be reduced tremendously.

Again, giving you the obvious--giving you something that you know already--that the past sins of some of the officers that constitutes the history of law enforcement in the United States are on your back. You are carrying the sins of that inadequate sheriff in the South. You are carrying the sins of the grafting policeman of the twenties and thirties in Chicago and New York and St. Louis. You are carrying an image that has been perpetuated in literature, in television and in movies where you are conceived of as a little god, as a dictator, as a maintainer of the status quo, as a perpetuator of the establishment, as an individual who is really a frustrated individual and who is expressing his frustrations in violent reaction upon the people that you meet. These are the sins of the past that you are carrying, just as we speak of the concept of original sin; and, consequently, although you are not responsible for these monkeys on your back, you will, to be a more effective policeman, have to get these monkeys off your back--and how are you going to get them off your back? You are going to get them off your back if the people realize one thing: that that monkey does not belong on your back, that you did not put the monkeys there, and the only way you are going to do that is by this communication of one kind or another.

These groups will also help you keep tab on many of the extremist groups. We know, for instance in St. Louis, we don't know what is going to happen next summer; but we do know a number of things right now. We know, for instance, that the Black Muslim in St. Louis is being reorganized and re-organized effectively. We do know that various other black nationalist movements are being reorganized in St. Louis. We do know that St. Louis has been picked out as a target area for next summer. We do know that certain individuals have been designated to come to St. Louis allegedly to stir up

trouble this particular spring or summer. Most of this we learned not through our intelligence unit. We have learned this through the citizens themselves. We checked this and found out that this is true. In the meantime, the police department is preparing itself to meet this kind of a situation. It is now meeting with various Negro leaders and other minority leaders as well as white majority leaders to find out what they can do to forestall the possibility of what may happen this summer in St. Louis. Not only that, but the police department is also sharpening its strategic plans in regard to meeting of riots. I think that every police department in the United States should really now--and this is almost a month too late--sit down and have, if they don't have, a plan to set up a particular plan on what they are going to do when rumors of riots start; when a riot actually starts, what particular techniques and what strategy are they going to use. These plans are clearly defined in some particular cities such as St. Louis. I don't know what is going on here in Tucson, but this must be done in order to meet this kind of a situation because even though you are not responsible for riots, you still must meet that particular riot when it actually does come, and you can curtail it.

It is no derogatory statement for me to make; it is an obvious fact. And those of you who have read the papers know one thing: that one of the difficulties, one of the post-effects of the Detroit riots, has been a spreading of rumor and allegedly some truth that actually there were some officers who were looting while the minority group was looting in Detroit; and this creates an enormously bad image. We also know in the case of Detroit when the riots did occur that these policemen did not receive any clear-cut training on how to meet the situation.

Should you or should you not send uniformed officers into an area that is a potentially riot area, or in the case of a riot, or in a situation where there are rumors of riots? In St. Louis, we don't send uniformed officers there. In demonstrations we don't send uniformed officers there. They are all in civilian clothes. Whether you should do this here, I don't know. I am not making any recommendations, but I am talking about meeting something before it actually occurs; and if a riot occurs in this area, this is your plan--you are going to use Plan "A", you are going to use Plan "B", "C", because this could curtail enormously and could result in reducing the effects quite enormously along this line. I think this is a very important point; and I think this has been demonstrated in the case of Newark, in the case of Detroit and some of the other riots, that actually the police have not been trained in the handling of riots. They have suffered because of it, and they have been victims of the riots themselves.

Again, I don't want to create the impression that I am predicting riots in Tucson or predicting riots any place else. Anybody who predicts a riot is sticking out his neck, but we can always be prepared for the worst; and if we are prepared for the worst, I think that better results are going to come therefrom.

The information that I have given you up to the present time is based on experience and primarily intended to give you some idea of the assets and the liabilities that are associated with police community relations. All of this you are not going to understand very fully or appreciate very fully until after you have completed this particular program because you are going to understand this when you begin to understand what the Negro thinks, what the Mexican thinks, what other minority groups in your community think, what the majority members think and what are the basis for prejudice and discrimination.

Now, you will forgive me for the statements that I am going to make. They are not intended as criticisms in any way whatsoever, but I think they are important.

Everyone in this room, including myself, is prejudiced. Whether he is white or non-white. You can't get away from that. It is impossible. You cannot deny the fact that the whites are prejudiced as a group, and you cannot deny the fact the Negroes as a group are prejudiced. You cannot deny the fact that other members of the minority groups are prejudiced. This is not a one-way street. This is a two-way street. There are certain prejudices that the minority groups have against the whites and against the police. This does exist. You cannot get away from it. You have been raised on it. I can give myself as an example. I can remember my parents imbuing me with a prejudice that still is within me, and I have to constantly fight it. It is the prejudice that my parents come from a country called Yugoslavia, and the prejudice that they instilled in me is a prejudice of what are called the Serb or the Serbian; and I can remember my parents really lecturing to me in regard to all the evils of the Serbian people that they had been subjected to. Today, I have to constantly guard myself against expressing this kind of prejudice. All of us are prejudiced in one sense or another. I don't expect that any activity on the part of police community relations, and I don't expect any number of courses that you take in human relations or in inter-group relations is going to significantly reduce the prejudices that you and I may possess. This sounds like a completely negative statement.

Prejudice is something that is a part of everyone of us and starts from the approximate age of five or six. We learn it from our peer group and from our family; and it seems to achieve an apex primarily about the age

of fifteen, sixteen or seventeen. That is why you will find in many of these riot situations the participants are not individuals that are middle-aged or older, but usually in the so-called teen-age group.

If we are ever going to eliminate prejudice, we have to have a constant and continuing head-start program with all our children--Mexican, Indian, white and Negro. But in the meantime, we have to, as your chief has indicated, live with each other. One thing that I hope you will get from this workshop is to learn not to discriminate. This is important. You may not be able to eradicate some of the prejudices that exist in each one of us--and, again, I am not saying that any one of you is fanatically prejudiced. I am not making that statement. Each one of us have certain stereotypes in regards to other groups. The whites have stereotypes in regards to the police. Some police have stereotypes in regard to minority groups. Minority groups have stereotypes in regard to others. If we learn not to discriminate, I think that this is one very important factor in making this, as I started to tell you in the very beginning this morning, the year of the policeman. If we learn not to discriminate--and I'm speaking about all citizens, whether they are policemen or otherwise--if we learn not to discriminate, we will blunt any potential for a riot. Or if a riot does occur, we will minimize the effectiveness of that particular riot. I think you know the difference between prejudice and discrimination. For instance, if I am a prejudiced individual and I believe that the Negro is a degenerate, that the Negro is a rapist, that the Negro is a lazy person, that the Negro is this and the Negro is that, that the Italian is this and the Italian is that, the Mexican is this and the Indian is that--if I believe this, this is

my particular prejudice that I have subjectively. When I act on this particular prejudice and I treat the individuals in terms of this prejudice, this is what is called discrimination.

Really, in many instances, what education does is place a veneer on individuals that they not discriminate. We have certain principles in social psychology; and, undoubtedly, you are going to learn these as time goes by during these two weeks. You are going to learn, for instance, that I can take a group of individuals who are fanatically prejudiced; and I can give them all the information that science provides me to prove that they are wrong and that they have no particular basis for this prejudice. I can demonstrate this to them again and again, and one of three results will emanate: Either they will not change at all, or their prejudice could be intensified, or their prejudice could be reduced. There is no guarantee that any one of these three will occur. Any one of the three may occur. We also know, and we must keep this in mind by way of facing what may come in the months ahead, that whenever a minority group has tasted success, this is going to be followed by intensified action on the part of that minority group. If you know--and I am sure that you do know--the history of minority groups in the United States, many of you are worried about what happened last summer in our cities; but if you study the history of the United States and particularly study the history of our immigrant groups in the United States, you will find out that this is not something totally new. The newness only lies in the fact that we have a different group of individuals with more intensified problems. You know as well as I do that the Irishman when he first came to the United States and settled in New York, that literally he roamed the streets of his neighborhood with a double-barrel shotgun, that

he literally tore policemen apart. There were feuds in the streets, there was violence, there was upheaval. In every particular minority group, this did occur; but in the case of one minority group which we have right now--and that is the minority group of the Negro--you have a different kind of a situation where I have been born in a ghetto and I was raised in a ghetto, where I have been taught by the actions of a particular policeman to hate policemen when I was a kid; when I went out and took something that did not belong to me, when I went out and I vandalized certain particular properties that did not belong to me, I performed acts that were similar to the acts that are performed by other individuals. But there is one difference. That difference is this: that I could go to school; and as I went to school, I could educate myself; and as I educated myself, I could move up that particular ladder, and I could move out of that ghetto because I was not visible. I was not visible.

One problem--and it is an important problem--is that members of our minority groups are visible, and no matter what type of opportunity is given to them, and all opportunities should be given to them because this prejudice does exist. This prejudice is going to continue to exist as long as that visibility is there, and you are going to be faced with this problem from now on; and you are going to be faced with this problem until and when you have a situation where you have what may be called the amalgamation of the races. In the meantime, you are going to find in your Negro groups a rise in nationalism, a rise in race pride, and, remember, that this is nothing new in the United States. When the Italian came over here, when the Pole came over here, when the Irishman came over here, and when he was subjected to some of the subjugations that he happened to have, he had to give himself

an identity of one kind or another. What kind of identity did he give? He associated himself with the traditions of his ancestors. He was the individual that took great pride in the fact that he was an Irishman; he took great pride in the fact that his descendants were Italian. They formed these cultural organizations and fraternal organizations of one kind or another because they gave them identity. That is why you will find in the United States today a very important factor. You have this rise of an attempt on the part of the Negro as a particular group to identify themselves as a particular group so that they do have some element of self-esteem for themselves. This, in my opinion, will eventually pass; but this is also a dangerous stage because this dangerous stage can be capitalized upon by individuals who are unscrupulous, as you had unscrupulous leaders among the Italians and unscrupulous leaders among the Poles and among the Irish, who actually used those particular people for their own gains. What the Irish did in regards to the police, if they could not conquer them, they joined them, and became the essence of police departments in many of our cities like Boston and New York and Chicago. You will find the same thing true now with the new immigration of the Slavic--that many members of the Slavic group has joined the police group as such.

We must learn not to discriminate until and when and if as generations go by we eliminate this particular prejudice that exists within us, that which has been bred within us. Remember, there never has been a society, and, remember, in all probability, there never will be a society, where there will be no one prejudiced--whether it is indigenous, cultural, or economical,

or racial--it is going to exist. But in order to live with each other, we must engage in what I call non-discrimination. What does that mean in terms of a policeman? That means, as I told you in the very beginning, not to underact, not to overact in a situation. Handle a situation legally and properly--law enforcement with justice and understanding. This is an important factor because on your shoulders lie the stability and order of our particular society. Not that all of you, not that most of you, not that fifty per cent of you, not that forty per cent, or ten per cent or five per cent of you are going to discriminate. This is not the question because the majority of you are not going to discriminate; and the majority of you, if you do have prejudices, are not going to manifest these particular prejudices. If you see a crime being committed in a minority area, among the individuals who are members of the minority area, you don't turn your head around, step on the accelerator and move out of the area as such. You face the situation, even though you know you may be the fuse that may start something. The members of the minority groups want on the whole as effective law enforcement as you wish to give them. Please remember that all this agitation that is going on and all these demands that are going on do not characterize one hundred per cent of your minority groups.

I wonder if you realize a number of things. For instance, take St. Louis again as an example. I made a study on the major crimes in the city of St. Louis, which are called the Class One offenses. I found out that we have an average of 7,100 to an average of 7,300 major offenses in the City of St. Louis in a particular year. If each one of these major offenses were to be committed by one individual assuming that no one individual committed more than one major offense, literally all of the major offenses

in the city are committed by less than one per cent of the total population of St. Louis. If you took all of the crimes in Class One major offenses committed by Negroes in the City of St. Louis, they are committed by one per cent of all the Negroes in the City of St. Louis. Literally speaking, therefore, in terms of even the inadequacy of our statistics, ninety-nine per cent (99%) of the Negroes in the City of St. Louis do not commit these Class One offenses. I think that you also know that most of the crimes committed by Negroes are committed by Negroes upon Negroes. It ranges up to about seventy per cent of all the crimes committed by Negroes are committed by Negroes upon Negroes; and, therefore, the Negro in a Negro community is interested in law enforcement just as much as you are because he is a victim of this particular crime, more so than the white person is a victim of their crime. Therefore, what I am saying, again, is literally this: Learn not to discriminate. Learn to enforce the law justly, fairly and impartially. This is an important thing, and you are going to learn how to do this more effectively than possibly you might have done it after two weeks of training here, because you are going to get an understanding of these people.

If this particular policeman in my youth would have stopped calling me a "Hunky" or stopped calling me a "Pollack" or stopped calling me a "Little S.O.B." as he did, in all probability my relationship with him would have been different than the relationship that I had.

I am not saying that you do this. I am not speaking of brutality in terms of physical brutality because physical brutality is a comparatively rare phenomena in most police departments. When it does arise, this is really extremely rare.

When you speak about the minority groups and when they talk about brutality, they are talking not only about the unjustifiable use of a night stick; they are talking about the fact that you approach this Negro who is sixty-four years of age and you say, "Hey, boy, come here." He doesn't like this any more than I did when that policeman said, "Hey, you hunky," or, "Hey, you Pollack, why don't you come over here and stop doing that?" This is extremely important. Not only that, but you must learn what they mean by these things. You must know what touches them and what is important to them. You must realize that certain groups do have an antagonism toward the use of police dogs; and, yet, this can be overcome.

In St. Louis we have had this fear with the coming of the police dog, the canine corps; and we had a tremendous amount of opposition on the part of certain members of minority groups. What did we do to meet the situation? We took the canine group from one school to another school, from one police station to another police station, from one P.T.A. group to another P.T.A. group; and we talked to them and we gave them demonstrations and told them what the dogs do. We told them, for instance, the limitations of the dogs, when they are going to be used, what policies we're going to use in regards to the use of the dogs; and, right now, I would say that the problem of the use of dogs in St. Louis is a minor problem among your minority groups.

You will learn throughout these two weeks what the Mexican thinks and why, and you are going to find out that he is touched with prejudice, that the Indian is touched with prejudice, that the Negro is touched with prejudice, I am touched with prejudice, you are touched with prejudice and the white group is touched with prejudice. You are going to find out that discrimination is the greatest sin that a policeman or anyone dealing with

the public can commit at the present time. In your hands, I think, lies the future of the stability of order.

I know and am quite sure of this, and I have met many policemen in many sections of the United States--good, honest, hard-working, self-sacrificing, going to school and working, neglecting their family because they want to improve themselves, underpaid and misunderstood. But history and time have placed you now in a position that literally in your hands, right now, you have the potentiality for finally quenching this consuming fire which is a part of the evolution or the revolution of the development of the United States. Unfortunately, you are going to be used as this bridge from here to the next phase; and what you do, how you act, how you enforce the law, what you say and how you react is going to be extremely important. I am not overemphasizing this, I hope, in any way whatsoever. You are more important to the United States now than the soldiers in Viet Nam. You are more important to the stability and order in the United States today than any department of the United States government. You are more important than any teacher. You are more important than any professor. You are more important than any particular school system because, again, this whole atmosphere which begun ten to fifteen years ago has risen; and the fever chart has begun to rise, and like a person who is in a fever, there is always a crisis situation. There is a certain time after twenty-four hours or thirty-six hours that the doctor waits to see if the fever has been broken. Nineteen sixty-eight in all probability is going to be that particular year where this fever chart may achieve the danger point; and you are the ice pack, and you are the aspirin. Remember, that I am using the word

"ice pack" and the word "aspirin" consciously and deliberately because the ice pack and the aspirin don't cure. They only relieve the pain. It is not your problem to solve the problems that these individuals face. It is your problem to meet the situation. Literally, you have in your hands the turning point in the case of the United States--a crisis situation and a very serious crisis situation.

I am not saying that you are going to have riots here or riots there in any way whatsoever.

Right now, a police department that is not prepared to meet the basic philosophy of police community relations is a police department that is going to find itself thrown back another ten years in its development. There is money available for all kind of work.

I would say that what the police do this year--and please remember that I am not making the statement that the police cause riots--but what you do this year is going to spell whether or not you are going to become an increasingly professionalized group of individuals with an increasingly higher income, with status, position and recognition in our particular society. This is the turning point.

Are there any questions at this point?

- Q. What you are really saying is that police community relations in essence is reciprocal education between society and the police officer.
- A. It is more than that. The citizens understands you and you understand the citizen. The citizen can help you solve your particular problems

and you can better understand the problems of the citizen and better appreciate the problems of the citizen.

I have been told that you have had some difficulty here in regard to the attorney general, and I think you know what I am talking about in regard to the police department. Certain members of the police department have been accused of this and that about which we are not going into detail. I don't know the entire situation. I have only been informed about it; but, literally, if you had a police community relations set-up, the moment that this stuff comes out and it's unjustified, you have a platform to counteract it--one right after the other. This is the importance of it--that you can relate and you can tell these individuals, for instance, what your particular problems are. It is a mutual understanding because you are not going to be an effective policeman unless you have effective citizen cooperation. The citizens are not going to get effective law enforcement unless they effectively participate in cooperation with the police.

- Q. What we are doing, then, is cultivating an understanding?
- A. Yes. Understanding and cooperation can assist you in many, many respects.

I was waiting for someone to ask me a question regarding Miami. Usually this comes up. As you know, the statement that was made in Miami by the chief of police and the way in which the statement sounded was something like this, "Police community relations has failed." Now, I know damned well they never had police community relations in Miami.

They were in the process of setting up police community relations in Miami, and they were supposed to call me in December to come down to help them set it up.

First of all, that is false. They did not have any police community relations set-up of any effective nature whatsoever.

Then their chief of police gets up and says that literally he is going to use all possible force that he can use to cut this down. There are various ways in which this can be said. I can get up here as the chief of police of Tucson and say, "We, the police of Tucson, are going to effectively enforce the law and impartially enforce the law."

According to some newspaper reports, there appears to be something of a significant drop in the crime rate in Miami.

You know as well as I do if you saturate a particular area with policemen what is going to happen, and you know as well as I do that you are not going to have a sufficient number of police to continue to saturate every particular area; but I would be willing to bet you one thing-- that the attitude that he took, the way in which he expressed it and the implications behind it, he is literally asking for trouble. He is saying, "I double-dare anyone to come in here and start anything."

There are various ways in which you can say this. If you have your citizens that you can communicate with, I think that any chief of police will undoubtedly make the statement, "I am here to enforce the law legally, civilly and effectively." But when you imply that you are going to shoot people down and that you are going to crack down in a manner in which this has been done, you are literally asking for trouble. You may reduce the crime rate.

The same thing was picked up in East St. Louis by the commissioner of police; and he made the same particular statement: "We are going to shoot the arsonist and then ask questions later on."

This is dangerous and what has happened in Miami. I don't know if you read your paper, but there was an incident two days ago that took place where two officers were dismissed from the Miami Police Department because they picked up a Negro boy, stripped him down to his shorts, hung him over a bridge and began to question him. I won't say this is the result of what he said.

There are different ways of doing certain things and the way in which we say it. If I say, "If you damn bastards don't knuckle down, I am going to beat your heads in," I can also say, "Look, if people do not obey the law, we are going to enforce the law, and we are going to enforce the law impartially and effectively," and then carry it through, this is a different situation. It's just like me saying, "Listen, you damn Italians, if you don't stop all this mafia business, we are going to crack your heads in," instead of saying, "We are going to eliminate all syndicated crime." The difference is the way in which we say it. That is the problem, not the fact that you are going to enforce the law, which you do. This is a redundant statement.

- Q. What effect do you think these new Negro mayors might have in those cities such as Gary, Indiana, etc.
- A. I don't know. The mayor of Gary, Indiana, made the statement that he will enforce the law, irrespective of who it may be. I don't think they will be in a position to solve the problems and causes any more than the white mayor. A Negro because he is a Negro does not have any more communication than a white person because he is a white person. These problems are insurmountable. They are enormous problems. In Gary, Indiana, they have many, many different problems. I don't think the mayor is in any position to meet them.

In St. Louis one of the members of the police commission is a Negro. He is a Negro businessman who owns a bank. And let's be honest. He has been appointed to the board of police commissioners by the governor primarily because he is a Negro. He is an honest man, a just man, and I like him very much. He is a very effective man and, I think, a very effective police commissioner; but he has been appointed primarily to allay the fears of the Negro. Many Negroes do not like him and many do like him, but I think his appointment in St. Louis as a member of the board of police commissioners has resulted in a partial reduction of this tension. A partial reduction of this particular tension. Just

the appointment of him has reduced this tension, and the previous trouble was that the Negroes were not represented here and not represented there.

I am not going to argue with you about the justice or injustice of representation of minority members on this group or that group because this could be argued one way or another way; but you know as well as I do, also, that your central cities between now and the year two thousand are going to become increasingly Negro. I told you that St. Louis is forty per cent Negro, which is the highest concentration of Negroes in any city of comparable size, with the exception of Washington, D. C. More and more of your cities are going to be taken over by members of your minority groups who are Negroes.

Until you are in a position to solve these problems--not as a policeman, I am talking in general--you are going to have problems and you are going to have difficulties, and very serious problems and very serious difficulties.

By way of conclusion, I want to say to you that I don't envy you being a policeman; but I also, in one sense, envy you being a policeman because you can do a lot of good by being honest, impartial, and without any discrimination. I really commend you. And I commend the Tucson Police Department for instituting this type of program; and as I told you, no department in the United States has had this kind of a training program. As the Chief has indicated to you, you are going to become irritated by what these minority members are going to say when they come here. You are going to be on the defensive; they are going to be on the defensive. You are going to blame them, and they are going to blame you; but I hope this dialogue is going to open up a number of closed doors in all minds. They

are going to understand you better, and you are going to see the importance of police community relations as you relate to these individuals and they relate to you. You are going to see an improvement here that is going to be a significant improvement. I wish you the best of luck and the greatest of success, and please remember one thing: what I have said to you is not in a form of criticism but only information. I think you can be proud that you are members of the Tucson Police Department. Some that I have seen I am not proud of. I do know that you have a very effective chief of police and a very erudite chief of police.

I wish you success in this endeavor; and if I can be of any assistance to you between now and noon, I will be more than willing if you want to talk to me here.

When you finish this seminar, you will know as much about inter-human relations and intergroup relations as the university professor who majors in psychology or in sociology. You only have to listen, hear, understand, appreciate and apply; and then you are going to become damned good cops.

QUESTION-AND-ANSWER PERIOD

Q. Doctor, you stated you had been with St. Louis approximately ten years?

A. I have been with the St. Louis Police Department since 1955.

Q. What was their total personnel complement when you first went with them?

A. About 1,700 or so.

Q. Then they haven't increased that much?

A. No. Our complement in the police department in St. Louis is set by the state. We have a peculiar situation in St. Louis which may not exist in other cities; and this is that the number of police that we can hire is set by the state legislature, in spite of the fact that St. Louis is not in a county and does not belong to any particular county.

The board of police commissioners, as I told you, is appointed by the governor of the state; and there is a law which stipulates that if the police department of the City of St. Louis submits a budget to the City of St. Louis, it must be honored without any question, no matter what the budget may be. This has created a certain amount of difficulty, but, legally, they can turn in a budget of twenty-five million; and if they want to, the City has to honor that particular budget. Of course, they have problems of getting their money.

Q. Does St. Louis have any special training for their men on the street in community relations?

A. We have special training for the men in this particular respect. We have, first of all, in-service training. We have periodic in-service

training for all ranks; and part of that in-service training consists of refreshing the minds of the officers, no matter what rank they may have in terms of intergroup relations and human relations of one kind or another.

Our recruits receive at the present time out of approximately six hundred hours of training, they receive approximately between 36 and 40 hours of training in intergroup relations.

As I told you this morning, all of the sergeants are now involved in police community relations in the sense that they have a patrol area leader who is a citizen assigned to them; and this is a two-way communication type of thing.

We have not yet been able, outside of the influence that the sergeant may have upon the patrolman, we have not been able to involve the individual patrolman, except through a system of education and through a system of constantly reminding him what his particular role is in police community relations.

Q. Do you have any coordination between your community relations section and the man on the street--the patrolman on the street?

A. There is this relationship and an obvious one. Every captain in every one of the districts endorses the project itself. You have a series of reminders at roll call--what to do, what to avoid, what not to do. Reminders again and again in regard to courtesy, and how they should approach a particular situation. A dangerous situation might exist in a particular area, and they are reminded of this.

It is extremely difficult to involve patrolmen in police community relations outside of continuously informing him of what he should do in terms of relationship with the citizens. It is not expected that every patrolman would be in a position to engage in police community relations to the same extent as a police community relations officer, but the information is fed to the patrolman constantly from the office of police community relations in regard to what problems they are going to meet and how to meet these particular problems in terms of police community relations.

Q. There are closely connected communities to St. Louis, and a person going from St. Louis proper into one of these communities being an outsider, for instance, wouldn't know he was not in St. Louis. My point is this: Do these closely connected communities have the same set-up as the St. Louis Police Department?

A. Unfortunately not. We have in the suburbs of St. Louis one hundred and two (102) communities. They are really communities within themselves. Most of them are in St. Louis County, but they also border on Jefferson County. None of these have set up any effective community relations programs. Until recently, we had what we referred to as the county police force, in addition to the police force of individual communities. This is being settled. In two of these areas, one is called University City, which is a suburb of St. Louis, and another one in Clayton, which is on the border of University City. The chiefs of police are very much interested in police community relations, but they have nothing comparable to the formal set-up we have in St. Louis in any way whatsoever. They do send some of their officers down to Michigan State University for the workshop that they have in May, and many of them have gone from different area.

Q. Doctor Mihanovich, in your earlier talk you spoke of setting up this group and going out and picking the natural community leaders in the particular districts that you are interested in. I have two or three questions dealing with these natural community leaders. The first one being how do you pick the natural community leaders? Where do you get this particular information?

A. It would take some time for me to explain this. There are some that are obvious. This is rare. This morning I referred to the "Hill Section." In the hill section, for example, it is known that one individual is in all probability the unofficial mayor of this particular area. Everybody looks up to him, and he also happens to be a politician at the same time.

In the case of the other one, I would have to indicate to you a procedure that I have engaged in in one particular area; and, of course, this requires time and money and energy.

For example, I would select on the basis of recommendations of patrolmen, of the captain, of the principals within the schools, clergymen; and on recommendations of the saloon-keepers and store-keepers, I would select a whole series of names of individuals whom they would consider to be what we call "neighborhood leaders," not "community leaders." They are neighborhood leaders. They may be retired individuals; they may be postmen; they may be anything under the sun, including a housewife. What I have done is taken these individuals and given them a series of tests to find out what their aptitudes and potentialities happen to be; and once we find that out, we find out that these individuals possess certain particular natural ability in terms of personality, in terms of ability to speak and approach a particular audience of one kind or another. And we then gave them in one particular area training in leadership. Now, these individuals are available to any agency that wants to use them. They know how to approach a crowd; they know how to meet a particular crowd; they know how to communicate, etc. This does take time. No one denies that. But in each neighborhood I think you will automatically find one or two that stick out like a sore thumb.

Please remember when we speak of our natural leaders, we are not necessarily excluding any individual who may be a member of a particular group that is considered to be an undesirable group by certain individuals. He may be the natural leader. Like in the case of Peoria, Illinois, it was quite obvious the first moment that I came there that one of the natural leaders there was a man called John Quinn, who was the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and everybody said that. Who were the other natural leaders in the Negro area we could not find because we did not have time.

Q. When you are approached to appear in a city at a seminar such as this one or something similar, do you study the problems of that city before you present your program?

A. I have already suggested to the office over here a particular program. This is written down. When you walk into an area, first of all you have to understand the area. You have to understand the area in terms of what we call the demographic characteristics of the area--who the people are, where they come from, what is their distribution, what is the rate of growth, what is the distribution of minority groups, etc. Then you actually go into an area and try to find out again who these natural leaders are, then talk to these particular natural leaders to see what they think and what their attitudes happen to be. To make it much more effective, you do conduct an attitude study of some kind or another to find out their attitudes toward the police, if you can possibly do that.

Recommendations have been made here. I have made a recommendation here. Whether or not it will be fulfilled, I don't know. There is a need in my opinion, and I am being perfectly frank with you right now. All this information that you have and you will get in the next two weeks is good, excellent, desirable, and it is necessary. We hope that it is going to have some effect. If there is no structure whereby this can be perpetuated from now on, whereby the police can meet regularly with the citizens either in terms of councils or committees, then you have not effectively accomplished the end of police community relations. It is like saying, "Look, you have now learned everything that you know about police community relations. We have told you what to do. We have told you how to do it and how to meet it." But we have given you no particular facility to carry this out. If you have organized on a neighborhood basis in Tucson, these committees or whatever you call them, where you have these citizens who meet regularly and where your higher echelon and your lower echelon officers are able to meet with these individuals periodically and discuss their problems and engage in this kind of a dialogue and at the same time where you will

have an opportunity as individual patrolmen to receive information from the office of police community relations because this has to be repeated again and again. It is like going to church and hearing a very good sermon. Don't sin. All of us are against sin; but the question is, "How can you avoid sin?" How can you avoid the problems of getting into sin? Unless you have a structure that is set up, much of what is accomplished here in two weeks eventually is going to drop out because you have to continuously inform the police and the citizens. This is not a one-shot deal.

As I told you this morning, if you are prejudiced, I cannot change your attitude in one lecture or in one month or one week or, for that matter, in one year; but when you have these committees set up and these committees are properly set up and they function properly, you have the structure and this media whereby you can communicate and you can use them. This is the whole idea. This recommendation has been made here. Whether or not it is going to be realized I don't know. I am not in a position to do that.

A recommendation was made in regard to this institute, and this has been realized; and I hope and believe that the other recommendations will eventually take place.

Again, I am emphasizing that it does not mean that every patrolman will have to attend so many meetings every month. It does not imply that in any way whatsoever.

Q. Doctor, you mentioned "store fronts." Would you describe the "store front" set-up again? Is there an officer stationed there? If not, who is there and what is their function?

A. The "store front" is an idea that did not originate in St. Louis; it originated someplace else and was copied by St. Louis.

In St. Louis we will eventually have four (4) store fronts. We have at the present time two (2) store fronts that are operating. These two

store fronts are located in two of the highest crime areas on a street that has a high pedestrian traffic, which is something of a commercial street.

The store front is headed by a patrolman. He is called a police community relations officer. In every one of these store fronts there is a part-time secretary, and she answers the phone, etc. Certain hours are set where the officer is there.

The idea behind the store front is the following:

That the store front will serve as a so-called miniature police station. In this particular sense, let me emphasize that individuals can go in and talk to this police officer and make, comparatively speaking, minor complaints of one kind or another; and these will be processed through the proper channels.

The executive committee of each of the committees meet at that particular store front. Sometimes their meeting is taking place there.

This is also a recruitment center for officers in that particular area.

It is also at the same time being used as some of the city offices, such as the health officer, the sanitation office, etc.

It is sort of a way station for the juvenile officer of that particular district.

The question is that you have brought one officer into one area, a comparatively high crime area, and you have made him accessible to anyone that wants to come in and communicate with him.

We now have two of these operating and hope to increase it to four shortly and eventually have one of these in each of the nine districts in St. Louis.

Q. Who handles criminal complaints? Will he take the complaint or refer it?

A. If the individual citizen comes in with a complaint. This complaint is taken by the officer there, or the complaint may be taken by the secretary if she happens to be there. Then this is processed in various ways.

If it is a complaint that can be handled by the captain of the district, this is immediately referred to him. If it is a complaint that has to be handled by the police headquarters through our bureau of internal affairs, then it is handled by them. In other words, we do not as yet as the office of community relations process the complaint in the sense that we investigate the complaint.

Q. If a person has a criminal complaint, they just take the information?

A. It is turned over to the authorities; they don't handle that. I am saying we do not investigate a complaint. I must change that because the paper said about two weeks ago that the board of police commissioners is considering--and I object to this--but this is what they are considering: that the storefront would interview individuals and witnesses who make complaints. I object to that. I don't think that is a function of police community relations or anything of that particular kind. Presently, they just funnel the whole thing, because there are many individuals who do not come to our committee meetings once a month; and he is not going to wait once a month to make a complaint. So if he is doing some shopping, he may stop in and talk to the officer.

Q. Is there any advantage of having the officer live in the area?

A. Unfortunately, only one of the officers who operates a store front lives in the area.

Q. England is experimenting in this area. If a man lives in an area, he is the one that the citizens in the area contact.

A. Most of our officers don't live in the city proper.

I would like to make a comment in regards to something that some of you may be interested in. There is only one particular center for any training in regard to police community relations, and that is Michigan State University. At the present time, not by way of beating our drum, but by way of indicating something to you that in all probability will be realized, we at St. Louis University are going to establish a center for the training of police community relations leaders. This is not a school of police administration or police science because there are many of these schools, and many of them are good. We expect that this particular center for the training of police community relations leaders is going to be co-sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, by the National Association of Intergroup Relations, in addition to other particular groups, and they will sponsor with us a petition for a grant to establish this. This eventually will turn out to be a two-year program in which the individuals are going to receive a certificate. At the same time, we are interested in founding and establishing a journal of applied police community relations. This journal of applied police community relations is supposed to be the organ of police community relations in the United States whereby you are not only going to discuss the theory of it but the practical angle of it. We also plan to establish an association of police community relations personnel so that we upgrade and, to a certain extent, professionalize those individuals that are engaged in police community relations.

When this will be realized we don't know. A meeting is being held next week in St. Louis, and this will be presented to the proper bodies; and in all probability within two or three months a petition for a grant will be established there. And we hope that we would select approximately fifteen persons each year to come to St. Louis University and pay for their tuition, pay

for their room and board and then give them this particular kind of training.

We will now continue with the questions.

- Q. How large a community relations section would you recommend for the Police Department of the City of Tucson?
- A. I have made a particular suggestion that there should be one person who is the director--a high-ranking officer--that this high-ranking officer be directly responsible to the Chief of Police. There should also be in that office one secretary or clerical help to carry out this particular function and that there should be a minimum of three police officers who would carry on the activities of police community relations.

Let me explain why I think the director should be responsible only to the Chief. I make this suggestion because there are a lot of problems that really are confronted. We found when we started in St. Louis, the director was responsible to a captain who was really not interested in the program. The citizens must know through the director of the office of police community relations that they have the full cooperation of the highest-ranking person in the police department.

I say the director should be responsible directly to the Chief. I want to make another thing clear and very, very clear. This person does not process, and should not process, complaints. This person has nothing to do with the promotion, demotion or reprimand of any particular officer; and he does not report to the chief. He is not a spy of the Chief in any manner, shape or form.

Unfortunately, in some police departments who have a police community relations officer, the police community relations officer assumes the mantle of being a god and they may be swayed by some information that they may receive, and they do this and they do that. They should not do that because that is not the purpose.

This follows the regular lines of procedure that are characteristic of every particular police department. But he must be a high-ranking officer for a number of reasons because other high-ranking officers are not going to listen to him if he is not a high-ranking officer as well.

The community is not going to listen to him if he is not a high-ranking officer, and the community will consider him to be a stooge for the Chief of Police.

If he is a high-ranking officer and has direct access to the Chief, then the citizens do know that what he says is the policy of the Police Department. In the case of St. Louis, the director is responsible not to the chief but is responsible to the board of police commissioners. We have a peculiar set-up in St. Louis, and the director is also director of public relations. I object to this. The director of police community relations should not in any way be associated with public relations. That does not mean that he should not engage in public relations or that he should not use public relations.

To illustrate what happened in St. Louis, about four weeks ago a group of university students and university professors were demonstrating in the lobby of the police department in regard to a case of another university student who had taken pictures during what we call "The Day of Profit." We have a parade in October called "The Day of Profit." It is alleged that this student had taken pictures of a policeman shoving the crowd back. There was a fear that a riot would take place during this parade because the organization sponsoring the parade was not integrated. All the queens happened to be white, etc. Allegedly, the policeman took his stick and knocked the camera out of the student's hand and then allegedly broke the camera.

These people were demonstrating in the police station because this particular youth should be given some consideration because his camera was destroyed.

They tried to break up the demonstration in the lobby.

Allegedly, I am saying because it is hard to judge--and I am not making any accusations whatsoever--one individual was pushed and manhandled, punched and beaten by a police officer. Fifteen witnesses have testified, including university professors, that this was an unjust use of force.

The next day, the board of police commissioners ordered the director of the office of police community relations to appear on television and to clarify this subject. What he said was that there was no grounds for anything along this line. In other words, in the eyes of some individuals, the whole thing was whitewashed. Immediately, you had an enormous cry rising from the community, from the American Civil Liberties Union, from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that this was a whitewash.

The next day we had a meeting of our St. Louis police community relations council; and then they came in and literally berated this individual because he assumed the role of a processor of complaints, which he had no right. He did not want to do that; he was forced to do that, and he should not do that in any way whatsoever.

Q. Doctor, you talked about police community relations getting together with so-called community leaders, and I am sure you are aware that we have our school resource officers who work with junior high students down through the elementary schools. I think most of Tucson recognizes that should we have a civil disturbance this summer, most of it will come from the age group of fourteen to twenty-one. I would like to hear your comment on that.

A. Let me answer your question in sort of a detour way and then come back to it because I am anticipating something else in this respect.

If I were the chief of police here, I would begin right now--actually, it should have begun in November or December--to meet with the alleged leaders of your minority groups--Negro, Spanish-speaking, Indian, as

well as your white group. Dialogue should be established to find out what their particular problems happen to be. By way of a safety valve, I will grant you that some of you may consider this a psychological gimmick--and in one sense it is a psychological gimmick--but I will grant you another thing--that in most communities "there ain't no such thing as one leader for a minority group."

I made a study of the Negro leaders in the City of St. Louis. I had enumerated fifty-five Negro leaders, but I also found out that not one of them had more than 150 followers. I am excluding here a particular minister who may have sway over his congregation, and even there he does not control all of them.

But the significant thing is that you then have a dialogue with these individuals. I don't care if they are C.O.R.E., S.N.I.C., N.A.A.C.P., Black Muslims or any particular minority group.

What can be done by directly answering your question is, although we have not succeeded in drawing these individuals in, we do have, as I mentioned this morning, an organization called the youth council. This is a council of the youths from the high schools. There are five individuals from each of our twenty-eight high schools. One from the freshmen, sophomore, junior, senior class and the editor of the paper if they have one.

We have been trying to get these individuals to assist us whenever a particular problem may arise. They may quell a rumor; or if a riot does take place, they can assist in putting the lid on that riot--not that we are going to place them in any particular dangerous situations.

What you have to do, not as policemen, but, for instance, during the break one of the officers asked me a question precisely of why we did not have riots in St. Louis. I could give you a whole list of reasons, whether they are true or not; but let me evaluate them for you. One reason is police community relations. Another one was that last summer a crash program was conducted in St. Louis, and this crash program resulted in the hiring of approximately 30,000 youths for part-time jobs.

This was during the summer, and they got something. This was through your various job corps. We have 145 fourteen- and fifteen-year-old boys who were assigned to the various police districts under the supervision of the office of police community relations, and they received approximately one dollar per hour. They worked twenty hours a week and got twenty dollars for approximately eight weeks. This kept them, to a certain extent, off the street. It also gave them a certain amount of money. The police had nothing to do with this; it was a City function. This really has helped along this particular line.

There is another group that I think you are referring to; and that is the drop-out, that dangerous group that no one is in a position to control. I don't know of any police department that has succeeded in getting them to cooperate with any particular office of police community relations.

This morning I mentioned to you that we have Bill Tripolett, a football player. This is going to be one of his tasks to try to bring them in and try to do something for them.

To me, the greatest single success of any police community relations unit will be judged on their success in involving these individuals. Another gimmick that has been used is to have an explorer post of youth that would be interested in police activity. We have established them in St. Louis; and they have been established in other particular communities, whereby you have an explorer post in each of the police districts. This brings in some of your youths. Some of them eventually become police cadets, and some of them join the police department. This is one way of involving them, but you can go only so far in regards to police community relations. The community must also help. In other words, you must have a community action program in Tucson in addition to all the other activities that take place. We are discussing here

primarily what you as officers can do, not what the community can do.

Q. Most of these projects are financed by the City of St. Louis, is that correct?

A. This is correct in this respect, that all of the personnel directly involved in police community relations division is paid by the police department.

There are certain grants that they have received like the O.L.E.A. grants, where some officers, particularly the officers that I refer to that are engaged in the store fronts. A portion of their salaries for this year is being paid for by one of these particular grants.

At the same time, in regards to the committees themselves, they have certain expenses of their own, although we don't charge any fees for membership whatsoever. They may pass the hat around or get contributions from the community to help them out.

The cost of printing, the cost of mailing and the cost of operation is conducted by the police department.

This is hard for me to estimate how much that would be, but I would venture to say that if you took the officers' salary into consideration, I think this would run close to about \$100,000.

Q. How many of those people you recruited for your police community relations organizations were anti-police before you got them into that organization and who then became pro-police?

A. This is hard to evaluate, really. One of our first chairmen in one of our most important high-crime areas was the local director of C.O.R.E., and he was extremely critical of the police department; and we were confronted in trying to explain him to the police department. But please remember that we said these committees operate democratically. They elect who they want to elect. Again, to make a long story short, this

same individual, by being the chairman of this district committee, has learned during his chairmanship many things, so that, although he does now criticize the police, I think it is a criticism that is highly tempered because he has much knowledge that he did not have before.

In other words, we can call on him for any particular help.

The same thing held true in that we had a chairman who was head of the urban league. We had a chairman who was the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People local office in St. Louis. And we have had an extremely militant chairman who was one of the heads of C.O.R.E. in addition to this other individual I mentioned. By really talking to them and explaining things to them and being perfectly honest with them, they have changed.

These were one of the first individuals that advocated the civilian review board; so what we did was open up and say, "Look, this is the way we process things. This is what is being done." And now there is no agitation for a civilian review board.

You are going to have your problems in the very beginning.

Q. Doctor, recently we had some incidents that were greatly exaggerated by the press. Several allegations were made concerning our officers. One was founded and very serious and disciplinary action was taken against the officer. There is one school of thought by the people that I deal with. They feel that any disciplinary action taken against an officer should be made public and publicized in the newspaper. Our chief does not take this stand. He feels this is not correct, and he refuses to adopt this policy. I have learned that one of the people who is very active as a civil rights leader maintained that no particular action was taken against this particular officer and again believes in the interest of clearing the air and showing that we are not hiding anything or shoving anything under the rug, so to speak. That this should be made public. What is your feeling on this?

A. This is a problem that I have wrestled with for a long time, and I've come down to certain particular opinions. There is no rule of thumb because it depends upon what the situation is.

If it is a question of an undeniable violation of civil rights, the use of unnecessary force or an actual dereliction of duty on the part of the officer; namely, a flagrant violation, I think that it would be to the advantage of the police department to publicize this as well as to publicize the exoneration of an officer. There is two sides to that particular situation.

There are some particular incidents that are comparatively minor in nature; and I think that the complainant should be informed in full what the results happen to be, rather than publishing in every daily edition of the paper this happened to this officer and that has happened to that officer. Undoubtedly, this is going to result in misunderstanding of one kind or another.

As I mentioned in the case of the officer in St. Louis who allegedly beat a stretcher case. The man was allegedly lying on a stretcher, and the officer is alleged to have beat him with a night stick. This individual was dismissed from the police department, and this was immediately put in the newspaper. In one newspaper, it was put on the first page; and in the other newspaper, it ended up in the back pages.

I think the exoneration of an officer--I don't care what the situation is--should be publicized.

I think in the case of a definite violation, because this will give you trust in the community.

What you do not have in the community--I am speaking about certain minority groups--is that they don't believe that they get a fair shake when a complaint is being made.

To admit mistakes is hard. But I also say you should also at the same time, when you exonerate a particular officer publicize

this very clearly so that everybody really knows about it.

You have in the case of St. Louis--I don't know how antagonistic your papers here are against the police department--but we have two newspapers in St. Louis; and both of them will give all of the cooperation that is needed until re-ently. One newspaper, The St. Louis Post Dispatch, particularly in this case of brutality that I mentioned to you before and in the case of the camera incident, wrote an editorial which I never expected them to write. The heading of the editorial was "Thugs in Blue." And this completely surprised everyone in St. Louis because it was an evaluation that they actually should not have made. This might have been the result of a whole series of other factors that I don't want to get into right now.

Q. Would it be fair to say that an accusation might make front-page material for the newspaper, but an exoneration may be rear-page material? Along these same lines, if we gave information to the newspaper every time an officer was disciplined for minor violations, it would appear we are in trouble all the time.

A. That is unfortunate; that is true. In other words, not only that but in some newspapers you have "Ex-Cop Picked Up for Burglary."

Quite a few times there were rumors that there were going to be riots in St. Louis, and we had an understanding with the newspaper that they would not mention these rumors. And they did not mention them. I cannot control the press, and you cannot control the press. You cannot control what is said to them.

The administration prior to the one we now have had established excellent relationship with the press. Sometimes they have antagonized policemen in order to get the support of them; namely, that the newspaper men will come in and ask for certain information. And there is a standing order that he gets it; and I would say in 99.44 per cent of the cases, they have used this information justifiably. We have established this kind of rapport, and you have to establish this kind of rapport with them. But if you have an antagonistic attitude with

them, you are out of luck. Unfortunately, the first case of brutality will be on the front page, whether it is true or false. The denial of it may be on the third, fourth or fifty page, or someplace among the ads. I do realize that one of the major concerns of every police department is the morale of the police department, and this is in relationship to your civilian review board. Every day, if a policeman's name appears in a newspaper, this is not going to be good because this is not what you want. You want a publication of what you do well as what you do wrong, but in serious cases, don't worry. In the very beginning, you may have this kind of antagonism; but, actually, it has been proven that in the final analysis publicizing a serious case and what has taken place in a serious case really produces effective results, and this is hard to believe on the part of some policemen. I am not speaking of minor complaints. You are not going to publicize them. But where there is a question of physical brutality and certain questions of brutality in terms of verbal brutality that are dangerous, this, I think, should be processed very rapidly and as quickly as possible, but not necessarily always publicized.

Q. It seems that the minority group leaders, especially the Negro community, have decided--or someone has decided for them--that the Safe Streets Bill" before Congress is an anti-Negro piece of legislation. Have you come across this in St. Louis?

A. You remember this morning I mentioned the attitude studies that have been made in St. Louis, Peoria, in Denver and in Hartford, Connecticut. It is very interesting to note that the Negroes--I'm speaking now of a particular minority group, and this is also true for the whites--have really endorsed the idea of an efficient police department with the use of efficient methods of one kind or another. There are problems in regard to mace. And there are problems in regard to banana oil. There are problems as in the case of the Detroit Police Department that has allegedly brought a hundred or so of high-power rifles that they are going to use along that line.

You will find that this is primarily a criticism that is leveled by Negro leaders. We don't have that in St. Louis.

We are using mace, and we have used mace. As of yet, we have not used this banana oil-type thing.

Q. If a riot should occur in St. Louis, I assume the police community relations organization would have a stepped-up program or something that they would implement. Would you explain that?

A. There are two parts to this. I am not giving you all the details because I think some of the details you already know. For example, we have various codes that we use. Code One means there is a potential riot in District One in St. Louis, and this would result in all personnel that are employed in the first district immediately reporting to the first district. That would be civilian personnel, uniformed personnel, the police community relations officer, etc. They have their own particular strategy to set up. They have their plans--"A", "B", "C", "D", "E" and "F" for each one of the districts, which consists of isolating the area and consists of a whole series of strategic endeavors of one kind or another.

Q. How many dogs do you have in St. Louis in the police service?

A. I can't give you the exact number of dogs; but the dogs are owned by the police department, they are trained by the police department and we hold training schools. They were originally copied from the British system.

The dogs stay with the officers in their homes. The dogs are used now primarily to search out, for instance, in the case of a warehouse a disturbance is taking place and a dog is released; and he will go into the warehouse, or store or whatever establishment, and smell out an alleged burglar or thief.

They have also used one dog to sniff out drugs. This proved to be quite effective that he could sniff out drugs, even in a car.

This dog recently was retired, and they have another that can actually do this.

No dog that I know of has ever been used in a riot situation or a potential riot situation. No dog has ever been used in the case of a demonstration. No dog was ever brought near one of those things. The dogs were in cars way back but never touched anything or anyone at all.

The dogs are German Shepherds.

Q. Do the dogs stay at home, and the officer goes and gets his dog when he needs it?

A. The dogs are to stay at home with the officer, and the police department pays for the keep of the dog. Then the dogs are placed in cars, and they are the special canine corps. There may be one or two officers in a cruiser with a dog in the back, and they will patrol the area. They are usually patrolling in your high-crime warehouse districts and things of that particular kind. The dog is always with the officer to whom the dog belongs. No other officer can handle a dog that has been trained by another. They are quite effective.

Fortunately, we have never used them in any way that has brought criticism.

The only incident that I know of is that a Negro girl had approached one of the dogs, and the dog bit her. The dog wasn't doing anything; but the child must have frightened the dog, and it bit her--not very seriously--but scratched her hand.

We find the dogs are very effective in eliminating warehouse break-ins of one kind or another.

LIEUTENANT KESSLER

Doctor Mihanovich, we would like to thank you on behalf of the Department for coming to us again, and I hope when this is published that we have accomplished something. We appreciate your kind remarks about the program. A measure of the success of the program is as the result of the time you have spent with us, and we sure appreciate it. Thank you.

THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

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LIEUTENANT KESSLER

Doctor Yoshino is originally from Seattle. Went to the University of Washington on a baseball scholarship. He was an intelligence officer with G-2 in the U.S. Army during World War II. He has attended the University of Denver, University of Minnesota, Carnegie Tech, University of Southern California and Harvard. He was with U.S. Civil Service from 1946 to 1948. He also taught at Washington State and then decided on the University of Arizona as the place where he wanted to establish his career in teaching. He came to the University of Arizona in 1958.

DOCTOR YOSHINO

Thank you for the very fine introduction, Lieutenant Kessler.

Lieutenant Kessler, law enforcement officers and distinguished guests, it is indeed a pleasure to be here this morning and to participate in your institute on police community relations. I realize the tremendous

amount of work that has gone into laying the groundwork for this conference. I know how much work that Lieutenant Kessler has put into it, and I would like to commend each of you for your interest and concern for human relations.

A few weeks ago, I saw some children playing the perennial game of "cops and robbers." The same old problem prevailed when I was a kid playing the game in Seattle. Everyone wanted to be a law enforcement officer, and no one, the robbers. Law enforcement officers start off with a very good image, and kids especially like playing the role of the law enforcement officer.

Somewhere along the line, some dissention and patterns are broken. Certainly we could enhance the human relations efforts of the police department if the children who grow into manhood only would recall the affinity and identification they had with the police officer. The very least members of the society could do would be to sponsor a series of community police meetings. I think you have done more than your share throughout the nation in holding police community relations, and certainly the community ought to reciprocate. I am here addressing you this morning, but I am sure that many of you would do a tremendous job of addressing the community in terms of police community relations. Certainly we know that we need each other--that is, the police and the community.

Some of you have heard the story of Little Laurie. Her father was babysitting for the evening because her mother had gone out; and little Laurie yelled down to her father, who was very busy and said, "Father,

I want you to come upstairs and help me put on my pajamas." Her father said, "Why, Laurie, you are five years old now. You know how to put on your pajamas by yourself." Laurie thought for a moment, and she said, "Yes, Daddy, I know how to put on my pajamas, but sometimes people need people anyway."

It appears that this is the very crux of our problem here. We should consider people as people. I think one of the main problems of our society today is the plight of the cities and of race relations. Just last week, as you have heard, unfortunately, Doctor John Gardner announced that he was resigning his cabinet post as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; and one of his main frustrations was that he felt that in this great war on society the problems of the city and of race were so very important. And yet he was frustrated from carrying out some of his very elementary programs. There have been other timely sources of information, timely but disturbing resources that provide food for thought and discussion. Some of these sources are "white cop, black rebel"--a searching report on our crisis in law and order and a possible solution. This is in the February Sixth issue of Look magazine. Another little source that came out this past year is a paper-back by Tom Hayden, and this paper-back is entitled "Rebellion in Newark--Official Violence and Ghetto Response." One excerpt from this is "William Anderson was stopped by Guardsmen as he drove home from work early Monday morning. After some discussion as to how he was to get home, Mr. Anderson was told, 'Black nigger, get in your car and get the hell out of here.' Then police dragged him from his car, saying, 'Nigger, what's you got

in your pocket?' He proceeded to empty his pockets onto the ground, and then they said, 'you talk about brutality, nigger; we are going to show you what brutality is.' After questioning, he was allowed to leave."

There are all kinds of brutality, certainly, if we respect the dignity of each person, and one of the important things to remember is to refrain from use of derogatory words. Tom Hayden in his book Rebellion in Newark--as most of you recall, the rebellion took place last summer--points out the urgent need to improve liaison with minority groups. It is contrary to the opinion that many in our cities have, but most Negroes do not want riots; but if poor housing, lack of adequate jobs, increases in frustrations are such, then I think we will have to expect riots to continue.

Most minorities of Tucson--and we did a study here just this past summer--are interested and want police protection from any law violations, from anyone who violates the law, whatever the color of their skin. I think that some of you may have read the pamphlet entitled "Crime and Race" and another entitled "A Study of a Riot." If so, you might have noticed the words of Vice-President Hubert Humphrey. He remarked, "The police are unjustly bearing the brunt of a problem whose root causes are beyond their control."

We realize that your job is that of a law enforcer; and, so, the root causes of poverty, unemployment, poor housing and other social ills are beyond your purview as law enforcement officers and as your

practices are today. However, this does not mean that you should not think in terms of expanding your activities. I know that most of you have more than you can handle now, but there are cities who have expanded police activities. For example, in a belated attempt to cope with crisis before it erupts, a number of police departments have created divisions of community relations to labor for police minority understanding in the slums. Some, including New York City, San Francisco and Atlanta, involve major efforts; and I am quoting here from the recent issue of Look magazine: "Atlanta under the direction of an imaginative veteran police chief, Herbert Jenkins, has forty-three (43) officers, almost ten per cent of his police force, working in a crime prevention bureau. The men circulate in Negro areas on such tasks historically alien to police work as persuading drop-outs to return to school, directing people to appropriate social agencies, helping job hunters and delaying rental evictions."

Other new innovations are being tried. Tampa, Florida, enlists young Negroes to help police dampen riots. New Haven, Connecticut, hit by unexpected rioting last summer, is opening neighborhood police centers in the Negro areas where young black and the police will work together to solve problems short of arrest and handcuffs. In New Rochelle, New York, young Negroes are paid \$2.25 an hour to patrol the night streets as police partners. These are some innovations that perhaps you as leaders in your police department can certainly discuss and perhaps some day implement.

We know that all of us, the police included, need to examine our feelings of prejudice and discrimination toward some of our fellow

Americans, that is, if we believe in the Judean, Christian, democratic way of life. We are living in a terrible era, and we are confronted with a terrible war in Viet Nam, and most of us do not have the solutions.

Somewhere between the black and the white and the gray area, there might be the truth. What are we in Viet Nam for? Primarily, to hold onto a way of life that we feel very precious to us, so we want to enhance the cause of democracy.

One way for us to enhance democracy right here at home for those of us not involved abroad is to live a democratic way of life, and that means that each of us do our share to make democracy a living reality.

The importance of human relations is certainly pointed out in the recent campaign starts. The civil rights strategy of President Johnson for this election and the legislative year now is formed. In a recent Christian Science article it was pointed out that President Johnson and his cabinet have two main thrusts. One is to isolate militant Negro leaders from the rest of the community. These are the extremists, as the President defines them. The President believes that these people are a small minority. He dealt with them tersely in his message to Congress on civil rights. Lawlessness must be punished sternly and promptly. The President hopes to cut these militants apart from broad middle-ground of Negro and white voters and attract the latter to the Democratic party. This is one thrust. But that thrust has had considerable controversy. Critics point out that the President deliberately included racial violence in the section dealing with crime in the President's State of the Union message. They passionately deny

that the two types of violence are similar in motive or character. They insist the Negro opinion will be drawn to sympathize with the militant civil rights leaders and that big sections of white opinion will, also, if the President persists in treating them as common criminals.

You, as policemen, are deeply involved in regard to this first thrust from the point of view of your official roles as law enforcement officers.

The second thrust that all of us are involved, and certainly you in the capacity of citizens, is a change of emphasis. There must be less attention paid to legal rights, although these remain an important part of his program. That is to say, that although the legal aspects remain a very important part, the emphasis will be to stress ways to exercise the rights of citizenship of every citizen. This means the improvement of social, educational and economic conditions. The whole of the "Great Society" program--aimed at helping those who are poor in money, housing and social equality--now has become the chief way of helping disadvantaged Negroes.

The President has constantly put full emphasis on the causes of racial disorder. In his civil rights message, he said "the criminal conduct of some must not weaken or resolve to deal with the real grievance of all those who suffer discrimination. Nothing can justify the continued denial of equal justice and opportunity to every American."

The new civil rights legislation asked by the president is one illustration; and it includes fair housing, federal protection for persons working for civil rights, enforcement powers for the equal opportunity commission and desegregated juries. Broad Johnson social programs are considered in a state of flux. We don't know that these programs will go through.

Let me return to the first point--that of isolating militant Negro leaders from the rest of the community and the role of the police as law enforcement officers. There is no question in my mind and in the minds of most citizens that law must be preserved. I doubt very much that there are very many people in the United States who would go along with the law violators. On the other hand, I think that part of the dynamics of our era today is that Negroes who have waited for three hundred (300) years--certainly a hundred years since emancipation--want to realize a sense of dignity during their lifetime. This applies not only to the Negro, but certainly to the Mexican-Americans, Indians, poor Anglo-whites and other groups.

It has been pointed out that we are living through a terrible historical irony. A psychiatrist at Harvard, Robert Cole, points out that the law that rising Negroes now defy once decreed them to be chattel, pure and simple; and until recently that law, that order, that way of life denied them in their American homeland--especially in the South--even the right to vote. Negroes now seize property, but once Negroes were considered property. One hundred years ago the nation had to fight a bloody civil war before white men could even grant citizenship to black men. Today, millions of Negroes still feel

apart, hopelessly and possibly so. They are a nation within a nation; and until that awful division of territory, money and power is somehow bridged, until studies, inquiries and prescriptions become actions, rioting will continue. So says many people, including Robert Cole, a psychiatrist who has lived much of his life in the South and is now living in Boston. My guess is that most of you have not encountered ethnic prejudice or discrimination or at least you have not felt it in your guts. Although I have traveled in the South, I was stationed in Alabama during world War II. I don't think that I can really comprehend the generations of indignities and denials of human rights suffered by the Negro or by the Mexican-American in south Texas that we read about or, for that matter, by our native American Indian.

Some of you may have read the book by Griffin, Black Like Me. It is a pretty good paper back. You should read it when you have time.

As a member of a minority, however, I did have a little experience with prejudice and discrimination which I would like to mention very briefly. Most of you have heard about the plight of the Nisei. Webster's dictionary defines a Nisei as an American of Japanese ancestry. Most Nisei are American citizens by virtue of birth in the United States, and some Nisei have citizen parents. Historically speaking, several decades after Commodore Perry of the U.S. Navy carried a letter of friendship from President Fillmore, opening Japan's doors to the West and vice versa, my parents migrated to the United States, where I was born. I grew up in Seattle, went to school, pledged allegiance to our flag, attended the Christian church and considered myself one

hundred per cent American. When World War II broke out, however, this image was shattered as we were ordered inland into an evacuation center which was enclosed by barbed wire. It didn't seem to make any difference that some of us had brothers already in the U.S. armed services or that many of us were in the university R.O.T.C. program. Ever since that time, I have been concerned about the problems of prejudice and discrimination.

After a period of time, most Nisei were released from the evacuation center and served in World War II.

When I was in a training camp in Alabama and after I came back from bivouac, sweating, tired, etc., I didn't feel like getting into a long line for a shower; and so one day I got the bright idea of going over and using the shower facilities of the Negro section. In a few days I was called in by a major who was the battalion commander at that time; and he said, "What is this I hear about you using the wrong shower facilities?" I said, "What do you mean by "wrong?" And he said, "You are breaking a violation here of keeping the white and Negro separate." He then looked at me and said, "You know, I want you to know you're white." Apparently this was a new revelation for me to be considered white, but the point of the story is that really much of our activities is involved in some kind of social interpretation. So many of us think of race as a biological concept; and certainly from one point of view, you are right. The fact still remains that even race--and many scholars like to use the word "ethnic" in lieu of race today and interchangeably--the emphasis is a social one. An Indian from east India who wears a turban on his head or an African dignitary is

treated better than most of our Negro professors in the South; and, as you know or have heard, the Nazi war criminals were treated better than our Negro soldiers during World War II.

To fully comprehend the problems of prejudice and discrimination, we need to have a good understanding of the pre- and post-history of slavery. Needless to say, time does not allow for such a discourse. As stated in the book Race Tensions and the Police, although it is of little importance, the Negro is not an American by choice. They were brought to the New World against their will. If their presence creates a problem, it is not one of their own devices. It is difficult for us to realize the conditions confronting the slaves when they were freed. They enjoyed no rights. They had been bought and sold and had been entirely dependent on their white masters for their existence. Naturally, a slave psychology developed. They come to believe that since they owned nothing, they had no responsibilities. They had no ambition and no incentive to work because their past labors had not produced for them a higher standard of living. The works of historians, novelists and artists warrant careful attention and provides us with a general background for understanding the nature and sources of prejudice and discrimination.

As a sociologist, I would like to also emphasize the importance of research in obtaining scientific knowledge in this area. This is a day where we no longer have to accept myths, accept stories that are not true; and I think all of us must resort to looking at scientific data. How true is it, for example, that certain groups are innately

inferior in intelligence or that certain groups, biologically speaking, are less ambitious. Most research points to the fact that these are learned variables. By the scientific approach, we mean simply that the approach should be characterized by objectivity in the gathering and analysis of data. I am sure that most of you in law enforcement use the objective approach for most of your observations, duties, etc., but oftentimes emotion creeps in. The objective kind of data means that what is observed should be verifiable, and the objective kind of data is not based on absolute truth. In other words, impressions that you once had are subject to change; and, therefore, it behooves you to keep up with the latest trends and ideas.

Even though we have certain images of certain groups in this rapidly changing society of ours, the image is changing rapidly. Scientific data tells us that none of us were born with prejudices. Most of us have opinions about various ethnic groups because we have unconsciously or deliberately gained them from the culture surrounding us. Our culture has had a significant influence on the ideas which we embrace. Actually, the ideas may or may not be based upon verifiable data. It is very important that we always keep in mind the idea of verification of data.

Every ethnic group covers a wide range not only in mental ability, but in physical characteristics, such as in muscular development, weight, height; and most of us know that it is not easy to classify races. There are many types and classifications vary from three that you are all familiar with--the Negroid, Mongoloid and the Caucasian

classification--to more than thirty. There are groups that are extremely hard to classify. What do you classify the American Indian as? He is a Mongoloid.

We will now discuss what is prejudice, discrimination, nature and sources of prejudice and discrimination. Many writers have tried to define such concepts of prejudice and discrimination, and some sharp disagreements have resulted from differences of definition. Yet definitions are not only symbolic conveniences; they are necessary for communication. Tomorrow I hope to lecture on the subject of communication in general, and communicating with minorities in particular.

What do we have in mind when we talk about prejudice? The word comes from the Latin praejudicium. The pre- meaning "before" and -judicium implies "judgment." So there are those that define prejudice as a prejudgment in the sense that it means jumping to a conclusion before considering the hard facts. Prejudice is a prejudgment concerning objects and persons not based upon knowledge or experience. Then there are those who say prejudice can hardly be called a judgment, for a judgment is an operation of the mind which involves discernment, examination of fact, logical process of good sense. There are those who say that prejudice is more an emotional feeling and bias than it is judgment. Of course, we can raise the question: are all judgments good? Are all judgments based on fact?

(At this point Dr. Yoshino passed out a questionnaire entitled "Perception of Groups" and asked everyone in attendance to complete the form.)

When I was asked to lecture at this institute, I went to the library and did a lot of research; and most of it was quite fruitless because there wasn't too much information in this area, yet I think more often than not, the charge of police brutality is an unfair one. I don't feel that most minority groups feel that police, certainly in the Tucson area here, are brutal.

Whether something is true or not, whether something is scientific objective or not, if we feel something to be true, this is how we behave. We behave on the basis of what we perceive to be true. One of the important points is to communicate with the minority groups--with the American Indian, with the Anglo-whites, with the Mexican-Americans and at the same time have their reaction against the various groups; and if you have data you can, accordingly, react in one way or another and promote your community relations program.

One of the difficulties that we are having in Tucson is the hiring of the O.E.O. area coordinator, and, unfortunately, in many respects this has taken on a racial connotation. It is a very difficult position to be in to mediate such a thing. I was once asked to mediate such a problem in the Phoenix area where it involved a Mexican-American, a Negro, an American Indian; and it was not easy to resolve.

I think it is very important to know how people feel so that we can use feelings as a point of departure, whether these feelings are, in fact, true or not.

To get back to our discussion of prejudice and discrimination, let me ask a few questions and answer yes or no to these questions.

1. A Negro parent is attacked because his child attends a desegregated school. Can the U.S. federal courts punish the assailant?
2. A Negro is beaten up after seeking service in a previously all-white restaurant.
3. A crowd forces a group of Negro children from a public park.

While the answer to these questions is perhaps maybe, or no, the existing criminal laws don't accurately define the government's authority. They generally don't apply to private persons unless acting in concert with officials. That is a conspiracy. Even if the laws are applied, the maximum penalties are preposterous where a death may result. To remedy this is one of the purposes of the civil rights bill which President Johnson sent to Congress last week.

The book Racial and Cultural Minorities, an analysis of prejudice and discrimination, defines prejudice as an emotional, rigid attitude toward a group. The prejudiced person arbitrarily categorizes groups in his own thinking, even though members of such a group may have little similarity or interaction. Prejudice attitudes have an effective or emotional quality that not all attitudes possess. People may have attitudes toward a certain food, but they may be willing to change this attitude. I may have an attitude about a given make of car, but if someone were to give me that given make of car that I had a prejudice toward, I would be ready to change this. In racial attitudes, generally speaking,

people are much more rigid and less apt to change such an attitude. As it has been pointed out, prejudice not only involves prejudgment, but also misjudgment. Prejudice is a socially oriented misjudgment of certain minority groups or, conversely, of majority groups. Minorities can misjudge majorities. All misjudgment is not prejudice. One may misjudge the speed of an approaching car, but one is anxious to correct the error. Prejudice, then, is a misjudgment, even after we know the truth, that one defends. It is a rigid attitude that one defends.

Here are a couple of stories that point out the need to discern what the problem is, and they come from the paper back book entitled "The Nature of Prejudice," by Gordon Allport.

"An anthropologist in his middle thirties had two young children, Susan and Tom. His work required that he live for a year with a tribe of American Indians in the home of a hospitable Indian family. He insisted, however, that his own family live in a community of white people several miles distant from the Indian reservation. Seldom would he allow Tom and Susan to come to the tribal village, although they pleaded for the privilege; and on rare occasions when they made the visit, he sternly refused to allow them to play with the friendly Indian children. Some people, including the Indians, complained that the anthropologist was discriminatory." Was he?

When I address a group of law enforcement officers, I am happy to see that they are curious, are interested and are attentive. Many of my university classes are quite dull in comparison. I might also add

that last spring I was on a committee with a number of other people investigating possible discrimination in the Civil Service tests here in Tucson, and I took a look at your police examination, and it is not an easy examination. It is a comparatively difficult examination. I am certain in my own mind that given the opportunity most of you could easily graduate from any university curriculum; and as you obtain further training and education, I really think your role should be widened to include community relations kind of activities.

The second story is this. "In the early summer season two Toronto newspapers carried between them holiday advertisements from approximately one hundred fifty resorts and a Canadian social scientist conducted an interesting experiment. To each of these hotels and resorts, he wrote two letters, mailing them at the same time, asking for room reservations for exactly the same dates. One letter he signed with the name 'Mr. Lockwood' and the other with 'Mr. Greenberg.' The results he received were as follows: to the name signed with 'Mr. Lockwood,' 95 per cent of the resorts replied and 93 per cent offered him accommodations. To the name 'Mr. Greenberg' asking for reservations on the same date, only 52 per cent as compared to 95 per cent of the resorts replied, and of the 52 per cent, 32 per cent offered him accommodations." Is there discrimination here? None of the hotels knew Mr. Lockwood or Mr. Greenberg; for all they knew, Mr. Greenberg might be a quiet, orderly gentleman and Mr. Lockwood less so. The decision obviously was made not on the merits of the individual, but supposed membership in an ethnic group.

What was the problem in the first case? The anthropologist knew that tuberculosis was in the tribal village and that four of the children of the household where he lived had already died of the disease. The possibility for infection of his own children, if they came in contact with the natives, was high, so his better judgment told him that he should not take the risk. There was no feeling of antagonism involved. He had no general negative attitude toward the Indians; in fact, he liked them very much.

So what basic difference exists in these two cases? Did not the hotelkeepers' reason for high probability that Mr. Greenberg's ethnic membership would, in fact, hinder business? The question is legitimate. If the innkeepers were basing their objection on fact, their actions would have been perhaps defensible; but times are changing, and these were not necessarily based on fact. There is no overwhelming evidence that business is affected. As a matter of fact, following up, many people of Jewish ancestry went to these hotels and were accepted without any difficulty. Would Mr. Greenberg otherwise be an undesirable guest? Some managers may never have had any unpleasant experience with Jewish guests, a situation that seems likely in view of the fact that in many cases Jewish guests had never been admitted to hotels; or, if they have had such an experience, they have not kept a record of their frequency in comparison with objectionable non-Jewish guests. So, unlike our other case, the hotel case contains an essential ingredient of ethnic prejudice. There is definite hostility and rejection in that a majority of the hotels wanted nothing to do with Mr. Greenberg as a member of an ethnic group, and not on the basis of his personal worth. So the basis for his rejection was

categorical. Mr. Greenberg was not evaluated as an individual; rather, he was condemned on the basis of his presumed group membership.

There are a number of interesting analyses of prejudice. Prejudice, according to Professor Kramer, has several dimensions. So prejudice is not viewed as a unitary phenomena, but rather as having several dimensions. Professor [Kramer] identifies three levels of orientations toward prejudice. One level is the cognitive level. The cognitive level refers to an individual's picture of an ethnic group. It deals with how an individual perceives a minority. It is the picture that you have in your mind. An individual's picture of an Italian may be associated with that of the Mafia; thus, blanket assertions are sometimes heard that Italians are predisposed towards organized crime. Questioned, the proponents of this viewpoint are likely to respond with such infamous characters as Al Capone or Luciano. It is interesting to note that such infamous badmen of the 1930's as Dillinger, Nelson, Barker and Kelly (traditional old American names) are forgotten. Crime rates for the Italians are generally less than for native-born Anglos.

Professor Kramer goes on to talk about the emotional level. Emotional level refers to the feelings evoked when a prejudiced person sees a member of a minority group. Fear, hate, pity, sympathy are among the emotional responses that may be experienced when confronted with racial interaction or with the prospect of such interaction. Many people feel that Negroes are born criminals. Unfortunately, crime reports in America show the percentage of Negroes caught to be out of proportion to the Negro population. In evaluating statistics of Negro

crimes, it should be realized that Negroes are more liable to be suspected of crime than white. That is to say, a Negro playing poker out in a garage somewhere is more visible to the officer than upper-middle class who are having a session, if not a drunken brawl, in the privacy of their home. Donald Taft, a criminologist at Illinois, in his book Criminology, suggests that prejudice and discrimination works two ways. It causes frustration and may result somewhat directly in aggression and crime. Secondly, it may account for the disproportionate exposure of a member of this minority to conditions and associates that would indirectly predispose them to criminal behavior. On the other hand, Negroes quite understandably are found ranking very low in the big white-collar crimes, or lesser white-collar crimes as forgery and embezzlement. While the emotional level and distinguished from the cognitive or perception level, the two may appear together.

Professor Kramer then talks about the action level. The level of the orientation is upon the tendency to act, or disposition to act, in certain ways toward a minority group, not upon the actions themselves. That is, W.A.S.P.'s (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) may favor barring Jews from their social clubs. Others might prefer not to hire a Mexican-American; and, unfortunately, we know of a large insurance company right here in Tucson which does most of its business with Mexican-Americans, yet who have a prejudicial policy toward hiring Mexican-Americans. So from the cognitive, emotional and action point of view, prejudice can be looked upon as a system of negative conceptions, feelings and action orientations regarding members of a particular group. So this kind of orientation reflects the cognitive, emotional and predisposition levels of prejudice.

A large part of our behavior may be understood in terms of the operation of the norms of our groups or culture. That is to say, what are the norms in the South or the North or in the Southwest and in Tucson here? What you as leaders and officers of the Police Department by way of your own norms will have a tremendous influence on a patrolman. These norms are very important--these cultural norms. People throughout the world behave differently. Respective cultures provide general guidelines for their people's behavior. Cultures or norms provide the guideposts as to how one should think and act. Americans think of suicide as being cowardly and immoral, and in our Christian culture this is, indeed, the interpretation; but for the Japanese death by suicide may be interpreted as being courageous and moral. So, knowing a person's social, cultural and economic background gives one a general picture from which to act.

Let's take a look at perception and culture. People differ considerably in the world they see. Among the many variables that enter into our perceptions of the world about us is culture. James Bagbee set up ten pairs of slides to be viewed through a stereoscope. On one side he mounted pictures familiar to most Mexicans, such as a matador, a "peon," a dark-haired girl. On the other side he mounted a similar group of pictures familiar to most Americans--a farmer, a baseball player and a blonde. As you might surmise, the Americans saw only those items placed within the context of their culture, while the Mexicans likewise saw primarily those objects within their cultural background. We have a number of such experiments. There was an experiment where men were shown pictures of young women who were all strangers to them.

They were asked to rank each photograph on the basis of their general liking for the girl, her beauty, her character, her intelligence, her ambitions and her entertainingness. Two months later the same group was given identical photographs with surnames added. For some of the photographs, Jewish names were added--Italian, Irish and American surnames, such as Clark, Davis, etc. The labeling of the photographs had a definite effect in the perception, as you might guess.

Prejudice may be partly considered as a manifestation of the needs and frustrations of individual personality. This is a social psychological approach toward looking at prejudice. One of the most popular of the personality theories, psychological theories of prejudice, is the scapegoat theory. The essence of the scapegoat theory is tersely summarized in American Minority Relations, which is a good textbook in this area. It is pointed out in the book that there are needs and that each of us has a variety of needs, be they constitutional; that is, hunger, thirst, sleep, sex. Or the needs may be social, such as need for some kind of response and recognition and self-dignity. An individual often finds for one reason or another that his needs or desires are unfulfilled because of our complex society; many people are not able to attain what they want or what they think they should have. Hence, frustration, and when these desires are consistently frustrated, an individual may become aggressive. He wants to strike out. This is the frustration-aggression theory brought out in the book by John Dollar. Many frustrated persons need to vent their emotions. Often,

the anger is displaced against those whom we are prejudiced and whom against we discriminate. When hostilities are discharged upon a scapegoat and removed from the source of frustration, the process is referred to as displacement. Displacement is a common practice. You have no doubt heard a person complain to a frustrated friend, don't take it out of me. Someone who encounters difficulty from his supervisor may upon the slightest provocation vent his anger on a person toward whom he has a prejudicial feeling. Often, aggression was deflected toward Negroes or Mexicans who were too weak as individuals or as groups to fight back. There is a tendency to scapegoat those persons who are weaker than we are and probably who cannot fight back. The scapegoat might be physically or socially weak. Human beings are quite adept at rationalizing their behavior. Many individuals justify behavior by finding some reason why they can take it out on a given person or a group member. Some people say, I hate a certain group because they are criminally inclined and they are lazy. The scapegoat theory has some weaknesses; that is, frustration does not always result in aggression. Recent research lends less support to this theory.

Q. In your discussion of prejudice in regards to racial background and accepting the premise that children of any race are pretty much the same at the time they are born, are there not cultural variations which tend to be identified with some racial groups--legitimate cultural differences?

Taking your own ancestral background. You are an American citizen, born in the United States. Your cultural background is that of the United States; your parents, however, were born in Japan. It has been my experience to acknowledge that the Japanese people from the nation of Japan tend to be much more polite in their dealings with each other than people from the United States. Have you found this to be true?

A. During World War II, I was among the advance guard that were sent to Japan; and I found that there are polite people and not very polite people in Japan, just as you find all over the world. I think that certainly culture does make a difference. I feel that we are in the realm of what I would call cultural personalities; and while culture does influence one's behavior, nonetheless, personality is involved, so that if each of us reacts to any ethnic group on the basis of how we would act without having the negative stimulus, I think we would be better off for it.

I would say yes, there are cultural differences. If we take a youngster from another country and bring him to the United States, he is going to be brought up as an American; but if we take an American and put him in China, he is going to be brought up as a product of Chinese culture. When you see a member of a minority group, I am sure that your first reaction is to the exterior symbolic aspect of that person or color or skin.

Q. Doctor, we discussed the fact that there seems to be a lack of stimulation in some of the minority groups to better themselves. How as a total society can we stimulate those large areas of minority groups to better themselves in education and their ability to handle the recently gained advantages.

A. That is a very good question. There used to be that old saying "If you are white, you are right. If you are brown, stick around. If you are black, stay back." You are not going to erase this kind of image overnight. Members of our minority have developed this kind of attitude when they have been stymied time and time again.

What we as citizens might do is to support our congressmen and our legislatures here in the state that are trying to do something about providing adequate opportunities for education, poor housing and in the employment area. We are a very affluent nation, but somehow most Americans have not shown the will to want to do something about it. It is not only the will; we should carry the will out into some kind of action, whether it be something very simple, as writing a letter. Most Negroes in the ghetto or Mexican-Americans in south Texas, parts

of Colorado and New Mexico hear about job opportunities usually after everybody else has heard about them. Those people in this category of not being able to better themselves are really out of touch with what I call the main-stream of American society. We are generally in touch; but for those minorities who are out of touch, you just can't say to them, look, we have an adult education program. Why don't you take advantage of it? Those minorities don't have any link with such basic institutions as social welfare agencies, educational agencies, job agencies. And so I think that one of the jobs for all of us is to try to help people who are alienated from our society; and this is going to take a lot of patience, a lot of good will, a lot of hard work to help some of our minorities assume the responsibility we know they are capable of assuming.

Q. Doctor, you were born and raised in Seattle. Your parents came from Japan. What kind of section did you live in? Was it predominantly American, Japanese, etc.?

A. It was definitely Anglo.

Q. How did your parents find it living in this section?

A. My father spoke relatively good English. He was a student in Germany when he came to this country, and his parents had been here before.

Q. Were your parents socially accepted?

A. For the most part, yes. Let me say that any member of a minority group, whether it be Negro, Mexican-American or Oriental, doesn't like to be confronted with any unpleasant situations. So, to avoid that, you operate in a circle that accepts you. I remember as a kid growing up in Seattle, I remember going to a Christian convention at a boy's camp. I was the only Oriental there, and when the food was passed around, by the time it got to me there was nothing. This wasn't just accidental, but after getting to know the gang, I was accepted.

Q. The Negro wants to become an equal part of our society in the United States, and the way to do that is not to expect the majority of society to turn around and look at every problem that they have, but they should also look at the problems that we have and let them become a part of them--not try to change the whole society for them.

A. There are degrees of discrimination, and I did not have anything near the problems that Negroes face. I know that living in the community that I did, it was pretty liberal; but I can remember my father talking about a family in our neighborhood who did not want to accept a Negro family into the neighborhood.

The Negro has been trying to attain his place in the sun for a lot longer than he has been beaten over the head. He has been treated as a slave, and most groups have not been treated as slaves.

The reason why the situation has accelerated today is because the Negro no longer wants to be "Uncle Toms." As long as they were "Uncle Toms," nothing was said, and it has been only in the last two or three decades that the Negroes have asked for his rightful place in the sun. Let me compare this historically. When the immigrants came over, including my own grandparents, if they had enough get-up-and-go, chances were they could get a job. There were enough unskilled jobs and, furthermore, they had the security of a family to fall back on even after a hard day's work and they were much less expendable than the Negro. But with the Negro, take a look at what is happening today. Looking at our mechanized, automated society; there are fewer jobs that Negroes can obtain. At the same time, our society has become tremendously affluent, and even the Negro can buy a TV and see what the other side lives like. The Negroes were kept down for a long time from getting education. Until recently, the Negro has not had the educational opportunities and job opportunities were very limited.

Most of the immigrants had the support of a strong family system. Negro slaves didn't have family unity. It is no secret now that in the early days of slavery, Negro men were used as studs for breeding purposes. All these things have accumulated so that we have problems today. The middle-class Negro do not have the problems. It is those people who are not well educated, do not have

jobs, have poor housing and live in the ghettos. These are the people we say do not have a sense of responsibility.

Q. Doctor, perhaps you could explain to us the concept of the "Oriental tongs" that are practiced here in the United States. Would this, in your opinion, be a form of discrimination against the whites by the Orientals?

A. "Tongs" are Chinese fraternal organizations. When I was growing up in Seattle, there weren't too many Japanese where I lived; and there was a Chinese family a couple of miles away--a very fine family. And, yet, for me to date a girl from this Chinese family, there was considerable tension on both families. It was much easier for me to date an Anglo. What I want to say is that just because I am an Oriental doesn't mean that I am familiar with Chinese customs, but I do happen to know a little about "Tongs."

When the Chinese first came over, they arrived in large numbers, and they worked primarily as cooks and laundrymen for the miners looking for gold in California. After that dwindled down, they worked as railroad hands, building the Union Pacific and other railroad lines from the West; and the Irish built them from the East. After that period of time was over, the Chinese people went into the open job market, and there was tremendous discrimination and the Chinese were expendable. And so, in order to protect themselves, they formed the Chinese fraternal organization called "Tongs"; and this fraternal organization gave the Chinese psychological protection. It gave them a way of handling their own problems. This is the reason for the existence of "Tongs."

HOW TO COMMUNICATE WITH MINORITY GROUPS

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Our subject today is "How to Communicate with Minority Groups." This is a difficult subject at best. What we are going to try to do is give you sort of a general presentation about communication and then perhaps go into a deeper discussion about how minority groups think and how they are influenced by their cultural backgrounds, which means that I will try to present the point of view of the Negro, the Mexican-American and the American Indian.

Communication with minority groups--indeed, with anyone--is a sine qua non of human relations. That is to say, that society would not exist unless we had some kind of communications. Most of us take communication for granted. Communication is basic to all human interaction and the understanding which exists among people. The great philosopher and educator, John Dewey, has pointed out that society not only continues to exist by communication, but society exists in communication. Certainly in police community relations, one of the main problems is in the area of communication. Communication is not a very simple one-way process; it involves considerable cultural and social understanding.

For example, in Japan, if one waves his hand in a certain manner, it means "come," not "aloha."

Communication with minority groups is made easier if you know them. If you saw a kid a block away about to steal an orange or an apple and you noticed this orange tree belonged to an owner whom you know spends a couple of months in Mexico each year and you notice that the kid is about to steal an orange, as a law enforcement officer, you have to enforce the law of not stealing. So as the kid is a block away, you wave your fist at him. What does this fist mean? Does it communicate something? Yes, it communicates something, but what it communicates takes an interpretation. Probably the shake of your fist would prevent the kid from stealing the orange. On the other hand, say you have some background on the kid and you knew he came from a relatively poor family and also you knew that the owner didn't mind too much and he was a generous sort, but that his housekeeper was more stringent and she was the one who would not like it. You have to make a decision as to whether to let the kid pluck the orange or not. The point is you have to know the feelings of the owner as well as those associated with the owner; and chances are if no one is looking, you are going to wave your fist rather vehemently, but if you have some inside information that the kid is from a poor family and the owner's maid is away for the day, chances are you are going to somewhat close your eyes on this.

If the kid interprets you, he will either run away or he will take the orange. If he knows that you are just playing your role and have to do this and that you are really not going to enforce this action

too much, chances are he will pluck that orange and he will play his role and he will run away. So even the shaking of a fist involves some interpretation.

The point is that in communication it helps a lot if we know the background of the situation.

You may have had problems communicating with your children or your wife. Most of the time, we feel that we communicate well, but there are times that things go wrong. You don't have to say much to communicate. Your wives know most of your schedules, so when you bid her goodbye this morning, you didn't have to tell her that you were coming here to the institute and where you would be eating lunch, etc.

There is a story about a private detective who was sent to a rural area on a mission, and his car broke down in the middle of nowhere. In his dilemma, he walked around wondering what to do, and it was getting late at night. He knocked on the door of what seemed the only house in the neighborhood, but this house didn't have a telephone. So he was stuck. He could smell beans cooking and he was very hungry and tired, so he asked if he might spend the night because it was getting late. The owner of the house said he would have to communicate with his wife and ask her. The wife came out and saw this nice-looking detective and said, "We are very poor and all we have to eat for a whole week is a big pot of beans. But if you don't mind beans, I will be happy to have you dine with us. As far as beds are concerned,

we only have one bed; but it is a double bed, so what we might do, if you don't mind, is that my husband will sleep in the center, and I'll sleep on one side and you sleep on the other side of the bed." The detective agreed to this arrangement, and so dinner time came; and the detective, being very hungry, quickly downed his plate of beans, and he helped himself to seconds and he soon had this devoured. And as he was about to help himself to thirds, the farmer quickly grabbed the pot of beans and took it away. Then it came time for sleep, and as per arrangement, the detective slept on one side of the husband and the wife slept on the other side. In the middle of the night, there was a big racket out in the chicken house; so the farmer took his shotgun and he dashed out to the chicken house to see what the matter was. The young wife woke up and leaned toward the private detective and said, "Say, young man, now is your chance." And so the young detective woke up and said, "Good, good, where is that pot of beans?"

So, in such a mundane thing as this, there could be miscommunication.

In an analysis of the aftermath of the Watts Riot in Los Angeles, it was brought out rather clearly that there was virtually no communication between the people living in the Watts area and the outside communities, especially between the people of Watts and the power structure. There was no communication between the people of Watts and the police chief of Los Angeles. They asked the chief to come out and, understandably, he was busy; but he really didn't send any of his top aides out, and so the people of Watts asked the mayor of Los Angeles to come out and

take a look at the rather grim situation that existed in Watts-- unemployment, poor recreational facilities, etc. The mayor was too busy and he did not send any of his aides out. As a final gesture, the people of Watts wrote to the governor of California and asked him to send someone out to see their dire conditions, and the governor did not reply. So, as you know, the manifesto became "burn, baby, burn," and everybody showed up, including the nation.

The costly lesson that was learned is the importance of communicating with people in order to find out just what their problems really are.

We know the stronger a person's predispositions on any issue, for example, the issue of the conditions in the ghetto, if one has a strong predisposition that people in the ghetto are expendable and that they really don't matter too much, then it is going to be very difficult to communicate, although this might be quite obvious that you are not going to want to communicate with people who really do not matter. What may not be so clear is that the strongly predisposed on an issue actually manage not only to avoid controversial confrontation, but they manage to misinterpret the communication.

Studies reveal that prejudiced people find ways of changing the frame of reference to invalidate the message. You have heard often, "I just don't get it." Today, when we face such a person who says, "I just don't get it," most of us tend to be impatient, if not acrimonious. In fact, we ourselves might be quite selective in what we want to hear or read and close our minds to communication contrary to ours. Yet, I know from experience if I want to communicate with

a student who is quite prejudiced, I know that I must keep the doors of communication open so that before the semester is over, the student and I might reach some kind of a common area in which we will be able to communicate. If I were a propagandist and if we in the United States believed solely in propaganda, then we could give the answers as to why a person holding a given belief is in error; however, we know the main difference between propaganda and education is that while the propagandist gives answers, the thoughtful person raises questions, so that communication channels are kept open. Were I to give my friend, the student, the feeling that he is stupid and that his prejudices are all wrong, in all probability he would build up a wall of defense and our communication lines would be severed. On the other hand, perhaps questions that we could both think about would hopefully let a little light get through to each other.

In the communication process, we must try to be open-minded and as objective as possible without necessarily neutralizing our beliefs in the Judean, Christian, democratic way of life.

One of the major barriers to mutual interpersonal communication is our tendency to judge, to evaluate, to approve or disapprove the statement of the other person or group. Our primary reaction is to evaluate from our own point of view--from our own frame of reference. Although the tendency to make evaluations is common in almost all interchange of language, it is very much heightened in those situations where feelings and emotions are deeply involved, such as in the area of minority relations. Indeed, as we alluded to, the stronger our feelings, the more likely it is that there will be no mutual element in our communication.

Is there any way to avoid this barrier? Real communication occurs when the evaluative tendency is avoided and when we listen with understanding.

What does it mean to listen with understanding? It means to see the expressed idea from the other person's point of view, to see his frame of reference in regard to the things he is talking about. I think it is very difficult to see the other person's point of view unless we have some understanding of the cultural background, the social and economic background, or the person. Our perception, as was pointed out yesterday, is quite limited.

Carl Rogers, a well-known psychologist, feels that listening with understanding is a most effective agent for improving our relationship and for our communicating with ethnic groups. If we can listen to what the other person is trying to communicate to us, if we can try to understand how the situation seems to him, if we can see its personal meaning for him, if we can sense the emotional flavor it has for him, then we may be able to release forces of change within him.

Some of you feel that you listen well to people, and as law enforcement officers, I am sure you are much better listeners than most of us; nonetheless, you may not have seen the results of just how good a listener you are. Carl Rogers suggests the following:

The next time you get into an argument, just stop the discussion for a moment and institute this rule; and if it is hard to institute this rule--

and indeed it is with someone you are apprehending--then you might at least communicate with your wife, husband, boy friends, girl friends, etc., and practice this.

The rule is this: That each person can speak up only after he has first restated the ideas and feelings of the previous speaker accurately and to that speaker's satisfaction.

So if you are in an argument, just say, I want to communicate with you; let's see if I have your point. Let me try to restate what you are trying to tell me, and you restate this point of view and restate it to that person's satisfaction.

It would mean that before presenting your own point of view that it would be necessary for you to achieve the other speaker's frame of reference. To understand his thoughts and feelings so well that you can summarize them for him to his satisfaction. And you will most likely find at least some of the emotions will be attenuated, and those differences which remain will be more of a rational and understandable sort.

Imagine what effect it would have on a prejudiced person if we were to say we want to attain genuine understanding of your views--and even more important--of your feelings toward us. We will summarize and, if necessary, re-summarize these views until you agree that our description represents the situation as it seems to you. Perhaps the feed-back of his ideas may even surprise the prejudiced one who ostensibly believes in the American creed. Although it is not likely that you

will make it much more plausible to continue dialogue in a meaningful way. Sometimes we are surprised at what we have said, until it is said back to us. Sometimes we may not mean what we say, so that the feed-back may be very important in terms of give-and-take.

The communication process is rarely a single instance of stimulation and response: you say something and someone responds. It generally involves a sequence of exchanges within a larger context; hence, above all, it is important that the communication channel be kept open. It is vital that we communicate with those whom we disagree with as well as those who share our values and whom we agree with.

More prejudiced people need to learn that Negroes, Mexican-Americans and American Indians are people with dignity and rights; and, conversely, more non-prejudiced people need to learn that prejudiced people are also people with dignity and feelings, whatever their failings. We must somehow communicate the idea to all people that in any minority group most people are good and that there are some that are not so good. We must educate people to the idea that all groups are composed of individuals who must be judged and treated according to their own individual merits. This is a frame of communication that must never cease.

I want to refer back to the article that I mentioned yesterday, "The White Cop and the Black Rebel." Let me read short excerpts from this particular article.

"Communication seemed unlikely for Robert Anderson and Carl Smith. Anderson is a 43-year-old white police inspector in Grand Rapids,

Michigan. Smith, 47, is black and one of the city's angry young men. Anderson is committed to law and order. Smith is committed to social revolution--Black Power. By the book, Smith and Anderson would have little in common. Yet they discover they share a great deal--pride, curiosity, flexibility, courage, intelligence, mutual respect. They are far from being pals, but they talk frequently and laugh occasionally. How did this come about? This group came about because of the leadership of a University of Chicago Ph.D., a minister of a church and an organization called "The Scientific Resources, Inc.," a behavior of science outfit which launched a sensitivity training--a form of group therapy. It thrusts hostile groups together and forces them to initiate brutally frank discussions. The program began a year ago with five policemen and five community leaders, three of them Negroes. They hammered at one another, raked over prejudices, acted out alien roles and visited one another's neighborhoods. Most participants found the savage dialogue a shattering experience that tore away racial barriers. The beginners then taught others until fifty police officers and fifty citizens had taken the course. While no racial miracle has occurred, Grand Rapids, Michigan, is astonished at the changes in attitudes."

This might not be a bad technique to try here in Tucson, at least to communicate with the minorities in the Negro, in the Mexican-American and perhaps the Papago Indian areas.

We must try to communicate with those that we disagree with and perhaps those that are not very friendly towards.

The Reverend David Jenks of New York went to Mississippi several summers ago in what was known as a ministry of building and understanding, and he writes, "I was not an objective observer. I was not completely open-minded. I was not like a scientist who sees something that he believes is there, that others say is not. I was not looking for bad things. I was not trying to find Mississippi's failures. We were being told about these continually. I was sure there must be good people there. I wanted to talk to them. I wanted to understand what they were doing and why they were doing it. I was in Mississippi looking for goodness, for love, for concern, and I found it. I did not look for evil, but I saw it. I knew it was there. I did not want to see how much I could find. I looked for goodness. I asked what can I do? How can I help? Again and again, the answer was what you are doing is a great help--just trying to communicate to understand. When people are trying to hold to conflicting values, knowing that they must move and not seeing a way to move, it is a source of encouragement that someone wants to listen, not to condemn, but to understand and keep the channels of communication open. When you are being condemned by all those around and you know that much of the condemnation is deserved, you find someone who looks for the good--that is hope."

In summary of this session on the importance of keeping the communication channels open, let me quote briefly from the well-known

scholar, Alfred Whitehead, who said, "A clash of ideas is not a disaster; it is an opportunity if we constantly keep in mind the idea of communicating with understanding and a non-condemning spirit."

In this day of rapid-changing ethnic relations, we should be willing to take calculated risks for chances are that the discriminator may be in the process of being unprejudiced or with the support of its membership, an organization may alter its heretofore discriminatory policy.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, who spearheaded the momentous 1954 Supreme Court Decision, was the governor of California in 1941 who ordered the evacuation into the so-called concentration centers to which I alluded earlier. People do change.

During the depression years, there was a high school science teacher who was out of a job, and he had children to feed. He would look over the want-ads very diligently every day, and there were just no jobs to be had during the depression years. One day his eyes fell upon an ad which read "Wanted--a science teacher to work in a museum." So he applied for the job, but it wasn't as glorious as he had thought. Actually, the job was described as follows: "The curator of the museum said that really the job didn't call for someone that is as well-trained as a scientist, we thought that someone with a course or two in zoology might be interested and the job is essentially this--Our gorilla died about a month ago and we haven't funds to buy another gorilla, and the kids are very, very disappointed. They used to have a lot of fun seeing the gorilla. As you can guess, the job was for a person to wear the dead gorilla's skin and to play-act the role of

the gorilla so that the kids would be entertained after school, and, especially, over the weekend.

This was quite a blow to the science teacher, but he accepted the job. He became used to the role and he became very good at it. One Saturday afternoon he became quite rambunctious, and as he was swinging on the trapeze, his hands slipped and he found himself in the next cage which was a lion's cage. He quickly dashed to the corner of the cage and started yelling, "Help! Help! Let me out of here!" The lion then quickly ran to the corner and said, "Be quiet, you are not the only one out of a job!"

The point of this story is that today people may give the impression that they are wearing a lion's skin; however, they are human underneath. I have a feeling that there are many opposed. We are unaware who would like to bridge the gap of the American dilemma, and many of these people may be some of your colleagues and patrolmen.

The chances of communicating with a prejudiced person will be greatly enhanced if we realize that when one gives up a prejudice, he, in essence, admits an error, and most of us are reluctant to do this.

This short case study will illustrate the way in which sensitivity to the feelings of others may result in positive ends. "Mrs. Tenny, a brilliant young woman active in community relations work, had remained silent at a dinner party when a woman whom she and her husband were meeting for the first time spoke of members of another race as being mentally inferior--and we know that science indicates otherwise. It was an incidental remark, and the conversation quickly drifted to

something else. Driving home, Mr. Tenny said to his wife, 'I was watching you when Mrs. Hammond put in that nasty crack about colored people. Why didn't you speak up?' 'And spoil a chance of never changing her mind?' asked Mrs. Tenny. 'Had I spoken up, Mrs. Hammond would have defended her opinion. If I had won the argument, it would have been to my satisfaction, but not to hers. She would have disliked me for embarrassing her among her new acquaintances. She looks like a sincere, capable person. I think we can change her views on several things. When she made that comment about racial inferiority, I made a note of it in my mental notebook. And what do you think I did while you were getting our wraps?' Mr. Tenny smiled and said, 'Knowing you as I do, I would say you made a date with Mrs. Hammond.' 'Right. When we know each other better, I will introduce Mrs. Hammond to Dr. Sanford and Mrs. Taylor, who are as intelligent as any white person she ever met. One of these days, Mrs. Hammond will be working with us on our Inter-racial Human Relations Commission. That's not a promise, John, but I will try hard.' In less than two months, Mrs. Hammond had abandoned the notion of racial inferiority. Mrs. Tenny, her mentor, is one of the few--and there are altogether too few--who is concerned about racial and religious prejudice and astute enough to undertake the re-education of the mildly prejudiced individual."

We will now take a good, hard look at the feelings and cultural backgrounds of minority group members in order that we might understand others in our communication process. Let me read a poem to you by Hughes:

What happens to a dream deferred,
Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun,
Or fester like a sore and then run,
Does it stink like rotten meat,
Or crust and sugar over like a syrupy sweet,
Maybe it just sags like a heavy load,
Or does it explode?

I ask the question: what happens to a dream deferred? Does it explode? One of the senior editors of Look is Mr. Ernest Dunbar, and he happens to be an outstanding Negro journalist; and he replies, "After paying his dues in every one of the nation's wars since the Revolution, the black American has still not been admitted to the "club"; so he looked around to see what his future held, if anything. He noted that a rash of civil rights laws had been passed for which his freedom fighters, and some of them children, had had to pay with their lives. Enforcement agencies were created with inadequate power and then paid a ransom for their existence by winking at obvious violations and taking refuge in technicalities. Employers posted equal opportunity notices and still turned black applicants away. Labor unions could still find ingenious ways of keeping black journeymen off the job and apprentices out of training programs. In the impacted slums of our great American cities, black folk looked out of tenement windows while bulldozers tore down the houses around them to make way for superhighways that would enable white suburbanites to reach their offices quicker or to provide room for expansion of a big university that topped the humanities but lacked humanity or to erect sparkling new dwellings priced out of the reach of the evicted.

Thirteen years after the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, more black children than ever, North and South, still attend overwhelmingly black schools.

In 1967 legislation stripped a black U. S. congressman of a post it took his constituents twenty years to acquire before it had investigated the charges against him."

This is the viewpoint of a Negro leader, but in order to communicate, we have to understand how some of the Negro leaders feel. Whether you agree with this or not, it is the view expressed by a leader of the Negro community.

"There was further evidence that the President had not gotten the message implicit in the summer of 1967. The two Negroes appointed by him to the commission were N.A.A.C.P.'s Executive Director, Roy Wilkins, and Massachusetts Senator Edward Brook, both established black. Wilkins is representative of a generation and point of view long removed from the rioting black and some liberal whites. Three months before the uprisings, he had laughed at the Reverend Martin Luther King for predicting racial outbreaks in a dozen U. S. cities.

Brook, sent to the Senate by voters of a state with a 97-per-cent white population, was a man who had gone out of his way to demonstrate that he was not representing the Negro cause in the Senate.

The revolt of 1967 is about blackness as well as about freedom. Its participants do not revere the Wilkins and Brooks. Its participants speak the ghetto tongue. They tell it like it is without observing the

"House Nigger" tradition that says you must reserve your true feelings for black listeners and dissemble in the face of the white man. The keys to the new moves in black America are several. The black feel they should have their own voice in determining their own role within society. That freedom cannot be fed like an interveinous solution--a drop at a time. The black man wants to be an equal member of society, and he no longer construes this to mean that he must deface his own values or cast aside his culture to assimilate. Black urban upheaval is likely to bring increasing pressures on the small uncommitted black middle class and the poor, but resigned, older black folks. Its interpreters, like its participants, will be increasingly found in slum communities, not in the midtown paneled conference rooms of the older civil rights organizations."

Many of you have read the November 20, 1967, issue of Newsweek. If you haven't, I would recommend it very highly. "The Negro in America--What Must be Done?" Newsweek says, "The situation facing the Negro is not only a matter of Negro concern," says Mayor John Lindsey, "but a national issue. Failure to provide to the Negro the fullness of life to which every man is entitled is the responsibility of each of us. I thank Newsweek for bringing the issue soberly and forcefully to all Americans." The editor of Newsweek points out that the real issue is just not whether Negroes can get elected, but whether they can be brought into full participation in our society. The returns on the question are not in. A sense of fatalism grips much of the nation's white and Negro leadership. They know something must be done and done quickly to make equality real for blacks, and particularly for the restless black under-class.

The real question is this: are we willing to do something about bringing equality to all people, regardless of race, color or creed.

I would also recommend the paper back book entitled The Negro Revolt. The author writes--and he addresses this to the Negro as well as to the whites--if the American Negro is going to realize the full role in the American experiment, he must become a much more responsible fellow than he now is. Negro crime is high. Is the Negro ready to assume new responsibilities and privileges his leaders are seeking? His answer is rights accrue to individuals, not races, and there can be no democratic justification of the denial of their rights and freedoms to some Negroes simply because all Negroes have not reached a given point in civic responsibilities.

We must now get on to another very important ethnic group, especially in the Southwest and in Tucson--the Mexican-Americans.

It is well to understand something of the background of a Mexican-American for the simple reason that, in contrast to our European immigrant who came over across the Atlantic Ocean and in contrast to the immigrants who came across the Pacific, the Mexican just crossed the Rio Grande, which is dry much of the time.

There are many varieties of Mexican-Americans. Mexican-Americans are changing very rapidly. There are the lower economic classes and the upper economic classes. James Officer, who was deputy assistant to the commissioner of Indian affairs, writes, "In carrying out historical and anthropological research about Spanish-speaking people of the

American Southwest, I have heard Tucson, Arizona, frequently described by persons of Mexican ancestry as the best place in the United States for a Mexican to live.

"It is not the availability of employment that apparently prompts such a statement, but, rather, the general healthy relations which prevail between persons of Anglo and Mexican descent who inhabit the city. Where else can you find Mexicans owning department stores, presiding over banks, living in the most exclusive residential districts, belonging to the country club and marrying into upper-class Anglo families?"

Careful investigation reveals that such appraisals are not entirely supported by the fact. Only a tiny percentage of the Spanish-speaking population of the city can be said to enjoy community-wide prestige implied by these comments. In Southwest cities outside of Tucson, this situation does not prevail.

To most Mexicans, formal law generally appears to be arbitrary. While they do not treat it as something to be disregarded, they dislike getting involved with representatives of the American law. It is difficult for the Mexican to understand why in America, truancy or loafing on the street corner is regarded as delinquent. It is customary for men to idle on the streets in Mexico; and, likely as not, the street corner is the poor Mexican equivalent to the wealthy American club or the Englishman's pub.

In the brochure "Spanish-Speaking Children," the author talks about delinquency. I will read excerpts from this section:

"Delinquency is related in some way to a number of factors--living in slums or substandard areas, employment with both parents away from home, educational difficulty, association with persons who break the law, low family income, poor recreation, the power of the gang, lack of occupational opportunity, lack of strict supervision, culture conflicts, movement from rural to urban areas and family disorganization. All these variables impinge upon the average Mexican-American youth more than the average Anglo youth and, hence, you may find a higher delinquency rate among Mexican-Americans. For example, most youths are rather strongly motivated to make money, to be liked and to be somebody. There are many avenues to achieve these goals, and most of them are socially acceptable. A high proportion of the socially approved avenues are virtually closed, however, to Mexican-American youths, while none of the socially disapproved avenues are closed."

You and I know that if you know someone who knows someone, your chances are pretty good for getting a job if the job is there. The chances of the Mexican-American youth choosing one of the disapproved methods of goal-seeking are greater than they are for the average Anglo boy through no fault of his own, but because of factors over which he has no control.

For all immigrants and their children, cultural differences or cultural conflicts are potential sources of disorganization; and this is true for the Mexican-American.

An example is in Mexico, it is normal for men and boys to idle on the street corners in the evening, amusing themselves and getting the day's news. In this country, if boys spend much time loafing in the evenings, they are likely to get into trouble with the law. Moreover, in Mexico, the parents will release the boys from most parental controls when he is around sixteen, so that he might become a man. This usually means sex, gambling, alcohol and potentially some fighting. It is assumed that the boy will have his fling for a year or so and get it out of his system and then marry and settle down and become a respectable adult.

In the United States if this kind of release occurred at the same age, a boy is only half through high school and may be from four to six years away from settling down to being an adult. He is considered a delinquent, and he may be sent to a training school.

We will now take a look at some of the traditional beliefs of the Mexican-American. One of the traditional beliefs is "la raza," and you will find this description in William Madsen's book entitled "The Mexican-American of South Texas." A number of others have written about the idea of "la raza." Madsen writes, the Mexican-American thinks of himself both as a citizen of the United States and a member of "la raza," loosely translated "the race." This refers to all Latin Americans who are united by cultural and spiritual bonds derived from God. In Mexico, "la raza" emphasizes the idea of a splendid and glorious destiny. They see their greatest national strength in the spiritual vigor of "la raza." Madsen once asked a Latin if he thought the Anglo were in any way responsible for holding back the Mexican-American from

their God-given destiny. The Latin replied, of course not. If we live by God's commands, we will be so strong that no one can block us. Of course, the Anglos take advantage of our weaknesses; but it is we who make ourselves weak, not the Anglo. Instead of blaming himself, the Latin frequently attributed his errors to adverse circumstances. For example, he does not think he "missed the bus" because he arrived too late; he blames the bus for leaving before he arrived.

He believes that everybody is subject to temptation under certain circumstances. You know the old idea that to resist temptation is to yield to it. Many succumb to temptation due to human weaknesses which has got to be a universal, rather than an individual, failing. One does not get drunk because he voluntarily drank too much, rather that too much liquor was served at the party. The Latin conceives man as a part of nature and subject to the will of God. To show honor and respect to the Lord, the name "Jesus" is often given to boys. God, rather than man, is viewed as controlling events. To plan for the future is considered presumptuous, for God plans the future.

The most valuable thing in Mexican-American society is a family. To violate an obligation to one's parents and their siblings is an unpardonable sin. Remember, these beliefs are traditional beliefs--points of departure and changes have taken place. Within the family, the oldest male is head of the household. The male commands the female and the old commands the younger. Latin society rests firmly on the concept of male superiority and on a family foundation of solidarity.

The ideal male role is manliness or "machismo." The Mexican-American male endeavors to make his life a living validation of the assumption that the man is stronger, more reliable and more intelligent than the female.

Next to devotion to family, "machismo" outweighs all other aspects of prestige. "Machismo" governs male behavior in almost every facet of social life and is closely associated with a concept of honor. Honor is associated with lack of indebtedness or obligation. For this reason, the Latin male is reluctant to ask for a loan or a favor. Should his circumstances require him to seek help from others, then he will try to settle his accounts as quickly as possible. Acceptance of charity is thought to be humiliating. "Machismo," and especially the concept of honor, requires the Mexican-American to avoid taking a stand and then retreating. To take a stand on an issue and then retreat is considered degrading; hence, it is considered wise to avoid involvement in controversial issues. The manly Mexican-American must repay an insult to himself or to his family in order to defend the honor with which God endowed him. Revenge is usually achieved by direct physical attack. A Latin who is offended may seem to ignore a minor insult at the moment, but he does not forget it.

The Anglo practice of shaking hands after a misunderstanding is sometimes regarded as unmanly. Weakness in drinking ability is humiliating. The manly male drinks frequently and in quantity. Inability to drink, and especially the inability to maintain dignity when drinking, is a proof of weakness, as is the refusal to drink. The

Mexican-American male does not take his sex life lightly. He regards the female as a desirable quantity and he plays the role of Romeo. Relationship with a prostitute does not prove his "machismo." This requires only financial ability and does not require intelligence and knowledge needed to seduce a reluctant but beautiful female. Manliness does not only require physical power, but also power to allure women into sexual adventures.

A discourtesy may be excused if the offender can be described as younger and inexperienced. One must be cautious not to offend the dignity and individuality of an adult. Polite social distance precludes questioning of another's motives, especially of an elder, and it precludes direct involvement in the affairs of others. Also considered offensive is direct criticism. Another's opinions and interpretations are to be respected. Each head is a world unto itself. A person should not try to impose his ideas on anybody else; hence, resentment is felt for missionaries and public health workers for trying to change the Mexican-American beliefs. But, in spite of this, Mexican-American beliefs are changing and have changed.

All too often, Americans interpret "mañana" as meaning "tomorrow" for laziness or unreliability. For Mexicans, "mañana", traditionally speaking, conveys the philosophy that man is master of his time--of his own time, of his energy and of himself. This philosophy, exercised and defined to American routines, often produce acts that resemble laziness and unreliability.

The Mexican who is in the transition from Mexican culture to dominant American culture may be in difficulty, as there are noticeable differences in the value systems of the older and younger generation. The father-son conflict is not merely the result of an Anglo-Mexican value conflict, but it is present in the Mexican-American culture itself. William Madsen points out that the idea of being a subservient son until the father's death frequently threatens the Latin value of "machismo," or manliness. A true man is expected to be able to defend himself and maintain his dignity and honor under any circumstances. He is also supposed to be able to stand on his own two feet. There is little doubt that many "agringados" (Mexicans who are in the state of transition) are rebelling specifically against the authority of a father. A dutiful son in his twenties in South Texas, Madsen writes, is still living with his conservative Latin parents, once remarked to Dr. Madsen, "It is not easy to go home on payday. The guys on the job regard me as quite a guy. I get my money and stop at a bar for a few drinks. I can tell you I can really hold my own there. Then I go home and act like a child to the old man. I give him my pay, and he gives me an allowance for beer and cigarettes. I leave again as soon as I can, and then I really put away the beer.

These are some of the conflicts of the Mexican-American within their own culture and as they are trying to enter the main stream of American society, and many of the problems of the American Indian are similar. The difficulty is in the transition from one's own culture to the dominant society, and patience and understanding is much needed.

- Q. How can we in Tucson establish lines of communication between the Anglo, Chinese, Mexican-American, Negro or whatever it may be, so that we can resolve community problems within the city itself?
- A. I think members of the police department are giving forth more effort than you are receiving from the community. This I grant you. At the same time, I think that is important that you go more than 50 per cent of the way and seek out leaders of the minority community and see how best you can communicate with them, not at your level, but at their level. I belong to a church, and every once in a while, we have a negro or Mexican-American visitor and we rush out to them and welcome them and say it would be nice if we could have some kind of meaningful dialogue with you, and we want you to join us, etc. This is all fine; but what members of the community want is not necessarily for them to join you, but for you to join them; and, therefore, I think it is important that law enforcement officers continue this public relations program not only in an official capacity, but in a nonofficial capacity and get to know not only the leaders, but also some of the people in the areas that are definitely Mexican-American or Negro.
- Q. Doctor, we had a rather lively discussion involving the attempting to locate an actual leader of a particular group of people and who may be spokesman for that particular group of people. It is not difficult to locate some people who say they represent the thinking of a group of people; but in reality they don't, and what they are saying may, in fact, not be true. How do we get around this--by more contacts rather than dealing with one or two people who profess to be leaders?
- A. That is a very good question and not an easy one to answer. You will have leaders of a group that will have considerable contacts speaking to you here at this institute. Fred Acosta, representing the Mexican-American; Cy Preston, who is a Navajo-Hopi Indian; and Mr. Robert Horn, a Negro from the N.A.A.C.P. This is one-half of the answer, and I think

CONTINUED

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they are wonderful contacts. The big question is: Do they represent the people? This is another problem. I think you might be able to tap sources from the point of view of certain institutions like churches located in the area where there are concentrations of minorities or in the recreational programs. Some of the leaders who work often with the minorities will know people that you can contact.

COMMENTS FROM DON ALLEN,
NEGRO POLICE OFFICER

OFFICER ALLEN

I think it is extremely important--and this is a point that is overlooked continually--to understand that organizational leaders, such as Mr. Horn or some other individual, should represent the people, and in this case Mr. Horn should represent the Negro people. But I think it extremely important that you understand that he is not a leader for Negroes in Tucson. I hope you understand that it is not a necessity for an individual to have a leader. If I asked anyone here to name me their leader as a person--not as a chief of police, but as a person--you would not name anyone.

In problems dealing with Negroes, I think it is important that we have representation. What this man should do is convey the problems and the feelings of the people he represents. I think it is impossible to try and have a person that you feel can convince people of anything that they don't want to do or lead these people who are individuals, whether they happen to be Negroes or some other race, into anything and think that this man can do it. Horn--and I am not picking on Mr. Horn; his name just happened to come up--is a leader of the N.A.A.C.P. This organization is supposedly for the advancement of Negroes. Their job is to be a representative body for Negroes.

Negroes are individuals. They think differently, they act differently and they want different things. No one man or no one body or no group of bodies can act or react for these individuals.

Because there are organizations that represent Negroes, this does not mean that the Negro is a part, necessarily, of that organization. This organization supposedly represents the general problems of individuals who happen to be Negro, but nobody can convince an individual if he has heard certain things about a certain thing or he has had an experience with it different. The only person that can is the person who he had the experience with.

As far as representation is concerned, that is one thing. These people are individuals and there is no leader.

The N.A.A.C.P. is supposed to convey the generalized ideas of the Negro people, but they can't go over and say, listen, we want you to do this or do that and expect people to follow them. Negro people think independently as you do. They react. They have varied interests. They have varied friends. They are some of everything that you are; and one man or one organization or five organizations can--if they go through and learn what the problem is--can convey it to you, but they can't, as a leader does, specify things to be done.

Negro people can go to this organization with a problem, should he desire to do that, and, supposedly this organization is there to aid him if he has a legitimate complaint; but the leader or the organization

as a whole does not go to people and demand or instruct them in any action. They are, as you, American citizens who are individuals. There are no Negro leaders; and this includes--you name it--Rap Brown, Martin Luther King, or what have you. If an individual happens to cater to this man's point of view, he may do so; other than that, the man is only as much as the people who support him or as, in the case of Rap Brown, in my opinion, you support him and the news media. I have no control over him. Neither does the Negro public. But if you want to send newspaper men to listen to his point of view, print it, and be frightened by it or concerned--whichever might apply--that is your affair. It should not be my responsibility to try and change the man because he is an individual and he has his individual rights or I shouldn't be the recipient of anything that he says, claiming to speak for me. I think independently. Most Negroes do. They have grouped themselves for some causes, but this is all voluntarily. I have no leader.

DOCTOR YOSHINO

I think that it is important that an individual's feelings and rights be respected. The N.A.A.C.P. got started by something like this. Hundreds of people individually were asking for their rights, and they were being shot down left and right. In about 1910 or thereabouts, the N.A.A.C.P. was organized.

We do have a number of organizations (be it the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, C.O.R.E., Southern Christian Leadership Conference) who have a following of people who more or less go along with the ideas expressed by the organization.

In this advanced society of ours, we have to work through groups. We can't reach all the people; but at the same time, I think that individual differences should be taken into consideration.

- Q. If the Negro people here in Tucson have no leader as such and we have two hundred people who want different things, and these two hundred people are probably going to be the people if we have problems, how can we get through to these people or meet their demands if there are two hundred individual requests?
- A. The common denominator of the grievances--and they are very much inter-related--are the need for self-dignity for each individual; and then the other common denominators are lack of education, employment opportunities, and source of income. These are the crux of the problems of

PERCEPTION OF GROUPS

many of these groups. If a person had only one of these problems, perhaps he could work to overcome that. If he has an education and a job. But his income is rather low. He can live within the income until such time as he can improve his income. But when you have a combination of these factors, then, really, the people who are involved have very little to lose.

This is outside the purview of law enforcement officers, but at the same time the first point I mentioned--that of self-dignity--is extremely important, how you treat minorities.

I am sure you have had experience working with these people, and you can learn a lot working with common people.

1. How do we, as a group, look at others? And how do others perceive us? We don't have much information along these lines. Will you please assist us.
2. In order to assure anonymity, do NOT write your name. There are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate your first feeling reactions of the group by checking the appropriate column for each of the words listed below.
3. Will you kindly repeat for each of the groups.

Q. Doctor, referring to the incident we had last summer at Fourth and Seneca, this is primarily a residential neighborhood; and many of the youngsters who were involved came from that area and many of them didn't. We have spoken about the responsibility of the parents. What are the parents doing in that particular area? How can we reach them?

A. I think you will get cooperation from the parents who live in a middle-class type area; but the story that I got--and this is only a version, and you as law enforcement officers are directly involved and certainly know more about this--is that the incident that broke out last summer was not something that was spontaneous. Some of the kids from the south side area who went up to that area were "miffed" about a number of things and were told very abruptly, get the "heck" back to the area you come from. Then there were stories going around that some Negro youngsters had been "frisked" without due cause, and the word got around and some of this built up. Word got around that a party was broken up without real cause, and all this built up to a point where I think it had to be settled. I think these kinds of stories should be checked out, and there should be communication with the group concerned regarding such stories. I think you can do a lot of things, but unless the communication channels are left open, you are not going to reach the people.

AMERICAN INDIANS

	Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low
aggressiveness					
ambition					
antagonistic attitude					
clannishness					
cleanliness					
cooperativeness					
drunken behavior					
fairness					
friendliness					
hot temper					
industriousness					
intelligence					
law-abiding					
law-breaking					
laziness					
politeness					
prejudice toward others					
Write in word if you wish;					

ANGLO-WHITES

	Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low
aggressiveness					
ambition					
antagonistic attitude					
clannishness					
cleanliness					
cooperativeness					
drunken behavior					
fairness					
friendliness					
hot temper					
industriousness					
intelligence					
law-abiding					
law-breaking					
laziness					
politeness					
prejudice toward others					
Write in word if you wish:					

MEXICAN-AMERICANS

	Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low
aggressiveness					
ambition					
antagonistic attitude					
clannishness					
cleanliness					
cooperativeness					
drunken behavior					
fairness					
friendliness					
hot temper					
industriousness					
intelligence					
law-abiding					
law-breaking					
laziness					
politeness					
prejudice toward others					
Write in word if you wish:					

NEGROES

	Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low
aggressiveness					
ambition					
antagonistic attitude					
clannishness					
cleanliness					
cooperativeness					
drunken behavior					
fairness					
friendliness					
hot temper					
industriousness					
intelligence					
law-abiding					
law-breaking					
laziness					
politeness					
prejudice toward others					
Write in word if you wish:					

POLICE OFFICERS

	Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low
aggressiveness					
ambition					
antagonistic attitude					
clannishness					
cleanliness					
cooperativeness					
drunken behavior					
fairness					
friendliness					
hot temper					
industriousness					
intelligence					
law-abiding					
law-breaking					
laziness					
politeness					
prejudice toward others					
Write in word if you wish:					

PERCEPTION OF GROUPS

WILL YOU KINDLY: CHECK - CIRCLE - OR FILL IN PLEASE:

- A. Your racial/ethnic backgrounds: (1) American-Indian__ (2) Anglo-white__
 (3) Mexican-American__ (4) Mongoloid__
 (5) Negro__ (6) Other__
- B. Your religious preference (1) Catholic__ (2) Jew__
 (3) Protestant__ (4) Other__
- C. Church attendance (1) More than once a week__
 (2) Once a week__
 (3) Once or twice a month__
 (4) Several times a year__
 (5) Never__
- D. Education: (please circle) (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 (2) 9 10 11 12
 (3) 13 14 15 16 16+
- E. Age: (1) Under 15__ (2) 15-30__ (3) 31-50__ (4) 50-65__ (5) 65+__
- F. To what social class do you think you belong:
 (1) upper__ (2) middle__ (3) working__ (4) lower__
- G. Occupation: _____
- H. Where were you born? (1) State _____
 (2) City of Town _____
- I. Where have you lived most of your life? (State) _____
- J. Sex: (1) Male__ (2) Female__

THE NATURE OF DELINQUENCY AND THE DELINQUENT

DR. JUNE M. MORRISON

Assistant Professor of Public Administration
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DR. MORRISON

For the sixteenth consecutive year juvenile delinquency has continued to increase. In 1965 a majority of all arrests for major crimes against property were committed by persons under 21 years of age with about 20 per cent of all arrests being of individuals under the age of 18. A disproportionate number of these youths were arrested for crimes against property, with the 11 to 17 year age group representing 13.2 per cent of the population responsible for 50 per cent of arrests for larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft.¹ According to the President's Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, juvenile criminality is

¹The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, February 1967), pp. 55-56.

the single most pressing and threatening aspect of the crime problem in the United States. One in every nine children will be referred to juvenile courts for an act of delinquency before his 18th birthday. Considering boys alone, the ratio rises to one in every six. Arrest of persons under 18 for serious crimes increased 47 per cent in 1965 over 1960; the increase in that age group population for the same period was 17 per cent. In 1965, persons under 18 referred to juvenile court constituted 24 per cent of all persons charged with forcible rape, 34 per cent of all persons charged with robbery, 52 per cent of all persons charged with burglary, 45 per cent of all persons charged with larceny, and 61 per cent of all persons charged with auto theft.²

But the problem is not a new one. As far back as 1880 a student of the subject noted that "there is a melancholy tendency of crime youthward. More than a fifth of the inmates of our State prisons are mere boys, ranging from twenty years down to even the child who has scarcely reached his teens."

There is probably no other area which is as subject to misinterpretation and confusion by the public as is juvenile delinquency. Precise definitions of juvenile delinquency are almost impossible to find. For example, the housewife believes that the neighbor's child who upset her garbage pail is a delinquent. The police call a child a delinquent who has violated a penal statute or local ordinance. The sociologist thinks of delinquency in terms of deviation from socially acceptable behavior. The psychiatrist believes

²Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 1.

³E. C. Wines, The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World (Cambridge: University Press, John Wilson and Son, 1880), p. 113.

delinquency to be a symptom of emotional conflicts which the individual is unable to control.⁴ In the Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, juvenile delinquency is defined as "conduct in violation of the criminal code and also truancy, ungovernability, and certain conduct illegal only for children."⁵ O'Connor and Watson divide delinquency into two parts:

- (1) those forms of behavior which we would call crime if engaged in by adults, and
- (2) those non-criminal but symptomatic behavioral patterns which most persons believe tend to direct the child into anti-social channels.⁶

Perhaps the most significant thing about delinquency is that practically any form of youthful behavior of which the community does not approve may be identified as delinquency.⁷ It is a type of behavior shared by everyone, and delinquency per se appears to be a matter of degree rather than of substance.⁸ In some cases, the behavior which results in a child becoming a juvenile statistic on the local police record is not the result of an act for which an adult would have been arrested.

⁴Lt. Jack Farrell, "Police Handling of Juveniles," a paper presented at meeting of Chief Counselors, November 28, 1961, West Palm Beach, Florida.

⁵Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, p. 1.

⁶George O'Connor and Nelson A. Watson, Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime: The Police Role (Washington, D.C.: International Chiefs of Police, 1964), p. 15.

⁷Herbert A. Block and Gilbert Geis, Man, Crime and Society (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 409.

⁸James F. Short, Jr., The Sociocultural Context of Delinquency, "Crime and Delinquency," Vol. 6, October 1960, p. 366.

An example of this confusion of definition may be taken from the presently operative Arizona Juvenile Code.⁹

The Code defines a delinquent child as follows:

- (a) A child who has violated a law of the states or an ordinance or regulation of a political subdivision thereof.
- (b) A child who by reason of being incorrigible, wayward, or habitually disobedient, is uncontrolled by his parents, guardian or custodian.
- (c) A child who is habitually truant from school or home. A child who habitually so deports himself as to injure or endanger the morals or health of himself or others.

Interestingly enough, there is no definition of what constitutes being incorrigible. Apparently juvenile delinquency is whatever any group of people thinks it is, or, put in a slightly more formal style, juvenile delinquency refers to the failure of children to meet certain obligations expected of them by the society in which they live.

All states have laws covering juvenile delinquency and, although they are different in each state, they are based on the principle of protection of society and protection of the child. You should note that a child is held accountable not only for adult laws but for many things for which an adult would not be arrested.

The age range for juvenile jurisdiction is also not constant among the states. About 37 states have a range of from seven years to eighteen for juvenile handling and,

⁹A.R.S. Section 8-201.

although most states do not differentiate between ages of boys and girls, there are five that do. The median age for boys referred to the Juvenile Court in Pima County is approximately 15½, with 15 for the girls. The sex ratio is higher for boys and girls, almost 4:1. In 1953, rates for Pima County were about the same as national rates, with 50% of boys being referred for conduct offenses, while girls were more frequently referred in this category, some 80+%. Only a small percentage of boys and girls were referred for crimes against the person, but approximately 50% of boys with only 15% of girls being referred for offenses against property. In Pima County about 40% of the children referred to the Juvenile Court were adjusted during intake. Approximately 2/3 of referred children were not adjudicated delinquents, and of the 1/3 who were, about 40% were placed on probation with 30% continued on probation. The remaining 30% were institutionalized. Law enforcement agencies account for 95% of referrals to the Pima County Juvenile Court.

It should be somewhat apparent that due to the lack of standardization of juvenile statutes, lack of consensus as to what constitutes a juvenile, and lack of precise definitions of exactly what constitutes juvenile delinquency, national statistics in this area are lacking in accuracy. Another thing that must be taken into consideration is the vast amount of delinquency that is not reported but which, nevertheless, exists in every community. This means that when we study delinquency, we study only those children who

have been adjudicated delinquent by a juvenile court, or we consider those children who have been referred to the juvenile court and who are not adjudicated delinquent. The combination of the two does not give an accurate picture of either the total amount of delinquency nor of the delinquent as an individual.

In evaluating the adjudicated child, Block and Geis point out that factors which determine adjudication in any area are a reflection of the attitudes of the community and the public.¹⁰

- (1) In the first place...jurisdictional policies, reflecting the common attitudes of judges, court staffs, and the local community function selectively in determining which children, out of the annual unspecified mass of both lower and middle class children committing delinquent acts, will be officially dealt with.
- (2) Whether or not a child is adjudicated as a delinquent will very frequently depend upon the range, number, diversity, and character of the social agencies existing within his community.

For example, there is one county with which I am familiar in the State of Florida that has a very active juvenile judge and juvenile court system. It also shows a high rate of adjudicated juvenile delinquency. A neighboring county has almost no juvenile delinquency. It also has a juvenile judge, but local law enforcement is not particularly interested in juveniles, and the judge would rather fish than hold juvenile court. Consequently, few children are referred to this juvenile court and there are practically no

¹⁰Block and Geis, pp. 420-421.

social agencies that offer services to juveniles.

We do recognize that the so-called middle class juvenile delinquency referrals are increasing. However, juvenile delinquency is still officially disproportionately centered in minority groups and lower socio-economic areas.¹¹

In summary, the following are reasons that precise figures regarding juvenile delinquency are difficult to obtain:

1. Lack of uniform recording and reporting
2. Lack of substantive legal definitions
3. Variations in court practices
4. Variations in community attitudes
5. Availability of institutions and other social agencies
6. Variations in admission procedures in institutions
7. Differences in attitudes and methods of police departments
8. The failure in most juvenile courts to differentiate between more and less serious delinquency

Statistics are good only when understood and properly evaluated. In order to interpret any of them, we need accurate knowledge of the source and the method used in collecting the figures and, in addition, we must have knowledge of the statistical manipulations which have been used to present the material.

There are generally only two comprehensive sources for delinquency statistics. The first comes from the arrest records of the Uniform Crime Reports, Federal Bureau of Investigation. The source tells us the number of crimes known and arrests made. It does not include traffic

¹¹Block and Geis, p. 430.

offenses. In Pima County, traffic offenses are under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court and are included in their statistics. The Uniform Crime Reports break the statistics down by age but they cover only a portion of the population. Not all jurisdictions report regularly to the F.B.I., and projections for the nation are made on the basis of those jurisdictions that do report. The second source is the Children's Bureau. This agency has compiled sample statistics based on 502 juvenile courts since 1956. The following information is available from this source: number of cases, sex, rural or urban, and m.o.

In conclusion of this section, it should be noted that much of the ambiguity pointed out in respect to juvenile delinquency statistics is also found in any form of criminal statistics. The whole area of criminal statistics can be considered to be one of the least reliable for accurate interpretation. Their main value lies in the fact that they present an overall indicator of trends.

THE CONFUSING PROBLEM OF CAUSATION

Interestingly enough, confusion concerning juvenile delinquency is not limited to the layman. Among the causes for present-day juvenile delinquency, as recorded in the transcript of the 1960 United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, were listed twelve different factors of causation. There appeared to be general agreement only concerning the importance of the family and the decreasing controls exhibited by this primary

socializing group.¹²

In the early 20th century, much emphasis was placed on mental defects as a cause of juvenile delinquency. This was due to the emergence of the Binet - Simon general I.Q. tests. It was thought at this time that the I.Q. was a symbol of inherent mental ability, but we have gradually come to realize that social and cultural factors are important, too. Unfortunately, it has so far been difficult to devise a culture-free test. There was a tendency to equate cultural traits with biological traits, but many tests depend on past experience. Earlier it was believed that anti-social behavior such as crime and delinquency was the result of being born a criminal type. This is the early Lombrosian theory. He originally felt that criminals represented an atavistic individual. Although there have been some studies which seem to indicate that certain physical types of individuals are more apt to engage in particular types of criminal or delinquent activity, it is not believed today that people are born to be criminals in a genetic or physiological sense.

The agreement reached in the United Nations conference on the importance of the family in producing either non-delinquents or delinquents is shared by most students of the problem. Probably more research has been done in this area

¹²Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (London: 8-19, Report Prepared by the Secretariat, United Nations, August 1960), pp. 10-11.

than in any other area of the investigation of causes of delinquency. A child reacts to his family situation almost exclusively during his early years, and most authorities agree that it is during these early years of life that most of our values are internalized...are made the base for our beliefs and attitudes during the rest of our lives. A large amount of research on the family has been devoted to the syndrome of the broken home, and perhaps to a somewhat lesser degree, to the amount and type of discipline used in the home. It appears that the simple fact of a broken home is not in itself meaningful. The same has been found to be true of working mothers. Apparently the significant thing in the family is the relationship of the child to his family. Tension, hostility, and conflict in the home are often found in the overall life pattern of many of our delinquents, and it is these factors which appear to be significant rather than the broken home or the working mother.

In the area of discipline, the important thing appears to not be either the presence or absence of severe discipline but rather the consistency of whatever form of discipline is being used.

Another area of study within the family has been that of position of siblings. There do not appear to be significant conclusions to be drawn as to vulnerability to delinquency because of numerical position, although there is some indication that only children are rarely adjudicated delinquents. The interesting thing that does appear, however, in such studies is that many delinquent children consider

themselves rejected, whether or not in fact they really are rejected by their family. Probably the most important element in the home environment is the quantity and quality of the affection shown the child by his parents.

Although many of our delinquents (in fact, the majority of them) come from lower socio-economic and minority groups, many do not. Prosperity alone does not reduce delinquency. Some studies have indicated that there is a relationship between economic cycles and delinquency. One such study was conducted in Philadelphia over a twenty-three year period by John Otto Reninemann. He drew four conclusions which indicated that delinquency was highest when economic conditions were extreme...either extremely good or extremely bad; that it was average during periods of reasonably high prosperity and low during periods of fairly normal economic development. Other studies have found no relationship.¹³ The fact that the majority of our delinquents do come from relatively deprived areas may be due to cultural causes, or in part to the fact that such areas predispose persons in authority to expect delinquent behavior in such areas, and to the fact that such sections are more closely supervised by law enforcement personnel than are the middle-class neighborhoods.

In many cases of middle-class delinquency, it has been found that parental controls have been weakened. Modern-day families tend to become involved in so many activities which are unrelated to the other members of the family that many

¹³Tappan, pp. 142-143.

children seek affection and recognition outside the family. Fathers tend to devote little time to their children and, increasingly, mothers in families which produce delinquent children are found to be more concerned with outside activities than they are with their children.

Another interesting sociological concept which has proved to be relevant to the production of delinquency is the neighborhood in which children live. One classic study of this phenomenon is the Shaw - McKay examination of patterns of delinquency and criminality in urban areas. This is the concept of concentric circles. Starting with the inner city, Shaw and McKay drew one-mile concentric circles on a map of Chicago and radials indicating the main streets of the city. The results of this study indicated that high crime and delinquency rates tended to be found in the inner city and along the radials. The other interesting result was that, regardless of the ethnic composition of the area, crime rates continued to be high, decreasing with distance from the inner city.

Since the latter part of the 1800's, there has been a trend toward considering all delinquents and criminals as being mentally ill. This is the psychiatric approach. There is no question but that some of delinquents are mentally ill. Whether such individuals are represented disproportionately among the delinquent and criminal population is impossible to prove because we don't know how many people in the total community are also emotionally ill. In fact, this is probably a matter of degree rather than substance since the concept of

a completely mature, normal individual is an ideal concept rather than an actuality. Some individuals may respond to psychiatric treatment, but the "mentally ill" approach today tends to lump social problems with mental illness. In some cases these children are committed to mental hospitals and at least two psychiatrists oppose such commitments saying that such use of psychiatric facilities represents a misunderstanding of the functions of a psychiatric hospital on the part of physicians, courts, attorneys, and some law enforcement agencies.¹⁴

On the other hand, the question of causation is a complex one, and frequently cases of delinquency which appear to be due to obvious discrete causes may on closer examination present puzzling questions. For example, we may consider joy-riding or even car theft to be the result of relatively understandable motivations. However, consider the following case which I observed while doing an internship in our juvenile court. You probably are aware of the fact that Jewish youngsters are under-represented in our delinquent population and this was a case of a 14-year-old Jewish boy charged with joy-riding. The episode evolved in this manner: The boy was helping a friend wash his car one Saturday morning. When they had finished, the subject called his mother to pick him up, and the mother told him to go to a drugstore in the neighborhood and purchase his lunch. The parents were to

¹⁴Robert B. Miller and Emmet Kenney, M.D., "Adolescent Delinquency and the Myth of Hospital Treatment," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1966), pp. 38-48.

meet him there. On his way to the drugstore the boy passed a driveway where a woman had just driven in and parked the car, leaving the motor running while she went into the house. The subject got in the car, drove it to the neighborhood drugstore (a distance of some 2½ blocks), and parked it there. He then went in and ordered his lunch, waiting for his parents to pick him up. The police and his parents arrived about the same time. The boy was overwhelmed with what he had done and was honestly at a total loss to explain his actions. This was a boy with no record of behavioral problems, an adequate student in school, and a leader of his church youth group. During the interview with the intake probation officer, the father, a fairly affluent businessman, appeared to be very dominating and did most of the talking while the boy waited. The gist of the father's conversation was that, although this boy had never presented any difficulties to his family, he really wasn't too bright. "Just an average student," as compared to his older brother who always received straight A's in school. This theme of being inferior continued throughout the interview, and one couldn't help but wonder if the child had unconsciously used this golden opportunity for "getting even" with his father by subjecting him to the humiliation of having a son in trouble. It was pretty apparent that this youngster was not really a delinquent, and one could with reasonable assurance assume that he probably would never get in any further trouble. The case was adjusted, and the family imposed more stringent restrictions on the child than the court ever would have done.

The motivation here was certainly not as apparent as it might have appeared had the child come from a home where he could see little possibility of having an automobile. A question I have always asked myself is whether, had this boy been from a lower socio-economic minority neighborhood, similar motivations would have been assumed and whether the outcome would have been the same.

As Thurston, Benning and Feldheusen point out:

Delinquent behavior can be considered as a product deriving from the inter-play of inner predispositions of the youngster and external precipitating or stimulating circumstances...In theory, both the predisposition and the precipitating circumstances are needed to evoke acts of delinquency although a weakness in one may be compensated for by strength in the other. Thus, for example, a car might be stolen by an individual with only a weak predisposition to commit such an act if he were exposed to a powerful precipitant in the form of an easily accessible car with the keys in the ignition.¹⁵

On the other hand, a psychiatrist would probably say that the possibility afforded the boy an opportunity to vent his resentment and hostility toward his father and that this was the precipitating factor in the case.

One problem that we have in the behavioral sciences is that we don't really know exactly how to determine whether behavior of any kind is the result of deeply buried and unconscious hostilities or whether it is the result of environmental, sociological, or cultural factors which are

¹⁵John R. Thurston, James J. Benning, and John F. Feldheusen, "Delinquency Proneness and Classroom Behavior," *Criminologica*, Vol. 4, No. 4, February, 1967, p. 36.

more easily understood. Tappan points out that the cause of delinquency is difficult to determine for the following reasons:

1. We do not have a well-systematized science of human behavior--normal or abnormal.
2. Certain types of behavior may be triggered by different motives and similar motives may lead to different consequences.
3. Oversimplification--we attribute complex behavior to a simple cause or a few simple factors.
4. We tend to categorize in absolutes--black and white dichotomized approach.
5. There is an appalling lack of objective and specific research approaches which have been validated.¹⁶

THE OVERALL PROBLEM

For more than one hundred years, scholars and other interested persons have attempted to find methods of prevention, causation, and cures for delinquency. We have certainly found through the years many things that don't work. We haven't found many things that do. Delinquency continues to increase until today it may be considered to be society's number one problem.

The continuing increase in urban population and the bewildering acceleration in technological and medical advances highlights our lack of progress in the social sciences. The social dislocations which accompany increasing populations and an ever increasing amount of industrialization have been forecast by sociologists for many decades. No

¹⁶Tappan, pp. 55-64.

serious student of delinquency honestly believes that delinquency can be eliminated. Indeed, it has been pointed out that in a dynamic society, deviant behavior must be expected and that in a totally static society it would be a deteriorating society. Our problem today appears to be that delinquency and crime rates are increasing beyond what would be expected from the regular numerical increase in our population. There appears to be little question about the fact that there is a dislocation in the employment market. There are many jobs available for relatively highly-trained persons. Indeed, both industry and public services are crying for professionally-trained personnel. There are few jobs for the untrained. Most of the uneducated and untrained in our urban areas are jobless and crowded into slums and ghettos. Many of these people are school dropouts. Many are functionally illiterate. Their prospects for engaging in socially approved, profitable employment are not very encouraging. Their prospects for winding up on the local police blotter as a statistic are bright indeed.

Unless the general public begins to realize that some solution to our serious social problems must be found, we are apt to find ourselves in the unenviable position of achieving the highest level of technological and medical and agricultural advances ever known to mankind while enduring the highest amount of social disorganization with its concomitant poverty, lawlessness, and internal strife ever known to mankind.

CONCLUSIONS

Certainly this presentation is only a birdseye view of the difficult and confusing problem of delinquency. The serious problem of dislocations in the social system has been mentioned only briefly. Little attention has been paid to the concept of cultural differences or subcultures of delinquency. It may be that much of the behavior which we label delinquent may be explained as perfectly normal behavior if we only knew more about why people do the things they do. It is a complex problem. All behavior is the result of a myriad of conscious and unconscious motivations. Nevertheless, we must continue to look for solutions. We must continue to strive to learn and understand the behavior mechanisms and to become aware of the seriousness of our overall social dislocations. Obviously, what we have been doing to "cure" crime and delinquency is not working very well. Juvenile delinquency and crime continue to increase. In Arizona, Warden Eyman says that half of the people in the Arizona State Prison will return to prison after release and it has been estimated that about one-half of the youngsters committed to training schools nationally can be expected to return.¹⁷ What is needed are new techniques, increased research, increased quantity and quality of professional personnel, and increased education not only for professionals in the field but also for the general public about the stubborn

¹⁷National Council on Crime and Delinquency, "Correcti in the United States," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 13, No. 1, (January 1967), p. 74.

problems encountered in attempting to motivate all people to live according to the norms established by the society in general.

But on the positive side, just in case we become too overwhelmed by the enormity of our problems, remember that your doctor still can't cure the unglamorous and all-pervasive common cold!

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE - JUSTIFIED OR NOT

CHARLES E. ARES

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DEAN CHARLES E. ARES

I was talking to John Breglia just briefly before we started and was expressing to him my intrepidation about addressing anybody, particularly police officers, about civil disobedience. I notice in the program that the title of the topic is set forth as Civil Disobedience - Justified or Not. I think lawyers would have great difficulty arguing the question whether civil disobedience is justified or not. We, I think, give up really any right to take the position that civil disobedience is justified when we become lawyers, and I'm quite sure police officers because of their commitment to the enforcement of the law have to take the same position. So I really don't propose to try to argue the merits or demerits of

civil disobedience. I think rather my function here, if I have one, is to simply explore with you what civil disobedience is and what its implications are.

I can talk to you about what some people give as the justification of civil disobedience, and we can talk about whether they are right or wrong, I suppose, as citizens in the abstract, bearing in mind that both you and I are committed to the prosecution that requires the enforcement of the law. What we might do outside of our professional commitments, if we could get outside our professional commitments, might be something else. It doesn't happen to be I think with me, but if you could get outside that professional commitment, we might argue about it. But at this point I don't think we can.

So I would like to talk about what role civil disobedience has played in our society historically, whether it's something new as a good many people at the moment seem to think. What civil disobedience is, in fact, and what it is not, and in that respect I would like to talk about the things that civil disobedience is confused with sometimes, and then try to explore with you the implications of civil disobedience as far as your job and mine are concerned; that is, what response should society make, and by that I mean what response should you make to civil disobedience or can you make to civil disobedience. And here I find some very interesting

questions about our theories of law enforcement, a discretion in law enforcement versus full enforcement of the law, strict enforcement of the law. And we really would have to talk, I think, when we get to my point in my presentation, we really need to talk about what your job is and as strange as it may seem. It was strange to me when I got into this very interesting field of how much discretion police officers have to find out that there can be argument about what in any given situation of what your function is, whether you're there to enforce the law for example on the one hand or you're there to enforce the peace where sometimes that may not require the same conduct on the part of the police officer. And finally, I would like to talk to you about why we are experiencing civil disobedience at this point in our history. This, I think, will be useful to you, at least I hope it will, in the sense that it may have something to do with how the police should respond, how they should conduct themselves in the face of civil disobedience. It makes a difference, I suppose, if these people who are engaging in civil disobedience are wild-eyed revolutionists, or whether they are simply self-righteous moralists who do not intend the utter destruction of our society, but instead the correction of some abuses in our society. I think that has a difference or should make a difference in the way police officers look

at them and treat them when they face them across the picket line or the demonstration. Let me say first, I want to emphasize that I deplore lecturing. I don't teach that way in law school. I don't think it's a very good way to teach anything or to learn together. So I would ask, I'm going to try to run this through fairly rapidly through my prepared presentation, but I would like to discuss with you the problems I hope I will raise, so I want to encourage you if you have any questions as we go along. If one pops into your head and you want to interrupt me immediately, like right now, go ahead and do it. I think we'll get along a good deal better. We'll get some information out that we would not otherwise get.

I think there are two possible functions of a police officer when faced with a disturbance of some kind. When I use the word disturbance, I don't necessarily mean violence. I mean a congregation of people who are doing something that interests or excites the community, like a demonstration. I think whenever you get something, a congregation of people, for example in front of the Civil Service headquarters, there is a possibility of violations of various laws --- unlawful assembly, trespassing, failure to move on, that sort of thing. There are those possibilities of violations. There also are the possibilities of that congregation of people becoming

much larger and converting from a peaceful assembly to one not quite so peaceful. And I think whether the latter happens or even whether the first happens, a violation of the law depends upon the conduct of the police officer at the scene. Now if he views his role as enforcing every law that may be violated there, he may, in fact, I suggest to you as a possibility, he may in fact precipitate or accelerate the process of the thing becoming an emotional, violent group. Now if his only function is to enforce the law and every law that he sees violated, then there is nothing for him to do but simply arrest or take otherwise appropriate action against anyone who violates the law. But, if his function is to preserve the peace, perhaps he should exercise discretion. Now this is what I find is one of the very interesting questions and I don't know if I have all the answers to it. But I would suggest the possibility that maybe he doesn't need to enforce everyone of the laws that may be broken because to do so may produce greater harm. I find that a very troublesome and very interesting question. I think it's that complicated, maybe more complicated than I would suggest to you right now. Anything else on this point before we go ahead? I want to return to that one again because I actually think that that question is why you are here or why I am here.

I think that's the problem of civil disturbances. I could also say to you I think it is arguable at least

that you treat a burglar or a mugger, or a guy who has used a gun in a robbery, differently than you treat (I don't want to use the word "University student" because that sounds like special pleading on my part) -- fortunately no law students seem to get involved in that kind of thing. But I think you do treat the, what I'll call the common criminal differently than you do, than you should treat, a maybe self-righteous, maybe misguided, but moralistic person who thinks he is pursuing a higher morality, not just violating the law for personal gain. But again, that is something else I want to come back to.

There is a kind of theory current I think that civil disobedience is some kind of alien philosophy that really is not American in origin, but if we came to some other shores, I think history indicates clearly that although civil disobedience, the theories of civil disobedience, sometimes has arisen in other countries, the fact is that the practice of civil disobedience and much of the theories are purely American in origin. And there seems not to have been any time in our history from the Colonial days until now when we haven't had some form of civil disobedience going on. To say this is not to approve it. Or to say that this is a good thing, but it is simply to state it's an historical fact that we have had civil disobedience from Colonial times until now, and, as a matter of fact, much

of this has exploded in even greater violence than anything we have seen yet with the possible exception of last year's riots. Whether or not those are related to civil disobedience is another question I think we can discuss with some heat probably, and maybe some light, but at least with some interest.

For example, the Quakers, when they came to these shores, came for religious freedom. And they were really very troublesome people. They got up in the middle of other peoples' church services and began to speak their minds about religion, and they created all sorts of difficulty. They would disrupt public meetings, clearly violating what were then laws we wouldn't tolerate now against different religious practices. As a result, for example, in Massachusetts they were banished from the colony. They were subjected to long, long periods of imprisonment. Several were sentenced to death, actually though the execution seemed not to have been carried out. Many were whipped, several were sentenced to life imprisonment. They made themselves so troublesome, so quarrelsome, so irritating, the people just didn't know what to do with them. And so they used all kinds of criminal penalties against them. And one of the things that happened was that the treatment of them was so harsh that they actually accomplished the relaxation of some of the legal strictures against the practice of their

form of religion.

In Pennsylvania, in the area which became the State of Pennsylvania, in Colonial days people refused to pay their taxes or pay part of their taxes, much like we see now in some places because the government was arming itself against the Indian, and a number of Quakers, half of them who were dissatisfied and said this was wrong. "Non-violence is the way to deal with Indians and we will not pay taxes to purchase arms to kill them", and these people were prosecuted for the same reason that people are being prosecuted now.

And, of course, Thoreau in our very early history developed and had major influence world-wide on the theory of civil disobedience. If you read, it's worth your reading, I think Thoreau's Essay on Civil Disobedience, you can get it in paperback now; you won't agree with it, but it's an interesting insight into the well springs of the "American" version of civil disobedience. Now as I read Thoreau, he was essentially an anarchist. He said, "Not only is that government best which governs least, that government is best which governs not at all." And he looked for a time when there simply wouldn't be any law, there wouldn't be any government, because human beings would be perfect. His vision was better than most of us have and so he could see that kind of world;

but, nevertheless, he really essentially was an anarchist. He said when the argument was made, "but you can't violate the law", you should take other means of correcting the abuses. It doesn't happen. It takes too long and it doesn't work. So I just refuse to pay my taxes and I refuse to abide by the laws of men that I think are immoral or unjust.

We are hearing that same argument right now. When the argument in order to secure racial justice is made for example, or to secure the end of the war in Vietnam, if that is what you're after, you should use the democratic process, and the answer invariably given by most of these people is that these processes aren't working. You can't get it done that way and we're going to use this way; and it's irritating and perhaps it's wrong. It certainly seems wrong to one whose business is law and order and administration of justice and the administration of governmental affairs. But it, nevertheless, is consistent with Thoreau's view of civil disobedience.

And, of course, the classic examples of civil disobedience in our history were the Boston Tea Party, and carrying it further beyond civil disobedience, the American Revolution. It was certainly an exercise of the power at least by people who decide for themselves whether the laws they are required to conform to

were just or unjust, and a huge number of people in this country decided they were unjust; and they actually took up arms to overthrow them.

So to the point of the creation of this nation, civil disobedience was not only not unknown, it was widespread and it was practiced in its most irritating forms to the point of going on ship and throwing a lot of tea into the harbor.

Further down in our history the Abolition, practically from the time of the creation of the Nation down to the Civil War, they practiced civil disobedience in one form or another. Some refused to pay taxes, and some refused to cooperate with the government which participated in maintaining slavery. And when the Fugitive Slave Law was adopted requiring anybody who found a fugitive slave to return the fugitive slave to the South, they simply violated it, flatly violated it. And they were quite open in their exercise of civil disobedience.

The Suffragettes, before women got the vote -- you might argue whether that was a good point in their history or a bad one. But the Suffragettes violated the law. They simply tried to bring the whole government structure to a halt because they were denied the vote.

In the history of the labor unions, much of the turmoil of the late 1800's and early 1900's revolved around outright violations of court injunctions on the ground the courts were being used as the tools of the manufacturing class. These were violated and this was an obvious form of civil disobedience.

Prohibition -- I don't think anybody really ever theorized about buying bootleg liquor being a form of civil disobedience. There wasn't much theory. People were just thirsty so they bought it. But it was mass violation of the law. I don't think anybody really argued that this was required by higher morality but certainly required by a higher human need, I suppose, but it was mass violation of the law.

And then, of course, the conscientious objection to war which led pacifists and conscientious objectors of World War I and World War II to refuse to cooperate with the Selective Service and the Draft Act. These were before we began; we legitimated conscientious objection. These were acts of civil disobedience, they simply refused to comply.

Then, of course, in the 1930's with the real growth of labor movement we began to see the sit-down strikes. These were a form of civil disobedience where the workers simply sat in at their jobs in the plants after they had

struck, and refused to be moved. They took over the place. They were guilty of trespassing and a lot of other crimes, I suppose, but they claimed the right to sit there because of the way they were being treated.

Then, of course, in the times really fresh in our minds since the second World War, we have had civil disobedience practiced in two major areas. The first major area, of course, is in the area of civil rights, and we began to see the sit-ins in the South where originally the college students went into restaurants which had been refusing to serve them and demanded service despite their color, and they were met with all sorts of repressive measures, and they were violating the segregation laws of the South. The freedom rides when the kids got on the inter-state buses and rode into the South to try to integrate inter-state transportation. The freedom marchers, the mass demonstrations in Southern communities in violation of various rules and laws created by local municipalities in the state. I want to enter one word of caution here about these things. Some of these acts in the civil rights movement were civil disobedience and some were not. Some were acts of violation of valid laws and some were not. I want to develop that in a minute because they're not all the same; and I suppose our evaluation of them in terms of whether they are right or wrong, justified

or not, has to depend to some extent on whether they were, in fact, civil disobedience or not.

And, of course, the other major issue around which we're getting civil disobedience now is the objection to the war in Vietnam. (Question asked) Were you referring to a violation of a valid law? (Answer) Not ducking the question, let me develop that in some detail in about two minutes because I think this is an important distinction to make. Well, let me proceed to do it right now. It just happens to come right now. Let's first try to decide what is civil disobedience. What do we mean by civil disobedience? Let me try to define it by distinguishing it from things I think it is not. It is distinguishable, it is different from the lawful exercise of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. I think, for example, when after the Supreme Court had ruled that the schools must be desegregated, that Southern laws against integration in the schools were invalid. I think when a group of people went to a public school or let's say in front of an administration building of a public school system in Little Rock, Arkansas, and without disrupting traffic, without in any sense creating unlawful assembly, went there to express their view that the public school people ought to comply with the Supreme Court's decision and they did it without interfering with anybody else's rights, simply exercising

their right of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. Now we can in court, there are lots of cases in Supreme Court that say that there are some restrictions that can be put on the exercising of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly in order to preserve public peace. In other words, you can't go out and tie up the busiest intersection in town just to have a parade or an assembly or to exercise your right of freedom of speech. But you can't be unreasonably deprived of your right to use the public way to get your message across. When people are simply demonstrating without violating any law, that is not civil disobedience.

I don't know too much about the details of the things that have happened here in Tucson because I haven't been involved in them directly. I suspect the one peace march, so called, from the University campus over to Randolph Park (I think that is where they went), without knowing a great deal in detail about it, I would regard that as a perfectly lawful exercise of the right of the freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. That is, to carry your placards and to use the public way as long as no unreasonable interference with other people's rights was involved, I can't see how that could be regarded as civil disobedience. It's not unlawful to do that. In fact, it's protected by the Constitution that they be allowed to do that subject to the usual traffic regulations and requirements that are needed to keep the thing from totally disrupting the community. So I would

regard that as not civil disobedience.

In labor matters, picketing is to a certain extent protected activity. It is a form of freedom of speech. It is also something more than that. It is economic coercion. But it's a form of freedom of speech and when limited now, we've worked this out through a long process of cases. When it's limited in number so that it's purely speech, then it is a protected activity. Now when you get into mass picketing or you get into picketing which blocks people's ingress and egress from the premises, that is another question. That is not protected under the law now so that we can at least say picketing in small numbers which is purely exercising the right freedom of speech is not civil disobedience because it is lawful. It does not violate any law. Now I also think that the violation of a clearly invalid law, a law that is invalid on its face, is not civil disobedience. Now this gets a little more tricky I suppose. For example, in the '50's the Supreme Court said it is no longer constitutionally permissible for a local community to maintain segregated waiting rooms in an inter-state transportation system. The bus stations in the South having a white waiting room and a colored waiting room -- the Court said these are involved inter-state commerce which is subject to the regulation and control of the national government and segregation on the basis of race is not permissible by the

operation of the Constitution in those facilities. Therefore, any law which requires that is an invalid law on its face, and the existence of segregated waiting room facilities is invalid, it's not lawful. The freedom riders who went on those trips on the bus and got to the waiting rooms and the Negro kids who refused to go into the colored waiting room were violating Southern statute, Southern ordinances, and Southern customs separating the waiting rooms. But those statutes and those ordinances adopted by Southern communities were clearly invalid because they were in violation of the Constitution. My thesis is that those were invalid laws and since they were invalid in the Constitutional sense, they were void. It was as though they didn't exist. And the violation of those statutes which tried to perpetuate a deprivation of Constitutional rights is not disobeying the law because that law for Constitutional purposes and legal purposes doesn't exist. So I would regard those violations of laws on the books, since they were violations of clearly invalid law, invalid on the face of the statutes that's not civil disobedience because it is really not violation of the law.

(Question) Say that the law required a permit and for some unknown reason it was not given to a group. How would you view their situation?

(Answer) It gets to be a very complicated question. In the first place, it is permissible under the Court's

decision to require them to get a permit. But the permit cannot be denied arbitrarily or unreasonably. And the ordinance which gives to the local official, whoever it is, whether it is the Chief of Police, or the Mayor, the City Manager, or whoever it is, which gives him the authority to issue permits must set out the standards by which he makes those decisions in some detail so it is clear that his exercise of authority is bounded by law, that he simply can't deny permits because he doesn't like these people or doesn't like the message they have to sell.

Now, if you have a system set up where his discretion is defined, where he has got some standards, he is entitled to deny a permit if it will interfere with rush-hour traffic or he is entitled to deny the permit if they propose to go some place where it will cause danger to pedestrians or danger to motorists. If that kind of standard is set out and the permit is denied on that ground, not denied altogether, not denied unreasonably, but denied on some reasonable ground having to do with public safety and public welfare in the sense of flow of traffic, then those who march without a permit are in violation of a valid law. Then if they are doing it peacefully and nonviolently, I would regard that as civil disobedience. But, if on the other hand as was the case in most communities where these cases came up,

and most of these cases came up not from civil disobeyers but from cases involving Jehovah's Witnesses who wanted to go in and pass out their literature or wanted to speak in a park or something like that, and local communities simply refused to let them do it under ordinances which set out no standards for granting or denying their permit and they went ahead and did it anyway. They went ahead and spoke and were arrested, or they went ahead and handed out their literature which was a constitutionally protected activity. When they did that in the violation of this ordinance, the Court said you can't arrest them for it; you can't prosecute them for it, because the ordinance requiring a permit was constitutionally invalid, because it permitted the Chief of Police or the City Manager or the Mayor to deny permits arbitrarily on whatever grounds he wanted. Usually they denied them because they didn't like the Jehovah's Witnesses or they didn't want the kind of irritation that came with their passing out their literature or playing their records and that sort of thing. There you see, I would regard their conduct when they go ahead and parade or go ahead and distribute their literature or play their phonograph record on the street corner, that I would regard as perfectly lawful because the administrative structure which is set up to issue the permits was constitutionally invalid. That is why I say it

gets a little sticky.

(Question) What does an officer do if this type of law is in effect where he works?

(Answer) He enforces it, I think. I don't think he can do anything else. I do not think a police department (I'm sure this is a fair thing to say) -- the police department itself cannot decide that any particular ordinance is unconstitutional. I think this is one of the places where you get caught right in the middle. The only thing you can do is enforce that law now. If you are charged with issuing permits for parades or something like that and you had an ordinance that was completely ambiguous with what standards you use, and it was your job to decide who should hold a parade where or who should speak in what park at what time, the only thing you can do, I think, is protect yourself by setting forth in writing in some way when you make a rule what standards you use -- why you denied the permit, why you issued it, or something like that. I've seen this happen, for example, when I taught at N.Y.U., the Law School right on Washington Square Park, which is in Greenwich Village, as many of you know. On several occasions Lincoln Rockwell wanted to have a Nazi Party Rally in that park and speak there. Well, it turned out for some strange reason that the Socialist

Labor Party wanted to have their rally at precisely the same time and precisely the same point. Well, obviously the New York Police Department isn't going to let that happen. So they had to tell Rockwell, you go have yours over there at this time, and the Socialist Labor Party as far away and time as they can in distance --- they put them at the end of the park six hours later or something like that. A perfectly reasonable exercise of discretion. But beyond that, the police officers have got to enforce the statute, I think. He can't decide whether it's right or wrong.

(Question) What do you do if, when arresting for a violation of a valid law there is no prosecution?

(Answer) I think one of the things you do is to have Professor David Wexler at the University Law School, who is going to conduct a Seminar on problems like this next semester, and look into the question. This is off the cuff -- my answer would be -- I suppose the police department tries, or disagrees thoroughly with this judgment. It tries to get some accommodation of views or some expression of views from the Attorney General or something like that. I don't even know if that is possible. Beyond that I suppose you would follow the ruling of the Courts.

(Question) The Supreme Court?

(Answer) No! The trial courts. I don't know what else you can do. I don't know what happens locally. I'd be interested in knowing what you have tried. It doesn't seem to me that it does you any good to continue to arrest people if the Prosecutor is not going to prosecute and the Magistrate is not going to hear the case; if he is going to throw it out. Once you have gotten them in that firm a position where there isn't any doubt about it, then it seems to me that that may be the end of the road for you.

(Question) What is the position of the Trial Courts deciding if a law is constitutional?

(Answer) What is their position? It's a very difficult question to determine whether they have the authority to do that. I think the answer is yes in a very clear case. The lower court does have some responsibility to decide constitutional questions of this sort itself. It ought to exercise its power to do that very, very sparingly. And I think that is why you usually get lower courts refusing to hold something unconstitutional. I'd be surprised if it happens very often, and I think in the theory of judicial power it should be very, very infrequent that a lower court does that. But it will happen sometimes. I'm talking about courts. When you get a prosecutor that says he

won't prosecute, that is an even tougher question as to whether he has any more authority to decide that than you do as a police officer to decide whether a statute is invalid or not. I think it is much more questionable whether the prosecutor has that authority. But here again, you see, this is an area I only came onto about three years ago. This whole question of discretion in law enforcement, and it really has to do with whether you have discretion and whether the prosecutor has discretion. Theoretically, I suppose the answer in both cases is no. But that is only theory. You and I know that you use discretion and so does the prosecutor all the time. Probably it's true as Herman Goldstein, who used to be the Administrative Assistant to Wilson in Chicago, probably it is true, as he says that the system would not work if you did not exercise discretion. If you were engaged in full law enforcement all the time, the whole thing would probably come to a screeching halt. You wouldn't have enough hours in the day to do it. And of courts, you wouldn't have enough judges to hear the cases, and the jails wouldn't have enough people to hold them all if you and the prosecutor didn't exercise discretion.

But one of the great problems, I think, in the whole criminal process, is how do we develop some standards for the exercise of discretion by you first and by the prosecutor second, and then by these lower courts that

you are talking about. Because we don't have any standards we don't know what ground the prosecutor will reduce this charge or not prosecute that charge. There aren't any standards. They're all flying by the seat of their pants. I used to do it when I was in the County Attorney's Office. And the reason why we don't have any standards is because we have gone on insisting we don't exercise discretion. We have refused to say that we don't exercise it. The heck we don't. Of course we do. And you do too, I think. And that is no charge. I'm really only trying to comment on what actually happens. So I don't know if I have answered your question or not, but that is one of the problems.

You can think of other examples of people violating clearly invalid laws which I suggest is not civil disobedience. That isn't to say they didn't cause a lot of trouble, but it was not civil disobedience. And that isn't to say that it didn't create for the police officer this very problem of what's his position if the law is clearly invalid. I think he enforces the law.

Now in some of the southern communities when the laws were just blatantly racist laws, then the police officer's role really became difficult. But I don't suppose there is any way to ease his position any, except

to say to enforce the law as best he could under the circumstances. The circumstances were terrible and the police officer got a black eye from a lot of things that were done. But given that radical change in society at that point in time, which is obviously still going on, there is not much more you can do for law enforcement there except to try and muddle through the best you can.

Well, we've already talked about protest marches and this whole question of whether they are lawful or unlawful in terms of whether they violate some really valid public interest in traffic safety, safety of people, that sort of thing.

Now I would like to distinguish civil disobedience from a couple of other things too. Civil disobedience in theory is not violent, not violence. I think it is very important to distinguish between civil disobedience and what I would call civil disorders on whatever level, from rock throwing on Tucson's north side to the riots in Detroit. Those things are not civil disobedience. I think we should distinguish between civil disobedience and violent disorders because none of the theories of "civil disobedience" that I am aware of encompass violent resistance to law. Theory of civil disobediences as such does not encompass

those. And the other thing, and here I get back to a question which I suppose is why I suggest you may treat some civil disobeyers different from other people. I do not think civil disobedience is the same as ordinary crime.

Now I'll develop why I think it is different in a moment. But it is not the same thing as violation of law for personal gain or whatever it is that causes people to violate laws for expressing their passions or their greed or whatever it is. So I think then to sum up this end of the definition, the negative end of the definition, I think civil disobedience is not the exercise of a valid right of freedom of speech or freedom of assembly. It is not the same thing as the violation, which is the same thing, the exercise of a clear right in violation of a clearly invalid law -- like a good many of the sit-ins in the South, it is not violent disorder and it is not ordinary crime. And that least is my frame of reference to civil disobedience.

Then what is civil disobedience? What are the theories of civil disobedience? Well, in the first place, I think it is clear it is the deliberate violation of at least a technically valid law. By technically valid, I mean it is not the kind of law I was talking

about before, which is clearly invalid. It is the deliberate, willful, intentional violation of the law, and in terms of theory it is not violent. It is committed with no more force than is necessary, no more physical activity than is necessary to commit the act, and it involves a willingness to accept the consequences. I think that is very important. If people are actually pursuing a theory of civil disobedience they do it with a willingness to accept the consequences. That is, they expect to be arrested or otherwise punished and prosecuted for the violation of the law. Now the most important feature of it, it seems to me, is the core of civil disobedience, and this is very difficult I think for many of us to either understand or accept. This violation of the law if it is truly civil disobedience is done in order to serve some purpose other than simply violating the law. It may be done to protest an unjust law. It may be a violation of a purely valid law. But a violation committed to serve some higher purpose, some purpose that is higher than the purpose which caused the adoption of the law. The thing that you hear over and over and over again, either read over and over and over again in discussions of disobedience or hear from people who discuss it either as advocates of it or participants in it, or observers of it, you hear the word "morality." This, I think, is extremely important for those of us who have to try to deal with

it either as police officer or prosecutors or defense lawyers or judges. You have to understand that at least for those who are following the theory of civil disobedience and I don't mean to suggest all the people you come in contact with who say they are following the theory of civil disobedience, I don't mean to say they all are; but if they are, those that are sincere, they are morally self-righteous people, they believe that the reason they are doing this is because of some higher moral compulsion.

I'm going to read to you from Martin Luther King's letter from Birmingham Jail which, I think, was written in 1963 when he was in the Birmingham City Jail. He had read a statement by several, about eight, ministers, priests, and rabbis in Alabama criticizing Martin Luther King's movement for the things they were doing in Birmingham then. These were the demonstrations and protests that led to using fire hoses, dogs, etc. The protest frequently got out of hand, out of control it seemed, and there were violations of law. Ultimately, King was jailed for this and he responded to their statement that when rights were consistently denied, this was what the ministers had written to him, when rights are consistently denied, a cause should be pressed in the courts and negotiations with local leaders and not in the streets. This was his response in part to that.

It is a long, long letter and quite eloquently written. I'll take the liberty of reading it to you, but I think this sums up what I've been trying to say; the feeling on the part of these people, of moral righteousness. Now, whether they're morally right or not is not my present concern. That is something we might argue about as citizens. But whether they feel morally right has something to do with treatment of police officers or response to them. What the response should be you know better than I, but at least I think you ought to recognize this element in civil disobedience. Here's what he says:

"You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask how can we advocate breaking down some laws and obeying others. The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws. There are just laws and there are unjust laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to

disobey unjust laws." (That's an important sentence. "One has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws.")

I would agree with Saint Augustine that an unjust law is no law at all. Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that swears with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. Putting it in terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust, because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Luther, the great Jewish philosopher, "Segregation substitutes an I-it relationship for the I-thou relationship and ends up relegating persons in the status of things." I apologize for the fact that this sounds like a Sunday morning, but that's the way it was. So segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich said that sin is separation.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority and is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow in itself. This is sameness made legal. Let me give another example. An unjust law is a code inflicted on a minority which that minority had no part in inacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say that the Legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected throughout the State of Alabama - all types of conniving methods used to keep Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote, despite the fact that the Negro constituent constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state considered democratically structured? There are just a few of the laws just on its face, but unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested on Friday for parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust. I hope that you can see the

distinction I'm trying to point out. Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. You see it sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget this little paragraph here that is coming up now in the discussion of the Vietnam war with some of the kids who feel so strongly about it, we can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was legal, and everything that Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was illegal. It was illegal to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. I am sure that if I had lived in Germany at that time I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a Communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith were suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws. Now I won't take the time to read any more of it, but one of the things he tries to insist on in this letter is that his belief in civil disobedience, his belief in the moral compulsion to

violate unjust laws, does not stem from any belief in anarchy. He does not believe that each individual has the right to decide which laws he will obey and which he will not obey as such, except to those laws which are not simply improper or unfair but those laws which in his sense are immoral; immoral law. You saw the whole problem really in terms of laws requiring segregation of the races and, of course, that colors his views of morality and law. But he tries to insist, whether successfully or not many of us will argue I suppose, that this is not the same thing as arguing for anarchy or arguing from a belief in anarchy which he insists he does not believe in, but simply an attachment to some higher concept of morality and natural law. Well, this is hard for most of us to see. I don't know what the natural law is for sure and that makes it difficult for me to follow this line of reason. But that at least is his position, and if you talk to a lot of these people who are now involved in a protest against the War in Vietnam, that is what they claim -- that there is some higher form of morality and they will invoke for you the Nuremberg Trials. The Germans who went ahead and participated in the concentration camps and the killing of X-million Jews who had failed in their moral duty to disobey and instead said, "I was only following orders." That at least, I think, is very important for us to at least recognize, that this is a component of

true civil disobedience. The idea that some kind of moral righteousness involved -- I don't offer that to you to suggest that you approve it at all, but only to suggest that you recognize that it is there; because that really, I think, has something to do with the way all of us, particularly police officers on the scene, on the firing line, deal with these people.

THE AMERICAN CULTURE

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DOCTOR DOWNS:

I see in the book the title of what I am supposed to talk about is "The American Culture." I suspect what we really want to talk about is what culture is and once we define that, each of us is as much an expert on American culture as any of the others of us.

Culture is a word that is being kicked around a great deal in recent times. It's to be found, I suppose, on the pages of every magazine from Playboy to Reader's Digest as an explanation and as a word used by writers to sound profound or sound like they have some inside secret, but seldom in the popular media is it defined. It's just come into popular use, and there are a lot of words like that or apt to be. We tend to think we know what it means.

Culture has a lot of different definitions. You can spell it with a capital "C" and pronounce it "culture" and think of opera and fine arts and ballet and what have you. Or you can think of it in the biological lab as the medium in which something grows. One takes a sterile culture and puts some kind of organism

on it and allows it to grow in that environment, and it is the second meaning that anthropologists in general tend to use or focus on when they use the term "culture" in reference to the human being. In science it is not a particularly new term. It has been around for sixty years--more than sixty years, really. It was first used by an Englishman named Tyler who was confronted in a very real sense with the same problems we are today, trying to understand why people act like they do; more particularly, why people in groups act like they do: why do the Arabs act differently than the Hindu; why do the Italians act differently than the Germans, etc.

Prior to Tyler's time, during most of the nineteenth century, social scientists had been offering all sorts of ideas to explain, what to Europeans was a really shocking revelation, that people did indeed act differently.

We have to think briefly into our own history that until Columbus and the people who come after him as explorers sailed out into the world, Europe, from which most of us stem originally, was really a very isolated little corner of the world. It was isolated (not only physically, but intellectually), very inward-looking, very unconcerned with the rest of the world, very convinced that all the explanations that were necessary were already known: they were to be found in the Bible; they were to be found in the authority of the church and people outside the purview of Europe just didn't count for much. You can't even speak of this in terms of prejudice or anything like that because it wasn't that active a sort of feeling; it was just really an inward-looking philosophy. And then the

Portuguese sailed out, then the Spanish, and after them the Dutch and the French and the English and began what Europeans called "discover the world." Of course, the world had never been lost; it was just that the Europeans weren't in touch with it. Perhaps one of the most profound occurrences in our history is the fact that back from these voyages of exploration and trade and discovery and colonization came a veritable flood of information into Europe telling about all the different kinds of people they ran into who did all these incredibly different things. They married four wives, they went naked, they worshipped fifty gods, they worshipped no gods, they sacrificed animals, they ate each other and just an endless list of things that Europeans had neither ever heard of or found reference to only in the Old Testament. This was a real jolt to the European mind.

We've explored a lot in history about the impact of gold being discovered in great quantities in the New World on European economy, but we haven't explored with nearly as much detail the impact of just the knowledge of different kinds of people on the European mind. And it's a shock that Europeans and their descendants have not totally gotten over.

In any event, one of the first questions that the European intellectual began to ask was, why are all those people so different? Why does one group of men act different from other groups of men or why do they really act different from us? Because it is an underlying assumption that the way the European acts is the right, proper, natural way of life. What else sort of way of life, what else sort of point of view and anything else must have an explanation. As a matter of fact, most men

think that way. The Navajo, with whom I spent a great deal of time in northern Arizona, think that way. They can't understand why we do things the way we do or why the Apache do things the way the Apache do, and they are absolutely bewildered by the Ute.

Man's tendency is to judge other men according to the standards of his own life in his own society. We call this, technically, ethnic censorship; and in one way or another, we all suffer from this disability. It's part and parcel of being men; and to break the ethnocentric chains on our mind generally requires some rather conscious effort and evaluation, not to say that in all cases we are prejudiced or bigoted when we think ethnocentrically. In many cases people make judgments about other cultures which say they are better than we are, but they are judged from our own standards.

The European intellectuals were just overwhelmed by, particularly, the American Indian, and they philosophized about what he meant in the history of the world. They created a picture of the noble savage of which was to eventually be the basis for a great deal of social theory, and they tried to develop theories which had to do with explaining this question of why people are different.

Now, if you are confronted with this kind of a situation and go out on the world and see millions of people, the first thing you notice about them is their different colors. You notice the colors tend to come in groups, and there is a correlation between the way people act and their color. Any reasonable scientist would first say, I suspect, that these two things must have some kind of causal relationship. That's just good science. The most obvious source of correlation on which to base a

hypothesis is the one you would pick to start an investigation. So, by the nineteenth century, particularly as our biological sciences began to become somewhat more sophisticated and were leading the way. All good scientists in the nineteenth century were biologists, and biology was the science of the time, just as today physics tends to be the science of the time.

So, during the nineteenth century there developed a set of theoretical propositions having to do with the relationship between people's behavior and their racial inheritance, and we lived with this theory for about a hundred years. I make the point that it was absolutely responsible [for] science to make this primary supposition, that if we've got all these different kinds of people, groups correlate into color, behavior correlates with color, that there is (or should be) a reasonable possibility that these things have some kind of causal relationship one to the other.

The facts of the case after about a hundred and fifty years of investigation and research, using every known research tool and technique that man has yet developed, are that that hypothesis is incorrect--that there is no causal relationship between what we come to call race and between that and cultural behavior or, in fact, individual behavior. In short, our behavior as Americans is not a product of--in this room are almost universal western European set of genes--but is the product of something else. And it was at this point that the study of mankind kind of went into a small fit, because having had what seemed like a good hypothesis, it gradually fell apart and they didn't have a hypothesis to replace it. Now, man cannot function without a framework of thinking.

None of us can, whether we are scientists, policemen or kids on the street. If you think of this, think of your own children. A child is constantly forcing his parents to explain things around him--things that you don't know how to explain, things that you don't any longer consciously classify or organize--but he's always "zinging" you. And he doesn't really care in most cases if the framework is accurate, as long as it is consistent, as long as he's got a way of putting his world together and getting all these chaotic loose ends which are constantly assailing our minds, our eyes and our senses into some kind of order. Now, it would seem that man in general is this way. No human being or no group of people simply kind of float around in a chaotic sea of behavior. And if you doubt that our behavior looks chaotic, try to shut off your explanation devices in your head and just spend ten minutes looking at Drachman in terms of what people are doing out there--and it's generally pretty chaotic--automobiles rushing up and down, people going in and out of the doors, up and down the street, wearing a hat, not wearing a hat, etc.

We immediately look at that chaotic behavior and begin to say that person is going to the store, that car is going east, that car is going west, that car is stopping for the stop light, etc. We organize in terms of some framework of thought. Now if we don't know, we generally suppose. We don't know where that person is going, but we can put it into a framework of probability that he is most likely going to do this or do that.

If we find ourselves in a situation where our set of expectations and explanations don't work, it is an exceedingly unnerving sort of experience.

For people in my trade, as anthropologists, we have a name for this. We call it "culture shock." We go into another cultural situation and we find that our set of explanations don't work, that what a Navajo Indian, for instance, does doesn't fit my set of standard American explanations; and if you are involved in this situation and can't get out as an anthropologist is by commitment, and he says I just can't stand it, then he is opted out of the business. So you stay there and live with it, and it drives you slightly mad for awhile until you begin to understand what their set of reference points are and what their set of explanations are.

A case in point: If I see a guy standing down here on the street at eight or nine in the morning drunk, I've got a place for him in my American mind--he is a drunk. In all probability he is not just an occasional drunk. If you are on the street in the morning drunk, particularly on a weekday, you're probably on the street every day, every day you are not in the "tank." We can place him.

Up in northern Arizona, I can't place a man in that same position--not among the Navajo. It took me some time to realize that the Navajo doesn't drink at night; they go to bed at night. They drink in the daytime. So that the man standing in front of the trading post weaving back and forth at nine in the morning on a Tuesday may, in fact, not be Charlie "Wino," but may be one of the most respected men in town who just had a few. Now, most of us have just had a few, but we have our few in a special context which is O.K. for middle-class Americans--at home, in a bar, at a party, almost inevitably at night in certain company, certainly not in front of Jacome's at nine in the morning. But this is precisely

among the Navajo the time that you do drink. That's when your friends come into town. They come into the trading post which passes for a town up where I was, where you meet everybody, where the bootlegger is so that you can get the booze from him, and there is a bunch of benches to sit on, and it's a good place to drink. And you generally drink in the morning and pass out by late afternoon, and your wife will put you in the wagon and take you home where you wake up and have something to eat, and then you sleep all through the night.

In many ways this is a much more reasonable sort of approach than we have where you have to do all night life and wake up with a hang-over. The point being not that the Navajo drinks in a different way, but they have a different set or style of life and so I know what that style is. I find it quite bewildering, and I am apt to apply my set of judgments to that; and if I do, I have made a dreadful mistake. As a matter of fact, it is my own personal opinion we have, in terms of Indians quite often on reservations in particular, spent many million dollars on research into what is a nonexistent problem--the research of the effects of alcohol on Indians and Indian society. I've taken some of that money, so I can speak from a position of strength.

I went to the Navajo reservation at one time to study drinking because it was considered a great and serious problem. After a good number of months living with the Navajo in a hogan, herding sheep, staying up all night at the squaw dances and living the Navajo life, it suddenly dawned on me that I didn't know any more Navajo who drank, or drank any more heavily, than I did in my own society; and nobody was spending millions of dollars to see why we middle-class young academics had a couple of highballs after dinner. What we were spending millions of dollars for on the Indians was

because they drank at a different time, and it didn't fit into our framework of explanation.

I use these as personal illustrations, pointed illustrations, of this question of how man needs an explanation and once he has it, how he tends to hang onto it and tries to force it into other situations.

When the racist explanation was proven not to work, we were adrift in a chaotic sea. We had libraries full of material about the Buga-Buga, the Samoan, the Chinese, the Javanese and Indians from all over the United States; and we were fresh out of explanations of why they were as they were. At about this point, this Englishman named Tyler decided what we were really studying was not a biological phenomena--and it was not simply an accidental pile of strange customs that each people had gone to the great custom store and drawn out at random a number of odd things to do with their lives--but that human behavior, that is, the behavior of groups of people, of ethnic groups, of tribes, or societies, was not a random, chaotic sort of a thing, but was patterned and reasonable and that each aspect of one's behavior or a group's behavior related in some way to all other aspects. That it was systematic, perhaps, is what I am trying to say, and he said this is what makes man a different sort of thing from the other animals is that while he is a biological creature, he's the product of biological evolution.

The profound thing that happened in biological evolution was not that we got hands or stood on our feet or developed certain body forms or anything like that, but it's at some point in biological evolution we

develop the potential for culture and we see culture expressed in these different styles of life that different people have.

Since that time, the term has been chewed around, organized and reorganized and, like most scientific terms, has never fixed on a single definition. It's often disturbing to people who think that scientists know what they are doing at all times to realize that nobody knows as little about what they are doing as a scientist, and the better the scientist the more willing he is to admit it.

The more complex the subject the less we know about it. If you want to know a real confused man, go find a sub-atomic physicist. These are the people who are making enormous strides in sending rockets to the moon and getting down to the basis of matter and building atom bombs, nuclear reactors and a whole range of technical achievements of our time. And if you really get one pinned against the wall, he'll say, "I don't know what the h--- we are doing"; but for the moment, this set of explanations seems to work to carry me this much further. Now, I know once I have gotten here, all these explanations aren't going to be worth a d--- any more, and I'll have to get a new set. So that firm, absolutely rigid sort of definition in science doesn't help science; they hinder it because you get too hung up fighting over the definition and worrying about the definition rather than moving on and studying your phenomena.

Culture has been defined and is defined in anthropology in a lot of different ways, primarily for different kinds of research. Obviously, an archaeologist digging into a site down here in southern Arizona and (speaking of culture) is going to find different things and going to be

interested in different things than I, working on the sides of the mountains in India with Tibetans and interested in religion. He's going to find pottery, house ruins, trash heaps and a whole range of things; and he will say this represents the "X" or the "Y" culture. And I will say in Tibetan cultures certain kind of practices in religion are common.

In general, we share certain common ideas about culture, but in specifics our specific operational definition is often quite different. We could go on for the rest of the hour just talking about culture and the different definitions, but I think that there is a definition for our purposes today and is probably the best way to look at culture. It goes in a sense to what we were talking about before, and it uses some high-sounding words.

Culture is a cognitive map. Cognitive simply means thinking. It's a map in the mind. It's the way an individual looks at the world around him and puts it into categories and organizes this world. It's the way an individual looks at reality, and, in fact, it's the way an individual makes reality.

If we think of this only in terms of individuals, we haven't gone quite far enough (1) from an anthropological point of view; and (2) from the point of view of anybody who has to make decisions, as do police officers or anybody involved with people.

We find--and I'm not revealing anything to you (you can find this out; you don't have to go to school and get a Ph.D. and all this stuff to find that these kind of profound anthropological discoveries)--that cognitive maps are not only a matter of the way each individual in the world looks at his reality; but we find that they correlate with groups. That

is, one group of people tends to look at reality in very much the same way and very differently than some other groups of people; and we tend to call this, then, the cognitive map shared by a defined group of people, a tribe, or a society, or a class, or a defined subdivision of a large and complex society like our own, as a culture. The Apache culture, the Tibetan culture, the Washoe culture are shorthand terms of saying the way a special group of people look at the world.

You might say, well, what's this business about defining reality? Reality is reality and how can you quibble with it? Particularly, I think this is true for we Americans. We at least think we are hard-headed people, and we say, come on, a car is a car, a street is a street, the sky is the sky, a mountain is a mountain. And who is going to quibble with this? Anybody who sees this other than in that way must be wrong. They must be out of their head.

Let me post a couple of examples of how people define reality. I spent a lot of time with a Navajo man several years ago who was a veteran of World War II and on Okinawa he was wounded and was unconscious for ten days, and, eventually he came to on a hospital ship. Now that was not an unusual experience for people during World War II.

I have just explained what happened to him in terms of the American cognitive map. The man was wounded and shock and loss of blood caused him to lose consciousness; and he was taken to a hospital ship where he was given modern medicine, antibiotics, blood transfusion, etc., and preserved his life and brought him back to consciousness. But that isn't the way he explains things happened to him at all.

On Okinawa, he says, I was killed. I was dead for ten days, but my mother and father were worried about me and went up on Black Mountain (and he points at the mountain) and they sang for three days and I came back to life. His reality, you see, includes the possibility, not the possibility but the probability, because he's not the only man he knows who has died--of a man dying and coming back to life and this being brought about through the agency of ritual intervention on the part of the family calling up ritual power to recapture his spirit and see that it gets back in his body before it has gone too far away.

After I tell you that, is it surprising that the Christian missionaries among the Navajo have had very little success? The Christian missionary comes to tell the story of the only man in the history of the world who ever died and came back to life. And he says isn't that marvelous? And the Indians look at each other and say, well, that's just like Joe One-Horse; he did that two months ago. So they aren't so impressed. In short, the Indian's reality and the white missionary's reality are two quite different things.

Now, what makes a reality? You can say that was just a superstitious bunch of nonsense. The guy was shot in the back, he lost a lot of blood, he went into shock, he became unconscious, etc. That's real. What makes reality? I would say this, that in the context of the U.S. Marine Corps in World War II on Okinawa in 1944, the issue was that the Indian was mistaken. His view of reality did not coincide with the view of reality held by other people around him, but what makes reality is the people and what they think.

When I went to the Navajo reservation, I knew, because I had read a lot of books about it, that they believe in a fellow called the "wolf man." He's the fellow who has the power to convert himself into a wolf or coyote form to do his enemies harm. I had this listed down in my notes along with a lot of other things that the Navajo do. I was young and very scientific, very full of objectivity; and I realized that one couldn't be ethnocentric about these sort of things. But, after all, who believes in that kind of thing? But I could be respectful, and I didn't have to make a fool of myself.

Thirty days later I had to get up and go out to the little outhouse in the middle of the night; and I took my gun, and I walked with the hair on the back of my neck standing up like a dog because in that thirty days I had become to believe in the "wolf man." I had not seen him. I had not heard him. I had no proof, in the sense that we would demand proof. What I had done was immersed myself in the society of people who did believe and who acted as if there was a wolf man, and that is what reality is. It's what makes people act in a certain way, and it takes very little time at all when you are confronted by people who act every day as if something really happens, to deny that it happens.

I have been off the reservation now for four or five years, and I still find it very difficult to deny the existence of the wolf man. Back here when I go out at night, it doesn't bother me and my hair doesn't stand up on the back of my neck, and I am not frightened. But those Indians, who were my real friends, were the only people I saw and talked

to for a couple of years; and I know they are just like you and I. They are full of envies and jealousy and good feelings and bad feelings, and they work hard and struggle the best they can to take care of themselves and their kids, and they believe in it. And I can't believe that all those people believe in that and there isn't something there.

We say in a kind of folk expression in our society, where there's smoke, there's fire. We can't believe that people can get that far off base. I think maybe it threatens us to believe that man can get that far off base and there be nothing there. As I say, I will not say today that there is no such thing as a wolf man. I know, in fact, that there is such a thing. If he has no existence anywhere else, he exists in the cognitive map of the Navajo, and it makes 105,000 people living in our state act in certain ways.

Now, that just might be a curiosity. Kind of an interesting thing, that anthropologist guy, because that's what we are very good at is telling people funny things, except that I would suspect that within the state of Arizona, although generally, under federal jurisdiction there are probably five to fifteen murders a year that are based on the fact that in the cognitive map of the Navajo, there is a wolf man. Because the only thing you can do with a wolf man is kill him. Sometimes you can get help from a medicine man who will give you protection, but if he is not a strong enough medicine man the only thing you can do is kill him. I suspect that about fifteen times a year on the reservation, or someplace in that area, a corpse is found in the sagebrush lying alongside the road up a

gully, and that's why. Usually, those go unprosecuted because nobody ever finds out who did it; but even when they do get prosecuted, or, at least apprehended and a good case made, the federal attorneys don't really like to go to court with those things because the Indians make very bad witnesses and they are very hard to convince the jury about. They are more difficult as witnesses when they are operating in this area of witchcraft and what have you because what jury is going to listen to a man tell a story about being "witched." I know that they don't. I was involved in a court case very recently where witchcraft played a very important part. I knew it did. The Indians (including the Indian policeman, the defendant and all the witnesses) were very aware of it having to do with witchcraft. The only people who didn't were the two attorneys, the FBI and the judge. They were trying the case which, from their point of view, was way over here. A case of attempted murder, assault with a deadly weapon and the Indian's case was way over here, and to try to bring these two cognitive maps together was at this juncture impossible. Why was it impossible? Because under our cognitive map, in our world--our cultural view of things--anybody who believes in witchcraft is a nut; and, therefore, if a man believes as this man apparently believed that the woman involved was doing love-witchcraft on him and had him entrapped and he couldn't escape, then you were insane. The only thing a lawyer could do was plead insanity and then there's a whole kettle of fish to deal with on a plea of insanity. The man was obviously not insane. I don't think under any set of rules, in any court in the land could he have been proven insane; but what he really did was believe that he had attacked a witch, and he really believed this and she was a real witch in a real world.

But it was that real world--not this real world. The difference was not any difference in the physical aspects of the world; it was a difference in the minds of middle-class Americans and middle-class Apaches, and these worlds were so different that one trial went on over here that had almost nothing to do with the crime that went on over here. Fortunately, the lady didn't die, and he didn't have to deal with a death sentence and he will survive this experience.

In rough-checking over the past few years things that have come to my attention in Richmond, California, in 1958, a man stepped out into his front yard and was shot six times in the chest. His assailant was apprehended, and they said, "Why did you shoot him?" He answered, "He's been burning two black candles in front of my picture for a week; I had to kill him, or I was going to die. It was self-defense."

Are any of you people ready to accept that as a case? "I killed him in self-defense because he was burning a black candle in front of my picture." But in his world, his life was threatened because his world, as does the world of many, many of the Negroes in the American ghetto--particularly Negroes of Western ghettos who have come out from the South much more recently than some of the Eastern populations--believe in witchcraft.

Until very recently, anybody in any city in the United States could find a witch in any Italian section of town, and a great many Italian murders had to do with witchcraft.

If we take the position [of] well, that's all fine, and it's interesting to know, but what the h---, these people were just ignorant peasants--

uneducated, superstitious people, then we've missed the point. Uneducated they might be, but men as we are, they definitely are; and they live as we do with a very specific cognitive map which defines the dimensions of reality for them. In other words, you can't get anywhere and you can't understand this kind of situation if you assume these people are mistaken or ignorant or superstitious, etc. If, on the other hand, you say this person is acting in terms of his reality, this doesn't make his action more acceptable necessarily, any more legal, or any more easier to cope with. It simply means that it is easier for you to understand where the roots of the problem are.

Where does that fall in modern American culture? What does that have to do with this idea of culture as a cognitive map, as a definition of reality? What does that have to do with us? One of the things that we've got to keep in mind is that this is an enormously complicated society full of two hundred million people. Anthropological theory has tended to be worked out among primitive people, among tribal people. Now, among tribal people--and the way to define that is simply people with a simple noncomplicated social structure--there is a tendency to find that what a man says ought to be. That is, if you say how do you do so and so and he says we do it this way, is quite accurate. There is a great deal more correlation between what we call the ideal cognitive map, or the ideal culture, and the real culture; that is, what people do. Probably because it's just that much simpler. There are fewer people, there are fewer cultural demands, there are fewer environmental demands, and the smaller society control their members a great deal more efficiently than we control ours. They

control them largely because they are mostly kinsmen, and the weight of society is also the weight of your relatives. Man in primitive society is much more dependent upon all the people he knows and all the society around him than you and I are because we have other things going for us. We have the institutions of jobs, money, credit and technical assistance so that we don't have to constantly turn to our fellows and say here, help me with this; help me with that. But among tribal people, they do, indeed. So when the tribe says, he's a bad guy and turns away from him, they've killed him, because without the assistance of other men, the individual man can't live. But we get our assistance second-, third- and fifth-hand through technical institutions and technical devices and economic institutions. What a tribe or primitive man thinks a man ought to act like, he is more apt to act precisely as he thinks he should; but in a complex society we find there is an increasing gap between the way we see the world, that is, the way we say the world ought to be and the way the world really is. In fact, in our kind of society, we generally have three three dimensions of cognitive maps: the way the world ought to be, the way we think the world is and the way the world really is.

The greatest example of this in our time is the Kinsey Report. What the Kinsey Report really jarred people about was not that he had asked a bunch of personal questions but that what he had found what people did was so different from not only what we thought people should do because we admitted that people didn't behave the way they ought to. But it was not only far away from that, but it was far away from what we thought they did--and that was the real jolt: How in these complex societies, how far away from our standard way we classify reality actual behavior can get, and in these kinds of societies where we are able to recover and

understand through research and where we have the luxury of keeping people around just to do research, we can get feed-back and realize that what we think is happening isn't happening. That's a very important issue if you are planning action. If you are planning an arrest and you think a burglar is burglarizing a house on Drachman and he isn't, you are in trouble, no matter what you think. So this cognitive map that I am talking about, while it can create reality, it can only create reality within certain limits; and it can also get so out of phase with reality that the people and the culture involved can literally fall apart.

In saying this, what I have said is the cognitive map--this thing you call culture--generally is coterminous with some kind of social group--a tribe, a band, a class, a nation or something. Society is separate from culture. Society is actually how we organize ourselves into groups of people, into classes, into unions, into police forces, into government, into families, etc.; and on a certain level we find that a great many people share a certain cognitive map. Now, in a complex society like our own where there are many people holding what we technically call many statuses and many roles, with many and often conflicting interests in the economic system, etc., and with quite different backgrounds ethnically, historically, economically, it is not surprising to find within this two hundred million people of America not one cognitive map, but hundreds of cognitive maps, each one reflecting the special history of a certain group of people. By and large, there's overlapping between these, and that's where we can define and speak of America. But at some point some of these cognitive maps are so different than the general run of cognitive maps that we are dealing with almost a foreign issue--just as if we were off to some foreign tribe on an island or up in the mountains of India or something.

What I think has happened in America--and one of the crucial issues of America and the only point that I am really going to touch on when we talk about modern American culture--is that over the years, particularly since the end of the Civil War and, again, since World War II, there has developed two societies in America. They have distinct boundaries. They have their own separate social structure; and the two societies are the one that we find scattered out all around us and the other we find in the middle of most of our big cities, and we call it variously the ghetto, the black belt, etc.

There have always been ethnic communities in our big cities, and quite often these ethnic communities have gone through this period of being socially very separate--so separate that they have developed their own culture, their own cognitive map, their own reality; and, therefore, they are as different from us as is Mexico, Brazil, etc.

Our cognitive map does not have a place for that kind of separateness. We have a fact that there is this ghetto. It's in our minds either good or bad that it exists like that. We know there are groups of people living in the inner city, and they tend to be generally black and poor, and these are high crime areas, etc.; but very seldom does the cognitive map of Americans have room for an independent and totally separate conclave of people who are foreign to us.

What does it mean when we say they are separate socially, and they are therefore foreign? What can two independent societies do that one over-all society can't do? They can fight with each other. They can have war. You can't have war in our society as it stands. To have a civil war, the society must recognize the contentions within the society and

divide itself into the North, the South, the East and the West--the whites and the reds, etc., and fight. War by definition is a thing that is done between two relatively equal (if not in numbers, at least in organizational level) entities. And we've come very close to the point in a good deal of America to where we have separate societies, sharing almost none of the common assumptions which would make this a single society. So a man walking in the white part of town is walking in his own culture. He's a white man, policeman or otherwise. He is walking in his own culture; he has a set of shared assumptions. The reality he has in his mind is like the reality that is in the householder whose home he walks, or even the man who he arrests on the street; even the criminal he apprehends in the act of crime shares a set of assumptions with him. He admits he's a criminal. Now, he may want to be a criminal. He may be mad that you caught him, but he admits that he has broken the law.

There is, tragically, a large number of cases in this country today where you can cross a line in your own city where that's no longer the case where the criminal, a person committing a crime, a breaking of the law, does not think he is a criminal--where the values are quite often entirely opposite of those of our own and where we are just as if we were operating in a foreign country.

And I pose this problem. If you were on the American side of Nogales and you saw a guy run a stop sign on the Mexican side of Nogales and you ran across the border and apprehended this person who is a Mexican, would you be at all surprised if a bunch of people gathered in a group and took your prisoner away from you? I don't think you really would because you might have gotten caught up in your own enthusiasm, but as soon as you

defined reality very much the same way. But increasingly their map is changing, and if it changes all the way, the only thing that we can do is do what you do with other nations: establish diplomatic relationships and hope they don't lead to war.

QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION

- Q. How can the police department function more efficiently in their dealings with the separate cultures we have in this city?
- A. We can't. And I think there is a tendency sometimes for the academic to at least give the impression that's he's forgotten what the police force is all about. And I think you can't take the position that simply because somebody is of a different cultural tradition that a public criminal act is somehow not a criminal act--whether we are talking about running a stop sign, a hold-up or a disturbance of the peace in one way or the other. These are criminal acts. They are offenses and they have to be dealt with.

I think it is useful, however, if a policeman must act against an offender in a different cultural tradition in our community that the basis of his knowledge, if broader, that he can say, well I had to arrest this Indian or this Mexican or this Negro or this white fellow from west Texas, which is another foreign culture we deal with a great deal here, and he was acting in a way that was pretty reasonable to him, but, unfortunately, it is against the law. I think that the officer who is in a position to think that way probably leaves a better impression with the offender and with the community than the guy who says, I had to arrest a Negro, and you know Negroes are criminals, lazy, etc.; or Texans are crazy or Mexicans are inherently violent. It's just moving and acting from a position of knowledge and understanding.

I don't see how we can take a position that an assault is an assault or a theft is a theft. I suspect by the time you get to the offender and to the action that a policeman must take against an offender that we've gone beyond the point where this kind of knowledge has a utility in basing your action. Once the crime is committed, I suspect you know what to do as well as I, or better. It's conceivable that some of these crimes would not be committed if we were not as a police department but as a community more able to cope with cultural diversity and to understand it.

Q. Doctor, you mentioned two separate and distinct cultures in the same geographical location and that possibly there would be a revolt or revolution. Do you think this a possibility in the United States today between the black ghetto culture and the white culture? When and how do you think this will start?

A. Yes, I sure do. When I don't know, but how. We have seen it over and over again in Detroit, Rochester, in Watts and many of these places.

This is not a prediction. I am not responding directly to the question you posed. I think this kind of thing is a distinct possibility unless certain kinds of things do happen, and these things are multitudinous and various, and I'm not even sure that we are quite sure what has to happen; but I don't see any other direction that this is going in if our society and culture continues as it is.

Q. Doctor, we have had other speakers mention the ghetto and define the ghetto. With your background, we pose the question of how can we possibly dissolve this ghetto, not just relocate it as urban renewal might be doing, etc., but recognizing all the facts that create this ghetto and another culture as you have indicated. How can we possibly look forward to the dissolving of this type of culture?

A. I say the first and most obvious and most absolutely compelling step is to recognize it as a crime against society to force a man to live in a place he doesn't want to live in if he can afford to live elsewhere and wants to.

In short, we must have an open-housing law. This flies in the face of some of the most deepest held and cherished traditions of American life, but so was slavery a cherished tradition. What we have said and what is happening all over this country--and it doesn't do any good to deny that it is happening;

any one of us who has bought a house knows d--- well it's happening-- that in every city in the United States there is a black area and there's a white area; and no real estate man who wants to get along shows black people to white houses.

The first step in breaking up the ghetto is allowing the man who has the money and the job and the desire to get out of it. It is just ghastly to think of the man with a home, with a family, with a job, with ambition who is forced by circumstances which he can't do anything about to live next door to a drug addict, and yet, that is the case. It's the case in Watts, in Detroit, the case at 125th Street in Harlem. It's the case all over this country. All the real estate boards in the country denying that this happens doesn't make any difference because I, among other things, have been in real estate business and I know how things go.

I think this is the first step. It is not the only step. It means that this is only going to take off and siphon off some of that pressure because many people in the so-called ghetto can't get out of it; but then we break up this racial block and we have a situation which is much more like the situation we had with some of the Irish, the Poles, the Italians who also lived in a ghetto--that it was possible to get out of it.

If you've ever talked to Negro college students who have lived in Harlem or lived in Watts, as many of my students did when I worked in California and heard the absolute hopelessness in their voices, despite the fact that they were going to college and hoping to break out of this thing, you wouldn't doubt a minute that this is a few pounds of pressure that we had better get rid of pretty quick.

Q. We haven't had a race riot in the United States in the last couple of years, contrary to what you have just said. There wasn't a race riot in Watts, there wasn't a race riot in Detroit or any of the other cities; there were Negroes, large groups, in revolt of some type. What do you think the chances are that we will have a race riot?

A. Well, it depends on where you stand. From the standpoint of those Negroes in Watts, it was the whites against the blacks. The police force in Los Angeles is about 90 per cent white. Certainly, one of the horrors of the police force in Los Angeles and in Rochester--and both cities I have been in one during the riot and the other only a week before I left, after living there for a couple of years--was the fear that this would happen. And the police were kept busy in Watts, snagging the beginning fringe of "ding dongs" coming up from Orange County and down from San Fernando and in from San Bernardino with a car full of guns to get themselves some "niggers."

It is indeed, a possibility. I would say that it would be most likely to happen in a city like Detroit where there is active contention for the same set of jobs in the automobile industry. Milwaukee is very close to a race riot as you define them. Illinois is another one. I think it would be much more difficult to do in Los Angeles--to get all those people out of their suburban little boxes and moving would be different, but it wouldn't have taken anything in order to set off that kind of a race riot.

As you define and draw the distinction, I think it is a valid distinction. A race riot--we've had those before--I think is perhaps the lesser of the evil as compared to an out-and-out confrontation between the white armed forces, because that's what the Negro in general tends to look at the police force as being, and a people's army of Negroes. Unfortunately, lots of Negroes view those kids with the bricks and the Molotov cocktails and the sniping guns as being that. Riot is a civil disturbance, but what went on in Watts came very near to being a war--and what went on in Detroit and elsewhere.

I think the distinction may be very well made, whether it makes a lot of difference to the guy who has to be out there getting sniped at. That's another question.

Q. Thus far, these situations, whether they are race riots, civil disorders, or what have you, have been contained within the Negro area. Do you think that possibly a full-scale rebellion will begin possibly when these spill out into the connecting areas where they are inhabited by Caucasians?

A. We have had a great deal of talk about these civil disturbances, or riots, or rebellions, or whatever you want to call them; but one of the reasons, I suspect, we haven't really done more to get at it is that they haven't hurt anybody yet but the Negroes.

Say, in Los Angeles, this is a matter of five boys and twelve bottles of gasoline getting into an automobile and getting on a freeway. Can you imagine what that could do to West Los Angeles? Drive through Laurel Canyon in which people living in their own homes are afraid to smoke during the summer--with twelve Molotov cocktails, and you've got the better part of the most expensive residential real estate in Los Angeles in flames. It's that easy and perhaps in Los Angeles, it is the easiest of all.

I know, again, that that was the big horror at times. If this thing gets onto the freeways, it's going, just like infections down bloodstreams, through the whole community. When that happens, I am quite sure we will get a real confrontation and we will get a lot of very concerned people. But it may be too late to do anything then but to keep our head down and look for cover. It really doesn't make any difference what your social or political philosophy; in a racial confrontation, it becomes entirely secondary to the color of your skin, because I am as good a target as Bull Connor and putting one into me gives them just as much satisfaction. Similarly, a modern Negro--a Martin Luther King, a Wilkins--is just as much a target in this situation as Stokely Carmichael; and by that point when you have begun to define this whole situation in that dichotomy, we are just simply in trouble. Then there's no point in having community relations. It's time for arming the population and praying that somebody survives.

Q. Do you feel the police department can help deal with this problem by assigning patrolmen to certain areas and leaving them there so they can become familiar with the people, with their culture, and be better able to communicate and sort of involve himself in that area and take a more personal attitude toward the people? Would this help alleviate the problem?

A. I think so. I do not pose myself as an expert or even really familiar with police operational methods, but it does seem that this has a great deal of [potential]; and we've always had this potential in our cities, and periodically we have had this kind of thing, not simply black and white.

In your syllabus there is reference to the Irish troubles in the 1860's in New York; and there was no question that in the '60's, '70's, and '80's that certain parts of New York filled with "white" people were as dangerous to walk down as any streets anywhere in the world. It does seem that the old practice of the man on the beat who knows his neighborhood, he knows the strangers, he knows the troublemakers, he knows the kid that's in trouble, makes a lot of sense. One of the things I am fairly familiar with is Japan; and one of the things that it is very hard to be in Japan is a fugitive, because in every neighborhood there is a police box and on the wall of the police box is a map, and the map lists by house everybody who lives there. So the policeman in the district knows every single stranger that is present at any time. It makes it very hard for fugitives, and this is in the biggest city in the world--Tokyo. It may be possible to hide out, but it's quite different.

I suspect that one of the things, a kind of layman's view why we have crime increase at all--and maybe this is simple-minded, but I think it has very little to do with all the complex theories that people work out. It is because people don't see enough policemen around. My kid doesn't see a policeman from one Monday to the next unless we drive by one on the road. That's not the fault of the police force; it's the fault of the society. My kid doesn't associate the presence of a police officer with law and order and protection because in his world a policeman isn't present. I think one of the greatest deterrents there is to any sort of crime is that there just might be a harness bull coming around the corner in a minute. If you are a criminal, you keep that in mind. If you are a law-abiding citizen,

you are rewarded and made secure by that feeling.

Quite often we Americans get very "keen" on our machines, and it's true that a policeman can look at eighty times more space by driving down the street in a car. But it just doesn't make it for me. I think that the presence of a policeman should be as much a part of the daily life of people as the knowledge that he can call the hospital or the presence of any other. My kid sees the garbage man more than he does a policeman, and I think that is significant.

I suspect that our moral break-down would suddenly stop breaking down if there were just more guys around representing the aspects of society that are important. Maybe I'm wrong and maybe that flies in the face of certain professional police practices, but I really do feel it's the case. However, that's something that police officers and police forces can't do much about because if you want more policemen and you want them covering a district and staying there, etc., you've got to pay them and you've got to hire the requisite number of people. And that's something society has got to decide on.

I would say about Police Chief Parker of Los Angeles, who has been damned and praised, that I have never understood his position in which he would go to the city council every year and point out that by every professional police survey he was 50 per cent undermanned and then brag about how well he policed his city. That is not an accomplishment. To accept that situation with equanimity was to abandon his responsibility, and it finally paid off with a terrible explosion.

Q. In your opinion, do you feel there is a great difference in the feelings of the Mexican-American group and the Negro group? If so, how can we bridge the gap?

A. I really don't know how to approach that. I think one thing to keep in mind, at least, it has been my experience as a boy in an ethnically mixed school in southern California where, incidentally, anybody who had any good sense of self-preservation went armed--and I did until I went into the Navy and was much more protected--that from the point of view of the Mexican when he looks at the Negro, the Mexican is white. The Mexican thinks in those terms.

When I think of my life and talk to other people, I remember always when we fought--and we fought regularly about once or twice a month in rather vicious melees on the school grounds and on the streets--it was always the Negroes and the whites in perhaps an uneasy alliance against the Mexican. Again, this proves the point that I can't make enough, that the Negro and the white are in the same canoe in this country. They share a culture, they share a history and they share a relationship.

I know in Los Angeles in the last few years, every attempt made through war on poverty, civil rights groups, etc., to link the Mexican cause with the Negro cause was very, almost inevitably, rejected by the Mexican population. They did not want to be identified with the Negro cause for several reasons:

- (1) They felt--and I think quite properly and quite correctly--that this indicated the attitude that the dominant Anglo-Saxon majority had about the Mexican. Obviously, if you lump somebody with Negroes in the United States, you are on the bottom of the ladder; and I think the Mexican resented this very much.
- (2) The Mexican has a different set of values and, particularly, here in the Southwest. The second-largest Spanish-speaking city in the world is Los Angeles; and there is a well-organized and well-integrated Mexican-American society there with its links to Mexico, with its tradition and with its history.

This kind of society doesn't feel the same need to band together against the white majority. A man has his family, his compadres, his church and a whole range of other well-established social institutions to meet his emergencies. He also has the ability to retreat into his language and be separate.

Where there is a gap I don't know. I do know and noticed with a great deal of interest after being gone from southern California for a number of years and coming back that from the standpoint of economics there has been a break-through, and the Mexican is rapidly moving out of the ghettos of the east side farther out into the east valley because he's broken through economically. I think this in large part is due to about three generations of education. The Mexican boy of today is able to apply for a job in English without an accent and is able to cope with standard middle-class American values--not necessarily surrender his own, but learn of what is appropriate behavior. Also, the large, extended Mexican families have begun to break down.

One of the interesting statistics to this is that the adoption agencies in Los Angeles almost never have Mexican children up for adoption any more to non-Mexican parents because the Mexican community sucks up and adopts little children as fast as they are available. Adoption is kind of a middle-class option because it requires certain kinds of cash outlay and certain types of planning and considerations that natural birth just doesn't. You'll have a child naturally whether you are broke or not, but you won't take off with cold planning into an adoption program that costs even more than having a child. So I suspect in the long run, this is where the Mexican-American problem goes into a kind of assimilation, not a disappearance.

Whether there is a gap to bridge between the Mexican and Negro in a real special way or whether this antagonism between the groups disappears as they don't feel themselves competing with each other to stay off the bottom of the heap is up for grabs and speculation.

A number of times, these questions have been put: How can we policemen do such-and-such a thing? And in certain cases I would have to say, nothing, because it's not your job. All too often, society is quite willing to let community relations be the job of the police or the schools.

Almost every instrument of our society is now having community relations seminars. But the school can only solve those problems that the school is trained to solve and equipped to solve. The police can only deal with those problems the police are equipped to solve. Maybe a broadening understanding makes you better able to do this; but most of these problems in education, in public health and in law and order are basic structural problems in the society. The society as a whole has got to grab itself by the belt hooks someday and deal with the problems NOT as problems for the policeman, the teacher or the public health worker, but problems for us in general.

- Q. The majority of these occurrences, we call riots, have all been blamed on the police departments through some action they have taken. Are we just being used as a scapegoat or is there something that we can do, or is it our job to try to do something?

- A. In every one of these great civil disturbances that we have had over the past two years, there has been raised the question of police brutality; and the argument is almost immediately resolved into one side, that is, the Negro rioting side saying, yes, you have; you are brutal, and the police side saying, no, we are not; we aren't brutal.

I have yet to hear someone say, now wait a minute. What are you two people talking about? Are you even calling the same thing the same thing. I, a Negro living in Watts, define my world as having figures in it which are called policeman and who are brutal? You're brutal, and it doesn't make any difference if you walk around in silk robes passing out candy. If your behavior is defined as brutal, it is brutal and people will act that way. Just like my Navajo and the wolf man. It doesn't make any difference if there is a wolf man or not up there. If people act like there is, there is. The problem is not to say, gee, they believe we are brutal and therefore we can't arrest them, or we can't do this or can't do that; we can't carry out our jobs.

The point is it is increasingly necessary that this question is defined. That does the police chief mean when he says, we are not brutal. What actions is he denying his men are doing? I suspect that he is saying, we are not "zapping" people in the alley-way; we aren't taking people in the back room. We are using the minimum amount of force that we have to use to get a prisoner under control.

Now, what is the Negro saying when he says, the police are being brutal. Is he saying in every instance that he is being "zapped," that he is being dragged into the back seat of a car and beat up, that someone is leaning on him every time he turns around or that I'm being taken behind the station house and beaten up? No; however, one thing he is saying is that eight times out of ten a policeman will stop me and call me "boy."

I know lots and lots of Negroes personally as friends, and I would much rather kick one in the groin than call him a "boy." It will hurt him a lot less, and he will act a lot less violently. This is brutality in the eyes of the Negro. The failure to use sir, ma'am, Mrs. or Mr., which we almost inevitably do in terms of reference to "white" people, is brutality.

I have worked in Rochester with Negro professors who dressed better than I who were afraid to go downtown because they didn't like the humiliation of being stopped and leaned up against the wall and searched. I know Negro ministers in the same position. They were never hurt, never "blooded," and quite often they were apologized to after it was all over--after the police saw this man was a professor or a minister. But the act was brutal.

I think these two definitions are so widely apart that, again, it requires a knowledge to understand what the other guy is talking about. You say, no, we aren't, and he says, yes, you are; and that is the end of the dialogue, the end of the shouting match.

The need to find out what this guy is talking about is a very important one in working out these kinds of problems for police. If you define, as many ghetto negroes do, anything a policeman does as brutality, then a riot can be set off very easily.

- Q. After these disturbances, a study was conducted which determined that most Negro criminal acts are against Negroes and that there is a distinct possibility in the Negro areas of the community that we don't over-police them, but under-police them. We don't use enough force. Is this a valid opinion?
- A. True. One of the reasons the Negro is mad at you is that you don't protect him well from criminals in his community as you protect me from criminals in mine. I think that goes for the average Negro, the law-abiding Negro, who in a sense buys our set of values. That is his biggest complaint--that he is not as well protected against violence, against crimes, against the person and property as is the guy on the other side of town.

You can't deny this as being a pattern in this country. We all know that in large parts of the United States, there's a body of crime known informally as "nigger crimes."

We know that there is a pattern of ethnic exclusion--not simply Negroes. For years in San Francisco--and I know this from personal experience in Los Angeles--gambling was a permissible activity in Chinatown; and many other misdemeanors and crimes, including minor kinds of extortions, etc., were absolutely "hands-off" as long as they stayed in Chinatown.

We know there are bodies of certain types of crimes that simply don't stir us up and make us respond as fast in the Negro area as they do in a white area. There are many, many reasons for that, but I think most of it is just plain habit.

If that is the case, what does this do--not for the attitude of the Negro criminal towards the law, because we know what his attitude is--but for the Negro non-criminal? The man who can stop a riot, the man who can assist an officer in making an arrest or a man who can stand and watch an officer get beaten into the street and have his prisoner taken from him? This is the guy you are struggling for; and he feels--rightly or wrongly--and I'm afraid rightly, that he does not receive the same kind of protection. He knows it in a sense because he knows he couldn't buy a house where there weren't any criminals, and you and I wouldn't help him against that system.

Q. How do you suggest we patrol predominantly Negro areas better without seeming that we are harassing the other part of the Negro area? This seems to be a problem because if we put cars in the area to give them better protection, the other half of the Negro element thinks we are harassing them.

A. A man who is really familiar with his area doesn't have to do random frisk because he thinks something might be up, because he doesn't know what that guy is up to, because he does know what that guy is up to.

I think one of the points is that it is your job to harass the criminal. To keep his head under and to do that best is to protect the non-criminal and I suspect at that moment we have almost conditioned reflexes. Like the chief in Miami who said, "I'm getting tough. We're moving in special squads into the Negro area." Everybody responded with, why pick on the Negro? Well, obviously, you just look at the statistics in the high-crime areas. But I wonder six months from now when the Negro householder realizes that he doesn't have to watch his door as much as he used to, that he is not subject to physical violence and danger and that he is somewhat more secure, how vociferous his complaints are going to be. I think we can face that. Conditioned reflex responses shouldn't make a police force, health department or anybody else pull back from what is the obvious thing to do.

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This point should be made over and over again: that most Negro crime is conducted against Negroes; and, therefore, an active and good police force which can prevent that is probably the best community relations go-round there is. And the Negro that feels I've been robbed, I've attacked and I've been threatened but I can call on the police and get the same response that any other citizen can get--what more can anybody ask? I suspect very much that this will be the case that you will see this hard-core criminal, not revolutionary, extremist groups more and more isolated from their Negro community which says, I don't want your Molotov cocktails in my windows, and I know how to keep them out.

- Q. How do we get the cooperation of these Negroes? We have tried it many times here locally. When a crime is committed in their area, we go down and ask questions and ask if they can give any assistance, and we hit a blank wall in return.
- A. I think that is a beautiful parallel to what we are doing and have to do in Viet Nam. This is not the first ethnic community that has turned a deaf ear to that kind of a question. It's not only Negroes who don't give you those kind of answers. We had a series of bombings here recently and so-called extortions, and we didn't seem to get anybody to testify. Why? Because they liked to be bombed? No, because they were afraid and they didn't see how anybody could protect them from the threats that were being made against them. This has allowed the mobs to control parts of Chicago for thirty-five years.

I think you can't expect cooperation before the fact. I think there is no question about that. You and I all live in a moment of time when we carry every mistake of the past and every good act of the past with us and we have to go along from here.

You have posed the problem to me that I do not know how to solve. I think it is probably one that falls back into the lap of the individual officer who is able to cultivate an area of people and make them believe

in him. This is the situation on the Indian reservations, and I think it's probably the situation in most parts of these special sub-cultures in our country. The institutions in our society have not proven in every case to be the protection for the Negro, for the immigrant, for the poor, etc. Quite often the institutions--the city hall, the police, the health department, the welfare department and a whole range of things seem lined up against them so that you can't say trust the law; you've got to say trust me. This is precisely what the Indians are going through. They have no tradition of these kinds of institutions. They trust men. They put their faith in leaders--that leader, not some vague concept of government; and they are just beginning to get a grasp of the fact that the man in that slot doesn't make any difference if he follows the rules of law and justice, then I can get justice. The Negro is in very much this position, and not just the Negro, the Appalachian whites, the Mexican-American and to a degree--although they certainly don't pose a great crime problem--the Oriental ethnic community--particularly the Chinese--many of the eastern European groups that we don't think about out here but who still have a road to go to assimilate totally in the cities of the East--don't trust **institutions**. They trust people. People will talk to people they trust and cooperate with those men they trust, and that's a job that only the individual officer can do and the only thing the force can do is provide him with the opportunity to do it. It's tough to talk to a stranger about something an acquaintance has done. I can talk to you about a burglar in my house because I saw him, and eight times out of ten he is not going to be my neighbor. He's not going to be a man that I see every day at work. He is just a stranger attacking me. But what if he were the guy across the street? You know his mother, his brother, and you know all the problems and you think, what kind of a thing do I set off in my own everyday life if I talk? I think that is an important issue, and a very important one.

Q. It appears police in general are talking and looking for a new role; that is, police are trying to establish the possibility of a new role in society.

In light of what we have said, this new role could be assuming an old role in a more concentrated fashion. What is your opinion?

A. I suspect just what you have said is that the old role of the police--at least, as one sees it or remembers it, maybe it wasn't really that way--was one where the police were a link in a system between the institutions of the society and the population and where there were real face-to-face relationships. Apparently, this leads to certain kinds of problems. The kinds of problems with minor corruption which develops in most cities because of relationships becoming personal rather than official. But, somehow, even if it is an either/or proposition, I'd much rather see a guy picking up two dollars a week to let somebody park in a red zone than to see him out with a gun in his hand having to shoot people down in the streets because we've totally lost contact with the population. I don't think it is an either/or proposition; but I suspect most of our contact loss here is not really as a counteragent against this type of thing, but simply following the line of least resistance in trying to make relatively the same amount of money stretch over a much bigger society in the interest of economic efficiency. I do think that is precisely where we are going--not to some totally new and unusual police procedure and police role, but probably back to one that we worked out pretty well in the past, perhaps somewhat more self-consciously and systematically. I think that is why we have lost that role with the police is that we didn't really understand what it was. We thought that the policeman was a representative of the force of society who enforced the law and we didn't realize what an important link he was and what personal face-to-face communication, knowledge and trust added up to. I think now we begin to see that that was what his primary role was in times past, and we've got to figure out how to get back to it. In a way, what you guys do is a great deal like what I do. You go into a cultural situation and try to understand it. I can drive around the Navajo reservation in my car and I can talk to the traders, and I can do that for one hundred and twenty years, and I really don't know anything about the Navajo. What I have to do to learn about the Navajo is to get

with them to make myself in some way or another a part of their community, and in a very real sense that means make myself useful to them until they can feel comfortable talking to me and living around me. I think, then, it becomes possible for me to look at a crowd of Navajo or look at a day in the life of a Navajo family and see what is significant and what isn't significant about what they are doing. I think that is much the same kettle of fish that you people find yourself in--trying to determine at every instant what is a significant act or what is going on around me on which I will have to predicate some kind of action and that's pretty hard to do unless we have those kind of intimate relationships. We haven't developed extra-sensory perception yet, and our technical achievements in terms of police science which we are just beginning really to think about are all aimed at how to link the policeman out on the ----- closer with his headquarters. In fact, I don't know of what kind of technology that one could dream of to link the policeman more closely to his community. This one is still a face-to-face sort of issue--that no amount of hardware is going to solve. It would seem to me that our responses here in the last few years have been to create more hardware that makes the policeman even more separate from his community. Granted, if I were in your shoes or a Detroit policeman's shoes, I'd want one. But what could make a man more separate from his community than driving down the street in armor-plated riot truck. You've lost it then. You've got about the same amount of communication that we've got with the Viet Cong, and the relationship very quick deteriorates to precisely that relationship. And then it is completely out of your hands. You are not a military armed force. You are not soldiers. Your job is to maintain law and order.

An army's job is to fight a war; and in some of these situations, it does seem that most of our technical developments have been as if we were fighting a war rather than maintaining law and order. Wars can stretch out a long time, and they always get somebody hurt, by definition.

Q. How effective are Indian police in policing Indians?

A. Some of them, very good. Some of them, not so good. It depends entirely on the situation on the reservation. Some places, some Indian groups simply don't need a policeman as we think of him. The social structure of Indian society is going in such a way that the policeman is really never thought of as a policeman; but he's thought of as my cousin Charlie, or Aunt Bessie's brother, or the man who is married to my sister, etc. And he may just function as a message-carrier in the sense of saying you're getting out of hand and you're making your mother very unhappy and you'd better watch out or nobody is going to help you. The Navajo police are very effective. They are handicapped because of the prohibition law on the reservation. They have to spend far too much time arresting Indians for simply possession or consumption of liquor, which causes a great deal of resentment and makes their job that much more difficult. They are called upon to do things that are rather incongruous from our point of view.

I had one policeman whom I interviewed this summer who was called out to arrest a medicine man. They have a ceremony up there which you call the squaw dance in which you literally hire a medicine man to perform the ceremony, and the man who had hired him called the police and wanted him arrested because he didn't think he was performing the ceremony correctly. It would be kind of like a parishioner calling up and saying, come down to the church and arrest the priest. I think he made a mistake at mass.

This is unthinkable to us, but not at all to the Indians; but to the Navajo policeman whose role is essentially the same as yours, he's confronted with having to say, "I can't do that." At the same time he says, "I

have the authority to do one thing, but I don't have the authority to do the other," and the Indian looks at him and says, "You're crazy. If you can arrest me, why can't you arrest him?"

At the same time, they are able to do things that are not quite according to the book but make for things moving quite swiftly. They can look over a family situation and say, "I can't; if this guy goes to jail, who is going to carry the wood for his mother?" And he tells him, well, you stay here until Tuesday and then you come in. Ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he will say, "Come in." No bail, no booking, no anything. He would flee his responsibilities if he did jump this kind of social bail, and he would still leave his mother in a social bind and she couldn't get anyone to carry the firewood, so he has to stay. But in return for that kind of understanding, the Navajo police get a kind of cooperation which is increasingly unusual out here.

In some places, an Indian policeman I think who isn't really properly trained and doesn't understand his own role becomes a bully and uses his authority to force people to do things that they don't want to, etc.; but I think that is really in the minority.

I was very impressed by the Navajo police this year. The guys are really dedicated to the ideas of what they are doing and are trying to do it well where the society doesn't even have the developed concepts that we can work with in maintaining law and order here.

Q. Doctor, what do you think about us here in Tucson hiring more colored police officers? Would this help us in that they would know their people and their cultures?

A. It might. It hasn't always proved to be the case, particularly in the last few years. In the East and in Los Angeles they are looked at as turn-coats, guys who have gone over to the enemy. I don't think, perhaps, it is quite that bad here. I suggest if anybody is thinking in these terms that one of the most fruitful areas of recruiting police officers is from the young criminal element of the ghetto, the ones that are just a little more than delinquent but not yet a criminal of the Negro area. This is the kid

with a lot of imagination. His habits aren't formed, and at the right time, these guys could be channeled. It might take a cadet program to do it in order to start them young enough before they are old enough to assume police responsibilities. I think this might be an entirely different kettle of fish. All too often we have selected ethnic minority officers to the degree that they measured up to our standards, to the degree that they were middle-class people. They just happened to be black middle-class people, rather than white.

The success that some of the war on poverty programs have had with outfits like the Black Stone Rangers in Chicago that was one of the biggest, toughest, fighting gangs in the country and have converted it into a really positive force in that area, suggests that this may be one of the best areas to recruit policemen from. It would require changing our notions and saying at a certain level, a criminal record of this kind in this area is not as important as the potential. I suspect, then, you would get some positive benefits, people who would really understand what was going on and were able to talk the language--and it is a different language in the ghettos and in those areas--and were able to anticipate trouble before it happened because they had been through it.

Q. Why have the Indians been able to sustain their separate culture without resorting to riots? Which is greater, the Indian population or the Negro population in the United States?

A. The Negro, by about forty times. There are about 500,000 people who are identifiable as Indians in the United States; and there is in the neighborhood of twenty million Negroes.

One of the reasons the Indian has been able to go on as they have is that we subsidize them to go along as they have. The Bureau of Indian Affairs this year has a budget of about three hundred million dollars, which is used mostly to maintain Indians in separate enclaves. The Indian reservations for the most part are in remote areas. Who do you riot against? On the other hand, the degree of violence on some Indian reservations is

truly appalling. If you've ever been to a rodeo up in the middle of the Navajo reservation on about the third day, I'll take most places in Viet Nam, because it's dangerous; and it's dangerous in the most direct way because a lot of these people are armed. Some of them are carrying guns or knives and they are drunk, and their frustrations are coming out, and it's pretty grim. But, again, most of the violence is directed one against the other. They live with a tradition. They know that you may be mad at the Bureau of Indian Affairs official; but if you hit him on the head--probably not today, but in the very recent past--over the hill comes George Custer. It was only in 1916 that a column of cavalry rode into the Navajo reservation to take a criminal. As a matter of fact, although it is not well known, during the disturbance and upset and difficulties of the stock reduction program in the late '30's and '40's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendent had a friend who ran one of the then air corps bases in Texas and called his friend and asked him to "buzz" several Indian communities with U.S. military aircraft, which the guy, like an idiot, did. It cost the superintendent his job and it cost the Air Force officer his job; but as far as the Indians were concerned, it was George Custer all over again.

They are very concerned that violence directed towards the person of white people is going to bring massive kind of response, so they suppress this; but violence directed one towards the other, and quite often, towards policemen, is really grim.

They have also learned how to handle their aggression in different ways. The young Indian kids, for instance, will wait in the dark at a squaw dance and take all the bolts out of the gas tank of the police panel truck and then when the guy drives off, the gas tank falls and he gets about one quarter of a mile away and runs out of gas. And he probably has a prisoner in there, and then everybody just stands and laughs. Laughter is a wonderful aggressive tool, one which the Negro has used against us for years. But he's not laughing so much any more, and that is one of the problems.

Q. Does the Negro in Tucson feel that Negro ghettos exist here?

A. I don't know a single Negro in Tucson; I really can't say. I can say I feel there is a Negro ghetto just from driving around this town. I think any one of us here can sit down and draw on a map those areas of Negro concentration. Ghettos are simply defined as areas where special kind of people are required to live, and we know how difficult it is for a Negro to live outside of a certain area. A ghetto could be made out of houses made out of ivory with golden streets. In this case, they generally aren't.

A. I don't know because the definition of Mexican in this Southwest is far more complex than the definition of Negro. "Mexican" is a cultural term, and it is a cultural term both among the Mexican and among the Anglo--that a man who speaks without an accent, that drives a certain kind of car, who has had certain kinds of education, the fact that his father is from Mexico, or his grandfather, etc., I think, is probably irrelevant. The fact that his skin may be a shade darker is irrelevant. If he speaks with an accent and lives in a certain way, then he's a Mexican, even though he may be lighter. The Mexican himself defines it this way: la raza. It has nothing to do with race; it has to do with the way you live--with your Latin culture.

Q. Ten to twelve years ago, the area of town we call Pueblo Gardens was a very nice area with beautiful trees and lawns and the homes were in the eight-to-twelve-thousand dollar range. Today, the Negro has moved into a large portion of this section; in fact, I think it is predominantly Negro at this time, and each time I drive through the area, I see more trees dying, shingles off the roofs, houses not painted, junk cars in the yards, no

lawns, windows broken out with rags stuck in them--and this is getting worse each day. What is your opinion of this situation--just speaking in general?

- A. I think there are a lot of questions you have to ask about a situation like that. What were the circumstances that led that place to be opened up and to admit Negroes? Was it a place they weren't selling too well and they figured, let's try the black ones? I don't know. I'm just asking these questions at the moment. Are the houses rented or are they purchased? If so, how does the rent compare with the rest of the area? Do you mortgage-holders insist on maintenance in the way they would insist on maintenance in other areas? Are City services the same?

There is a whole range of things that have to be asked in terms of what makes attitudes about a place in which a guy lives. Is a Negro living in Pueblo Gardens because he tried to rent a place here or there which was a better place and couldn't, so he rents where he can? He says, to h--- with it and uses the destruction of his property as a conscious or probably unconscious weapon against the society that cripples him in this way.

Or another question is, does the Negro who moves into Pueblo Gardens have any kind of background for living in that area? We neglect to think about the fact that the bulk of the Negroes living in urban areas outside of the South today are rural people who have never lived in a house that they owned, but have lived in a tenant house and have never expected or been exposed to the basic patterns of living in an urban or semi-urban community that we have grown up with.

We can see this with any ethnic group that changes dramatically because these descriptions have been made about the Irish in the '60's and '70's in New York who threw their garbage out the window and didn't take care of their places. They didn't because they didn't know how. The simple thing of changing a light bulb is a terrible thing to a guy who has never changed a light bulb.

The problem of economics, the windows broken--what if you can't afford another pane of glass? I know it's not much, but it may be more than you can afford if you are counting beans.

This sounds like I am apologizing for this situation. I don't mean to, but what I do suggest is that quite often we have allowed a flood of people who are essential foreign to these new urban environments to come in and we expect them to act just the way we act about cities. If they had come from some place outside the United States, we would probably say, "Well, of course. They don't know."

One of the great functioning institutions of our society in the Eastern cities through which so many immigrants came was the community house, the night school, the Americanization program and the school program for naturalization. Well, a Negro doesn't need to go to school to be naturalized. He's a citizen. He doesn't need a community house to learn how to speak English. He speaks English. So none of these kinds of institutions have developed and nobody has been around to say, "Look, don't throw your garbage out the window. There is a man who comes by and picks it up."

If I told an old-time Navajo that where I lived a man came around and picked up my garbage twice a week, he would think I was made. He'd say, what kind of a thing is that. Here I pitch it out and the dogs eat it. And if they don't, periodically you clean the place up. So if he moved into town and if nobody thought to tell him, he would have a pile of garbage in a hurry.

These are very complicated questions. It is not to say that all Negroes are solid and responsible citizens because, obviously, they aren't.

One of the things we are confronted with if you drive around Tucson and did a quick survey of houses with dying trees, junk cars and broken-out windows, you'd find more such houses belong to white people and are occupied by white people than belong to Negroes; but one of the problems is that the white person's house is a neighborhood nuisance. He's living next to nice houses, and these kind of junk areas are dispersed. And the neighbors as a

group are able to put something on this guy. And he may be in the same case--a guy out of a rural background who doesn't understand or know the procedures of maintaining a home.

For the ghetto-ized people, or the people who do live in these lumps, all of this comes out and hits you in the eye. Then it is identified so closely with color.

I can remember when I was in California as a boy in the '30's, particularly as the jobs in aviation picked up and defense industry. I can remember hearing every one of these statements made about "Okies." Move into a neighborhood, and pretty soon that whole area is full of "Okies." The houses are running down, full of junk cars, windows broken out, everything--the standard southern California folklore. Most of these things were true, but they were true to the degree that these people had come west into urban situations who had never lived in urban situations. Within the next generation the Okies dominated the used-car business in southern California, if nothing else, and their kids have learned how to live in the urban situation.

I think quite often this is a problem of transition from one kind of a living pattern to another.

Q. With urban renewal programs, we are merely displacing these people and moving them into another ghetto situation. Is this not true?

A. I agree. As I said earlier, I think the most absolute and crucial structural operational problem aside from the moral issue is a rigidly enforced national open-housing law. Now, that doesn't mean that every Negro is going to move into a residential neighborhood. People of the same economic level tend to settle in together, but the most stringent efforts must be made to eliminate this other criteria where people live. What color are they? Because, this, among other things, is how people learn to live together and to share values is to communicate with each other.

Q. Doctor, as you know, in California the open-housing issue was put on a ballot and voted down by the people of the state. Does this mean anything to you in terms of the white community?

A. Sure, it means a lot. It means that what the Negro said all the time is probably true--that the white population is prejudiced. It also means that the white population is uninformed because I was there in that campaign; and the major message which was sent by the opponents of the open-housing bill, or the proponents of the repeal bill, was that your property values are going to be destroyed. You can't let this happen.

Then the issue of property rights and private property was raised, which was totally out of context. The same real estate board which advocates a building code which tells you what kind of materials you can use on your property and a zoning code which tells you how many dogs you can keep on your property was suddenly terribly concerned about your rights to sell your property to anybody you want. The basic issue there is that society says there are certain ways you are permitted to use your property and certain ways you aren't. Those ways that are detrimental to society--you can't use it that way.

It seems to me that we have come far enough along to realize that any exercise of organized prejudice is detrimental to our society. We are on the verge of being ripped apart by it; therefore, it should not be allowed to happen. That is my personal opinion and one that I think we can support. This message was not accepted. Most people don't think in these terms, and most people were convinced of how their property values would go down, which is not true. Most people are afraid. The average suburban white person doesn't know any Negroes at all, and most people are lethargic. The pattern of America has been segregation, and it's pretty tough to break an old habit.

There is no question that the people of California rejected that open housing bill, but there are a good many things if we took a vote. People would either vote down or vote in that are necessarily good for the society or good for the individual people.

I would say the proponents of open housing staged a lousy campaign. It was a highly moral campaign, very dignified, and it got nowhere. Pictures of Jesus and Abraham Lincoln are inspiring, but they don't get out the vote. I would have like to handled that campaign, and I think I would have given them a different election result.

Q. Doctor, I've heard that in England and France there is a much greater tolerance toward the Negro. Is this true?

A. I think the British would like for you to think so. Sure, there is. They've got one per cent Negro population. They have stood on their morality for years because they didn't have any problems. They didn't have to face it. If you want to talk to a flat out-and-out racist, you go into India, Singapore or Hong Kong and talk to a British civil servant, a British sailor, a British soldier, and they make Lester Maddox look like Martin Luther King. It's engrained into them that they are the superior people and white skin is the superior way to be, and their way of going is the superior way and the rest of the world are natives or colonials like us.

I was just stunned. I was in Asia a year ago last summer, and it was just amazing. As a matter of fact, as large numbers of colored people have come from the West Indies and from Pakistan and India, England is having increasing problems. They've got a stanch segregationist supremacy party.

The thing that I do want to admire the British establishment for doing is that they face this; and, for instance, it is a felony in England to make a public utterance degrading or inciting to violence against or tending to degrade any ethnic or racial group. That "bugs" us because we say, well, what about free speech? I think that this falls into the area that the courts have defined as shouting fire in a crowded theater. It's not protected by free speech.

To incite to violence or to tend to degrade your fellow citizens because of ethnic, racial or religious backgrounds is a dangerous thing. It's a dangerous element in society. It leads eventually to some kind of breakdown and some kind of violence, and I would admire the British for trying to

stop this on the highest level. But don't let them kid you.

The French, I think, are different to a degree that the French do not have as much color consciousness in their cultural tradition as do the British, the Germans, the Americans and northern Europeans.

Q. Is it true, Doctor, that the British have stopped migration of black people to the British Isles at this time?

A. I really don't know. There was a great deal of discussion about this thing, but I don't know what they have done recently.

Until recently, they couldn't because any nation under the British commonwealth--West Indies, India and Pakistan (although India and Pakistan are in a funny position)--operate under a joint passport system where you didn't have to ask for a visa; you just got on a boat and came. I know there were moves to try to stop this, but I don't know whether it has happened.

I would suspect that the devaluation of the pound probably will do more than laws in this thing in that the economic situation in England is not as attractive as it was for people from these underdeveloped areas.

Q. Through the Indian training program at our police academy, I got to know two Indians fairly well--as well as I could under the circumstances--and I invited both of them to dinner at my home and left it up to their discretion to bring some of the other boys with them. There was a total of seven who came to my house. During a discussion, I learned that at their own discretion, they had excluded asking any Navajo to come with them. In talking to them, I found that a great deal of discrimination exists among the other Indians against the Navajo. I got the impression that they feel the Navajo is too progressive and they are adopting our culture more than their own and were actually losing their culture. Have you found this to be true?

A. One of the reasons the other tribes hate the Navajo is that the Navajo think they are much better than anybody else in the world and that nobody is worth spitting on, and that's quite literally the case.

If you think that we have a feeling of racial superiority, you just talk to the Navajo. The Navajo, although they permit it because the Navajo are great believers in individualism, are so opposed to inter-racial marriage, even intertribal marriage, and they are notorious. The Navajo in Los Angeles, of which there may be ten to twelve thousand, literally, will not cooperate with any other Indian group, always going their own way. For years, they wouldn't allow any Navajo girl to participate in "Miss Indian America" or anything. It was beneath them, and the other tribes resent it very much.

I think it is more that than this rationalization about the Navajo abandoning their culture. What they really don't like is being looked down their nose upon by Navajo, and they really are--and so are we, I might add.

This is one of the reasons they are successful. They have no sense of inferiority. They feel kind of sorry for us. We've got a lot of nice material things; but we really don't know what the score is, and they do. They are quite willing to let you know about that--and every other Indian in the country.

In fact, Scott Preston went up to the Sioux Reservation and was appalled at the poverty up there that he came back all "fired up" about starting a Navajo peace corps and some relief work out of the Navajo funds to help the poor who obviously didn't know what was going on.

It's probably part of their success because the Navajo are quite successful, really. There is poverty and troubles up there; but compared to most Indian groups, they are a really dynamic and fairly well-off group.

Q. Do some of these more stronger people like the Navajo and Hopi--do they ostracize their people who leave the reservation?

A. They don't ostracize somebody for going off the reservation because there are thousands of Navajo that go on and off all the time. I think it is probably a reverse situation. The guy, who for personality or other reasons, can't seem to get along in his own Navajo society will come out and probably for

the same reasons be pretty well unable to operate in ours. And so he ends up on Main Street or wherever the slums and "wino" areas are.

There are thousands of Navajo who cope quite beautifully in outside society with the houses, the cut front lawns and the whole scene. Time and time again, they will suddenly get the itch to pick up the wife and kids and throw them into the car and head back to the reservation and never leave it again. They move into a hogan and settle down. If you ask them why, they say too much noise or some kind of explanation like that.

Part of it is that the Navajo culture is so dynamic and so well organized still, it hasn't gone through serious disorganization, that men don't abandon it too quickly; and it has values and rewards for them that are important.

Q. What is your professional opinion of the immigration laws of Australia?

A. I do know this about the Australian in general: He's hysterical about color. Again, he demonstrates because he's almost one hundred per cent English. He demonstrates that "scratch an Englishman and you've got a racist."

They have got to come to grips with the fact that they sit on the edge of that great Asian mass with those millions and millions of people, and it scares them. I suspect if I was in Australia I would be scared, too.

They have relaxed their immigration policy somewhat in the last year and a half about admitting Asians. I suspect to the degree that they aren't simply expressing traditional in the English racial prejudices, they are responding to what is a real sort of a problem, when you've got a half-billion Indians and one quarter of a billion Indonesians and Melanesians and three quarter of a billion Chinese all living on somewhat less than a high standard of living and all scrambling for land and pressing their land too heavily. And you've got that great big piece of open land with about fifteen million people on it. You could expect that these people are going to be envious and the pressures to expand into that land will be tremendous. I think part of it is just a reaction to that, but they are going to have to

accommodate one way or the other. They can't just sit there on that continent and shut out all the dark masses for ever.

I want to make a point about the question that came up in two of the discussion groups regarding this concept of double standards and about forcing our values on people. Quite often, you get the academic who says, "Oh, we're being awful; we're forcing our values on these other people." Well, that may be so and it may be idealistically a bad thing to do, but if anything history shows and anything social science shows, is that given certain kind of economic and social structural situations, that certain kinds of values are suitable to that and other kinds of values aren't. There is nobody involved in this situation--it can be black, white, Mexican, anybody--who doesn't want to participate in this really enormously productive, affluent economic system; and so it is necessary in many cases that values be changed. We aren't forcing it on anyone. We are saying "cold turkey": "Look here, the ice box and the refrigerator and the healthy child and the secure life and the price is this--that you must give up other certain kinds of values that are suitable to other situations." So I don't think we should feel too guilty about this because anybody can speak out and say, I don't want that.

The other thing is that it is not entirely impossible to think in terms of double standards. I think of the fact that in Honolulu it is a high misdemeanor, and fineable at twenty-five or fifty dollars, to appear on the streets of Honolulu with your fly unzipped. The reason for that is that great numbers of Hawaiian and Filipino and other Asian workers have over the years been brought in or been utilized in Hawaii who didn't wear pants. They wore sarongs, pajamas, etc., and they didn't know about flies. Maybe we can say that this is kind of prudish to worry about; but, in fact, people did worry about this and the ladies were shocked, and so, in order to deal with this and make a point, this is something important to do. This is something important in this society that you are now involved in--a high fine for a rather minor crime was established.

I don't suppose that really changed the value system at all. It simply made clear to a Hawaiian or Filipino field worker when you go to Hawaii, zip up your fly. That's the way you act when you go into Honolulu.

This kind of thing that comes up about Indians that we were talking about--that the cultural pattern on the reservation allows the Indian to stand around in the daytime and get drunk, but the cultural pattern here doesn't. There are pretty good reasons why it shouldn't. There is no reason in the world that we should back off if our laws are good and reasonable and meaningful. In the first place, from their enforcement and from the simple message when you come to town, you don't act like you do on the reservation. Most Indians know that, anyway, and they have a compartment in their heads for white man's behavior and reservation behavior; and they manage to cope with it pretty well.

With the caveat, if our laws are reasonable laws, if our laws are really intended to protect the public and maintain order and maintain peace and security, then, obviously, they must be enforced. If they are foolish laws, then their enforcement is difficult, so forget it. But you can't forget it because you get paid to try.

THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF VARIOUS CIVIL
RIGHTS AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN TUCSON

MR. ROBERT L. HORN

Mr. Horn is President of the Tucson Branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. He is also President of the Southwest Area Conference of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

MR. JOSEPH L. HOWERTON

Director of the West Coast Region No. 1 of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

MR. HORN

It is an extreme pleasure to appear before this group once again. I am sure it is a much larger assemblage than the last audience we talked to at the University of Arizona. We made several comments recently as to why and what is the purpose of inviting individuals to these different conferences and meetings when we know first hand that some of the things that we might say are not going to be agreed to and will possible cause some dissention or disagreement. But we feel out of this should come some basic background for mutual understanding.

We did not prepare any special presentation to bring to you this afternoon. We are going to speak strictly off the cuff in an area that we feel we are quite familiar with.

First we would like to define for you the position of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as it relates to police officers and enforcement of the law.

The policy of the N.A.A.C.P. has always been one of equal justice under the law. This is our primary concern. This is of vital interest to the organization. This might mean a number of things to a number of people or according to who is listening.

At our last appearance before one of the classes for the Tucson Police Department, we attempted to bring you up to date on what we felt was a first hand approach on "What the Negro Thought of the Policeman." And we know that it was quite a shock to some of the members of the audience when we told them that it is a misconception to assume that the Negro looks upon the policeman as a friend. But you should understand that historically the policeman has represented officially and unofficially the position of oppressor for the Negro people. Ideally, certainly the policeman should be looked upon as a friend, but this is not the case, and we took them back to activity that relate to minority groups in the south and refreshed their memory or acquainted some of the group with activities of police departments that possibly they were not familiar with. Things such as policemen had not been taught to render common

courtesy titles to Negroes. You did not address a Negro male as "Mr." or a Negro woman as "Miss or Mrs." We are all familiar with some of the terms that have been used.

We would like to deviate here to the local level on what the situation is here in Tucson as far as the Tucson Police Department is concerned.

We would like to assure you at this point, that we are proud of the Tucson Police Department. We are proud of the administration of Chief Garmire and what he has attempted to do in bringing the police department up to the top-notch position that it maintains throughout the country. We are cognizant of the fact that without this knowledge that Mr. Garmire possesses, he certainly would not endure the stature and position that he does throughout the country. He would not be invited to participate in the conferences and workshops and the F.B.I. program.

We think the training program here in Tucson is excellent. We are dismayed and perhaps discouraged at the almost total lack of Negroes on the police force. We are also aware of some of the reasons why we do not have more minority people on the police force.

Police departments throughout the country are facing a situation where police work is not attractive to men today, and something must be done to change this image or change this picture.

We are tremendously concerned here in Tucson over some statements that have been made by Police Chief Garmire, the Governor's Office, and the State Attorney General's Office,

and we would like to talk briefly about this.

We are concerned that so much effort is spent and directed today towards the suppression of crime in the streets. Plainly stated, certainly we are against crime in the streets, but we see behind these blanket statements and charges something of deeper importance, and we are concerned that behind these blanket statements, there's possibly a movement to suppress legitimate means of protest. When most of the emphasis is placed on suppression of crime, riot control, we think that perhaps this is the wrong approach to be taking at this time.

Here in the City of Tucson, our background doesn't warrant the emphasis that is being placed on riot control. We have no history of racial disorders here. The only incident that we have had that through the news media was classified as a racial disorder of some proportion was not a racial disorder. You had bigger rumbles than this in different parts of the city, and they were disposed of as what they were, high school get-togethers that got out of hand.

Then we see and hear comments by the Mayor of Tucson, and statements in the paper to the effect that we will take immediate action, we will stamp this out, we will control this, we will not allow this to happen. It causes thoughts.

I believe that fanning a flame or adding fuel or attempting by dwelling on this, creating a situation that does not exist.

Then we think of the reverse of it. We are thinking as policemen of being on one side of the street with all of

your modern weapons, your Mace, and I would remind you of the article that was in the paper just the other day that the Tucson Police Department had sufficient supply of Mace now to handle situations. To me this is not news worthy. Why publicize this? What is their thinking behind it?

But do we have a situation now where you are going to have the police on one side of the street with all of your modern weapons, and have a group of unarmed individuals, citizens over on the other side?

This is not what is facing this country today. This may be antagonistic to some of you, but I think it is time that we took a deeper look at what is actually facing us today. We are and could possibly be on the verge of open insurrection in this country. It is no longer a secret, that everybody is armed now and this is a dangerous situation. The police are not the only people who have weapons. So should we inflame and create, whether it is intentionally or not, a situation that would possibly be better off if we accentuated the positive.

If we spent our time on the positive aspects of our community. Never in the history of our city have we been plagued with racial disorders or crime in the streets as has become so popular. If we spend more time accentuating the positive aspects of our community possibly we could escape ever becoming a victim of this. It is my firm contention and belief that Arizona, and specifically Phoenix and Tucson, do not have to become cities of ghettos with their built in riot problems -- with their built-in incentives for riots. When we speak of ghettos, this is foreign to

most of you. It doesn't begin to dawn on you what we are actually talking about. What we are talking about is an area three and a half miles square in one section of New York that has more residents than the whole city of Tucson, and if this same density in population were maintained throughout the United States, the whole population could be put in seven boroughs in New York. This is something that the ordinary citizen can't encompass. If you have not lived in a ghetto, if you have not visited a ghetto--and I don't mean riding through it on a bus as they do Hippieville out in Frisco--where you see first-hand ten and twelve human beings living in one room, and this is one room on top of another. These tenements are nothing but fire traps and death hazards. Until you have seen them, until you can encompass what these figures mean in population, you cannot appreciate these facts. Here we are blessed with all these open spaces. We have the opportunity to work together to build our city to the point where we can be proud of it, and we don't have to fear the summers as they approach. We can construct something here that we will have cool summers.

How does the Negro get to look upon the policeman as he does? One or two brief examples. How does a Negro man that we have filed a complaint with against the City of Tucson--he and his wife get in a normal disagreement as all of us married people do. Somebody calls the police, and the police come; and, as we are all aware in a domestic altercation, if there is no bodily harm done and no complaints filed, this is nothing. But, then, for this particular individual, this Negro,

his altercation with his wife was entered on his employment record at his place of employment. This is no coincidence. When we checked with the police department as to how this happened, no one seems to know what happened. Certainly, Mr. Horn, this is not the proper procedure. How this information got over to the department on this man's personnel record, we don't know; but we certainly will find out. Now you have created two new enemies there and possibly many other enemies as that particular family relates this story. What is it? It's the police department and the white power structure retaliating against a Negro simply because he has filed a complaint against the City of Tucson, charging discrimination. So he is being subjected here to another means of intimidation. So they can't look upon a policeman as a friend.

Until these things are explained, and until complaints that involves Negroes are handled as routine as complaints involving other races, then you subject yourselves to hate and discrimination.

I myself was involved in a very minor incident. It just happened that this small incident happened in the middle of a big controversy that we were involved in. We didn't make a complaint on this, but we certainly were satisfied or happy or pleased with the lack of efficiency with which the three police officers handled this particular situation. I was approaching the street from a private drive-way, a young kid is riding on a bicycle down the wrong side of the street, I'm looking to the north to see the traffic, and this kid

brushes by my car. He bumped his knee. Immediately, I got out and told the youngster to stay there. First, I ascertained if he was hurt. No, he wanted to go home, so I kept him there and I called the police and did all the things a citizen is supposed to do. One officer and a trainee came. There was an apparent show to me of efficiency and dispatch in handling this situation. To me the police officer should have had at his command what is the proper thing to do here. What reports need to be filled out, etc.

You remember this. Whenever you are investigating something that involves a Negro and there is two officers involved and they have to go off by themselves to hold little conferences out of your hearing range, it makes you think what are they cooking up now. What is it they can't discuss right here with me because I am the one involved?

These same two officers had to go over and hold them a little huddle. Then a sergeant stopped and joined them and the three of them had to have a little huddle. So this makes me suspicious now. Before we leave, after all the information is given, so to be safe, I insisted that they all three come into the house and we all take a look at the youngster to see if he has any visible marks on him. There were none. Well, that night and the next day, people were calling my house asking my wife if I had been hurt, was I in the hospital and what hospital was I in. Here a little thing like that is news worthy. It wasn't new worthy because of the incident, but it was captioned "Robert Horn, N.A.A.C.P., hits youth." It was also on TV the next day.

Last week I witnessed a four-car collision where a man ran a red light, and I haven't found anything in the papers on that yet. This is really something--the lack of same treatment for everybody. How this got into the papers, it doesn't matter; it is of no consequence.

I believe that I am going to conclude my remarks here. We are quite pleased to have in our city a field director from the region office of the N.A.A.C.P. We are not pleased for his reason for being here, which is to wind up a complaint we are going to file with the federal government. This doesn't make us happy at all, but if this is what we must have to do to attain justice, then we will do it.

One last comment before we conclude, and this causes us to have considerable thought. What regulates the thinking of the white public? When the same term, the same word expressed by me connotes one thing and the same word or term expressed by a white man means something altogether different? An example of this is: If Robert Horn, N.A.A.C.P., is quoted as saying, "I will take to the street and demonstrate," then the connotation is that Robert Horn is going to lead a riot. We had better get ready and put this thing down. But for such a personage as Charles Ares, Dean of the Law School at the University of Arizona, to speak before an assemblage and most emphatically state that demonstrations are necessary, but demonstrations in themselves are not sufficient. This doesn't cause a ripple in the community. It doesn't excite anyone. But this is what we are faced with. Are we getting to the point--and rapidly--

where the rights that are granted by the constitution, the rights to demonstrate, the right to protest, the right to seek redress for your grievance, are going to be taken away under the guise or premise that these rights mean violence?

When I see what is happening in the country today with the police departments, I can't help but think that this is what we are driving to.

At this time, I am sure Mr. Howerton, who has much and many varied experiences in California with the police departments, legislation, etc., has a few comments to make to you.

MR. HOWERTON

Thank you very much, Mr. Horn. I think you have covered a wide range of concerns in reference to the problems of law enforcement and the minority community. I am sure your listeners have by now developed many, many queries that they would like to have answered, and I would like to assist you in any way I can in responding to any questions that might be on the minds of the listeners.

QUESTIONS

LIEUTENANT BIRMINGHAM

Do we over-police or under-police as far as minority groups are concerned?

MR. HORN

I would like to answer for here in Tucson, and perhaps Mr. Howerton would like to answer for California. Maybe you, then, can get a comparison from the two areas.

What do we mean by over-police? If you mean this: Are certain areas patrolled over-proportionately--no. But, if you mean in the way police react to situations--yes, definitely, you over-police the situation.

There was a crowd recently here in Tucson where several of the participants were charged with inciting a riot, but to us, the police should have been charged with inciting the riot. When police approach a group of Negroes and they can't first try to ascertain what is wrong, and with this instance where they grabbed the first Negro they saw, which was the wrong choice for them because it happened to be a big Negro and a Negro who was rather belligerent about somebody grabbing him. As a result, it took six policemen to control him. Now he's in trouble. What did he do. He didn't do anything. If this is what you mean by over-police, yes, definitely, we over-police incidents involving minority people. Perhaps it's out of fear--and I don't blame you for being fearful, not so much here in Tucson, I don't believe we have the extent of the same thing here. But in these cities, these ghettos, I don't blame you police from being fearful because whenever trouble starts, you are going to be the target; so there is no need of you thinking it is not true.

MR. HOWERTON

I think I have an understanding of what Mr. Horn is referring to. In that regard, police work is the practice of the science of criminalistics; and as a science, it should have the same kind of approach as any other technical field. That is, when one is dealing with a particular problem, he has to be objective;

and in order to be objective, one cannot have his thinking colored by prejudices. If one is ready to assume and accept without going through the steps which you are taught in your training to get at the truth, then you are certainly going to have trouble, because you can understand, such as the incident as Mr. Horn was describing: if you are an idle bystander, standing at the edge of a crowd where something is going on, and then someone approaches you and begins to man-handle you in a rough manner when you have done nothing, you certainly are going to react to that situation in a belligerent manner. Of course, the net result [will be] there is going to be utter chaos in which no one is going to come out of it well. Officers that may be involved in a situation like that are going to be charged with misconduct; and, certainly, they are not going to allow the citizen to go unscathed without some charges being placed against him if he has engaged in any type of resisting conduct. It just means that it frequently occurs that there is impetuous action of some sort. Mr. Horn referred to California. My area is a nine-state area. I am responsible for the activity in nine of the Western states, including Hawaii and Alaska; and from time to time I visit all the states that are under my area of responsibility, and this does seem to be a problem insofar as minority persons are concerned -- that the manner of approach and manner of viewing situations in which minority group persons are involved frequently tend to be different than matters in which other persons are involved.

I am very happy to see this type of activity in terms of human relations discussions and human relations series

discussed with law enforcement people. It is one of the things that has been lacking over a period of time in many many of the training courses that are given.

To speak about California, there is a fund that was developed by legislative action that is created through a penalty assessment that's imposed on traffic fines and bails, and those funds go to the state which then re-distributes those funds to various law enforcement departments in various communities to assist them in their training programs. As you would imagine, there are a lot of small communities which don't raise enough revenue in the ordinary tax gathering faction to be able to afford to maintain institutes and training courses, such as this, as they would like to. In order to get these funds from the state, a department has to indicate that they are going to maintain such a course and upon their qualifying, the money is made available, and of course, it's made available for other forms of training in law enforcement work than just the field of human relations. But, since your work is dealing with the human element, I think that is a very integral part, or should be a very integral part of all the training that you get and a good deal more time and attention needs to be devoted to it than is presently given

SGT. HOLDCROFT

Mr. Horn, if you could recommend one area of improvement for the Tucson Police Department, what do you feel would be the paramount problem in the area needing the most attention relating to our dealing with minority groups?

MR. HORN

If I had to make one suggestion that I thought would improve the rapport it would be this. That such an assemblage as this and certainly one of your training classes conducted at the university be taken into the ghetto area and invite the residents there to come in and participate in a discussion with these trainees. Let them talk back and forth about what they feel a police officer should be and how he should relate to them. This has been done, not with the police department, but with the New York City Human Relations Commission and it has worked wonders. It has given the human relations commission a different status. A new look to these people. Instead of holding down in City Hall where most of these ghetto residents never get to except when they are brought down for trial or something.

Take your police work - take one of your classes. I'm sure space could be arranged. Say out in the South Park Area, I'm sure the Area Council Office could be available and invite the residents into the area. Let them come and tell you what they think of your police department. You might leave there having a better respect for each other. You cannot understand how these people feel towards police officers when their only contact with you is when they have committed a crime or you think they have committed a crime. Something like this, I believe, would pay off big dividends.

SGT. GRANT

Mr. Howerton, do you believe that policemen, with an ethnic background, are more effective in policing an ethnic type ghetto than a white police officer?

MR. HOWERTON

No, I don't; but a police officer in addition to being a practitioner of the science of criminalistics is also a salesman and what he is selling is law and order and in the course of that activity, he has to deal with human beings. I think that if an individual considers the person that he is dealing with as being another human being who may have come from a different cultural background and his appreciation of certain things may be a little different than yours, but nevertheless a human being, then use the same kind of approaches that you would use to one of your former school classmates or one of your former next door neighbors in terms of dealing with him in the situation, of course, which the encounter arises. Certainly if a man is approaching you with a weapon, a loaded gun, you are not going to say, "Good morning, Sir, How do you do?"

I am saying, approach the individual according to the circumstances in the same fashion that you would deal with your next door neighbor and under that circumstance, I don't think that one necessarily need be from the same ethnic background; but just have the desire to have human understanding, and realize that you are dealing with another human being, how be it from a different cultural background.

LT. GILKINSON

I would like to ask both gentlemen how, based upon his experience, has the N.A.A.C.P. assisted any community where a disorder has taken place to help the community in settling its problem? I would like to ask Mr. Horn in the event we

have difficulty here in Tucson, can we expect that you or a representative of the N.A.A.C.P. will be out with us or other members of the community at that time to assist in not quelling a riot, but settling a disturbance and doing this in a fashion of representing the community and not for any personal motives?

MR. HOWERTON

This traditionally has been our role in the N.A.A.C.P. Every major disturbance that has occurred in the United States in the past fifty years. Our organization has been involved in all the conciliation efforts, the efforts to seek adjustments of the dispute of the grievance that has existed. In many instances our people have been in the forefront of the group that has been trying to quell the disturbance, although that is not our role, because that is a law enforcement problem when it gets to the hands of outright violence, but we have participated to that degree, and this is part of our role as a community organization.

MR. HORN

One step further, in Florida a number of the N.A.A.C.P. branches through their youth branches are splendid examples of this. Where the members of the youth branches have acted as police aides. They have gone through the community, and they were given special arm bands, badge, or cap or something to identify them, and they purposely and deliberately worked with the police throughout the community in trying to dissuade other youths not to become involved in rioting and breaking of the law.

Here in Tucson, well certainly as with every other occasion where we have been called upon, we have certainly tried to respond in the manner that would be to the best interest of the community.

We would like to remind you of a statement we made during the special City Council meeting that was held here in the midst of the little incident that we did have. There is something that happened there that night that has never been explained to my satisfaction, and to the satisfaction of this community, and we have stated publicly and privately that we felt the police department and the news media, the news media even more than the police department, was responsible for the adverse publicity that we Tucsonians got as the result of that, and this is the specific incident that has never been answered to our satisfaction. In that meeting, a police officer answered the phone and made the following statement, "One of his police officers had just radioed in that three buildings were on fire in the area - Jack's Drive In - the paint store and another store, and he had to leave." This created a spirit of hysteria right there. We held the police officer up long enough to answer the question that we had posed to him immediately before which has not been answered. It was, "Did one of your officers kick in the door at the house where this party started?" The officer was going out the door and the urgency of the matter at hand had to be taken care of. I said, "Well, you can answer that going out the door. Did the officer kick the door in?" This still hasn't been answered, but the evidence doesn't leave anything

else to believe. When the footprint of the officer is half way up the door, then the explanation that was given to us was that the officer stumbled into the door in front of the crowd of teenagers that was coming in - this doesn't make sense. He didn't stumble in there with his foot up half way on the door.

The other thing that is more important - we immediately left that building and went over into the area and there wasn't a single bit of fire over there anywhere and the owner of the paint store was mortified and very angry that any such reports as this had gotten out. Someone had come by and thrown one bottle of gasoline up on the store that had been extinguished before it even started to burn. But here a police officer makes the statement that one of his officers had just radioed in that these building were in flame and the riot is on. Where were they getting this information from?

SGT. RONSTADT

One of the major complaints of the N.A.A.C.P. seems to be this lack of Negro officers on the police departments. This department, to the best of my knowledge, has made several intensive efforts to get Negroes interested in applying, again without lowering our standards. I was wondering if the N.A.A.C.P. has any programs, any self-help programs, to encourage Negroes to apply for positions on police departments or whether they are taking any active role in the particular problem?

MR. HOWERTON

First, that expression "self-help" is a dirty word.

You know that is the old "boot strap" theory. You can pull yourself up by your own boots; all you need is boots. If you are familiar with the history of the Negro in this country, you'll be well aware of the fact that he has not been in the economic position over the years or not in the political position over the years to direct and control the economic condition so that he, along with others, could be the beneficiary of all the various opportunities that exist. So, consequently, there is a disparity in education and training levels because of the various conditions along that line.

The training job and recruiting job is yours, not the N.A.A.C.P.'s. Our role and our effort since our founding has been an effort to try and achieve equality of opportunity in all areas of our social economic existence. Now, to use a California example again, the Berkeley, California, Police Department, which is rated as one of the finest police departments in the United States, has begun a program of trainees using high school students, high school students who are in their last year, who have exhibited an interest in police work--and some of this interest has been motivated by the Juvenile Bureau of the police department itself going into the high schools, talking to the students and trying to encourage their interest in police work. And where that interest is evident, they have invited these young men to become a part of a trainee group. They continue in that particular program over a period of years until they reach an age in which they are eligible to become members of the department, at which time they

are given an opportunity to take an examination and be qualified and placed on the Civil Service register. Because of the kind of training they have, they are almost assured of appointment. This is something that the police department has done itself, and this is what has to be done here. If there are not any "qualified" Negro applicants, then it is the job of the Tucson Police Department to create some; and this is one method by which it can be done.

THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF VARIOUS CIVIL
RIGHTS AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN TUCSON

FATHER JOSE HURTADO

Representing the
Mexican-American Community
Currently the Associate Pastor
of the St. Augustine Cathedral

FATHER HURTADO

This past week or so, there has been so much commotion over the investigations in the Police Department that my words to you are "Blessed are those who suffer persecution for justice sake for yours is the kingdom of Heaven."

When they asked me to talk on the nature and purpose of various civil rights groups in Tucson dealing with the Mexican-American, I became rather hesitant because of my limited knowledge on civil rights groups for the Mexican-American similar to the

N.A.A.C.P. or C.O.R.E.

To speak about the Mexican-American is rather difficult. He is known as the forgotten American. He is known as the invisible minority. It is only recently that there has been a study about the Mexican-American and there are more studies being made.

As far as I know there are no Mexican-American civil rights groups in Tucson; however, a Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund has been set up to begin to serve the immediately purpose of advancing civil rights. It is patterned about the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund for Negroes. Now such a fund obtained by a Ford Foundation Grant and a staff of Mexican-American lawyers will help the community to understand that its grievances and injustices can find solution within the law.

In a recent investigation, the Civil Rights Commission concluded that there is a serious discrimination against the Mexican-American in the administration of justice, especially in Texas. Now their findings confirm the fact that the three greatest problems in a Spanish speaking community are:

Job discrimination
Police brutality
Illegal arrest

The Joe G. Huento vs Addressograph-Multigraph Co. case is the first Mexican-American civil rights case of discrimination brought before the court and the public. This was only two weeks ago.

One can simply conclude that what is true of Mexican-Americans in Texas is also applicable to the Mexican-American in the other four Southwestern states. Exactly what the situation is in Arizona and especially in Tucson, I can only relate to you from my personal observations and experiences.

Before I enter into my impressions of the Mexican-American, I would like to make a distinction which I think is very necessary.

The distinction that is made between the Mexican-American themselves is that there are those we call "que se fueran" (those that left), and then the "los que se quedaron" (those that stayed behind).

Some Mexican-Americans have reached a high standing in the community by the sweat of their brow or what have you. They have made it. There has been a tendency that once they have made it, they tend to alienate the rest of the group.

What I want to speak about here today is specifically dealing with those that stayed behind which usually

comprises the majority, the masses for this group. It is a general fact that they do not have a tradition of resorting to law in matters of social concern. Dependency has been to regard any Negro involvement as a misfortune.

They have a great distrust for lawyers and to some extent a great distrust for politicians. Many of them have been burned in one way or another. I believe it is characteristic of these Mexican-Americans when once you have been burned, you withdraw and perhaps this is one of the reasons why there is lack of involvement on the part of Mexican-Americans in community affairs. Also, I would say there is an inferiority complex. Perhaps of their education. Perhaps they do not have the facilities - they do not have the diction to be able to express themselves well and who wants to become a clown in front of a lot of people.

Many victims of injustices in the Spanish-speaking community are ignorant of the rights and only want to have the matter quieted. In fact, I myself never gave it a thought that I had certain rights. Sure I read the Constitution of the United States. I also read the Constitution of the State of Arizona, but somehow I never thought it applied to me because somehow I was treated differently.

When I started school, we - Los Mexicanos - were segregated. It was the same school - maybe fifty feet apart. Mexicans went here and the Angloes went here until about the sixth grade. It was not in the community of Gilbert, but I also found it in Chandler. In my third grade year we moved to Chandler. I hopped on the bus as we lived on a ranch and rode all the way in to central headquarters of the public schools in Chandler. When I got there, they told me, "You don't belong here. You belong over there in the Mexican school with the colored people."

These were some of my early impressions, but I never gave it a thought. I thought this is the way we are supposed to live. So I never questioned it.

The other thing that I would like to point out is somehow there were some Mexican-Americans. Sometimes they passed as French, Irish, or French-Canadian that were accepted in the public schools. Apparently they were people who were established in the community and I guess they stood up for their rights.

If it were only the public schools that treated us this way, I would say it wasn't too bad. Perhaps some of you here still remember that we were also separated in the local theaters - whites on one side, the Negroes, Mexicans, and Indians on the other side.

The restaurants were also very selective in who they would serve. I remember back in the 40's about the middle of the month of July. My father who was thirsty took us into a restaurant and he ordered five glasses of water, and they charged him ten cents a glass. Still things didn't look too bad for us because we thought that this is the way we are supposed to live.

We took it for granted that we were different - that we were Mexicans and that was the way things had to be.

When I was a child, not too long ago, in our one horse town, Chandler, I would see, especially on Saturday nights, when the Indians used to come in to do their shopping and have one too many drinks, them fall and pass out and then a law officer would come and practically kick the guy to death. When he got tired of kicking him, he would pull out his blackjack and tell him, "Get up you lazy Indian, get into the car." This same thing happened to Mexican boys. It hurt me, but being dumb, being defenseless, not having any recourse to any action whatsoever, I would not do anything other than try to relate the happenings to my parents.

In a certain sense, because of our lack of education, because of a lack of knowledge of our rights, and rights of people, we did not become involved. That

would not be so bad, but even the Catholic Priest treated the Mexican-Americans differently. Not all, but some. The fact that I am here today is attributed to Father Patterson who had a great love for Mexican people.

In some pulpits, Priests would ask the congregation, I even know the dates, where and when, to segregate - the Mexicans on this side and the whites on this side.

I would like to quote to you from a little book that was written by a professor from the Sociology Department of Notre Dame, entitled, "The Forgotten American."

"The discrimination against the Spanish-speaking is often the hardest to combat, because it is very subtle."

Then one might say that discrimination is pretty much a thing of the past in such cities as Tucson and Phoenix. Now one can point to Mexican-Americans who have risen to great heights in their community, they are admitted to the country clubs, they live in the best residential sections, they associate with high society and yet I can point to any number of examples of a continuing discrimination in both of those communities. For instance, in Tucson, it is an

interesting fact that within three or four blocks of St. Augustine Cathedral, which has a largely Mexican-American congregation, is another Roman-Catholic church the boundaries which conveniently exclude virtually all the Mexican-American residential areas in that part of the City. Thus, we have two churches just three or four blocks apart - one serving the Mexican Americans and the other serving the Anglos. Of course, I don't think this situation exists any longer, but it is interesting to note that these things about discrimination are very, very hard to forget and they do leave an impression upon that person that has been discriminated.

I admit that much progress has been made and I have no ax to grind. In fact, I think it has made me a better man because of it. It has made me understand what it is to suffer. It has given me a desire to help my people and it has given me an insight into the Negro and Indian plight for I know what they are going through.

Also, it gives me a deep appreciation for the Jewish people and what they have gone through.

Basically it has given me a deep concern and respect for others - not because he is a Jew, a Mexican, a Negro, a Pole, but because he is a human person.

A few days ago, my interest was caught by a letter

written to the editor of a local newspaper. In the letter, a well-meaning lady asked why all of the current furor over hyphenated Americans. In effect, she wondered why citizens of Mexican ancestry were not content at being plain Americans as are the Swedes, the Poles, the Jews, and the other ethnic groups that make up our population. I think to most Americans, that lady's question is a logical one. It certainly reflects the American attitude toward the Mexican-American for the past two hundred years. It has taken the Federal government that long to finally realize that the Mexican-American is an entity that is different from the rest. The federal government has further realized that the difference is significant enough to be a deterrent force in the nation's progress.

An example of the government's concern is the eighty-five million dollars bilingual education act passed by the Congress and the recent high Cabinet hearings held at El Paso.

As a citizen who has been fortunate to be a member of this minority and yet hold a responsible position in the community, I have my own convictions as to the nature of the differences between the Mexican-Americans and the rest of the American population. Today we are concerned with civil rights, but I am not so sure that we can point out the attitudes of the

Mexican-American toward civil rights without understanding the origin and the causes of these attitudes and still do justice to them.

Briefly, I believe, that the basic differences between the Mexican-American and his Anglo counterpart stems from cultural origins. The Mexican-American for some reason or another has preserved his cultural attitudes, values, and practices and has not assimilated completely into the American way of life. I do not doubt that our proximity to Mexico has been influential to some degree in this development, but the problems with the Mexican-American are basically the same in Tucson as they are in Chicago and New York.

I think that the Mexican cultural temperament is quite different than that of any other ethnic group. Unlike the Jews, for example, who are bound by race and religion, but who nevertheless are active participants of our society, the Mexican-American clings to his ethnic group and limits his civic participation.

He generally finds his participation with non-Mexicans, tasteless and not worth the effort.

The typical Mexican-American student, for example, will attend school and carry out his academic chores only to return home at the end of the day to another world where the values that he was taught during the

day are now incongruous in his home setting.

One would think that the Mexican-American problem is his own. Yet this is not true. That he preserves cultural attitudes and practices and does not adopt those of the Anglo is but one side of the problem. The other is the complete failure by the Anglo society in providing the effective means to gain his acculturation. The reason is the indifference and the inaptness of the Anglo in dealing with the Mexican-American. I believe that many times they try to impose their philosophy and their way of life in a land where for all practical purposes the Anglo is the foreigner and not us.

On the whole, the problems of the Mexican-American have been compounded and intensified by the inertia of our American way of life. Indeed, there are two sides to the coin, and the time has come when we can no longer disregard the problem, but set out on a course of action that is beneficial to the community as a whole. To ignore it now would be to compound the problems of the future. One cannot deny that there is a vast economic, civic, and cultural potential in an actively contributing Mexican-American citizenry.

What are the cultural traits that make the Mexican-American so different? Any person with police authority can tell you that a Mexican can clam up or even rebel

at the slightest provocation and yet this same Mexican has been reared in a home environment where respect for authority is a prime value. One can generalize further that a Mexican can be very open, friendly, and an outgoing person in some circumstances, but can also shut himself completely in others. Why this paradox? I am not so sure I know, but I am convinced beyond a doubt that even the most open and outgoing Mexican will clam up if he experiences behavior that is hostile to his ethnic origin. A Mexican born in the United States typically feels closer to his Mexican origin than he does to his American nationality. If you don't believe me, just ask one of them. You ask him, "What are you?" and he will say, "I'm a Mexican." So he dwells in his shell so to speak and only comes out under the proper circumstances. Some people have referred to him as a lonely entity, and I have often believed that there is a tragic element in his culture. Note his music for example - it is filled with cries of lamentation and tragedy. I suspect that a Mexican song that does not speak of death will never make the Hit Parade.

His civil rights problems are only similar to those of the American Negro. The Negro is culturally an American. Economic and educational deprivation are the basic causes of his condition. The Mexican-American

is torn between two cultures - that of Mexico, which he left a long time ago and that of the United States, which of necessity means his survival. In a sense, he has neither of either. Many of you are perhaps old enough to remember the zoot-suit riots in Los Angeles and in this area, the Pachuco. If one studies the Pachuco, it is very interesting. There are some sociologists that have made a study about him. How perfect it is I do not know, but it certainly makes sense. It indicates a Pachuco was a teen-ager who was rebelling against his Mexican culture - he wanted nothing to do with the Mexican culture and yet he was not accepted in the American culture. As a result, the man needed attention so even his language was different - perhaps some of you here know some of his language. Even his dress was a little bit different. What he was trying to do was gain attention. He wanted to be noticed. He was not accepted by either culture so he was caught between the Devil and the deep blue sea.

An interesting observation is that only when this Pachuco was thrown into the "can" (jail) then and only then did he feel accepted in the American way of life.

The language problem further complicates the picture. The Mexican-American does not speak Spanish well as it is spoken by the majority of Mexicans from Mexico, but then he does not speak English well either.

So the potential solution to the Negro problem is therefore not the same for the Mexican-American problem.

The Mexican is a very proud person. Proud of his ethnic lineage and proud of his cultural influences. If somehow an appeal is made to him that takes these traits into account, his response be undoubtedly be positive, but if it does not take these into account, I suspect no response could be more negative.

He has a unique sense of humor. His jokes are about himself, but let no outsider use him as a joke. In other respects, he is a story. He gives of himself for others and particularly enjoys his suffering.

For a person or community who is seriously thinking of getting the cooperation of the Mexican-American, I can only say that whatever you do, you should not ignore his cultural background. If you do you certainly will be frustrated. On the other hand, your behavior should reflect understanding and compassion for his problem as you take into account all those factors that make him a Mexican-American. In this case, you will undoubtedly be rewarded with cooperation to the fullest degree. Also as representatives of lawful authority, you should keep in mind that your authority must always have the highest value which

elicits respect and reverence.

St. Thomas has said that the respect that one has for the rule flows naturally from the respect that one has for the person who gave it.

The history of human rights is a long history, and we need not trace it all the way from Plato to Aristotle to the late 1960's. It is at the bottom, the history of the human person. We are today acutely aware of the values of the human person. We think more understoodly in our time about the reality and meaning of his rights. We fight harder to protect those rights from unjust invasion or violation. Selfishly we know that when we fight for the rights of others, we are fighting for our own rights as well as for a common good. When someone else's rights are trampled down, our own are put in jeopardy.

I would like to give my personal opinion of the Police Department. My observations are that I believe that Tucson has a Police Department that it can be proud of. My contacts with the police have always been very good. I have always noticed that they are great gentlemen and are willing to help. I think that our Police Department under the circumstances, the cooperation of the people, etc., have done very well. Before I came here today I was wondering why we should try to educate our police. I believe it is a two way street.

I think that the public has to be also educated because along with rights comes also certain responsibilities and many times we blame the police for this and that, but we fail to bring out into the open that even the police in trying to enforce the law many times their rights as individuals are violated.

I have interviewed some of the teen-agers, if you want to call them the Pachuco element fine, and probably later on I will make some remarks as to what they think of the Police Department.

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RIGHTS AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN TUCSON

REVEREND CLINTON FOWLER

Representing the Arizona
Civil Liberties Union (A.C.L.U.)
Currently the Chairman of the Arizona
Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union

REVEREND FOWLER

The Arizona Civil Liberties Union is an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union. The American Civil Liberties Union was founded during World War I by a great man named Roger Baldwin. The American Civil Liberties Union was organized first of all to protect the rights, standing, and reputation of members of traditional peace churches, Quakers, Seventh Day Adventists, and others, who during World War I were subjected to enormous pressure and sometimes legal sanctions and were often accused of being German sympathizers. Roger Baldwin founded the Civil Liberties Union to take up the cause of these people. Over the years the Civil Liberties Union has expanded its work steadily. Roger Baldwin is still alive now although an old

man. It may be of some interest for you to know that he was taken by General Douglas MacArthur to Japan after World War II and was a consultant to Gen. MacArthur for several years in the MacArthur Campaign to educate the Japanese to democratic processes. It is very difficult for people who were raised as the Japanese were to understand that essential to the democratic process is the toleration of opinions that are unpopular -- opinions that are not shared by the majority of people. No single idea makes the Civil Libertarian or draws a person to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Let me tell you a little bit about some of the reasoning which draws me, a Christian priest, to that organization about which a great many half-truths, a great many ignorant things are said.

For me, a Christian, the chief dignity of a man is that he is a creature made in the image of God which means that psychologically, intellectually, and morally, men possess reason. Men possess the ability for more or less abstract thought. Men possess the power to choose one course of action as compared with another. Men made that way by Almighty God, I believe, can only come fully to themselves and can only become men in the full sense of the word if they have the broadest possible opportunity to exercise that freedom -- the broadest possible liberty of action, of style of life, of taste, of dress, vocabulary, culture, or whatever it is that is involved in human activity. I did not say anything about liberty of thought because, in

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fact, a man cannot be deprived of the liberty of thought in any case. No man is deprived by the liberty of thought except by himself. No man is deprived of the liberty of thought except with his own vigorous cooperation. Communists have liberty of thought unless they choose to give it up. Fascists in Germany had liberty of thought. Everybody has that unless he deliberately himself throws it away.

Furthermore, man as described by Jews and Christians has an incriministic dignity. Man has a place at the summit of creation which he cannot forfeit even at his most depraved, even the lowest criminals. The bum on the street, nevertheless, has a dignity that belongs to him given to him by Almighty God which he cannot cast away by any act of his own and which we may not deprive him of. In short, man has rights and dignities that seem to me to belong to him by nature because, from my point of view, they come from God; and therefore, you see, Government does not give man his rights. Government guarantees man his rights, but the sources of the rights of men do not come from Government. The United States of America does not give us our rights. The Government of the United States of America guarantees the protection of our rights. Those rights we possess as human beings. They are ours as a birth right. They are every human beings birth right; and Government, when it is moral government, guarantees him those rights. That is what makes a moral government.

Government which fails to give its people the fullest possible freedom keeps men from manhood. It does evil to

the nature of manhood itself, which is why any single man's wrong at the hands of government, any injustice that any one man suffers at the hands of injustice, is a thing we all suffer. We are all involved in it. It does evil to all of us. The best single defender these days, this century, that I have found, and the best defender of the churches, what I believe to be the churches' doctrine, of the privilege and dignity of man, is the American Civil Liberties Union. So I regard my membership in the Civil Liberties Union an act of loyalty to the deepest moral teachings of the church itself.

In many important issues, we Civil Libertarians disagree with each other. A meeting of the Board of the American Civil Liberties Union is a very stormy and difficult thing to go through. I have been chairman for two years, and I can tell you, one of the most difficult nights of the month is to handle a group of people each of whom is busy protecting his rights from the onslaughts of everybody else. This disagreement amongst ourselves is as it should be. It is a healthy thing we believe. We Civil Libertarians, we members of the organization, run the widest range of political and economic opinions except that, of course, there are very cold-eyed, cold-opinioned operators at the two extreme ends of political thought who would sacrifice such people as would sacrifice liberty in essential matters for the purpose of some orthodox, such as Fascism or Communism, and who therefore will not play the game of giving every other man his rights. These people at either end of the political spectrum are not

members of the Civil Liberties Union. At least they are not supposed to be. Our rules of membership specifically exclude Communists at one end and Fascists at the other. Aside from these two extremes, we vote on every side of almost every issue. The present, full-time executive director, John Pemberton of the nationwide Civil Liberties Union, is himself a conservative Republican, which a great many people do not know.

So we are radicals, we are liberals, we are conservatives, and some of us are a mixture of all these things. Some of us are very orthodox in matters of religion, as I am, or some of us are atheists as a great many of the people who work with me are. I say that as it should be because such people are Civil Libertarians. It is something beyond political agreement that brings us together. Agreement on all important issues even amongst you and me, even amongst the citizenry is not the point. The point is that we should agree on the necessity that man be free in order to be a man, that all of us be free to think, to speak, to act, and to live as we think best, as we wish, so long as our exercise of freedom does not require another man to forfeit his basic human freedom.

Healthy community life, ladies and gentlemen, healthy society does not come from conformity or uniformity of thought or manner of life. Nearly total agreement usually enforced by political, economic or social pressure is worse than dull, though it is very dull indeed. Total agreement on matters of economics and politics is stupid and it is dangerous. The

good health of a people comes out of the most colorful spread of belief and custom held together by mutual respect, held together by the agreement to let our brothers be themselves and still be our brothers. Uniformity of ideas, even uniformity of ideals, produces nothing that has a lasting value. It is conscientious disagreement. It is the friction of ideas rubbed against each other. It is the friction of ideas knocking about with each other and knocking the rough edges off of each other.

No idea survives by stifling its opposition. Any idea that is worth having in history survives by exposing itself to all of its disagreeing ideas, defending itself intellectually and surviving on the basis of its own worth; but it does not survive by suppression of any sort.

Surely one of the great signs of society's well being is what it does about the members of that society that get into trouble. How we treat those who have offended our society, how we treat those who have endangered our society, tells us more than a little about our social, political, and moral health.

We can go in society -- we can go either of two ways, easy and unhealthy. A society may be hard and unforgiving in its treatment of those who offend its customs, morals, and laws. Generally speaking, gentlemen, the more primitive the society, the more rigid, the more unbending it is. But even in our time there are more than a few people who believe that harsh laws implacably enforced, bitter inflexible punishment, these are the ways to a stable peaceful society. As the hardness of law and punishment eases, it tends to hang on

among the poor, among the racial or social outcasts, among the members of society without power or influence or favor. So inequality inevitably creeps into the rigid, harsh reaction to criminal behavior. Justice in the classic picture then, because we know we can't be harsh endlessly, peeks from under its blindfold and fits its dispensations, fits its treatment to the wealth or the prestige of those who come before her, and that has happened in many areas of our national life.

The other way for society to react to its offenders is the sentimental correction of the first. A society can grow morally indifferent as it attempts to ease the punishment of those who offend it. If such easygoingness has been rare among governments, and I think it has, this easygoing attitude is at least very common among individuals in society, and I expect that many of you think that perhaps I am assuming more than I should. I expect that a great many of you think that that is where I stand, that I am what is called a do-gooder, that I am sentimental about the treatment of criminals.

Sickened and appalled by cruelty or prejudice and partial justice, there are a great many people who would let down almost every limitation of behavior. Somehow it seems easier to close our eyes to deliberate wrong, deliberate violence, deliberate cruelty, to indifference of the rights of others. It can be forgotten, it seems to me, that ignoring or passing over the evil in men is a sort of reverse way of making them less than men. If we come to say that doing something wrong is simply the way one man has of acting as some of the behavior

psychologists and sociologists tell us, if it's just the way one man has of acting, then so is virtue just the way one man has of acting and so we've destroyed both virtue and vice. Virtue and vice become only words, so I am not easygoing, and I do not come before you to plead for an understanding of an easy and sentimental treatment of wrongdoers.

Freedom, the love of human liberty, requires us to find another course for handling law breakers. Libertarians, such as myself, believe for the most part that the rapid and impartial treatment of offenders, taking full account of them as individuals, taking full account of what has influenced them for wrong without forgetting the rights of society at large, that that is the course which protects offenders as still being human beings and which still protects the standards of orderly social behavior. Rapid and impartial treatment of offenders, taking full account of what has made them what they are, whether they grew up in a family or in an orphanage, whether they grew up on the outskirts of society, whether they were born and raised in a cotton patch in Coolidge, or whether they were born and raised in Tucson Country Club Estates -- this has a bearing on how moral men are going to react to the wrongdoings, to the crimes that a man has gotten himself into.

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights preserve for the nation the great basic requirements for treating men as men even under the suspicion of the near certainty that they have broken the laws of society. The best way that we have

found of preserving our own rights as free men, we Civil Libertarians, is by protecting the rights of the nearest man who is in danger of losing his. The lowest, most depraved criminal, the traitor who has betrayed us to the enemy, or simply the alcoholic bum who has no friend or family to stand with him -- these are the sorts of people who are in danger of becoming the victims of shortcuts to punishment. These are the people who are in danger of becoming the victims of resentment. These are the people whose rights somehow even in our great system are mislaid very often unless somebody is watching to see that they don't get mislaid.

The Civil Liberties Union has set itself to try to be the watcher. When any man has lost any part of his rights as a human being, everyone of us has lost something of our rights. That is a lesson that was learned in such places as Nazi Germany. We forget it to our grave danger. For example, Pastor Nemolar was a great Lutheran pastor. He commanded a U-Boat in World War I and he was eventually imprisoned by Hitler's Government. Nemolar has written about what happened in Germany. He said Adolph Hitler started in against Communists and, of course, he wasn't a Communist so that didn't worry him. Then Hitler went after the Jews, and, of course, he wasn't a Jew so that didn't bother him. Then he went out for the Catholics, and he wasn't a Catholic so that didn't bother him. Then Hitler went out for the Lutheran and University professors, and he says that it was when moral men fail to see that they

have to protect the rights even of a Communist with whom they violently disagree that their rights began to go down the drain when they were unwilling to protect the rights of some man whose ideas they didn't agree with, but who nevertheless had the right to hold those ideas. That is the essential and fundamental impelling idea of the American Civil Liberties Union.

If any of the business of the Civil Liberties Union can be called routine, I guess that is what I have been describing to you. There is other business which the pressures and tensions of these particular times bring us. The Union, as I have told you, was born at a time of unusual stress during the First World War when super-patriotics, super anti-German hysteria was upon this country, when men of conscience were made the victims of shortcuts to punishment and suppression for their ideas.

Now the world, and this nation in particular, has entered another more accented time of tension. The expanding war situation which is seizing us all is the most dramatic aspect of this unusually strained period that we are trying to get thru. War always has its poisonous effect upon civil liberties, however much we may be convinced that the war is necessary. By the way, such questions of national policy about this war or that war are no part of our Civil Liberties Program. Those are questions upon which reasonable men may disagree, and we Civil Libertarians do disagree on that.

The business of the Union is to protect at home the liberties for which we believe ourselves to be fighting

abroad. But more than war makes this a difficult time for the personal human freedoms. -- The unbelievable speed of changes going on around us, science telling us perhaps more than we ought to know at present, population problems, the threat of machines displacing men at their jobs, the poor learning at long last how very poor they are and how very comfortable their poverty is making some of us. Of course, you will let me mention the fact that this is a time of breakdown of conventional religious values to the grief of some of us.

These kind of changes are true of our time as they have been true of few other periods in the history of our nation, and they have brought about a variety of threats to our liberties. Two of these threats concern me greatly. Two of these threats convince me of the critical worth of such actions as the American Civil Liberties Union carries on. Both of these are aggravated by the war, and it seems to me that both of these are becoming worse.

The first concerns you directly. Unmistakably there is a trend running in this country to depend upon police solution for settling an increasing number of problems. You are becoming the solvers of everything. Police are expected no longer to be policemen, but you've got to counsel children. You've got to counsel wives. You've got to help us rebuild moral values. You are becoming a sort of jack-of-all trades. I hope it frightens you to know how much society is beginning to think it can depend upon you for. Most obviously in the face of hot weather riots and the other troubles in the

Negro slums of the nation, we Civil Libertarians can see a growing reliance on increasing the number of our police, increasing the equipment of our police, together with an ignoring of economic and social causes of unrest and resentment. Mayors of a number of cities over a year ago before last summer's riots were told by experts that they had riot conditions on their hands, and they ignored it. These riots have not come along unexpected. I expect there has been somebody here to tell you and, if there hasn't, I hope somebody is going to be here to tell you that it is going to be worse. It's going to get a lot worse this next summer than it was this last summer. It's going to get worse for a number of years; and eventually it is going to touch us here in Tucson, eventually if we should develop enough Negroes. All that saves us in Tucson is our small Negro population. That's all. It is going to get worse where it can get worse.

Now it is not universally true that only police are looked to and not solving the problems which make people dissatisfied and make them want to riot, but it is true enough to give me at least the beginning of an edge of alarm about where this country is coming to. Where are we to stop in our proposals to answer the problems of ghettos and slums with police force on larger and larger scales? Where are we to stop the development? They tell me, and I am reliably told and read in the magazines, that the police in New York City actually enter Harlem and other parts as a sort of army of occupation and that the idea now in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and a number of other places is to contain the

poor in their slums, not to let the people from outside the slums get themselves into trouble by going into the slums and to question those who wander out of the slums into the more respectable parts of the city to hurry them back into the slums so that we are in the process of creating a wall of which police are the legionaries, the protectors.

Observers of these matters tell us that the attempt is now becoming one of containing ghettos rather than eliminating them. The President tells us in his new budget that we are going to have to reduce appropriations which we thought were going to get larger to reduce the problems of the ghetto. We are not going to do that. In point of fact, we are increasing the numbers and equipment of our police to contain those ghettos, trying to keep slum dwellers pretty much inside the slums and discouraging outsiders from getting into them. If the summer pressurers in the cities of this country go on climbing to the breaking point every summer, how many summers are we going to put in? How many summers will an impatient police-beguiled population put up with that? I don't think for long.

The cry of crime in the streets has become emotionally overcharged. The President got his biggest hand in his State of the Union Message when he talked about eliminating crime in the streets. This is bad, indeed. It disturbs all of us. It demands work toward the solution by reasonable and hopeful means -- means which take into account the very complex causes which make the streets of this nation increasingly unsafe. They certainly are. The roots of the police system lie in England, the England of a century and

a half ago, in the unsafe streets of 18th Century London. But the maintenance of peace and order by sheer force, the maintenance of peace and order, Gentlemen, by you will affect any democratic system for the worse, because democracy depends principally upon voluntary peaceableness, upon voluntary order, and that depends upon a prosperous people and a well-informed people. Until we do something to make ourselves a more prosperous and informed people, democracy stands in danger. And you will solve all of our problems. You will be looked to to solve all our problems. Therefore, it seems to us that better answers lie in increased economic well being and in better organized education. Those are the real solutions to our problems rather than the increase of dependence upon police. I believe, for the sake of freedom, the police function must remain always an essentially emergency function, an essentially extraordinary solution.

You are the signs of society's failure. Society will fail because we are creatures of original sin. If we were as regulated as we hope some day with God's help to regulate ourselves, police should be attempting to work themselves out of existence. This is ideal. However, we shall not do that until the kingdom comes on earth of which there are no immediate signs. So relax. I think your jobs are secure for a time. But that is ideally what we are talking about.

In Tucson, as you know, some of us are watching with uneasiness. I wouldn't hide anything from you. The police are being used to control community morals among school

children by routine stationing in the grade and junior high schools. It is, it seems to the Civil Liberties Union, the introduction of the police solution into one more situation where parents ought to remain paramount and where teachers are the proper ones to back up the parents. The arguments for and against the police in individual situations is perhaps not as important as the apparent and almost unconscious agreement that police enter more and more areas of our lives. So you won't be surprised when I tell you that recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court are for me healthy signs that the Government of the country is still scrutinizing the functions of the police.

For us Civil Libertarians, the police function is one to be respected, let me assure you. For us Christians and Jews, as I have indicated to you, police function is still necessary in a fallen world. I believe our police ought to have better salaries than they now receive. The Civil Liberties Union has expressed itself in that regard. We need to attract the best sort of men. We need to train them well. We need to encourage professional, self-confidence in men.

The Civil Liberties Union tries to support the proper and just things of the police for better conditions of every sort. Doing all of that, and we do do it, we Libertarians will continue to remind the people of the nation that police activity must always be carefully watched and that, especially, it cannot replace the work for healthier, social, and economic conditions in this country.

The first danger is the growing dependence on police, which is alarming to me and to others.

The second danger to civil liberties which the peculiar times bring us is in the matter of dissent -- the matters of discussing issues between us. The campaign for the emotional commitment of our people to match our military commitment is now on by the Government. No government of freedom such as ours can expect to wage its wars as an authoritarian government. We can't go to war the way Communist Russia does or the way Ho-Chi-Men goes to war with all disagreement shut off. That is not the kind of nation we are. We do expose ourselves as having certain inbuilt weaknesses on the basis of being a democracy. As a war-making machine, a democracy is a poor thing. It is only dictatorships which make good wars. Democracy does not fight very good wars. If we are to turn into as good a war-making machine as a dictatorship, we ourselves have got to take on some of the coloration of a dictatorship. Thank God in high places of government in this country there is still dissent. Thank God I say not because we agree or disagree with a specific policy as a group but because dissent -- informed and intelligent dissent -- is one of the best signs of moral health which a people can show.

There are unrelenting pressures going on all around us to shut off disagreement. There have been such pressures for many years under the conditions of the so-called Cold War. The Hot War, war heating up in Asia, has made such pressures more acute. Speakers and teachers, professors in colleges, clergymen, and simply alert citizens will have to look for support and

encouragement somewhere as they try to continue to discuss ideas and policies. As they try to think and get others to think as the blood of our soldiers flows more freely.

The Civil Liberties Union must stand as one source of such encouragement of free discussion. It does not convince us to have people say to us, "The boys in Vietnam are dying and you all are talking about it over here." When the time comes that we have no longer the right to talk about it, then the boys in Vietnam are dying for nothing. Their lives are really thrown away. It is precisely to continue to give us the opportunity to discuss and to think that they are dying.

Libertarians, I've told you, stand on both sides or stand on a dozen sides of the question that this present war involves, but we stand firmly together on the matter of the free and responsible debate of the question. Remember that Hitler destroyed freedom in Germany first by punishing and suppressing ideas unpopular to the majority of Germans who couldn't be bothered to stand and defend the men they didn't agree with. Then I remember as a great many of you will remember that Senator McCarthy fifteen years ago crushed opposition and crushed many lives by calling out labels that most Americans dislike. Communism -- you can nail anybody by calling him a Communist. That is the handiest label there is. It is pinned on everybody you disagree with. It is ignorantly pinned on a great many people in this country who wouldn't touch Communism with a ten foot pole, as I myself would not. I have been called a Communist many times in my life. I wouldn't touch Communism with a ten foot pole. I know philosophically what is wrong with Communism. I could argue the guys who call me Communist. I

could argue them down a dozen times on what is really wrong with Communism philosophically and theologically. Communism is the easiest label there is. McCarthyism went very far in that regard. McCarthyism went very far because silent respectable people would not come to the defense of those that they disagreed with. Not to defend ideas is right but to defend the right of any man peacefully to come to his own ideas, to come to his own conclusions about any question and then to state those conclusions and to try to get other people to agree with him.

There are signs that all the people in this country have not learned that liberty cannot be defended by suppressing it or by economic and social reprisals against those who utter thoughts that they hate or suspect. There are signs that our people haven't yet learned fully that every man of us loses something of his freedom when we let the first unpopular opinion go down to any sort of suppression. As long as those signs show, so long as one wretched man from the gutter stands alone and loses a shread of his rights because he is without friends or influence, just so long, I think, there will be the need of such a body as the American Civil Liberties Union.

The American Civil Liberties Union is an unpleasant organization to be in sometimes, I want to tell you, and it is more than unpleasant. Sometimes the A.C.L.U. is tiresome and it is inconvenient; but it is deeply necessary.

I see a lot of signs of danger in this country, a lot of signs of health, of course, a lot of signs of good -- most of them signs of good and health. But there are a great many signs of danger to liberty in this country, and I want to make sure

while there was still time to do something about them that I did it.

WHAT DOES THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN
THINK OF TUCSON AND THE POLICE?

PANEL MEMBERS: Councilman HECTOR MORALES
City Councilman;
U.S. Marine Corps and U.S. Air Force
veteran

Mr. FRANK SOTO
Arizona Corporation Commission

Mr. MORALES

I would like to say that I am not here as a city councilman, but as a Mexican-American. This may not set well with certain people when a person says, "I am a member of a minority ethnic group; I am a Mexican-American. The immediate reaction on the part of many people is to say, "Why do you label yourself? You are an American; we are all Americans." This is fine when it comes to citizenship, proving that you are a U.S. citizen; but it doesn't hold up in everyday life, no matter how much we would like it to be that way.

A Mexican-American, along with, I imagine, other members of different minority ethnic groups or racial groups, is brought up through the school system in our country; and here in Tucson to feel that on the one hand he is told about the glorious American dream of being an American, but whenever he steps out of line, he is quickly identified as a Mexican-American. The language, for example, presents one immediate

problem. I can remember when I was in grammar school that I was hit on the back of the neck with a ruler by a teacher; and the teacher made a very clear distinction that she was hitting me on the back of the neck with the ruler not because I was speaking in class to the person sitting in front of me, but because I was speaking Spanish.

By the same token, up to a short time ago, within the Police Department there existed a so-called anthropological code with the popular designation "MINOW," meaning Mexican, Indian, Negro, Oriental and White. If we are told from the day that we begin to realize that we are Americans and we shouldn't segregate ourselves as Mexican-Americans, and on the other hand, if we step out of line, we run a stop sign, we are immediately labeled with "M" or "I". The "MINOW" code was later transferred over to a numerical code so that feelings wouldn't be hurt, but then there is still some sort of hypocrisy that exists here. One of the things that a Mexican-American immediately would resent is the fact that Mexican was "1" and White was "5". Now, there is no great significance about being white, but the fact is that many Mexican-Americans consider themselves white or Caucasian. Although we may be mixed with Caucasian and Indian blood, the fact is that the federal government and the armed services, the bureau of census and many other federal agencies have designated the Mexican-American as white with a Spanish surname. But, yet, right here in our own city of Tucson, sixty miles away from the border, where there

should be supposedly some enlightenment, we have a very clear distinction of Mexican on one end and white on the other end. These things, I think, present a problem for you officers when you go out into the field to deal with people because the resentment has already had the groundwork laid.

Getting down to things that are more specific and direct nature, I can remember before being elected to the City Council, sitting in a tavern down on South Twelfth Avenue in early 1965, the Sonoran Tavern, and which I am sure that many of you who have worked in that area are familiar with. I was sitting in there on a Sunday afternoon right after twelve noon having a beer with a friend of mine who lives in that area; and in walked two police officers, one with a cigar in his mouth. Both officers never said a word. They walked in the doorway, and there was possibly twelve or fifteen people in the bar at that time, and everyone was having a drink and very quiet. And the two police officers--one stood at the doorway and the other one walked from one end of the bar to the other looking at each individual from head to toe, never saying a word, and then walked out. And all the time the police officer by the doorway kept the cigar in his mouth and never took it out. There was not one word said; and after the two police officers left, then the people in the bar, who were all Mexican-Americans, including the bartender, looked at each other; and without having to speak, we knew what each one of us was thinking.

This is a case of where the double-standard is employed. The double-standard of dealing in fairness and equality. We know that

this is not done in certain more sophisticated areas of our community where police officers walk into a cocktail lounge or a night club or a private club and look everybody up and down from head to toe without saying a word, without saying why they are there and then walk out just as quietly and quickly as they came in. This, in some minds, over a period of years of frustration and feelings of persecution and inferiority complexes, etc., smack at a little bit of Gestapo tactics--that there has to be a check kept on a certain element of the community. I am sure this was going through some of the minds of the people who were sitting there with me at the bar, even though we didn't have to talk to each other to express our feelings. We knew what each one of us felt about this incident.

Another incident that I recall and which I received much complaints about, at that time I participated in some of the discussions that were held a few years ago about a private Mexican-American club, social club which doesn't exist any longer. A group of Mexican-American men that belonged that had a club within this fraternal organization were having a stag smoker, and there were newspaper reports of a very elaborate raid on this smoker; but, yet, many people in the Mexican-American community knew that just at about the same time there was a similar event going on at a little-bit-more-plush private club which was more Anglo-oriented in our community and not too far away from where the Mexican-American private club was located. Yet the private club which was frequented by Anglos has never been touched.

Gambling is known to go on in that private club, and, yet, this has never been brought to the public's attention; but, yet, the Mexican-American feels that in some cases there is a double-standard of justice here where a private club of Mexican-Americans, and in some cases Negroes, can be raided with impunity. They can be walked into and the person made to feel very embarrassed; and, yet, certain Anglo-private clubs in our community go untouched year after year with some very illegitimate activities going on in those clubs which is known to the Mexican-American community in general. I think that you gentlemen as individual officers in the field have these resentments built up over a period of years to deal with when you talk with an individual, when you talk to a Mexican-American, in your line of work. Chances are if that individual has been here any length of time and he is aware of goings-on in the community, [he] has a resentment built up; and your line of communication, your rapport, with that individual is not going to be as good as it should be because of all these things that have developed over a period of years. Yet, there is a feeling, I would imagine, within the Police Department that this is the way it has to be; but many of us in the Mexican-American community feel that it doesn't have to be that way. There should be no double-standard.

There are other incidents that I think might be brought up in a question-and-answer period later on, so I will now pass the microphone over to Mr. Soto.

Mr. SOTO

I would like to go back a little further than Hector and go back to perhaps the early 'forties.

At that time, 1941 or 1942, there was what we used to call around here the "pachuco." "Pachuco" was the term for zoot-suiter in this area. Whether you were conservatively dressed or not, as long as you were a Mexican, the Anglo policeman would treat you just as a pachuco without asking or taking anything else into consideration. At that time they said this is the problem of the Mexican-American; let them handle it.

But nowadays, we see the other type of pachuco, the "hippie." This is one discussion we had the other night in reminiscing. They said at that time it was our problem and we would have to correct it. Now, the hippie is identified with the Anglo; yet, he is given a wide latitude there in justice--draft-card burning, etc., protest things, demonstrations. Yet, he is given every chance to exhaust his constitutional rights.

Speaking of double sets of standards here, a couple of years ago there were quite a few incidents around the Anita Street area where university students come out for no reason at all and raised all kinds of h--- --breaking windows and causing property damage, etc. At that

time, we called the police department; we had the culprits in hand. The police said we would have to catch them in the act. They were let go and nothing never happened. This, incidentally, is all written down. This is what a lot of people in the neighborhood don't understand. If there is some kind of law to back up these students, bring them out, tell the people about them; but don't just say that you can do nothing until we catch them in the act.

I think this is where a lot of the trouble starts, because I don't think there is one Anglo student or one Anglo that stands a chance. In order for them to have their way, not even a policeman would have a chance in h---. If they set themselves down, they don't stand a chance of getting out of that place.

Again, I don't want to single out anybody here; but I think that in order for--and this is my opinion again, and you have been asking for opinions--I'm saying this is my opinion and perhaps this should go to Chief Garmire, that unless we quit having the big turnover in the Police Department, that unless we have policemen going out and trying to understand the people not giving them any breaks as such, but going out and meeting these people and talking to them and explaining to them just what they are there to do, what they can and cannot do. You've got to have more people like John Dudek. Johnny doesn't perhaps know me too well, but a lot of people know Johnny. Jackie Hitchcock is another one. Comparing them to the old men, like Jesus Camacho and Captain Ben West of my time, these are the people we look forward to. Right now, I don't

think there is one policeman that the Mexican people can say, "Yes, there he is--he's my friend. I'll call him." I mean this. Again, this is my opinion.

We had a case here about three months ago of mistaken identity where a policeman goes out to a house and says, "Your husband made an attempt at a holdup." The man is semi-crippled; he cannot get away. Later on, they proved that he was not the man. "Well, I'll take him in for begging, then." This is no way for a policeman to talk.

I do quite a bit of youth work. I like to get involved in quite a bit of baseball, basketball, etc., and all kinds of sports for the kids. These are kids that are going into their teens and getting out of their teens and they ask questions. We try to do the best we can with what little bit of information we have. At one time we invited a policeman to talk on narcotics and on the dangers of glue-sniffing. They did go down there and did an excellent job of talking to these people--and these people ask questions--but when it comes to the actual practical things, perhaps, like I have done a couple of times when I have to talk to a policeman, there is no law against it, there is no law written on the books. If there isn't one, why in the h--- don't we get one, then? This is where the people need help.

I'm not going to talk much on racial deals here, but a lot of people are wondering just what can the police do. If you have that information at hand, these people want this kind of help; they want to know you.

A few years ago you got a few people here from Texas. Knowing how some Texans feel about the Mexicans, I don't think that is such a good idea.

Again, how mixed up can the Anglo be? Here sometime back, a lady says, "Are you an Indian?" I said, "Yes, I am. I've got part Indian blood in me." She said, "How come you're not painted up? I thought all Indians were painted up." I looked at her and said, "Lady, what origin are you?" I don't remember what she told me, but she was wearing about ten pounds of make-up, and I didn't think she was an Indian.

I think this is the feeling that some of you think. I think you have some wrong conceptions here about some of the people.

I will say this. Unless a policeman gets out and gets to meet some of these people (these people can be of tremendous value to you, and vice versa), I don't think the job is going to be done too well. You have to get out and actually mix with the community. This is where the people want help. They seek your help. You cannot get it from a distance; you have to become known to them.

I will be glad to answer any questions you may have.

Q. (Officer KALAK)

Mr. Morales, I can't see that we have that much of a problem. You mentioned the bars on the south side when our men come in and don't

talk. I think this is where most police fall down, not only in the bars on the south side but on the east side, as well. Departmental turnover probably has something to do with it. The Chief likes to get young men, preferably attending the university; and they have no experience in dealing with people, and they seem to have the impression that they have to act tough when they first come on. I feel that it's not only on the south side, but also on the east side where they walk in and give a bad impression simply by the way they walk around. So your bars are not the only ones that have this problem.

I also feel your argument against the code is really not valid because if our former speakers are correct, we have 44,000 Mexican-Americans in the greater Tucson area out of 350,000 people. If we use the code of "L" or "M", we can assume that this oversimplifies the thing and cuts it down to 22,000 people which we are going to have to look for. We are going to leave the code off. We shouldn't count any scars; or if a person has one glass eye, we should leave this off our descriptions, too.

I don't really feel that your argument against our code is really valid. As for the double standards you talk of, I agree that there is a double standard; and I would hate for my supervisors to know how many Mexican-Americans that I have let go for driving without a driver's license when the fine is fifty dollars for not having a driver's license, simply because I knew the man couldn't afford to pay the fine. So I think the double standard in this case works in the reverse. Again, I'm speaking for myself, but I can truthfully say that I do not have any prejudices against your people.

I think these things should be brought out, especially the apparent attitudes of officers upon entering a bar. It's not only on the south side, but it's a lack of courtesy all over the city on our part, really.

Mr. MORALES

First of all, concerning bars, I think the bar owners, the people who hold the liquor licenses, should be made more responsible for the conduct of people in their establishments. I think police officers are unduly put to use in this business of policing these bars when, actually, the bar owner is the individual who should maintain assemblance of order in his place; and if he doesn't, I think the license should be yanked without any hesitation whatsoever.

As to the code designation, you say that there should be a Mexican designation in the code, that this would cut down the number of possible suspects or whatever you want to call them that you would have to look for. This seems to me to imply that there is a stereotype Mexican-American; and by stereotyping a Mexican-American in your mind, I imagine you more than likely don't have a very appealing stereotype Mexican-American in your mind. Mexican-Americans come in all sizes, shapes, colors and faces. If we go around stereotyping people, whether it be Mexican-Americans, Negroes, Chinese, etc., then I think we are right back in that rut that we are supposed to be getting out of where we are all Americans and not to be labeling ourselves. Italians, some Italians, can pass for Mexican-Americans, some Jews, all sorts of people can pass for Mexican-Americans; and some Mexican-Americans can pass for German or any other race in the Nordic groups. And it is very hard to pinpoint a Mexican-American by any stereotype facial features. I think this is really a blind alley when you use it on a code designation and compare it to such things as tattoos or scars. It's just not to me a very scientific method of identifying people. The very code title that has been used, the anthropological code that has been used--if any of you are students of anthropology, or have been--you know very well that Mexican is not a race, an anthropological race.

Q. (Sergeant BRUGGEMAN)

I believe you've got the wrong concept about using this "MINOW" code. It is not used to set apart or set aside any certain group or nationality, origin or race of people. Different parts of the country use different codes for different groups, and we don't have here in Tucson a large Italian group; yet in the North and East sections of the country in some of the cities they do have large groups of Italians. Most of them have a little bit darker complexion, dark hair, heavy beards, and are easily set aside from other Anglos in that particular area. So, rather than the police looking for a male of any description, it narrows it down for us and makes it a lot faster for us to find or identify a person by saying "Italian male". These groups are not big in the East, and they don't have the distinction of "Mexican male", as we do, because there are none. As far as the description of a Mexican male in the Northeast, it's just "white male." So this is why we are using this description. It's not to set aside a group, I believe, as you think. It's just for descriptive purposes for us to readily identify a subject in case of a crime or any other reason we may be looking for a particular type person.

(Mr. MORALES)

Just by saying "descriptive, you are in fact admitting to a stereotype in your mind of what a Mexican looks like.

(Sergeant BRUGGEMAN)

True, but not for the same purpose that you believe. It's the same as us looking for a short, fat man. This weeds out all the tall males. So we know immediately we can eliminate a great portion of the population by looking for a short, fat male.

(Mr. MORALES)

Wouldn't it be much more accurate, more efficient, more scientific for each police officer to carry a Polaroid camera with him with color film

in it to take pictures of individuals. Then you really could identify them. But you know as well as I do that there would be infringements of certain rights in some respects by using that method.

Q. (Sergeant RONSTADT)

Again, Mr. Morales, it does seem to boil down to the fact that you deny that such a group exists--a group of Mexican-Americans that are identifiable as Mexican-Americans by whether or not they speak with a Spanish accent, whether they have an olive complexion or whatever. The fact of the matter is that this group does exist and is readily identifiable, and for descriptive purposes is labeled with the code "1" or "M".

(Mr. MORALES)

Quite the contrary. I wouldn't deny that the group existed. I am proud of being a member of that group, but the fact is that when I use the term "Mexican-American" and when I would say 99 per cent of Mexican-Americans use that term to identify themselves, they are speaking about the cultural designation, not about a citizenship or nationality designation, not about a physical descriptive designation--but a cultural designation.

(Sergeant RONSTADT)

You can call it what you wish; but, again, it is something that will set you apart from a blond Scandinavian who speaks with a Danish accent or a Negro who speaks with a Southern accent.

(Mr. MORALES)

I think the non-Mexican-American in this case primarily the Anglo-- has put a different meaning on the term "Mexican-American."

(Sergeant RONSTADT)

That's where I think you are wrong, Mr. Morales. I don't think a police officer labels a man "Mexican-American" because he doesn't like him or that he is inferior to an Anglo.

(Mr. MORALES)

Not in the least. I didn't say that. But it is implied within the code itself: the Mexican is set apart. In other words, we are told in our educational system in our society not to label ourselves, not to segregate ourselves, but to be Americans. Yet, when we do something wrong, when we are given a traffic citation, we are labeled "Mexicans" or "1" with a numerical code. This is a direct contradiction to the Mexican-American in the business of assimilation into the society. We are labeled when we do something wrong, but we are not identified when we do something good; but the point is you use "Mexican-American" in one way, and we use it in another. We use it as a cultural designation. We are participants in two cultures. The American culture, if this country has a culture, we are participants in that; and we are participants in the Mexican culture. We owe no political allegiance to Mexico. We are not talking about nationality or political allegiance or citizenship or physical description; we are talking about cultural participation, which is something completely different.

(Sergeant RONSTADT)

Again, if you speak of it in terms of your context, then this is valid in your terms; but wouldn't you also admit that it is valid to call ethnic groups by a designation so they can be distinguished, so if you look for a given person, you may be able to more easily identify him. The police are using this code designation as a tool, whether he be Negro, Mexican-American, Anglo or Oriental.

(Mr. MORALES)

I don't think it helps that much in identification. The fact is that you are suggesting the use of this designation for expediency's sake to

make your work easier, but there are certain limitations where you can use expediency to make your work easier. When you start infringing on the rights and privileges of people--and this is a fine line that a police officer has to be very cognitive of at all times--when expediency oversteps the bounds of infringement on other people's rights and privileges and sensibilities.

(Sergeant RONSTADT)

Mr. Morales, I do think in my opinion that you are being oversensitive about this. I would like to hear what some other officers think, I would like to hear, perhaps, Officer Tellez or Rios, who are more qualified to give an opinion on this than myself.

Q. (Sergeant DUDEK)

I think it is a two-way street. You take an officer who stops a Mexican person. The guy is unfriendly right off the bat for being stopped.

Mr. Morales brought up the deal when two officers entered the South Side Bar and where one officer walked from one end of the bar to the other end. Nobody says "boo" to him, and the officer didn't say "boo", and he walked right out. When we walk into a "gringo" bar, somebody is going to say something or the bartender will come up and ask if there is anything he can do to help; but somebody says something.

But you take a Mexican bar. Unless the officer knows a few guys there, and the guy will be more friendly. But I think we have a lot of new officers who don't know too many people, and they will walk in a bar and the people are unfriendly towards them. And, of course, if they are unfriendly, he doesn't know what to say and will walk right out without saying anything.

So I think it's a two-way street. Don't get me wrong. I have lived here for approximately twenty years; and, in fact, I am married to a Mexican woman. Well, my wife--I've been married ten years--she still to this day brings up something about "cops" because that's in her mind from years ago. And, of course, she is getting over it little

by little by meeting more policemen and getting involved with them; but I think Mexican people have this in their mind from years ago.

(Mr. MORALES)

I think you are very right, Sergeant Dudek, that there is in general in the minds of many Mexican-Americans a feeling of distrust, if not resentment, of police authority; and this is engrained from many years of revolution against authority and in this century in Mexico and in many of the people that have migrated here to the United States. Not too long ago, this part of the country was a part of Mexico; and this feeling exists among Mexican-American people. I wouldn't say one hundred per cent, but to a great extent. There is a deep-seated, engrained distrust of police authority because of past occurrences where people were suppressed by police authority; and it is very easy to label it in more modern terms as sort of a dislike of "Gestapo" attitude.

I think the Police Department in the main suffers unjustly from this sort of a situation that you described; but we aren't making the situation any better or any easier to deal with when we put more obstacles, more obstructions, in the way of a good line of communications. I think identification on a descriptive basis of the Mexican-American by any so-called anthropological code is really not the proper approach to it.

Q. (Officer RIOS)

How many Mexican-Americans in Tucson objected to this anthropological code or the origin code that we use on our cases or traffic citations?

(Mr. MORALES)

I couldn't tell you the exact number as to how many objected to it. I had some complaints about it. This isn't just a local problem. The state supreme court in Colorado threw out such an anthropological code designation when it was brought to the attention of the public in Denver not too long ago. So this isn't just a local situation. Like any other matter of public concern, you are not going to get a hundred

or a thousand people coming down complaining about this thing. There is just a deep, quiet resentment of this sort of a practice; and it just continues to fester and does no good to police public relations in general or police, Mexican-American relations in particular.

Q. (Captain RICKEL)

Why is it that nine out of every ten Mexican-Americans you stop and ask them, "What is your nationality?" they never say "American"; they always say "Mexican". I have been on the Department almost twenty-six years, and it's a rare occasion that I have ever asked a person of Mexican origin what his nationality is that he didn't say "Mexican".

(Mr. MORALES)

This is probably due to the training over the years for the Mexican-American to react in this manner.

(Captain RICKEL)

If you feel so strongly about it, as you say, why don't they say, "I am an American?"

(Mr. MORALES)

In terms of nationality or citizenship, I have heard many Mexican-Americans say when they are asked what their citizenship is that they are Americans.

(Captain RICKEL)

I asked them what nationality are they. I'm a German, but I don't say that. I say I'm an American. I think you are oversensitive about this in comparison to the majority of the people.

(Mr. MORALES)

On the one hand, you say, as I understand you, that you are not in favor of a Mexican-American saying, when you ask him what his nationality is, saying, "I'm Mexican." They should say, "I am an American." I agree

with you. They should. But maybe the definition of nationality to some Mexican-Americans is not that clear so that they understand what you are asking. They may feel that you are asking, "What is your ethnic background?" which they may interpret as nationality.

(Captain RICKEL)

Then why all this fuss over this designation? This designation does make it easier for us. Forgetting about the Mexican-American, we'll take the Negro-American. This is another field where they have the same rights to resist designations as you have. We have a warrant for a person--and we have lots of them for all races--and the name on the warrant is John Jones. If we don't know what color he is, we've got to go out and chase all over and run down all the Joneses. If we know that he is of Negro extraction, this could eliminate about 85 per cent of the work we have to do if we don't know his description. You say that we shouldn't consider expediency of time; but as a councilman who approves or disapproves our budget, I think this is a wrong attitude.

(Mr. MORALES)

Let me speak for a moment as a councilman, although I really didn't want to at this meeting. We have asked the Police Department--and I brought this up when we were discussing the "MINOW" code before we had it thrown out; and it boiled down to the "COIN", or "WINO" code, as some people call it: "White, Indian, Negro and Oriental. To analyze the economic feasibility of having a machine which is in use in some areas of the country based on the Polaroid principle where people that would be stopped and given a traffic citation would turn over their driver's license to the police officer, and in the police car there would be a camera which is designed specifically to reproduce the driver's license. The driver's license now has the color photograph, and a reproduction of this on a cheap basis would be more helpful to a police officer than putting down "I" or "M" on a traffic citation; for any warrant that might have to be issued in the future and to date, and this was some months back when we were discussing the "MINOW" code. To my knowledge, we haven't received any information back from the Police Department as to the economic feasibility of such an instrument.

(Captain RICKEL)

Mr. Morales, for the past four years, I have been trying to get forty dollars for a Polaroid camera for the Detective Division; and I've never been able to get it past the budget people yet.

(Mr. MORALES)

It doesn't get up to our level--not a forty-dollar item.

Q. (Sergeant HOLDCROFT)

Mr. Morales, probably one of the problems we experience in dealing with Mexican-Americans is unique over other ethnic groups, and that is, of course, communications. What would you suggest, if you care to comment, on what we can do to overcome this? Many times we are misunderstood, not because of what we said but the way we communicate, either through their sparse knowledge of English or our sparse knowledge of Spanish. Many times in dealing with neighborhood problems, we try to explain to the parties what action we can take and what alternative they can take. This is easy to understand if we speak the same language; however, many times this is not true and we get misunderstood. Where we need this better relations the most is where we have it the least because of lack of communications. I know that a course in Spanish would help, but what would you suggest in the way to overcome this area in dealing with these people and in trying to communicate with them?

(Mr. MORALES)

I think there should be a more intensive course of instruction in conversational Spanish with a lot of the colloquialisms employed in such a course, and I think every police officer should be required to take it.

The immediate reaction in your mind, based upon what we have been discussing here this morning, would be: Well, you're in the United States now. Speak English. I hate to inform you, but that "just ain't so." We seem to wrap ourselves up in the English language like some people do with the American flag, and then no one can find any fault in that sort of a posture.

The fact of the matter is this country has a not very good image throughout the world because of such things just like this. Because of the language, for example, we refuse to want to learn other languages and to use other languages in this country. The largest country in the world and most powerful country in the world refuses to employ other so-called foreign languages because some people say it is too difficult; but, yet, one of the smallest countries in the world, Switzerland, has four languages going at the same time, and there hasn't been any difficulty in that country in communication. They have German, French, Italian and English going at the same time in Switzerland. The fact of the matter is with historical and legal foundation. Spanish is a very valid language in this country and in this part of the country. The United States acquired a great part of the Southwest in 1848 after the Mexican-American War through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; and if you study your history books, you will see that the northern part of Arizona was acquired by this treaty, north of the Gila River. And then a few years later, in 1854, the treaty covering the Gadsden Purchase, the rest of Arizona was acquired from Mexico by the United States down to the border where Nogales is--from the Gila River down to Nogales. In both of those treaties, it was very clearly stated that the United States government would respect the traditions, the customs and the language of the people residing in that area and their descendants. So when a school teacher or a police officer--any symbol of authority--tells a Mexican-American youngster to speak English, you are in the United States now, that individual is the position of being contrary to a federal government treaty that was signed with a foreign country.

To many of us--I'm not saying all of us--as a Mexican-American community, just like any other ethnic or racial community, it is not a monolithic structure, as I am sure that many of you are aware of; but to many of us English and Spanish are equally as important. We don't place a patriotic significance on the English language. We don't

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consider it an equivalent symbol to the flag of the country. It is just a means of communication, and Spanish to us is just as effective and as important a means of communication.

I think maybe one unrelated incident might point out what I am trying to get at. When I was in the Air Force during the Korean War, I was stationed over in Japan. We had a young fellow about 19 years old transfer in, and he was from Georgia. The first thing he said after he got off the plane in Tokyo International Airport was, "I'm not going to learn to speak one word of Japanese. If these "gooks" want to talk to me, they are going to have to talk to me in English." He felt that strongly about the English language. He wrapped himself up in it like he would wrap himself up in the flag. This made him more American. Here he was in a foreign country, and he refused to learn one word of Japanese while he was there; and he wanted all those "gooks" to talk to him in English if they wanted to talk to him for any reason. This, I am sad to say, is the attitude that many people throughout the world feel the American in general has. I think we should stop wrapping ourselves up in symbols and making them equivalent to Americanism and realize that languages in and of themselves are means of communication; and the more languages a person knows, the better off he is.

I think the Police Department in Tucson, Arizona, should make a concentrated effort to have Spanish--conversational Spanish--used by police officers in dealing with Mexican-Americans who don't have the facilities that they should have in English. It works both ways. And I would agree that there are many Mexican-Americans who, for one reason or another--apathy, laziness--may not have learned English, even though they may have been here many years--maybe even born here. But two wrongs don't make a right; and if one area is apathetic, then it shouldn't be a reaction that another segment of the community would be just as apathetic.

Mr. SOTO

The gentleman asked what perhaps could be done for better relationship between the Mexican-American and the Anglo officer. I went around the neighborhood quite a while back after Lieutenant Robles asked me if I wanted to be on this seminar and asked them the same question: "What do you think of the police officer?" And it went from unprintable language to various opinions.

One I got from a man that is the father of thirteen, who during the summer baby-sits with over a hundred other youngsters in baseball and all kinds of sports--and he told me, "Frank, you know I've met with some of these officers. Some of them are regular guys. There is only one bad apple in the barrel." This is his opinion of the officers.

I would say for you to get out in the community. Take a little time to talk to these people and try to understand them and then reverse the whole thing. Maybe they will understand you. The other two words that Hector used here were "apathy" and "laziness". I think this is even in your department, where it is better to cruise around in the car than get down and talk to the people. If you people are to make a career out of law enforcement, I think it behooves you to get out there. This is going to be your bread and butter. This is going to be your promotions. This is going to be your living from now on. And it is for your betterment that you get out into the community.

If there is anything we can do, we certainly will be glad to help you.

Q. Lieutenant GILKINSON

Mr. Soto, I understand that Officer Tellez has attended some of the area council meetings. He said originally there was a very good response based upon some correspondence that was sent out for monthly meetings of some type, and the membership was three or four hundred. He said at the last meeting maybe six or eight people showed up. They were there to communicate, to exchange information; but only six or eight people were interested enough to respond. Don't you think that it partially might be the fault of the people involved?

(Mr. SOTO)

I do not know what meeting this was. Maybe it was during the Horn-Herrera incident. I do not know which meeting he is talking about; but at a general meeting, we used to have a pretty good turnout of fifty or sixty people. I have had meetings with School Resource Officer Brooks where at a moment's notice we have had fairly good meetings getting down to specific problems the people go through day after day. If Officer Tellez would like to set another meeting, I could guarantee him a sizeable audience.

Q. (Officer ROCHE)

We have other people who speak different languages. Which would be more economical to try to better Mexican-American relations--English, or try to teach us to speak Spanish? Iowa has a pretty heavy population of Germans, but they speak English. The majority, I always thought, ruled.

(Mr. MORALES)

The majority have the rule, but the facts of life are if you can't communicate with a person or with a sizeable group of the community, eventually you are going to have problems with that group in the community. Our system of education has not really been very successful in teaching English to many of the Mexican-American people, even those that are born here. I could go into a lengthy discussion about some of the aspects of our educational system which really hinders a person from learning English and cause a drop-out problem. But the fact of the matter is if you want to communicate and want to make your job easier, and if Spanish is one of those necessary ingredients to make your job easier and for you to do a better job, then I think it behooves you to learn Spanish.

Q. (Sergeant WOLLARD)

Mr. Morales, in regards to this Georgia boy, I bet there were a few words he learned right quick, because I was stationed there, myself.

Are you aware of the incident rate at the Sonora Cafe? If you do, then you know why the officers were going in and out.

(Mr. MORALES)

Yes. But let me say this goes back to what I said in previous rebuttal on that situation. I believe a bar owner, the guy who puts his name on the liquor license application, has the obligation to maintain order in his place; and if he doesn't, then his license should be yanked.

(Sergeant WOLLARD)

Further on that, were you aware that the lack of communication between some of those bar owners and keepers and the Police Department is practically nil as far as the telephone is concerned?

(Mr. MORALES)

I think if a place consistently has disturbances of the peace being reported and the bar owner doesn't make any effort to keep the line of communication open with the Police Department to maintain order, the police chief should have the duty of reporting this to the state liquor license department and have that license yanked; and I'm sure that the mayor and council would agree to that sort of a policy.

Q. (Sergeant WOLLARD)

Mr. Soto, in regard to the students breaking the windows. The person apprehending them--did they actually see the boys breaking the windows?

(Mr. SOTO)

No, they didn't.

(Sergeant WOLLARD)

Then did the officer who finally arrived at the scene, did he explain the complaint route and the need for an eyewitness observer?

(Mr. SOTO)

The eyewitnesses were there. There was no complaint route explained. Nothing ever came out of this. As a matter of fact, there were more than one incident at the time the university students were coming down there.

All he did tell them was you have no business in this end of town, and with that he released them.

They made two or three other trips; and at that time, Negro and Mexican both did not go through the police route. One of them decoyed them out of the car; and one of them tore the interior of the car to shreds, slashed their tires, and they never came back. This is, perhaps, one way to handle that situation.

(Sergeant WOLLARD)

You mentioned about the laws and why don't we get them. Do you know who causes laws and statutes to be enacted?

(Mr. SOTO)

This, again, is why I told you we need more of the legislature.

(Sergeant WOLLARD)

Do you know who elects legislators?

(Mr. SOTO)

I think we do. I would also like to point this out, and it's documented. In my precinct we have 1,400-and-some families, and this is for the record. Out of that precinct, we have about an eighty to eighty-five voter turnout. This is why I say communication with the police is extremely important in our area.

Two or three months ago, we tried a little experiment of our own. We called the Police Department in Spanish. The lady said, "You will have to speak English." Just why should we speak English. Why couldn't a Mexican-American officer or someone who speaks Spanish be there to handle those calls? This is a very basic communications. It wasn't there.

Q. (Sergeant HOLDCROFT)

Some officers have taken Spanish courses offered by the City, and they do not find that they learn enough to be able to communicate with the Mexican-American community. What type of courses would you suggest, Mr. Morales?

(Mr. MORALES)

I am not an educator, and I don't think I could give you recommendations about training and education in the Spanish language; but probably a professional educator could give you the information.

I think there are some Mexican-American officers already on the police force, and I think these individuals could be used to transmit the local colloquialisms to their use in conversational Spanish. There should be a daily--even if it is a short fifteen-minute--course of instruction; or use of the Spanish language fifteen minutes a day during the time that you are on your shift, and this would keep up the use of Spanish. I think this is the most important part of learning any language--the use of the language. When I was over in Japan, I took an eighteen-week course in Japanese. I was over there a little over two years, and when I left there I thought I spoke fairly decent Japanese; but after being here in the United States one year later, much of what I had learned was forgotten because I didn't use it daily. I think this is the most important thing: daily use.

Q. (Lieutenant GREER)

Are the Mexican-American and others aware of our problems in regards to _____ and if they are, what in your opinion can be done about this?

(Mr. MORALES)

Let me say first of all that police officers, being human beings, should be considered by the public as human beings, not as super-human beings. I think that much of the police work, law enforcement work, that has to be accomplished in itself carries an impression of some withdrawn non-human characteristics. You have to be objective; you can't become emotionally involved in the problems that you are dealing with. And this in itself gives the impression, not just to Mexican-Americans, but to people in general, that you are not really a so-called average-type human being.

I think there has to be a clear distinction drawn between the efficiency and effectiveness. I know of the data control program which is used to put the fluid patrol system into effect, and this supposedly increases the efficiency of the Police Department; but I personally believe as a layman looking in from the outside that it cuts down on the effectiveness because you lose more and more of your identification as another human being.

It is true that our so-called progress and technological developments that have occurred have forced the walking policeman off of his beat into an automobile, and this itself has been another step in removing the policeman from being identified as an individual human being with his own peculiar characteristics and his own problems and his own make-up. I think people would respect a police officer more--Mexican-Americans as well as anybody else--if they knew police officers as individual human beings.

I don't advocate going back to a walking beat, but I think this is possible in many instances. I think that S.R.O. is a step in that direction, but I don't think it is a completely thought-out step. I think there are other steps that can be taken which would be better than S.R.O. I think S.R.O. to some people carries an image--the super-human image--and even to some people, the Gestapo tactics attitude. I think there are other ways of doing this. Bringing the policeman closer to the people, and maybe there should be some effort to bring the people closer to the policeman. I don't know the details about it--how it could be worked out.

Lieutenant LOWE

Ladies and gentlemen, our time has just about run out; and I have a couple of comments to make before we take a break.

For those who have been wondering, particularly through this week and last week, what our particular aim and goal was in a seminar such as this, I believe that you should be beginning to realize that we do have problems in certain areas. Now, whether they are valid in our minds or not is at this point probably immaterial because, as some of our speakers have said, what the people who actually live in the area and what the various ethnic group members feel is the problem--and our problem, really, whether we discount it or take any substance in the fact that there are problems--is entirely up to us.

When we come back and form onto our small group discussions, we would hope that the group leaders--and, especially, Lieutenant Birmingham and Lieutenant Bergstrom--will be in a position of gathering definite information and definite recommendations to present on Friday to the Chief of Police about what we can do as a result of our exposure to the various people that we have heard during the last two weeks to improve, alter or implement our particular community relations program as such.

The Chief has indicated that he wanted this to be far-reaching. He has indicated that there is practically no holds barred in this type of thing.

It could be a fact that we might have to consider revamping our entire structure and our entire procedure as we know it now; so when we get into these small groups, let the sky be your limit. Don't take

and be bound just because we happen to have fluid patrol at this time and we happen to be working such-and-such hours or our squad system is set up this way. Don't let this stand in your way. We want your thoughts. We want your opinions, and it will be up to these two lieutenants to formulate recommendations. Here, again, it's not going to say that what we recommend is going to be carried out as far as S.O.P.; but we want these recommendations. We have gone to great lengths to bring these people here who are knowledgeable in the areas and with the problem. So let's take them at their word, consider it, weigh it, evaluate it and come up with some type of recommendations.

Mr. MORALES

I was thinking of this prior to the panel discussion as to what I would consider would be the image that a police officer should have; and I use the word "image" here in a sincere form, not as a P.R. thing that is projected or falsely built up.

I haven't heard the term "peace officer" used for a long time; and I think there should be a trend back to the use of that term for a person who is involved in law enforcement; instead of possibly the term "police officer", an individual is called a "peace officer."

WHAT DOES THE NEGRO
THINK OF TUCSON AND THE POLICE?

PANEL MEMBERS: Mr. RUBIN SALTER
Deputy County Attorney

Mr. CRESS LANDER
Real estate broker and business owner;
U.S. Marine Corps veteran

Mr. HUBERT DAVIS
Assistant director of the
Holy Cross House and retired Air Force
veteran

RUBIN SALTER

You want to know what the Negro community thinks about the Tucson Police Department. I'm not necessarily speaking as a member of the County Attorney's staff right now, but as a member of the Negro community and also as one who feels he has a little more background on the subject than others because I am very interested in local civil rights organizations. I also have to listen to quite a few gripes and complaints.

Generally, at this stage, I would say that speaking of the Negro community under the age of thirty at least--I chose that because as you get older, you become more conservative in your views about everything-- I would say that the Negro community, what they feel about the police right now, is that they look upon you with suspicion, distrust and hatred, believe it or not, at this stage. Obviously, they have to come to realize or formulate this opinion for certain reasons, and I think

the whole thing has been pushed to the front because of Black Power advocates or the crime in the streets.

I think the Negro is not fooled when you start talking about crime in the streets. He knows you are talking about the Negro, and this is the way that the Negro community interprets it.

You say why would they view us with suspicion, distrust and hatred? I know you have had all the sociologists and all these people come down and tell you that statistics show you that the individual who is in the lower social economic group have more contact with police; and, therefore, he is more likely to form an opinion about them. The contact these people have is never good. It is always bad--the police come to take daddy to jail because he is drunk or daddy slapped mom in the mouth, etc.--they react to this in a bad situation.

Getting to the reason for the conference here, the crux of the situation that has developed within the last two years, the Negro feels that the police department overreacts to a routine situation. This in turn can create a problem by your overreacting to a situation--a problem that you have to deal with. The best thing that I can take here as an example is the Macombo incident. For those of you who were there or read about it, this was a situation in which I feel--and I have talked to many, many witnesses who didn't come forward, some who testified in the trial that eventually ended up in the case of State of Arizona v. Sims.

The overreaction comes about because I think when you get a call, as this call that you know that you are going to find predominantly

Negroes at this particular place--and sure enough, they did. The Negro feels that the Tucson Police Department has not been properly trained to react to such a situation because you didn't have it. If you recall two or three years ago when Roy Twitty was around, Roy wrote the Chief requesting that certain training be given, and it was turned down. These were submitted, but no one paid any attention to them. This was three or four years ago.

The other thing that Negroes feel--and I am going to tie it all into the Macombo incident in a minute--and I chose this because I have listened to witnesses' versions before the trial. I listened to their versions during the trial on direct and cross-examination; and as they were under oath--theoretically, I have to assume this goes for the police officers as well as the witnesses--that no one was telling a lie (they were recalling it to the best of their ability) that police officers, when there is a large concentration of Negroes in a particular situation, you are physically afraid of them. They think you are afraid, and it shows up by the reaction. You cannot communicate with a large crowd when it appears to be hostile. I realize that you are human beings, also, but the communication breakdown in the form of Negroes calling you "dirty cops" and you call them "dirty son-of-a-bitches, black bastards and niggers," I have names. I think maybe sometimes the police underestimate the intelligence of some Negroes. While he may appear to you to be stupid, he is not. They are now taking down names of officers who are calling them names. I see no

reason for the officer to deny it; it's a human reaction. I can see no reason that the Negro would deny calling the policeman dirty names, as I know they do.

When you have a situation because it appears to the Negro that you are afraid when you come, there is an overreaction to what could be handled in a routine manner. Tempers climb and you start calling names. This, obviously, comes, I believe, from not having been confronted with actual combat situations. You don't know how to react under the situation, and I am not sure that 200 hours of training in this type of situation would really help because you don't know how you are going to react until you get into the situation.

The first mistake the Negro feels--and I am not justifying the Negro and his action--I don't think he should call you a "dirty m-s" or anything. But he feels you are only potentially adding fuel when you lose your temper when you call them "black son- -- - ----." I think some of the first words at the Macombo was when one officer got out of his car and said, "I didn't think you niggers had any place to go after hours." I don't think these people lied to me because they know me. Another officer said, "You niggers ought not have any place to go."

Let's face it, fellows. When there are 75 to 80 Negroes out there and you tell them that, you know what you are asking for then: a situation that is going to get out of control.

The youths are the ones that disturb me. It is my opinion that the youths feel that when you first approach them, you bypass one

step. You bypass the investigatory step, and you immediately start putting him in the accusatory step, and you may investigate later on. This is the common theme among all the yough. They have told me that you just assume he is guilty when you go out there. You don't investigate. You say, sit down and do this. You don't allow him to explain. All they want is at least a chance; before you put the finger on him, do a little bit of investigation, and then if he is wrong arrest them. But don't arrest them and make the investigation later on. Treat them with the same courtesy and respect that you would anyone else.

Juveniles have complained that they were actually beaten up before they got to Mother Higgins. There is no way that I can verify this, but let me give you this as an attitude. During the disturbance over on North Fourth, this demonstrates the hostility that was used. A twelve-year-old girl told me that when the officer kicked the door, she had a pistol laying near the door; and she told me that "she was the biggest damn fool there is because I should have blown the m----- f-----'s head off when he kicked the door."

This is their attitude, and you have to recognize this fact when you deal with these kids. It is not an uncommon situation, but Negroes have made up their minds that they will not take any police brutality, whether it be actual or feigned.

Oftentimes we think of police brutality as being where you take somebody and beat them over the head. They consider intimidation by actions of police officers calling them "niggers," this is now a police

brutality to them. They are unified in their efforts that we are not going to take this.

Negroes have also expressed great concern about this "get tough" policy of police officers. I have a clipping where Garmire said you are going around spraying "mace" on people around here. That's damn silly; all you are going to do is incite anger. Besides that, the stuff is dangerous. How do you know if a person has a heart condition? If you spray this on him, somebody better check their insurance because it has been proven that the stuff is dangerous to people who have heart conditions and certain respiratory ailments. I believe in San Francisco a gentleman was sprayed with it, and he fell dead right afterwards.

The danger in this "get tough" policy is you're talking about-- and notice this--we are going to deal with crime in the streets. This is well and good, but what about all the crime that is not committed in the streets? What about the embezzler, the bank robber, etc.? When you speak of crime in the streets, you are talking about the Negro. The Negro fears that you might use this "get tough" policy as a legitimate excuse to curtail active civil rights movements, particularly the first amendment. This is of great concern to them. All across the country, it is disturbing to the Negro to hear the police department talk about we're going to get tough, armored tank cars and things like this. They don't like this type of situation. You are only stirring up people who otherwise would not make any bones about it or have any sides one way or the other. He knows you are aiming at him when you start talking like that.

The Negro also feels that you can't understand him when you don't know what motivates him or gives him a drive.

I also feel the Negro community does not put any faith (there is a creditability gap) in when a police department says, "Yes, through our community relations department, we are going to investigate an incident": and, sure enough, you investigate and say, "Well, we took this step"--while it may be the best thing that was done, the Negro does not put any faith in that. An example was a little girl over at the Fox Theater--I am sure you who are in Community Relations will know what I am talking about, and our office investigated it, also. Maybe only the people involved know the results of it. But how many Negroes know that supposedly a little girl's clothes were torn off of her at the Fox Theater, even though the investigation proved that she was not just sitting there while the officer tore her clothes off? She was fighting back, also. Only those parties involved know the results of it. But think of all the people who heard about it. Word gets out and rumors get started. I think they would feel more at ease if you and I know you hate the word "a police review board." I don't necessarily care for that, either; but if you had some independent group not connected in any way with the police department to investigate these types of complaints, it would have more credibility and validity, the results with the Negro community.

One other thing--and it is an alarming thing--and I didn't realize it happened so much until one incident was reported to me where some officers are apparently stopping Negro women for slight or no reason at all. I do have one instance; and I know the gal (she's a secretary at a place in which I have an interest in), where an officer wanted to make a date with her. And this lady has no reason to lie about this incident. There have been other occasions where they have stopped them for no apparent reason and then start commenting how their

perfume smells or something. These little things add up. These things get around in the Negro community; and when some incident happens, they fall back upon all these things to call upon the opinion that they have formed of your suspicions, distrust and hatred.

I am sure the other gentlemen will cover basically the same thing, but they probably will have incidents in detail. We try to document as many as we can, but I think those are basically the feelings of the Negro community. And the other thing is, I think it's unified that if Black Power didn't have anything else to do--and I am talking about as a base now--it did serve for unification of an attitude among Negroes that this summer and the other coming summers Negroes are going to fight back; and wherever they feel that a police officer has mistreated them, you better expect the same type of treatment because this is coming. It's a sad thing to say, but they are not going to take this b--- s--- any longer, fellows. That's the way they feel about it.

Mr. CRESS LANDER

Gentlemen, Mr. Salter has covered a number of areas. First of all, I would like to say that Tucson is my home. I have been here for forty-two years. I was born here, so I don't have anything to say today that is not backed up with a great deal of experience.

I would like to say that there seems to be in this community two sets of values for the police department just as far as the Negro is concerned. I've been in business; I've always had a job; I think I have always dressed properly. So I get one treatment from the police department. I am not just talking about you gentlemen; I am talking about a lifetime. But there are Negro people in Tucson who possibly have not had the advantages of a college education. They are not businessmen, or they have not been regularly employed. I can almost say factually that the people in this category are not treated in the same manner by the Tucson Police Department as I am treated, or as other Negroes in the upper-middle class are treated.

If I am stopped for some reason, the officer is very polite. There is a question period; but I don't think this exists on the south side, on the old Meyer Street beat which is rapidly coming to a close, but now we are moving Meyer Street out to the South Park area. I have a business on South Park, and I am in a position to observe some of these actions and attitudes of the police towards the people that live there.

It would be remiss of me if I indicted everyone, as I think you have officers and do have people on the police force that have treated everyone equally; but opinions are formed not by what one good guy does, but it's formed by what two or three bad guys do in the community.

I think we also have a large gap in communications, not as far as the police is concerned, but as far as the newspapers in the City of Tucson are concerned. The recent incident on North Fourth Avenue that was blown up into the proportion of a major riot in the City of Tucson--this was purely, not just the newspapers, but the TV and other news media. They had a party, too many people; they had a little rumble, but two weeks before that they had one on the far west side with a group of Mexican kids and about a month before that, they had one out on the east side where I think a police car was broken up and the windows broken out; but this was not a riot. But when it happened over on North Fourth and Seneca, we got national press. I don't know; maybe the press wanted Tucson to be in line with the other communities in the nation that were having riots. You know, we have to get our just press, so we have to have a big release; but the whole thing is that unless we have people in the community who are willing to act on an equal basis, regardless of what the situation is, we are going to get this type of one-sided reporting that is not good for the community.

This goes back to one of the factors that Mr. Salter talked about--crime in the streets. Crime in the street, whether you know it or not, as Mr. Salter said, we are not really talking about crime in the streets; we're talking about measures to suppress the Negro. This is

not only in Tucson, but this is national. I think everyone is against crime and there is a great deal of it; but when we start talking specifically about all of our efforts are going to be directed towards crime in the streets, we are kind of missing the boat because crime in the streets is sort of something that really hasn't existed in Tucson. We certainly have had crime, but when we are talking about crime in the streets, we are talking about the suppression of rioters; we are talking purely about an attitude against the Negro. I don't think this is justified in this community, nor do I think it is justified in this state. It seems to be a great political issue now. This was one of the main points of Governor Williams' address.

Yesterday, a bill was introduced in the legislature to make fire bombs a felony. Maybe this should be, but what I am saying is that too much emphasis has now been placed upon crime in the street. Really, there is not too much crime in the streets. There is a lot of crime in other places, but there is not too much crime in the street; and for us to invest all of our money and all of our training into a potential that hasn't existed in the past, I think you are selling short the possibly 97 per cent of the Negro population in this state and in this city that have cooperated and have been law-abiding.

The next phase--and Mr. Salter touched on this--is if you have an incident and the police are called and officers go in and make derogatory remarks, as an individual from a minority group, I have heard

this all my life. And maybe I have a thick skin, and it doesn't bother me; but I sort of resent it from a police officer. I resent it from a police officer because this man is supposed to be trained. He is supposed to be trained to handle emergency situations. He is supposed to be trained to be called a "dirty cop." He is not supposed to give in to some of his inward feelings and create situations by calling people blacks or "niggers" or whatever the situation may be. This I can expect from someone else, but when we have a total department that is supposed to be highly trained, these are the things that can be corrected. Whether you want to believe it or not--and I made quite an investigation of this situation over on North Fourth-- I talked to over 75 kids who admitted to being there. Most of them said the trouble really started after the police arrived and they were called a bunch of "niggers."

If the police department is going to create situations, then I think something is lacking in the training; somewhere along the line, the Department is falling down.

There is a great deal of crime and there is a crime of Negro crimes committed against Negroes. Once again, whether you want to admit it or not, when a Negro commits a crime against another Negro, this is all right. Not too much is done about it. We have a place out on South Park that I think in the last four or five years about five or six Negroes have been killed in that place. As I said, I have a business on South Park. We want enforcement of the law equally; and if I shoot a Negro on South Park, then I should be prosecuted the same as if I shot Mayor Corbett. But I don't think this exists in Tucson at this present time.

Too many crimes against Negroes are just brushed aside, and Negroes are aware of this. They are aware that they will be prosecuted if they commit a crime against the community or someone in the community; but they feel when a crime is committed against them, a Negro commits a crime against another Negro, that this is all right, that it is going to be brushed over. I would say from years of experience that this is and probably has a great deal of truth in it.

I think the Negro community is not only interested in crime prevention, but we are interested in justice; and I think the Police Department should really be interested in the ultimate justice to all citizens. O.K., let's clean up the crime; but let's give everybody equal justice. I think on a national level we are beginning to get some of these trends. We find that the total court proceedings in the past have gone against minority races. About 1955, being a real estate broker and also in insurance a little bit, we found that Negroes were charged a higher rate for car insurance. This made the rounds until finally it got to Washington and they said, why are Negroes charged a higher rate of insurance for their automobiles? And they had an investigation and called in the insurance companies; and the insurance companies said, "Yes, we charge a higher rate because every time a Negro is involved in an accident, whether he is right, wrong or just sitting there, the court record shows that he will be found guilty and that our insurance company has to pay for him being a Negro; therefore, we have to charge a higher rate of premium."

The committee from Washington, D.C., directed that if you correct your court systems, then we will lower the rates and adjust them so they are equal.

These companies had complete case history of how the court is against the Negro. The Negro understands and knows this, and they realize that it is an injustice; and at this point after a hundred years they now think "we are not going to take this any more. What do we have to lose?" "We don't have any jobs. We have an unemployment rate twice as high as the national average. The Negro youth has an unemployment rate that is four times as the national average. And in the larger cities in the ghettos, these people are saying, 'We have nothing. We have nothing to lose. So we are going all out if trouble comes.'" This attitude certainly is not defensible in a sense, but this attitude is there; and I think the Tucson Police Department can do a lot toward changing this attitude in making this community a better place in which to live in that all of your investigations and all of your contacts with Negroes and other minorities, for that matter--that this man is given the same consideration as people on the east side who are dressed well, who are educated. These other people are human beings, also, and they deserve justice.

Mr. HUBERT DAVIS

Ladies and gentlemen, I do want to say that I do go along with just about everything that has been told you this afternoon; and I would like to conduct my little talk a little bit different. I've sit and watched everybody here be very courteous and very pleasant. I would like to have you just be Tucson citizens at this time. If I may, I would like to conduct this part of my program to you. Now you have heard quite a bit of things said, and you've all heard everybody saying just about the same thing. Well, I can tell you some more of the same thing, and each time we could add a little bit more. We are all saying to you the same thing except we are not getting any response from you at this moment. If you go along with three speakers, I am sure that some thought that might come to your mind will be gone by the time three people get through talking to you. I would like to ask you at this time: Will you join in with me and let's have something out of your mind right now. I would like to conduct my part of the program by asking you to participate. I would like to know if you have any questions in your mind about the Negro community and what the Negro thinks of Tucson and the Police Department. What would you like to ask a Negro?

- Q. How can we open up a line of communication by not showing this resentment, fear or lack of force? How can we get the Negro population to communicate their so-called gripes and we also, in turn, give them back what we think our gripes are?

A. (Mr. DAVIS)

First of all, before I can answer that, I must tell you that it is a deep-rooted thing, as you know; and if you want to dodge it and say no, that's not true. It is a deep-rooted thing. For instance, me. I came from a little town in South Carolina called Conway, in the northern part of the state, where when I was a kid Negroes didn't go to town on Sunday because all the stores were closed, and it was normally said that Negroes were thieves. Well, I differ with that. This is something that I am not going to forget, and we got a deep root. We got a split here. Although many of you know me as Hugh Davis in Tucson, I still have that in the back of my mind when I was a kid nine or ten years old in Conway, South Carolina, when I had to walk on the other side of the street or that I had to do something out of context because the white man wanted me to. I am not going to forget this or take it today. At that time I would just take it as my part of the bad deal. I lived in the country where this thing was condoned.

Communication is here, now. I am fortunate at forty-six years of age to live in a community where I can communicate with my fellow citizens, both Mexican-Americans, Anglo-Americans, white, Chinese, any of them. I can sit here talking; and many of you know me personally, and you know that I am not a person you can't talk with, even though we might not have the same views.

We do have a line of communications at this time. Down at Holy Cross House of Hospitality at 1966 South Park on Thursday nights, if you may like to come down there, we welcome you. We have "know your community night," and we have any number of people from the city--responsible people from the community of all races, all creeds and all walks of life. We are building a better communication by doing this. On the fifteenth, Mayor Corbett will be our guest speaker there. Come around. We invite you, especially the Police Department.

Don't wait until somebody throws a brick at your car or do something else out of context before you come down. Come on down now. We will get the boys together. You know the guy you know real well. You are not going to be throwing a brick at him. The guy you have met, you have a little rapport with him; you can talk with these people, and this is what I am trying to build and I am asking you to help me. Lieutenant Ice and Lieutenant Bergstrom and I have been building and talking three years ago. We spent an entire morning in Walgreen's Drug Store talking about community relations and communications among races.

This is nothing new. We have been working on this, but look who has been working on it. The guys who should be working on it who get paid--they never touch on these things. Here is a guy who doesn't get paid, and I'm working on it. I don't get paid for working on better relations in this community. You have a human relations commission, a man who has been getting a salary. You have other people who are involved in community relations. Although they may not get a salary out of it, they get prestige value out of it. They don't really get to the meat of the thing.

I want you to know that we are working on it; and it is a part of your Department's responsibility to set up through people like myself, Mr. Salter, Mr. Lander and others, Mr. Horn, Elma Carrier. I can name any number of people: Sidney Dawson, Negro people responsible people that would be delighted; Maceo Wells--I don't want to leave out anybody--some of these people you know personally and even some that I might not name who are good people who are willing to work jointly with you in making better communications throughout this community. This is why we are here.

As I told you people, I want to get on with the question part from your angle. If I haven't satisfied your question, please don't

fail to spare my gut and say, "Look, you didn't make it clear." To go away without having a clear conscience on what you are saying and that we do have a meeting of the minds is what you call a mis-communications. So this is the reason that I would like to conduct my portion of the program in this manner.

Q. (Sergeant KISHMAN)

Why don't more Negroes in Tucson apply for positions with the Tucson Police Department--qualified Negroes? How does the Negro community look upon Negro officers?

A. (Mr. DAVIS)

As a Negro, Afro-American person, our heritage and our relations in the past have not been good at all with policemen; so anything that isn't wholesome, it is only human nature that you disassociate yourself with this. You see, in the past the Negro as a policeman was a thing that you never heard of. There were no Negro policemen, so to speak. If you did get a big city where they had big Negro population, you would find that there was some person down there that they paid off and they called him a stool pigeon or something like this, and he was more hated than the police officer himself. This has carried on over a number of years where the police have beaten up people unmerciful in the community, and a lot of our Negroes who live here and elsewhere throughout America are migratory people who come from the southlands. They come from where people, and predominantly the police, the law enforcement agency, took the privilege to beat them or kick them, talk to them in any derogatory manner in which they wanted to.

An example: I was an M.P. sergeant in Camp Macain, Mississippi, a little town called Grenada, Mississippi. I went on duty down there one Sunday morning, and the police officer down there immediately disarmed me. They told me in no uncertain terms that no "nigger" had ever worn a gun in that town in their lives, and they weren't going to start it. So you just imagine having people migrate from these type towns to Tucson. They carry a lot of that with them. So it happens to be unwholesome situation, and they disassociate themselves with

this type situation; therefore, they don't want the stigma of being called a cop. And some of them have strayed away and said, "Man, I don't want to be no cop. My God, Almighty. All my friends. I'll lose them.

This is not true, and we're trying to get around this; and in some instances, we try to show that our people through educational programs right here in Tucson know that you have no idea [what] is going on among us, the Tucson Police, detectives, or any kind of law enforcement agency is a very necessary job. It's a very respectable job. This is one reason that we don't have as many Negro policemen as we have and we don't have people applying for them. The other reason is we have been told so long when we did apply for them that nothing was available or you can't pass the stupid test and these type things that we have lost out.

I am in accord with having good qualified people, but I do say that something is wrong. We should all bind together and do as some cities have done to interweave. And when I say "interweave," I mean they have lowered the bars to the point where we have sub-policemen. In other words, put this person on training when you get one you feel is qualified to a point where you can bring this man up to the standards. As a part of the job, require him to take a little bit more education than the average police officer. Make sure that he has come up to the standards. But until the police force is integrated, you are going to have quite a bit of trouble. You are going to have it for the same simple reason as your fire department is now--the City of Tucson's lily white fire department. No one is going to hammer at that more than I am; and in the years to come, you are going to find me being more vocal. I will not just be asking the Negro-American, but I will ask you as police officers to come out and say if you feel this is fair. I'll be going to the news media and saying, "Do you people in this city think this is fair? Can we condone this thing?"

That is one portion of your question that you asked, and I will answer the other part. We are trying very hard to get some boys from the Negro community to get interested in the police department. I'm thinking here in the next few days that you will have several applicants, and I hope that we can work out something that they can get on the force and start showing our small community of Negroes that they, too, are counted.

As I said before, the Negro people look upon Negro policemen as the Negro policemen act; and let me be frank with you and saying this: We have had some very fine police officers, Negro police officers who are not here any more. And I would like to tell you this: Lonnie Reed was one of the finest police officers--I don't care what nobody say--anywhere in this country. I think Tucson did themselves a disfavor by losing this man. He was a well qualified person, and I don't care what you say. I think someone should have gone to bat and said, "Now look, don't listen to your silly wife." I think that was an excuse, and I want to level with you right now. I had a good talk with Lonnie Reed before he left, and he doesn't give me the privilege to say this. Only as a Negro I am going to tell you. Did the Police Department give Lonnie Reed a good shake. Lonnie doesn't think so; and I don't, either, and the average community Negro doesn't think so because Lonnie sit there time after time and this man was recommended. He was given all kinds of good write-ups in national magazines, newspaper articles; but when time for promotion came around, some junior flip officer would be promoted over him. Now, I know there is something wrong. This is the thing that you cannot do. If the man qualifies, you are going to have to consider him along with others. You haven't done this. I know some more officers who left because these wasn't no good. I didn't go along with them. In fact, if you want me to call names, I'll do it, but I'd rather not call names. I just want to tell you that the officer himself is [is] how the Negro community will look at him. That doesn't mean only the Negro officer, but the white, Mexican, Chinese or what have you. The individual officer is going to make the public.

I would like to come back and be frank with you a moment. When we speak of Negroes, we are speaking of people just like any other group of people. We have our likes and dislikes. We have everything in common. We like to drive a Cadillac, too, if we can afford it. Some of us drive them and can afford them. Same thing; there is no basic difference. We are the same bunch of people, and that is one thing that you have got to start doing. You still have a lot of police officers on the Police Department who are judging people collectively.

My answer to you is that if the Negro officer acts like a gentleman, like Don Allen does, he isn't going to have any trouble. The Negro community loves him just like they do any other officer, and they have respect for him. I will tell you right now if anybody is out there fighting Don Allen or anybody out there fighting Richard--people I have respect for--or other officers in here, you [are] going to see Hugh Davis out there helping him, and that's just the facts.

Mr. DAVIS

I want to continue on questions and answers. Please do not just sit there and say, well, I've got to get through with this thing because we want our portion of this thing to be meaningful for all of us. Ask some questions out loud so everybody else can have an idea what we are saying. We have had a little private discussion here on some things, but it would be beneficial if everybody knew about what we are saying in privacy. Don't make it a private thing. We are all neighbors, citizens of the good old town of Tucson, and I'd like to tell you this. We have a very unique situation in the town of Tucson; we have a very unique city here. We have a city where we have approximately thirteen to fourteen thousand (13,000 - 14,000) Negro people.

We have a predominant population of Mexican-American people. I would like to think that we all have problems in common rather than the Negro community having a problem. If I have a problem over on South Park, you've got it on the east side, regardless of where you live. You are part of an over-all city--you are part of an over-all government. Don't sit there as if you are going to cut me right off. This is what has been done to Negroes for a long time. They moved them across the railroad tracks in most of your home towns that you come from. They used to put the Negroes across the railroad track. How many in here know this to be the truth? Sure you do. This is where a lot of your trouble come from. It stems from the fact that you put him over there and said, "Boy, we've got him across the track, and we don't have to worry about him no more. We'll put a couple of boys over there with guns, and the only times we really have to worry about them is on Friday nights and Saturday nights. And, boy, after that, blue sailing."

This is not so any more. He broke out from across the railroad tracks, and he wants to be a part of the main stream of everything. You're not going to put me across the tracks. I'm in south Park, so to speak, but I am going to try to build south Park up to be as good as some portions of the rest of the city. So, go ahead and continue with your questions.

Q. (Officer ROCHE)

What do you think we could do as police officers to better relations with the Negro community?

A. (Mr. DAVIS)

The one thing utmost, you would say, to better relations among the Negro people of the City of Tucson, I am going to answer that in one simple question.

Treat the Negro the same way you treat everybody else. Is that simple enough? You treat me the same as you treat Hector Morales or Jim Murphey. My answer to Officer ROCHE is you treat me as a Negro the same as any other person of any other race and have the same respect if you came to arrest me or came to talk to me or any other thing. Any other communication or contact, you treat me the same, and you'll find out that basically we are no different from any other person.

Q. (Sergeant HOLDCROFT)

Police brutality has been discussed here. Would you please define police brutality?

A. (Mr. DAVIS)

I would like to tell you right now that I certainly will be able to define "police brutality," and I can sum that up in short order.

Police brutality is when you get out and unduly subdue by beating or kicking a person without due process of the law. If you are going to arrest him, arrest him. If the person resists arrest, use the necessary force--not undue force. I will give you an example: I saw a drunk in front of the Elk's Club on Meyer Street when it was in full bloom in the year 1957. Two police officers were patrolling in a car. They jumped out of the car to arrest this guy. Both of them lit out like mad, and they were only going to arrest him for drunkenness. All of a sudden, he jerked back and said, "What in the hell are you doing to me?" And, boy, they really worked his head over good. That night there was a Christmas party at the Elks; and you [are] talking about a town ready for a major riot, you liked to have had one.

Let me tell you how stupid the police department was or somebody in this city was and Mayor Don Hummel--who I told right to his face--was stupid at the time. I usually do this, whether you like me or not. I don't care. I can't strive on being good, friendly people when you are doing something wrong. My son gets it quite often, and [my] wife if she do it; and sometime I even look in the mirror and say, "Oh, Hugh, you are a stupid rascal." But this is me.

In December 1957 a lot of people remembered how this poor old boy got beat up on the outside by two officers. That evening here comes a lone policeman patrolling that area. He got out and was performing his duty. So a couple of young men who had seen this thing happen, they proceeded to beat the devil out of him--and they took his badge and everything. I don't remember the officer's name. Anyway, they proceeded to do him the same way these other two policemen had done this colored guy. The thing got out of hand. So a lot of our friends went down to the Elks for this big Christmas get-together, not suspecting that the police department or anybody had any ill will against them. In walked a couple of the officers who had a little ill will; one of their boys got beat up. They had a little ill will, and they threw their bodies around. You know the names of those gentlemen, too, don't you? Gentlemen, they almost caused a whole lot of trouble, and right now a lot of that is fresh in the minds of the people. You lost a lot of prestige because two officers didn't use good judgment. They didn't use good sense, common sense. In fact, if they did it now, they wouldn't be around to tell you about it because the Negro attitude has definitely changed from the submissive type person to an aggressive person and personality to where if you say, "Get off the street," he is going to say, "Why in the hell do I have to go now?" when before he took it for granted: the officer said "move"; you were the law.

These are the things that happened. They went in there and right away one officer reached up and knocked down all the Christmas decorations with his night stick. So one of the guys who worked around the Elks Club walked up and said, "Why in the hell did you do that?" They proceeded to knock the heck out of him. Then another couple of guys got in

there, and one officer stepped on one guy's wife's toes--a sergeant from the base named Stamps. I'll never forget it. They beat the devil out of him. Stamps happened to be one of my airmen. I went down there the next day, and I took around thirty or forty more people with me and said, "Now, I want this thing thrashed out. Let's get the man out of jail and get him some medical attention." They threw him in jail without medical attention. We finally argued and fussed until we got Stamps out to the base for medical treatment, but the harm was done.

For two days, Saturday and Sunday, the police would ride from one end of Twenty-second and Meyer down to Congress. They had a real good deal going on. Here was a cop sitting on a motorcycle riding from one end of the street to the other. All the Negro citizens--the good ones, bad ones and in-between ones--standing there looking at him. This is an impression. These are lasting impressions on people's minds. Children were sitting there looking at him. A police situation. If it happened now, they would probably have shot the cop off the motorcycle. Don't you let me kid you that Negroes don't have guns. Chances are they got more and better guns than you have. Don't you kid yourself, and I'm not going to kid myself. And I'm going to be real fair with you and tell you this.

There are things that happen in a community that really create your problems and my problems. Back to the whole thing--many people will beat up and hurt for no reason at all, just because two people got out of line.

Q. (Sergeant HOLDCROFT)

How much of this do you think Tucson has? You say this happened in 1957, ten years ago. How much of this is prevalent today?

A. (Mr. DAVIS)

I am going to give you something that you might say is a comfort to you, and I'm glad it is. The Tucson Police Department has the distinction

among the Negro-Americans throughout the nation as being one of the top-flight police departments in the country.

This might come as a shock to you. We had a Mr. Charles King, who is a member of the President's commission on civil disorder here; and he had been at my house sometime during the summer. And, believe it or not, you may not know it. Negroes have you investigated more times than you think. But when you do something out of context and it's wrong, don't think just because we are Negroes we don't check on you. We recognize the fact that we only have one Negro policeman. We certainly would like to rectify that, and a way that you people can help us rectify this is have sub-policemen come in and start taking training. Go for this sub-policeman program. This is helping you. Go for it. This is going to help you because nobody is going to come into Tucson saying, "Man, they got a lily-white police department; they treat people down there like dogs." Well, that isn't true. You have a distinction. I want you to maintain this thing. Build on what you got.

Let me tell you what the people that drink wine under the tree say about you. They say, "Man, we got a hell of a good police department. Man, where I come from down in Arkansas, Mississippi and other places, the cops just come out and beat the hell out of you. These cops are nice; they come and talk to you."

Q. Mr. Davis, what do you mean by the people that drink wine under the tree? Are these the older Negro?

A. (Mr. DAVIS)

Yes, the older. We are right now talking about the aged Negro. The concern you might have is for the young Negro in the teen-age-to-thirty years of age group. I'm speaking of the person who has had the opportunity to live in the South and come to other places. They think of you as being good people.

Now, I am going to tell you the other part. You, as I said before, Sergeant Holdcroft, have something to build on. You and every other police officer--whether he be Negro, Mexican, Chinese or other--you have something to build on. You have a good reputation. You have a reputation even in Washington, D.C., among Negroes, and up North. Man, you got a nice police department. I talked with some of your police officers when I came here; and man, this is it. What do you think of it? I say, yes, I think we have a pretty good set-up here. They don't really harass the troops. But let me tell you something. At one time you did. But let's hope that the past doesn't commingle with the future on both of our parts. Help me to eradicate some of the past that I would like to forget; and this is how it is done: by good relationship, by building something better for the future.

Holdcroft, I want to answer your question finally by saying that we don't have the best relations in this town, but we do have the distinctions of being one of the better police departments in the country.

I am going to tell you right now that I can't tell you this without telling you that we frown upon the police department here. The intelligent Negro frown upon it. I frown upon you. Some of you are my friends; and I tell you why I frown upon you--because you have turned your head to people who drink whiskey out there on South Park in public. If he is breaking the law, you are going to have to use the law equal on all people. No longer can you let me get away with doing something because this is normally the way we treat colored folks. Then you are doing me an injustice because my wife travels South Park. If it's against the law to come downtown and drink a bottle, then it's going to be against the law on South Park. Just like Mr. Lander reiterated to you, if it's against the law to shoot white people downtown,

it's got to be against the law to shoot Negroes in South Park. It goes a little bit further than the police department. It goes to where we live under the county attorney and other types of government that is really over you. You can only do one thing: catch the culprit and bring him in. It goes a little bit deeper than that; but we all got to start thinking in terms of man, I've done my part. Now let's go a little bit further and then when you do your part. We have to think in terms of saying, "O.K., Rubin Salter, you are in the County Attorney's office. We have the County Attorney form of government; let's get this man prosecuted right. I have arrested him; I have done what you said. He shot a Negro, now let's get him prosecuted like he shot any other person."

This is true, again. We do all have a part to play over and above and beyond the police arrest. We recognize this. But then the police have this little routine: if he is breaking the law out in South Park, we'll turn our heads sometimes.

I will tell you something that happened in the past; and I hope it never happens again, so you can indoctrinate your people on this. Don't come out there just because you see a white girl and a colored boy together or vice versa and start riding around behind the couples. This is one of the worst things you can do. In this nation, we have a right to choose our friends; and I don't think you will find anywhere in the books that I can't have a white, Chinese or African friend. When you do this, you have alienated yourself from the community; you have taken on something on your own. This has happened in the past by the Police Department. "What are you doing out here?" "None of your d--- business," if you asked me--and you'd probably get a little bit more.

I'm going to be frank with you again. Here is something else the police do. If you have a man under suspicion, don't take your car and follow him right around the block, right around the block and right around the block. You can build up more resentment against you this way. If

you've got something against this guy, wait until you got him and nail him. Charge him with something.

Two police officers this summer were riding around Henry Pennington-- riding around the street behind him. I stopped them. I said, "Look, do you know what you are doing? You are inciting trouble." That's what they were doing; and he was just getting his gang together and saying, "We'll throw some bricks tonight and that kind of stuff." Gentlemen, you are doing this to yourself--don't do it. It makes me mad. It not only harms you; it harms me, too.

(QUESTION DIRECTED TO MR. SALTER)

Why does police use of mace bother you so much? Mace is for the protection of the officer as well as to be used to subdue somebody. More people could receive injuries from bullets and nightsticks than mace.

(Mr. SALTER)

It's not so much mace. It could be acid. The Negro is no dummy; he sees on TV that the greatest ovation that President Johnson got when he said "crime in the streets." Everybody stood up. When they said something about a civil rights bill, not much interest was shown.

It's the attitude. Maybe they didn't do too well by you back there where certain speakers were supposed to talk about understanding attitudes and philosophy of minority groups. I thought I expressed myself. The fear among the Negro is that you will suppress what he feels to be a legitimate activity that comes within the framework of the first amendment of the constitution. When you give the officer-- and he knows that the attitude of his superiors is one of "get tough"-- the Negro, and especially if you get a riot bill such as Mr. Lander mentioned here, they are so worried about two or three Negroes standing on the street corner. The officer can come up and want to question

them as to what they are doing, and I think he has a legitimate right to be on the street. The danger would not be so great with mace or anything else if you are going to use it for a legitimate purpose, but the Negro fears that it may start out with these very intentions: he's going to end up getting it squirted in his face. He knows that. And I would be willing to bet you that if and when the Tucson Police Department uses it, it will be against the Negro; and if the Negro isn't first, he is going to be so close to the race that there will be a photo finish.

Q. Mr. Salter, I understand how you feel. You are the second speaker who has talked about the use of mace. I think that before you say anything, you should take the time and maybe talk to us about it. We have been using mace for a long time; and, to my knowledge, it has never been used on a Negro. There is a very specific general order out that says when the officers can and cannot use it. In the most extreme situations--situations that possibly would require the use of deadly force--and, personally, I would rather get shot with a can of mace than with a .38 caliber bullet. Mace is probably the first break that police officers have had since the invention of the automatic revolver. It will undoubtedly save hundreds of lives

(Mr. SALTER)

I think if you will check with most of the people who are in the forepart and analyzed the situation as far as crime in the streets, there was a nationally syndicated article that appeared in the Star a couple of days ago; and it was their interpretation that they were talking about the Negro, as long as the Negro feels that way.

The Negro has no objection to your using mace as long as you don't use it to thwart him in what he has a legal and constitutional right to do. This is his fear. It may never come about, but the problem is that as long as he thinks that; and you say you have the strictest of guidelines under which to use it, I'm sure you have the training and M.O.'s as how to interrogate and investigate a potential situation.

But it has been found from the two experiences here in Tucson that they have broken down.

I'm sure that you won't find any M.O. from the Police Department to go out and if you see a group of angry Negroes, to call them black s--- -- - ----- . Probably if you saw anything, it would be just the opposite.

This is what the Negro fears. Even with the strictest of guidelines, the officer forgets this if he doesn't have training. The Negro is certainly not going to stand up there and let you spray him. All of you know that you've got to be fast to catch a Negro, anyway, and I don't know how in the h--- you are going to catch him; but if you do, he's not going to stand up there and say, "Excuse me, I'm going to become immobile because of this." This is the problem.

Q. Mr. Salter, you don't seem to understand the purpose of it. We understand, but our fear is that it is going to get out of hand. And you only arouse our suspicions and fears by telling us this is what you got here.

Apparently you don't understand the nature and make-up of the minority groups. These things affect them. They don't affect the white guy, as he is not potentially the target for such thing. If and when there is a riot at Johnnie's on Twenty-second, that's well and good. You may use it and it will be effective.

The Negro is not complaining if you are going to use it effectively here, but he fears that it will not be used as it is intended. Now, whether or not this comes about . . .

Sergeant Holdcroft asked Mr. Davis his definition of police brutality. I differ with Mr. Davis' version of police brutality nowadays. Examples of present-day police brutality: One is if there is a Negro gentleman and a white gal in a car--for some pretext the officer stops him. This is police brutality to the Negro.

The youth that led up to this Fourth and Seneca incident felt that officers for six weeks prior to this time had been on the scene where there were parties not to the knowledge of any of the participants in the parties. This is harassment and brutality to them.

When you call him a name—that is police brutality to him.

When you stop him for no apparent reason—this is police brutality.

Everyone is getting more sophisticated. I dare say that there is an officer in here now, even under the most extreme conditions, [who] would just deliberately on a routine arrest haul off and take his night stick and hit somebody in the side of the head; but the police brutality now is stopping individuals for no apparent reason.

We are fortunate in Tucson that we don't have a large Negro concentration. But in the larger ghettos, it's unbelievable. Negro women are stopped for no apparent reason. They are accused of being prostitutes. We don't have that in Tucson, but the perimeter of the thing that I am talking about, they are now considering these things as police brutality. It is not the old line of police brutality.

By and large, Negroes are law-abiding citizens. He recognizes that the officer has a right to do something. Every word that came from all the witnesses on the stand in this Sims case testified that we all recognize that when there is a fight the officer has a right to preserve law and order. We recognize that. We are glad that they are here to do that, but it's how he does it that we are now complaining about.

If you are going to assure me that--first of all, I don't like the idea of mace because scientifically it's safe as of yet--you can stick to those guidelines. And I don't see how you can do it; you have not done it in the past. Then I have no objections to your mace. You cannot satisfy the Negro community that you will comply with guidelines when you are faced with a situation. It's the officer out in the car that has to think right now--that is where the problem comes in. I say if a

commanding officer or supervisor had been riding with that officer last summer, the Fourth and Seneca incident would not have happened. They usually stop to think. I say the gentleman who really should be here is the officer that is riding out on the beat who does not have the sergeant along with him; and he surveys the situation and calls the sergeant and says what do I do now?

Q. Do you really think that it would be better then to increase the risk of killing someone because of an unfounded fear on the part of your people?

(Mr. SALTER)

We may be talking about supposition. If you are going to use mace or anything else, I don't think that you should make a big deal out of it by saying this is what we are going to do. If you have your plans and M.O.'s, go ahead. But merely by the possibility, it creates in the Negro an apprehension that he is going to be the recipient.

Q. Do your people understand that we have a terrific problem with the press, and many times what is printed in that paper surprises us probably much more than it surprises you?

(Mr. SALTER)

I suppose so. We are aware that you do have communication problems with the newspapers, and you can't win. They are going to interpret the statement any way they want. We also recognize the fact that they want to sell newspapers, too.

Q. Mr. Salter, have you read the Safe Streets Bill or the companion bills that are in this packet--"Crime in the Streets"?

(Mr. SALTER)

I have not read it in detail. I saw it come through the office the other day. There is a book out that costs \$7.50 which is a compilation of the bills and laws. Mr. Schafer wanted to know if anyone wanted to read it. No, I haven't, but, you see, that no matter what they say, the Negro still feels they are aimed at him.

COMMENTS BY LIEUTENANT KESSLER

Let me just briefly mention the portion that I personally am very much concerned about, and I have talked to Mr. Davis about this in the past. It's on education.

There are four bills in this package that directly affect police training and education. There is one we have already submitted for \$290,000 to make this an even better police facility.

I think possibly your concern about specific areas of the Safe Streets Bill may be justified in your mind, and go at it. But, for goodness sake, don't go after those parts that are directed at making this and other departments a better police department as result of the financial aid that we cannot get locally but the federal government will supply.

Mr. SALTER

I agree with you. When you say "crime in the streets," this is really not crime in the street. When the Negro refers to it, crime in the

streets means the potential riot coming up this summer. This is what we are talking about. I agree with you on the other features of the bill. They are well and good. We are not against those at all, but we are talking about when you sit up here and dare us to do something. This is the way the Negro feels about it. Right now, it is politically expedient to be against crime in the streets.

Q. (Sergeant BOHARDT)

We have listened for the last hour and a half to your gripes or grievances. The thing that occurs to me is that when a minority group, whether it be Negro, Chinese or what have you, comes to a police department with a grievance, my firm opinion is that when we give an answer, no one in that minority group really listens to the answers that we give.

How well do you think the Negro minority listens to the answers that we give? For instance, our justification for mace. It seems to me that you have prejudged what we are going to do with this particular tool we now have. How well does the Negro minority or Mexican-American minority listen to what we have to say--our justifications?

(Mr. SALTER)

Mr. Bohardt, it might be that from experience we have found out no matter how great your intentions start out, the Negro has always gotten the short end of it. We have learned this from experience, and now we don't wait until we get the short end; we start hollering before it gets here. It's too late at that time.

The other thing you mentioned was that minority groups do not listen to your explanations. How are we going to listen to the enemy's explanation? It would be more creditable if an independent body investigated and made an explanation of it. I just don't care. Even here in the United States we don't believe President Johnson and his explanation of what's going on

in Viet Nam. Now, that's all there is to it. And I don't care what it is. You are not going to make me believe that a three-man commission appointed by the Police Department is going to come out, even though they will do just as creditable job or maybe better, will come out as three independent people who may be idiots. But to that man who is affected, he would rather take the word of those people. That's the way it is and I can't help that.

(Sergeant BOHARDT)

My point is not so much whether you believe us or not. My point is that you don't give the community a chance to see if what we are saying is not correct.

(Mr. HUBERT DAVIS)

Mr. Bohardt, I would like to tell you this now, and I want you to hear me out if you will. The community is a part of the over-all nation. Tucson is a part of the United States of America. The Negro here in Tucson may only be 13,000, but he has his NOT beliefs. He don't believe in what you say. You can't make me believe that you are going to do something even here in Tucson or any other Negro. It is a natural thing. We are a part of the national picture, of what's going on, what has gone on in the past--the "get tough" policy. You know this is part of the whole build-up all across the nation. Why kid me? Why kid yourself? This is the fallacy of all of it. Now you say, why don't you believe me? Why didn't the people believe the people in Detroit who stood up and told them there [they] were going to have a riot last year? Why didn't the good people in Newark, New Jersey, believe they were going to have trouble last year, when the so-called good Negroes got up and told them, "You can't do this any more. You are going to create a riot. You're going to create problems." These are the things that we have talked so long now until we are saying "we are leary of trust."

This is a matter of trust--a matter of communication. This is what we are saying to you: we don't believe this. Although there are only about 13,000 Negroes in Tucson, we have the same distrust about certain things.

The question about mace is something that is as far from my mind as can be. I so agree with you that I'd rather save a person by using mace than kill him. Why kill him if you can save him and get the good out of him?

I think what we are trying to say, the Negro community, that we don't trust you. You've got to prove to us that mace is not just for Negroes, and this will only prove itself by time. Time will be the answer to your question. We are not condemning it, but we want you to know that do use this thing in moderation. We want to make sure we are not caught up in a trap where it is only used on Negro people.

Mr. CRESS LANDER

I would like to respond to that, also. I think what we are really talking about is that you are now saying, believe us. And all I can say to you is over a period of years the Negro has lost faith in law enforcement because of the injustices that have come about nationwide. When you are saying now, believe what we say, then we say to you that you have a long road to go to prove yourself to the Negro community and to the Negro as an individual. I don't think any of you will sit there and feel that there has been just action over the last fifty years. Maybe over the last couple of years the Tucson Police Department has come into a situation where we have good rapport; but this did not happen five, six or ten years ago. All of these animosities, all of this prior treatment, brought about a loss of faith by the Negro people in the Police Department and law enforcement in general and the court system.

What we are saying is that if we are really going to attack this problem, you know, it's like the one-mile run. The guys started and ran the first two laps and then they say, O.K., Negro, now we are going to give you an equal chance. Get in there and win the race. Well, everybody else had two laps. We are going to have to catch up this gap; and it is as much your fault, in a sense, and you have to take the responsibility of closing this creditability gap because it has existed. This is a matter of fact that it has existed in the past, and for you to come to us now and say, "Believe me," you may be telling the truth 100 per cent; but how can we believe or how can the Negro community believe when there has been such a gap in the past. We are going to have to bring it up to date a little bit, and let's start evenly on this one-mile race with everybody starting off at the same time. To do this it is going to take a great deal of effort on the part of the Police Department, on the part of the courts and on the parts of the penal system in this state and this nation to make this a real thing.

Q. I would like to point out that this creditability gap, this cooperation, is kind of a two-way street. Today the Negro is saying, we want police protection, we want the same as other people in other sections of town. We want to cooperate; and there is one case that comes to mind--a recent homicide where there was at least fifty witnesses, yet it took eight detectives ten hours each for a total of 80 hours just to come up with one witness.

Mr. LANDER

What you really [are] saying is that you agreed with what I just said. Is that these fifty witnesses have a background of not believing, or not having faith in the Police Department. I'm not saying that these fifty witnesses--after all, you have to consider the circumstances and the place where this happened and the type of people that frequent it-- I'm saying maybe you would find fifty other Negroes in another section of town who would be willing to cooperate with the police. But the type

of person you are talking about, his relationship with this police department or the police department where he was born or before he migrated to Tucson has been such that there is a large gap in this man is not willing to communicate with you under any circumstances.

I am saying this is the gap that has to be worked on by me, Mr. Salter, Mr. Davis and other Negro people in the community, along with the police department. We have to fill this gap in so that these people feel that they can get a fair shake by cooperating with the police department.

Mr. DAVIS

One of the reasons we find that you don't get cooperation from the Negro population in these type cases, as you just mentioned, is that you are in great disfavor, but you are good guys. I couldn't figure this out after spending quite some time on it. I came up with the answer this past August. In August there was a case where a drunk man broke into a church in the South Park area. In fact, it was Grace Temple Baptist Church. I couldn't figure out why you didn't get people to say there's the culprit over there and let it be known that we cooperate with you. I've seen Negro people do this, and I've seen them just stop and wouldn't even tell a police officer nothing. And they knew that some guy shot a guy down there one night and wouldn't say a word until one fellow came out and said he did it. Joe Blow did it and I just don't like the guy. This was one of those special cases. Heretofore, I've seen people see things down there and they just walk away. I'm not going to be a witness to this thing. I am not going to be a part of this thing. I'm not going to help the cops. Why?

I'm going to give you a little incident that happened to a minister. And I'm going to give you an incident that happened to Hugh Davis. I

called the police when the man broke into the church. I happened to be driving by and the church is on my street. I saw a guy breaking into the church. He was drunk. The reason for it--and when I tell you why, you will just think he was "way out." This particular case is an actual case on file. It was a Mexican-American person involved. When I called the police first of all, the desk lady asked quite a few questions. And I said, "Come on out and check it out." She said, O.K. I don't [know] how well we are on getting patrols out, but if it had been somebody killing somebody, he would have had a chance to kill quite a few people before they got there. They got there about 35 or 40 minutes later. When they come up, the people were all standing around looking at this poor guy, hollering and crying in the church house; somebody said the guy is in there and he's raising all kind of Cain in there. The officer said, where is this Hugh Davis, and I said, "I'm over here." He came over and proceeded to write my name and other things and got me to a point where I told him, "Now let me tell you one d--- thing--if I ever call you guys again, I'll know about it." I was really mad. This happens to most Negroes when you come around with this, "Oh, my God, where is this and that?" People stood there and said, aren't you the d--- fool. You called them, and they are after you like you are the criminal. You can't do this. You could have contacted me later. The officer involved could have contacted me later for any information regarding me. But why didn't he go after the person who was committing the crime.

Come to find out the only charge they had against the guy, the minister didn't charge him with breaking and entering, was being "plain drunk." That is what he was charged with. Well, he was plain drunk and he was hurting too, because his wife had left him, and he told the minister that he came to the church to pray.

These type things are why you are not going to get anybody to help you. I saw a guy grab officer Boland one time and proceed to beat the h--- out of him.

Here's where you are going to have to use some tact, and if you don't, you are going to be alienated by me and others; and I don't mind telling you this. You send this junior flip officer down there, and he comes down there and acts like a perfect stranger, like he's from Mars or somewhere. I saw a guy do this to Charles Kendricks one night, and if it had been my store, you'd had me in jail. He was called because a guy was in there molesting some women. All of a sudden, the police officers come and go right to the door and blocked the door. There was a store full of people. Was this good sense? The people were willing to help him arrest this guy; in fact, one guy did. But the officer parked the car there to block everybody else. What he did right then was alienated himself from the general public and the people he is supposed to be protecting and the people who would have protected him and did.

One man stopped the guy who created the disturbance and helped the officer get him in line and put him in the car; but the other officer sat there in the car blocking the door like he was a dummy with the red light turning around and nobody could go home because they couldn't get out the door. This is what you call the police department using themselves as a big bunch of wheels to show the people that "I'm the law." You can't do that. You got to show the people that you are a part of their community; and if you don't, you are in trouble.

This is why I wanted to ask you if you have any doubt in your mind. Why don't the population help me out?

You'll find out. Joe Bruggeman will tell you that many people out there have helped him out; and I had a guy Sunday to tell me that if he ever went to jail, he would like to go to jail with Joe Bruggeman. That's a real serious thing to say, but maybe Joe's got something. I don't know.

I suggest that we all have a lot to learn in this community. Please forgive me for over-talking, but I tell you there are some things that go wrong. I think our communications will have to be kept up and some dialogue going not only in your training sessions from a day-to-day basis. You have good people in this city of all races, and I think our communications is going to have to be kept up, that we have some going dialogue daily. What's wrong? come out and see me any time at the Holy Cross and talk to me, or Mr. Salter, or Mr. Lander and any other number of good citizens of this town. Maybe you might not like their views on different things; and no doubt some of you may not like our views here, but you asked us to come and tell you how we see you. So if we told you anything other than what we have, we would be lying. We have problems. We certainly have a long way to go with some of the things that we got to do as far as communications.

Yes, we have a good community. We have a lovely town. We have a growing city. We have more Negroes coming into Tucson. We have people coming here for different reasons. And remember that all of them are not bums. Just because they are a group, don't start judging people collectively. You will find that we have at least one Negro on the supreme court. We have Negro congressmen. He might put on a pair of overalls and come down and test your ability to treat people right. You don't know who you are dealing with any more. The Negro doesn't stand alone in fights. We have people right in here that supports civil rights causes in this room. People in here are fair minded. Then we have some others. We have some minutemen, no doubt.

But, gentlemen, we know about these things. We are aware of these things. We read all these things. We have to keep abreast. Don't for one minute think that you don't have to treat as a total individual a part of this community--an integral part--and I want to tell you as my conclusion that I won't be back up here unless you want to talk to me later, that there is only one answer to the problem of the Police Department in Tucson, Arizona. And the solution is that you start treating every man alike.

Q. If the possibility of riots exists for this summer, what can be done to prevent this?

Mr. SALTER

First of all, wherever you have two Negroes and they feel there is an injustice, there is a possibility of a riot. Now this has to be coupled with a few other things, but this is what the person asking the question wanted to know. You say, what can be done in Tucson? First of all, the unemployment rate in the "A" Mountain area is 11.2 per cent; for the rest of the city, it is 3.2 per cent; for the South Park area, it is 6.7 per cent; and for the University Heights area, it is 7.6 per cent. So you got to start there.

For the Mexican-American it is unbelievably twenty-five per cent. I don't know why in the h--- they don't say something about it, but these were the statistics at the end of November, 1967. This means that the number of people that come down to the unemployment office looking for a job and those who register, 25 per cent of them that come down are Mexican-American, and they are unemployed.

You can start out by attacking the problem:

1. Jobs;
2. Prepare lines of communication now. Get the police officers out. Let these people know that police officers put their pants on the same way as everyone else does-- that they are human beings.

Potentially, Tucson should not be a riot center, but I regret to say that whenever there is Negroes, there is a potential for a riot.

If the question means, what can the police do? The County Attorney's Association last issue--and this was written by the county attorney from Omaha, Nebraska--they had a riot there--from the prosecutor in Wayne County, Michigan, and from Newark, Atlanta and Cincinnati, suggested for police officers in preparation for a riot. First of all, they should have some means of identification and arrest of offenders. They suggested that officers use Polaroid cameras with appropriate notations on the back on the reverse side. That's one thing they suggested. You start preparing. You should also have plans for adequate control of crowds. You should also provide for transportation of offenders. Another thing police have to be concerned with is a place for the detention of the offenders. You also have to prepare to set up command posts and lines of communication. Most of all, they suggest do not take into custody large numbers of persons at the scene of a disturbance without being able to successfully prosecute them. This is what you should be preparing to do. If there is a possibility of a riot and what can be done to prevent this. I'm not sure that these are preventive measures, except to one extent. But you help us to eliminate the causes of poverty, the causes of discrimination, and I think the reason for riot would not exist.

As my last thing to say, I would like to say this. It may be misleading for you to sit up here and to tell Mr. Lander and Mr. Davis that Negroes are the only one who don't cooperate with police because I know better, and most of you know better. There is a reason why most Negroes, or some Negroes, don't, because people who by-and-large are at the bottom of the educational level and those who have had dealings with the police are skeptical of them. When you do not have an educational background, you are afraid to get on the stand and testify because you may be made a laughing stock by the defense attorney and some of you police officers are the same way. You reject cross-examination; you are afraid to get up. These are the things that are in the back of

their minds. They just don't want to become involved because Negroes split verbs. He becomes embarrassed when this happens, and he doesn't want to expose his ignorance to the stand. People feel they cannot defend themselves against these procedures that are now put in play against them. This is not peculiar to the Negro. You have many cases where people say they don't want to cooperate with you, regardless of what color he is. Basically, these are some of the reasons why the Negro is apprehensive about cooperating with you.

WHAT DOES THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
THINK OF TUCSON AND THE POLICE?

PANEL MEMBERS: FATHER CHARLES ROURKE
Associate Director, Newman Institute,
University of Arizona

Mr. ROBERT McNEAL
Secretary-Treasurer, District Council
of Carpenter's Union, Tucson, Arizona

Mr. EDWARD W. MORGAN
Attorney in Tucson, Arizona

FATHER ROURKE

First of all, I would like to thank you for inviting me and giving me the opportunity to express my views, and I hope they will be of help to you.

This business of the police examining their individual and collective images, of course, is quite fashionable these days; and it's going on all over the United States today, as I am sure you know. I was kind of interested in the way this whole thing has been structured. The various aspects from which you are evaluating yourself. I asked Lieutenant Zunno before we started how things were going, and he said it was sort of like a retreat. Of course, in religion, in a retreat we take a look at ourselves; so, probably, in a sense, it is like a retreat.

I sympathize with your position in trying to do what you are trying to do in this day and age because when you are dealing with the public,

first of all, the image itself is tremendously important; and they feel reassured and in a sense secure as long as they are convinced that the image is good. Then when any questions are posed which could in some degree, perhaps, constitute a threat to the continuance of the good image, then they get all "shook-up" real fast.

In terms of our rising crime rate and just the various social evils which are apparent on the American scene and with which as police officers you must come in constant contact, there is a lot of unrest. Many people are screaming, do something--anything--do something; and then when you try and do something, they jump on you for this or that or something else because that isn't the way we meant for you to do or you are doing it too fast or you're too strong or you're this or that or something else.

I think, perhaps, one of the things that has the greatest appeal to the man on the street in regard to the Police Department is the factor of efficiency. Actually, Monohue, the outstanding sociologist, sometimes at Harvard and sometimes at Yale, has said that the one word that most characterizes in his estimation the American way of life--the one word is "efficiency." It doesn't really make any difference as Americans how we get the job done as long as it is efficiently done and that means P.D.Q.

Last summer in Mexico, I was standing outside a little church about sixty or seventy miles south of Guadalajara by Lake Chapala; and I had been there before, and I like the little chapel. And I was

upset when I got there and found that it was being redone, though it did need some work. There were five or six old men standing out in front chiseling away at large blocks of stone. When I went inside, I could see that they were making these huge, massive pieces of stone to sort of dove-tail one with the other to cover the arches inside the little chapel. It was extremely slow and laborious, and I would guess that it would take them four or five years to get the job done. These men were very happy and very content and very diligent in their work. As I watched them, I sort of got the feeling that each man was putting a part of himself in that particular block of stone and that maybe some day five years from now--possibly ten--any of those men might bring a grandson by and say, "I did that or helped do it."

The thought struck me at the time, how much in contrast to our American way of life where we would have that job done in surely 90 days (or if you got it done in 60 days, you would get ten per cent more)--so get the darned thing done; get it up.

I think this is something that you are battling. Magazines are having a ball these days with crime waves, hippies and any kind of a creep is pressworthy; people panic when they read about these things and think about these things and start thinking about "my kids and our children, the next generation, etc." And they turn immediately to the police department. You guys are supposed to solve all of these problems, the man in the street thinks. Now, we all know it is not that simple, and, so, I think your image is challenged constantly in terms of efficiency. And I don't know the answer at this point; perhaps no one

knows. This is very possibly one of the reasons why you are having this kind of institute: in order that by thinking about these particular problems in regard to your image, possibly some kind of solution can be arrived at.

I am sure at this point in your study seminar, there isn't anything that anyone can now say that possibly has not been said before; but I would like to reflect back for just a moment on something that I think is important. It has been said many times that the image of the police department was in much better shape when we had the cop walking the beat. My great-uncle was a member of New York's finest for I don't know how many years--every time I hear it, it is a different number--but he is old now and decrepit and blind. He was head of the vice squad in "hell's kitchen" for many years in New York, and I have heard Uncle Joe tell some of the wildest tales I ever heard in my life; and as I said at this point, we can't sift fact from fiction, but very possibly very much of what he has to say is very reliable. But I have heard him talk many times about how much was lost and sacrificed when they mechanized the police department in terms of rapport with people. Surely a great institution, however it was lacking in over-all efficiency, a great institution for the police department was the cop on the beat who knew the kids and stopped and maybe pitched an inning in a sand lot game, etc.

In working with youngsters as I have for ten years, there is no question but what this just doesn't exist any more. The cop now is the guy with the car and the big red light on top, a man who represents a tremendous amount of power and authority; so there definitely is a fear factor.

As some of you know, I have been a very strong supporter of the school resource program because I feel that this is a very positive step toward breaking down the fear factor. Many of the objections that have been brought by certain segments of our community I'm afraid I can't buy. It's not a perfect program. But what is really perfect? And I surely think it is a step in the right direction in closing the gap between our youngsters and the image of the police officer.

Some of you some years ago remember a rip-roaring Irishman on the Department--Jim Gallery. He's on the highway patrol now. This guy coached a C.Y.O. basketball team for me, and Gallery was one hundred fifty per cent on everything, even if he was wrong; but he was a great guy and a real New York "hood"-turned-good--that's his own admission. So I was very happy, and we went all the way and took the state championship, etc. The stuff this guy did is still coming back to me all the time from kids who were on that team and worked with Gallery. He'd arrive after maybe working all night and coach on Saturday mornings. He was tired, but he was a police officer; and they knew he had been out working all night long. The rapport that this guy established was tremendous in his off-duty hours. He was tough and he was rough. He made the guys sweat and work; and if anybody gave him any static--ten laps, twenty laps, thirty laps--and he pushed every inch of the way. But this guy built up such a respect in the minds of about twenty-two or twenty-three teen-age boys for our police department. For most of them, and possibly all of them, the

only direct contact they had with the police department was this guy, Gallery. They'd see him in church. And as a coach he was rough; he was calling the shots. They admired him as a man. They then grew to admire him as a member of the police department. So I think that in terms of this experience, one point I would make is the image is always improved when we have our police officers involved in community-type projects, church-type projects, youth-type projects, etc.

Time is precious. We all have lots of things to do; and it is very easy to say that I am working a full shift and I have that something else that I have to do on the side, too, and I don't have time for that sort of stuff.

You know, ladies and gentlemen, I think it's a basic axiom--and a very valid one--that for genuinely worthwhile things, we rarely find the time anyway. We have to make it.

So I would say at this point that as far as the Anglo-community is concerned, we, first of all, are under the impression that our Department is a good one, and because my basic area is that of youth, I have hit mainly upon the young Anglo. I have had him primarily in mind. That's my most knowledgeable sphere. I think there has been a definite fear factor; but I think it is getting better, although there is a lot more of this sort of thing that needs to be done. And I would suggest that while our Anglo kids admire and respect the police officer, they are, however, basically afraid. And any kind of community-type action similar to, or the same as, [the action] I have already indicated can contribute a great deal to improvement of this image.

Mr. ROBERT McNEAL

It is a real pleasure for me to have the opportunity to talk to such powers to be. I understand that this is the higher echelon police, not the regular patrolmen.

The views that I might express are not necessarily those of organized labor or any particular group.

I know what you are going through. Organized labor has been through it, and we are still going through it. I brought down some pamphlets, if any of you are interested in them. They cover the important events of American labor history. This is supposed to be unbiased and put out by the U.S. Department of Labor.

We have had our struggles, too, of public image; and I think it's a lack of communication and understanding between the two groups or various groups.

I think, basically, the people, children, etc., are pretty much in accord with the ordinary patrolman. They think he is doing a decent job, and I have heard very little comment except minor ones against the ordinary patrolman. This is the man out on the beat whether he is driving a car or walking. I think some of the minor things--and I think even the Parks Department does the same thing--are at night; and I have sympathy for the patrolman working at night alone, especially, and I know you are understaffed. But I think for the best interest of everyone, we should have more patrolmen in the field so that he is not

alone, as you never know what kind of person it is that he pulls off. For example, on the outskirts of town, he pulls a guy over that might have a wrench or anything and the officer could be attacked. When you leave the patrol car, especially at night, I think it would be a good idea--and I am sure this is the procedure. However, I don't know too much of police force policy, but when a patrolman leaves the car to go out and investigate, I am sure he reports in to the TWX board at least that he is out on a case and he will be away from the radio. Well, turn the radio down so you don't wake up the whole neighborhood is what I am getting at. I've got a couple of dogs in the back yard, and you can't come near the back gate without them raising Cain.

So, for the ordinary patrolman there is very little comment that I could put forth that would help him.

I think, as the Father pointed out, that we have a national trend of discontent or strife, knocking the other fellow down, criticising and not knowing both sides of the story. This is perhaps what I will try to do today, and I hope it is constructive.

I think some of the areas that lacks this is our daily newspapers, radio, television broadcasts that seems to be the popular thing to sell advertising or to sell the newspapers, etc., is to point out the bad things. In other words, if you read about somebody having a problem, it makes you feel better because your problems are smaller than that guy's.

I think this is a bad thing. Sure, we have good communications wanting to know what is going on; but there is not enough of the good things that you do pointed out. Of course, when you are doing a good job, very seldom are you ever thanked for it. The Lord only had one person to come back and thank him out of ten, so this is nothing new.

I think, also, too many people think that the laws should be enforced and not enough of us think that they should be observed. How much easier would it be for your staff to enforce the law where it is necessary if more of us would respect the law and observe it and go by it. I don't know how we are going to educate or get this point across to the ordinary people.

About seven years ago I went down to the police force, and it was after I got a ticket. I made a left-hand turn, and the police officer was where he didn't see me, but I was the second car in the left-hand-turn lane; and, traffic being as it was, we didn't go through until the yellow light changed to slow the people coming on. And he made his turn and I made mine, but the light was more pink than yellow when I completed the turn. So I got a ticket. It was merely a citation to come down and explain the thing. And this gave me an idea that we've got laws, rules and regulations in the carpenter's union in order to make our conditions better so that the membership doesn't cut-throat one another to make any of these violations. So I went down and looked over your procedure on citations and came up with one of our own, and this is what we use. And it's not merely an act that someone actually

violated something. But, if, in the opinion of the steward that writes this ticket, that the man may have made an error and, of course, he is brought in before the board and gives his side. We'd rather see both sides of the picture before we make any rulings.

At this point I would like to bring out a certain incident that happened a year ago, 4 February 1967, when organized labor was asked to participate in a mass picketing at the Tucson newspapers. Right or wrong, we did it. I think it was right, but then that's my view. In no way was there any intention to have any outside incident on the part of the majority of the unions. Now there may have been that I was not aware of because we had women down there and a few kids down there. But to my understanding, law enforcement agencies, such as your group, knew or was aware of it--maybe not enough--maybe this was an error in not letting you people know that this is what we were going to do and maybe caught you off guard. I'm not sure. My understanding is that the Intelligence group or one of the groups in your department knew that when the strike vote was taken, for example. I understand, also, the particular union, the typographical union, talked to one or more people in your department and give complete confidence in that division and told them that you let us know of your outcome and we'll assist. We're in a neutral position, but we've got to know what each side is going to do; and they made one visit to that particular union. Then he went to the newspaper people and talked to them. This is natural. There is no objection there, and you've got to find both sides to handle the situation; but from that point on, the communication system was dropped.

Now, here is a group of people. As a matter of fact, I was down there at 5:30 in the morning; and we started the march around a quarter 'til seven or something like that; and there were no incidents until an hour-to two hours later. In my particular case, about 10:30 that evening when I got home, I had a restraining order; and it had started out at 9 o'clock when the judge signed them. It appears on our side at least that T.N.I. had to find some way of us violating the law in some respect in order to get a restraining order. We cannot block, per se, driveways or the streets or make it unlawful for people to get to and from work, etc.; and we know that. But an incident that looked to us like it had to [be] provoked in order to make it look like this thing wasn't all set up. So this is the criticism that we have--or, at least, it appears we have--is the break-down of communication between the two groups that were there, and the basic patrolmen handled their job well. We could see those that really enjoyed being out there to enforce the power that you do have and should have. I don't know if it is any personal reflect or not, or personal gains in it, but there were a few there that I understand was on a neutral position; and they were there because they were ordered to be there. So you get a lot of different opinions. And I'd like to point out today that I think in order to make a better department and labor organizations make a better labor organization that we should first look at the community as a whole and how it affects everyone. I think the only way we are going to do this is possibly you folks to get your image better is to have your public relations department, for example, go and visit these various groups--the church groups, the minority groups that are going to put on a sit-in or mass picketing, or

anything of this sort--so that you have a better understanding of one another and possibly come up with a solution.

I know you are all underpaid, short of staff, and maybe we can help you in this respect if you come talk to us about it. I don't know; maybe we can't, but it is worth trying. I think you are going to get a better understanding of both groups, and we have to have a better understanding of what your responsibilities are. You've got the power, and I'm sure you have gone through leadership conferences and have had training in this area. Leadership is a two-way deal. It depends on how you want to exert this leadership. After all, Hitler was a leader in his own respect, whether it was right or wrong. There are two kinds of leaders: a good one and a bad one. I'm not necessarily saying that you've got to go the way the people in the particular area feel, but look at both sides of the story and make your decision and follow through.

In dealing with people, especially when dealing with yourself, you have to use your head; and when you deal with people per se, you have to use your heart.

I think the biggest thing--and I don't know how we are going to get over it--is that too many people think the law should be enforced, and not enough of us think it should be observed.

If you look at the history of any group, in order to get attention, pickets with placards, mass marches, mass sit-ins--all this gets attention; and it gets attention because newspapers play it up and really get it

out of perspective. Of course, we always have this particular right; and I'm sure no one wants to take it away from us: to say and do and to print newspapers the way they see it, and we have this rightful freedom of free speech.

It reminds me of a story of this fellow in North Dakota and their family had never even left the state; and this one fellow was asked to run for office. They were kind of short on politicians, and he thought he was running for state senate; but, instead, he was running for the national scene. And, of course, he was elected; and he took off for Washington. Grandpa was very proud of this, as this had never happened to any of the family; and he decided he was going to take a trip to Washington to visit him after he was up there a short while. He called him up and told him that he was leaving, and he was going to drive. He had this Model "T", and he was going to make the trip all the way to Washington. He got over on the Pennsylvania turnpike and run out of gas. Two young fellows in a Cadillac came up behind him and asked if they could help him. He said he thought he was out of gas. They told him they would tie a rope on and tow him in. The kids, of course, wanted to have a little fun with the guy; so they got it all rigged up and started down the turnpike doing about a hundred miles an hour. This highway patrolman saw them, and he wheeled across the median and started chasing them. Of course, he didn't see the rope and he couldn't catch them. He radioed ahead and said there is a Cadillac coming down the road, and there's an old guy racing with a Model "T" Ford; and he's trying like h--- to pass them, and I think you'd better pull them both off.

Mr. EDWARD MORGAN

The Anglo-American in Tucson is the creature of all types. He's a creature of all different types and all different segments. Most of the people in Tucson don't know anything about you. They have no real idea about the Tucson policeman at all. They never see you. They have nothing to do with you, and this applies to a great bulk of the people. The image that they have of police officers has nothing to do with what you do in the community. They read as indiscriminantly about your activities in the City of Tucson as they do about activities of police in New York, St. Louis, Los Angeles; and you are all lumped together.

In other words, in one sense you are a minority; and you are treated like a minority. If the police officer is a crook in Washington, D.C., they then feel the police officer is a crook here. In one sense you have no image in the local community that arises from your local activity. You are bound with every other police officer, maybe, in the world. For those people who have very little or nothing to do with you—and those are the middle class and upper-middle-class people who live lives of quiet desperation and have nothing to do with you. Once in a while, they see you as a traffic officer, and they sort of accept you in that capacity. They don't particularly like you or dislike you in that area unless you give them a ticket, and soon they don't like you.

There is one thing that doctors, lawyers and, in many respects, police officers shouldn't worry about whether people really like us or not. That is not one of our jobs--that people love us or even like us. I think that is sort of a foolish test, and it's growing in our society; everyone has to be liked and everyone has to be loved. It is far better that you do your job; and whatever the job is, do it thoroughly and let the chips fall where they may. Public relations in that respect has its limitations; and your job is not to be liked, but to do a good job, and you let the chips fall where they may.

I think among lawyers there is a strong prejudice against police. I think that particularly lawyers who have to deal with court-appointed cases where they are appointed to represent defendants and have to deal with the police, I think have a prejudice in terms of truthfulness. I think they have some ideas that police are not always truthful. I think that they distrust. I think part of that arises from the adversary system because there is no communication. I think it would be a very natural thing when I walk up to a man and I say to him, as you do in your official work, "Hey, Bill, there was a break-in down the block here last night. What can you tell me about it? I understand that you were here," and the guy looks at you and says, "I'm not going to say anything to you," it comes to your mind: why won't he say something to you? If he has nothing to hide, why doesn't he talk to me? That same rule of thumb that operates with you operates with defense counsels and with lawyers. When they go out to investigate a case or you come up as a witness in a criminal case and they come to you and say, "What's the story?" and you say, "I'm sorry,

I can't talk to you about it. I can't discuss it." Or you say, "I have orders not to discuss it." Or you say, "I'd rather not discuss it." Or whatever you say and don't discuss it, the lawyer goes away with the idea that you have something to hide. Like I have suggested for a long, long time when we get around to open discovery, I think this will stop. When you can talk as a professional to defense counsel as a professional, as you talk to the county attorney as a professional, when that mutual respect and mutual trust arises, then there isn't going to be the suspicion that you are a group of liars. Understand that the defense counsel is being hit over the head by his defendant and by his family about how innocent he is. You must understand that we get lied to and have a real, good "conning" job going on with us. Here's a guy we represent, and he is telling us his side of the story. His man's there, his sister is there or his wife is there; and we are getting one side of the story. We tend to believe that because that is the only side we hear and we go to the police officer and say, "What is the other side?" and he says, "Sorry, I can't talk about it." I think among defense counsels that there is a grave view concerning the integrity of policemen telling them the truth; and the way it gets dissipated is the same way mine has been dissipated over the years because I've been able to talk with you as individuals and on given cases, and by these conversations, I have gotten to trust you as an individual, and I hope that you as an individual have begun to trust me. That lack of communication is the largest barrier to mutual trust, and it gives rise to deep suspicion and to the integrity and honesty of both sides of the table. The defense lawyer on one side and

the police officer on the other side. I think that discussions of how we can open up that communication should be undertaken between the police and defense counsels, and it may mean that you will have to release information which might be useful to a phony defendant. I think we have to start being professional about our functions as police officers and defense counsel and be able to exchange information on a professional basis. Maybe the county attorney wouldn't like that too much, but you are not wrapped to the county attorney. He's not necessarily the only person you represent; you represent all the society, and you represent both sides of the table-- both the defense counsel and the county attorney.

I would think that among professional people--non-lawyers, but professional people--the police have a fairly good reputation in the Anglo community. I think in this community among the business class, doctors and accountants that the police have a good reputation. I think they are looked upon with respect, generally. I think that respect has accumulated over the last ten to fifteen years. I think that possibly in the academic world, you are again suspect because you are non-professional in the past. I think the development and the more you take on the trappings of the academic background and education, the more acceptable you will be to the academic community and the more trust they will have. But at the present time, I think the image is of a large, flat-footed Irish immigrant cop of New York. And that stereotype is still there, and I think it is the one that comes to the mind of the academic community.

Again, I think a lack of conversation and lack of being able to express different views and different needs is present. I think in terms of the lower economic Anglo classes; that is, the day worker, the less fortunate economically, the antagonism towards the police is rather large. I think that you would find among them to be about the same as any other minority group. In one respect, I look at economic minority groups, rather than racial or cultural minority groups. I don't see or understand the significant difference between the poor Negro, the poor Mexican and the poor Anglo. I think in most instances that the common quality is their poverty, and it is their poverty which defines their relationship with the community and their hostilities to the community. There the police start to operate more functionally. There more of their friends, acquaintances, associations are put in contact with the police in terms of arrest. There the role of the police officer is larger in terms of law enforcement, and he is disliked. He is disliked as an agency of oppression. You don't look at it in terms of oppression; and I'm glad you don't, for your sake. But from the angle of the poor Anglo-American, he looks at it as oppression.

In other words, stealing is maybe not so morally unacceptable. There is a long, long history of poor people stealing and a more acceptance among the poor of stealing--stealing cars, stealing gas, stealing personal property, writing bad checks--all of this is more acceptable in the poor community, I think. In the poor Anglo community because, when

it happens more often, it is more obvious, and the excuses come to mind a lot more quickly. I am not suggesting that poor people are less moral than wealthy people or middle-class or upper middle-class, because the white-collar crime rate, I think, is probably the most significant increase in the country, rather than some of the headlines which have been giving it to non-white-collar crimes. Poor people accept crime. It is a more obvious part of their lives. I think among the white-collar people, manipulations and violations of stock transfer laws and such things are accepted. They violate the laws, and they are just as immoral as going down to the bank and signing a statement that you are borrowing money on stock and you won't use the money to invest in more stock. It's a form of cashing a bad check if you take and invest that money in more stock. It goes on rather repeatedly within the community. False financial statements to the bank in order to finance new housing goes on quite consistently. This is immoral and against the law. Getting home-owner loans to do modifications on a house and diverting some of the funds, again, is immoral and against the law. This goes on rather consistently. Paying a different price than really the F.H.A. loan, boosting the price up so you can get the maximum F.H.A. loan or paying money on the side on an F.H.A. loan is all illegal. The recommendation of real estate firms and title trust companies--and it goes on all the time in our community. Discounted mortgages which violate usury laws goes on all the time. I am only pointing these out as a broad range of white-collar crimes which are not prosecuted by the police. They are not in your

area. So the middle-class crimes don't come into your purview as much as the lower-income-group crimes. Crimes directly against poverty in these areas, the poor people think you are an enemy. They feel that the process server and the lawyer and the court generally are against them because we represent the people who establish property rights.

We come in and we garnishee salaries and we also come back and take cars away from people who have been paying money on them but failed to make their payments--all that is treated the same. You and I all have that same problem, that is, that we are protecting property and, therefore, we are disliked; and I don't think there is anything we can do about that in terms of our particular function. I don't think there is anything that you can do as policemen that is going to make you any more loving or any more desirable when you stop and give a ticket or when you come to arrest somebody in the neighborhood.

Can I suggest that you be as mannerly, as honest and decent as you can in your appearance and in your statements. Ultimately, the thing that is going to bring you into jeopardy in those areas is that you are representing property, and the people in that area just don't have enough property. When you take a little bit of their property away from them, they are going to despise you. There is nothing you can do about that as policemen. As citizens, you can take an active interest in possibly seeing that we start to deal with the basic problems in our society and maybe relieve some of those tensions in terms of financial losses and shift the type of crimes from direct crimes against

poverty to white-collar crimes, which are a little bit more discreet. I don't have a simplistic sense that crime arises from poverty; I just suggest that crime is most probably a constant in any society but that certain of the crimes are more obvious than others. The rich man's crimes are less obvious than the poor man's crimes; therefore, we don't discuss them so much and are not so much involved with them.

I think in dealing with the Anglo juvenile, you deal with all juveniles. There is a very large questioning within our society, and I think there are some very basic and substantial reasons why authority is being subjected to grave questioning by the young people in our society. In Arizona, the United States, Europe and in Russia the young people are questioning authority. They are questioning church authority and secular authority.

They have some basic idea that possibly the authority in which they have been raised up into has failed them, failed in a very significant way. I think that it becomes rather clear when one examines the world picture that our generation and older significantly feel that dealing with the problems of war and dealing with poverty and considering a country as wealthy as this one and the fact that we have this wide-spread economic poverty is a moral failure of the American people, not just an economic or political one: it is a moral failure.

It is a world-wide moral failure when people in certain countries are dying for starvation as they are in India, China and Latin America; and Americans have to create a whole industry predicated upon weight reducing. That is morally wrong, and each of us are charged with the moral responsibility of that and our young people are very moral.

I think that one of the things we mistake--and I think the police in part, maybe more than anyone else--is that what young people are basically looking for is moral authority and what they distrust about us is our hypocrisy and failure to deal morally with problems.

When we come to them and say, you should be moral, you should be honest and you should be decent, and they turn to us and say, what are you talking about? What are you doing? What standards do you have? We are pretty weak. Instead of being honest and saying, look, we are doing the best we can and we've failed, we sort of cover up on it. So I think you are going to be disliked by young people as part of the authority structure, and I don't think there is very much you can do about it.

I think you have to be honest in terms of the young people and tell them you are a police officer and what they tell you can be used against them in a court of law and that they are not in a private, secret relationship with you. I think to the extent that you ever indicate to a young person that what he says to you is being done in privacy and that you are not going to report his statements for proper prosecution if they violate the law--that that intrinsic lie will ultimately come back and do you more damage. And I want to suggest to you that I have some evidence that that is already occurring.

I think some of the officers in this community are trying to be big brothers to their nice juvenile friends and they are giving the idea--and I don't say you are saying it--but I think you are misleading by your conduct in making them think you are not going to report their statements. You have to because that's your obligation, and you have

no choice about it. I think that you have to be honest about that; and I don't think that some of you are being altogether honest, particularly among the S.R.O. program, and making that very clear to the young people you are dealing with. In that sense you are mistaken, and I think you are wrong and you are going to gather a lot of problems in the future.

I don't see anything particular about the relationship of the Anglo-American in this community to the police. I think he bears basically the same relationship by economic group and education that any other part of the community does.

I think Black Power or White Power is all the same thing. I don't care what Negro leaders are yelling about in terms of Black Power; what they are really yelling about is that a distinguishable economic group is not getting what they think is a fair share of the pie.

I don't care whether you are white, black, brown, pink or striped, once you get that idea that you are not getting a fair share of the pie, if there is any manhood or womanhood in you, you are going to stand up for it and go after it.

When we weren't getting the fair share of the pie back in the sixteen hundreds and early seventeen hundreds, our colonial fathers said, "Ain't a fair share going on," and they went to arms.

The reality of life is that men will fight for a fair share any place, any time and they will use whatever force they think is necessary

to obtain a fair share of the goodies of this world. As long as there is a vast disproportion in this country of the goodies, you are going to have increased tension; and you are ultimately going to have some form of armed rebellion. Call it what you will. Whether it is going to be called police disturbances, or riots, or whatever it is, you are going to have it, and you are going to have a combination of poor white, poor Mexican and poor Negro put together; and you and I as people who represent authority are going to be the people in between it because we are going to have to represent authority, and we are going to get hit in the head from both sides on the issue. But that is our job; and if we don't like it, we can get out of the whole system. I don't see very much change for the future.

It looks like we are going to leave our cities rot and we are not going to make a significant effort to redistribute the goods in this country, and you and I are going to have the problem of trying to maintain order against people who want a fair share.

Q. (Officer KALAK)

How do we, the police, appear to the demonstrators? I know a lot of us are called out on these things, and we don't necessarily agree with them or their cause. I was wondering if our personal feelings should when we are dealing with these things?

(Mr. MORGAN)

People that demonstrate, of course, are people with heightened feelings, and they are not very accurate observers of the reality around them.

I wouldn't altogether trust their reactions or feelings in terms of how they feel concerning how you do your job. I think those of us who think we have a decent perspective have found over the years very satisfactory, very excellent, handling of the situation on demonstrators. I have commented on that, and I think I sent at least one commendation in back on the Pickwick Inn. I don't know whether I have done my duty in sending those commendations in since that time. At every one of them that I have been at--and I think that I have been at all of them--I always felt they have been excellently done and wisely done. I haven't felt any hostility or antipathy. I couldn't discern whether you were supporting or not supporting the particular demonstration, which I think is a good sign. I couldn't tell your feelings. I think you were doing a good job.

I think that the good bulk of the people in the demonstrations have felt that you've done a good job. We have, so far, been able to maintain the view that we want the police present to avoid demonstrations. Now, I was not at the draft board demonstration; and here we may be starting to move into an area where all of us are going to have a lot more problems, and that is the violent demonstrations--the demonstration which is intentionally designed to bring about violence. All the demonstrations we have had heretofore have been designed mostly--and I come into them at some time or the other--to be peaceable.

As the war in Viet Nam continues and maybe expands and as the moral issue as seen in our society becomes more diverse, there will be more and more people feel that they have to undertake some severe punishment themselves or else feel that they are going along with a Nazi-like situation. I don't want to argue that this morning, and I am not saying that I take sides in that one-way deal. I think that all of you know that I basically have adopted a pacifist view towards war. But we face a problem; and I think maybe we ought to have a seminar and deal with the

techniques of dealing with the person who wants to be violent and who is engaged in violent demonstration, who wants to be arrested, who wants to be hit, who wants to be hurt and who wants that for very deep moral reasons.

To talk about these people being "kooky" is just giving a prejudicial statement that doesn't get us any facts. It's just like saying someone has a fever, but it doesn't tell you what the disease is or how to handle it. I don't care whether you think they are "kooks" or not. That doesn't help with anything. It's like calling a guy a Mexican or calling them a "fuzz" or a cop or a flat-foot--it doesn't deal with the problem. We are going to have a different problem; and it's going to be a hellishly different problem, and I don't know how to deal with it. I really don't. So far, so good.

Mr. McNEAL

As far as labor is concerned, we had two or three demonstrations this past year; and the two at the sports center were handled very well because the police were informed. We had assistance, and it was a great help to us. But in this February fourth issue, it appears to us--and I don't know your side of it--your Intelligence division, or whatever it might be, that for the first one to two hours had no incident happen; and then one of your intelligence people came in the ranks and walked in amongst the demonstrators. And, somehow, whether it was our fault or theirs, somebody got shoved; and when somebody shoves you, you shove them back. And this provoked an incident. From that point on, there were other incidents that happened. I don't know whether we are to blame or you are to blame; but it appears that this officer went in there directly to provoke an incident to happen because when we got these subpoenas they had to have a reason of a violence in order to restrain us

from any further demonstration. This is the way it appears. Maybe we got the wrong impression. I think you have to look at both sides of the picture and this break-down in communication and why you are doing the thing and what your intentions are.

Of course, when we call a strike or picket, we give instructions on what to do; but something comes up, and we don't have any control over it. It's usually a personality thing, and maybe one of our people did step out of line.

Q. (Officer KALAK)

Do you think we policemen separate ourselves too far from the community, or do we appear unapproachable? I'm speaking of, for instance, a beat officer driving by and seeing a group of young adults, children, etc.; and he says to himself, "Well, I'd wave at them, but they probably wouldn't wave back," and he drives on. Do we appear on the street--the patrol officer--as being unapproachable?

(FATHER ROURKE)

I would say yes, first of all. In somewhat in support of some of Mr. Morgan's comments thus far, a certain amount of this is necessary or even unavoidable. It just goes with the job. But I do feel, as I mentioned in my remarks, that more can be done in terms of establishing better rapport. I agree that the police officer should not be a big brother. This "buddy-buddy" stuff is not good. It's not good in my role. As many of you know, I have a group of little kids who are Mariachis; and my role with them can never be "big brother." Otherwise, there is no discipline; there is no order; there is just a mess. So the barrier has got to be there. It is there and should be there, and it must be preserved; but in terms of better understanding, as I mentioned, I think a lot can be done in terms of your involvement in fringe activity areas, in your churches, in the Y.M.C.A. and the many areas in which you can work directly with youth.

I tried a project during the year I spent in Douglas, Arizona; and, as you know, the chief of police down there has been chief for what seems to be a hundred and seventy-five years--Percy Bowden. I was sent down to try and do something church-sponsored in terms of a growing delinquency problem. I set up a series of Sunday night dances, and this was while we were going through 170 days of strike with the last seige of this copper business; and money was short, and things like this work a little easier in a small town, I'll admit. But we pulled about 500 kids every Sunday night for a two-hour dance. The dance was a gimmick. It was something to do to get them off the streets, to bring them together. It was a rapport-builder, and I would use the time to meet and talk with them, etc. I did something else at the time. Every Sunday night at the dance I would invite as guests, not as chaperones--and I was very careful to make this distinction--about four or five, and sometimes more, members of the police department to come with their wives just to be a part of the affair, to dance and sit around and drink cokes with the kids. We found a very significant change in the relationship between the teen-agers, who are pretty rough in a border town, as you all know, and the members of the Douglas Police Department. It was a very significant thing, so much so that Bowden came out and took a stand on it, and the mayor did, also. I think a lot can be done in this regard.

I know you are busy people, and you don't have a lot of free time; yet I feel that any time you can devote in this sort of area can contribute a great deal to improvement of the image of the police officer from just the "fuzz" to a person, a person with good values and good goals who is trying to render a very worthwhile and necessary service to our community.

Q. (Sergeant GRANT)

During this seminar we have had quite a few speakers representing minority groups, and some of them expressed not only open hostility toward police in general, but actual hatred; and it seems to stem from situations which occurred fifteen or twenty years ago in the Deep South.

Do you think this same attitude exists today in Tucson among the lower social economic class of Anglos?

(Mr. MORGAN)

Yes, I think so. Once you have to operate in your function, you are the enemy. You're the guy there who is stopping them from doing what they want to do, and you are very large on the scene. You are a very big man because you are tremendously powerful to a poor person. In particular, years ago, before court-appointed lawyers and before reform bail, the police officer's authority in whether to decide to arrest a man or not arrest a man was fabulous, because, for all practical purposes, that was the end. He was arrested, and then he went off to jail. He lost his job, he wasn't home, and it immediately put the whole family in jeopardy. The whole economic basis of the family was in jeopardy because they couldn't afford a bail bondsman, or they had to go up and "hock" everything they had to go up and deal with a bail bondsman.

You still are a tremendously important person. You come into a middle-class family like mine, and you go to arrest somebody in the family. I'm not particularly frightened of you. I'm not scared of you because I have all sorts of resources; I have all sorts of friends I can go to. I know the chief of police; he's not a guy who is a stranger to me--he's Barney Garmire. The mayor is a friend of mine--not that I'm going to pull any strings, but I am secure. I'm on a vestry in a church; I'm on a state board; I'm this and that. I have security as a person. While a police officer walks into a poor man's home, the poor doesn't have those sense of securities. You are a stranger, particularly if there is some language foul-up--and there's always some language disparity. The better educated you men become, the greater the gap is going to come. This is a cruel, cruel thing. The better educated you become, the more of a language barrier there is going to be between you and the uncultivated, undeveloped poor in our society. In many respects you are going to lose cultural contacts because you are going to become more and more like the wealthy lawyer who is losing contact with his poor client. You are going to become more and more like the wealthy

doctor who is losing more and more emotional and cultural contact with his patients and treats his patients as something out there.

But the answer to it is that you are a very, very big man among the poor; and that scares them. They have a real rough time with it, and they are not going to like you, and they fear you. They are going to take and reinforce that fear with every "bogey-man" they can get at--the "bogey-man" from the past, the "bogey-man" of Detroit, the "bogey-man" from Los Angeles--and they are going to accept those as facts. Just like the story about what the Jew is like is just the same thing that happens with the police. You are a minority, and you are treated as a minority; and the imagery constructed against you is a minority, and the prejudice builds itself up as a minority. That's why some form of open review of investigations of police conduct is necessary--some form of it--because the more open your processings are, the more that we can answer the charges against the police. The more open the hearings on police brutality are, the more convincing they become to the community. I think they are necessary. It is absolutely necessary that anyone who has a "b----" or a complaint, that we put it right on top of the table and that we see to it that it is done up clean. The sooner that is done, the better we are going to be.

Every bit of secrecy, every bit of "hanky-panky", every bit of withdrawing within our self-defined ghetto which the police do, the worse the situation is.

When a Jew lived in a ghetto which was locked up at night, it was very easy to conceive that they were taking a little Christian boy and murdering him and using his blood in some secret sacrifice, because it was the same idea that the Romans had concerning the Christians, that those early Christians who were hiding out in the catacombs were going out and stealing good little pagan boys and cutting them up and using them as some sort of live sacrifice. What you don't see and what is not open for your inspection you can start to believe the worst possible thing.

When you are a little boy, the dark closet is filled with the most wonderful and dangerous creatures in the wide world; and only by growing up and walking over and opening the closet door and turning on the light you find out that there is just some stinky clothes in there.

This is the same problem with the police. It's a very bad thing. The image of the police in that area is bad.

Q. (Officer BAYS)

You made a statement about the S.R.O. officers' perhaps not fully advising a child of his rights. What do you base this contention on? And do you feel this feeling is shared by the majority of the Tucson people or only by certain groups?

(Mr. MORGAN)

My first answer is that it is on personal experience by reason of clients, and I want to explain just what I mean by that.

You see, we sometimes get to think that we are the most important thing in the wide, wide world and that communication is done by words. Anyone who is really convinced of that will never engage in intercourse; they just talk about it all the time.

The way we move, the positioning of our hands, our face and our body, and the physical circumstances of how we talk with someone are often more demonstrative of what we mean and what we are signaling than our words are. This is true in areas of verbal and physical communication. If I sit down in a nice room, not wearing a uniform and my gun is not showing, or even if I am wearing my uniform, we sit down and I open up my tie and I relax and light up a cigarette, all these are physical signs of "buddy-buddy". They are home signs; they are friendship signs; they are big signals that we are together--just the two of us against the world.

I don't care what one says under those circumstances--"Really, now, you don't have to trust me," or, "Look, now, you don't have to say anything to me. The constitution says that you can have a lawyer, and you really don't have to say anything to me." You might say that I am being overly sophisticated, but the most sophisticated people in the world are children and young people. They look for all these signs; they live by them. A good part of their whole intellectual and social world is by physical signs, not words. I think it is misleading. I don't care what you say. I don't care what words you use, unless you carry it over emotionally and give out the proper sign. You might be perfectly honest, and this happens with lawyers. It's like a lawyer who lies to his client, like a lawyer who accepts a juvenile case, and he says to the kid, "Look, I'm not going to tell your parents anything about this matter." Or he says to the kid in his office, "Look, anything you tell me, I'm going to have to tell your parents." But he takes the kid aside from the parents and develops a "buddy-buddy" relationship. It's a lie, and, ultimately, that type of intrinsic lie backfires on you. You have to make it. It takes time to make very sure emotionally that the person understands just what your role is. Your role as an S.R.O. officer is as a police officer. I don't even like the S.R.O. officer bit. That's phony. You are not a school resource officer. You are a police officer who is associated directly in the school. How in the h--- does an S.R.O. officer differ from any other police officer? You are a police officer functioning as a police officer. He has different tools; but, basically, he is a police officer, and that's the important relationship. And when you don't go on that relationship, you are intrinsically lying. How many people think this way? I doubt more than maybe five people maybe think this way. Maybe it's just I. But it just "ain't" I in terms of the kids because the minute that you have to start operating as a police officer and someone is arrested, the hostility comes back, and it is doubled. This I have dealt with personally. They are not my feelings concerning my clients because I am pretty good at masking my feelings.

I've had to over a long number of years because many times I am arguing an appeal for some "s-- -- - ----" who I've no use for-- that I think is one of the most hateful sort of guys, and I've got to go into court and do my professional job for him. Don't think I like everyone I represent or admire them. It's just that I admire the law more than I have a distaste for my client. Upholding of the law is more important to me than the liking or disliking of my particular client. So, over the years, I have learned to disguise my own personal feelings. But this sort of reverberation is coming back, and I may be wrong; but if I'm right, it wouldn't take too much difference in your conduct, maybe, to check it out and find out to be sure that the truth is coming across. Don't rely on words alone; they are very misleading.

WHAT DOES THE INDIAN THINK OF TUCSON
AND THE POLICE?

MR. VINCENT MATUS

Tucson Youth Opportunity Center

MR. CYRUS PRESTON

City of Tucson Personnel Department
Personnel Technician

MR. MATUS

First when I saw the question "What Does the Indian in the Community Think of the Police Department?" it was quite interesting. I thought I can go up there and tell them what I really think. The second thing was to find out what these people expect from you and why. I was just thinking if you place yourself in the position you are in now, but not as a law enforcement officer or lady, but just as a citizen, and you were to ask yourself the same question, what answers would you come up with? I think they would be quite revealing.

Actually even when you drive down the street, say in a poverty stricken area, and in saying this, I am really not a spokesman for the whole Indian faction, because most of

my remarks would pertain to any minority group, I think the feelings are quite general as to your department.

You have about four minorities to deal with. The poor angelo; the Negro, which you have to take into consideration because they are some of their legal rights plus they aren't militant and they aren't about to wait; then you have the Mexican. I feel the Mexican faction is really a confused group because they are of all shades and colors. They are in a very envious position. I hear rumors that the brown giant is awakening. That there is unity among them. I hope it is true for their sake. Now the last one, the Indian, and as you can see by the roster, the Indian is always last!

Indians have been last since the country was settled. Under the original premise, they were considered second rate citizens. Their educational system plus all the programs outlined to further their well being has in a sense been barriers.

I have just returned from Phoenix where he had a conference on minority relations and we had every tribe represented, and I threw this out for discussion to see how they felt. The impression that I got was that most of them are becoming aware of it. They have been influenced by the Negro movement and they are becoming aware. I don't know what the social effects it will have on the future, but they would like to break off the shackles.

Here in Tucson, and I would like to restrict my comments to Indians you deal with within your jurisdiction, the Yaqui and Papago.

First, let's take the Papago on the reservation or here in the city. Usually your cases with these people are not the felony type. Most of them are civil cases - drunk, disorderly, fighting and things of this nature. This is where it gets real touchy because in this lower realm of crime, it is difficult to have due process of law, and they feel it. The Yaqui is in the same predicament simply because they are refugees. They were political refugees from Mexico when they arrived in this country. At that time, the government had an agreement with Mexico to deport all of them and there is a story that out of necessity the Yaqui had to learn to speak Spanish. They had to let go of their language simply because when being approached by an immigration officer if they couldn't reply in Spanish, they were cut loose. They had no country here in the states and being from Mexico, they were relegated the same position as second class citizens.

I am quite sure that all of you have dealt with the Yaqui community out at Pasque and under the living conditions they, especially the younger segment of the population, have become rebellious. They have resorted to all types of crime, to drug addiction, etc. I am quite sure you don't want to hear what they have to say, because as I said, you have heard it before. What they have to say are secondary things. Frankly, when people state that conditions are because of poverty, because of lack of employment, because of the lack of housing; these are also secondary.

When we come right down to it, it is discrimination,

and I know that a lot of people out there in the audience are saying, "Oh, here's another one bringing discrimination in again." When you get down into the meat of it, I don't care what you call it, whether you call it attitude, whether you say it is lack of understanding, whether you say there is no communication, it is still discrimination. This is not only your agency, but the whole power structure.

Those in society who think that crime is only a police matter, fail to realize that through their policies and their rules, you have become what you are. They have placed you in a very precarious position. They had delegated you the dirty work. You are in between two factions. To the minority, your purpose is to dominate society. You being aware of this have enhanced the animosity among the minority.

There are a lot of reasons for this, but this is actually what it comes down to. When you see a Negro as a person and not as a 'boy', when you can see a Mexican not as cisco or pedro, and when you see an Indian as a person and not as a chief, you will have accomplished something.

I think some of the problems stemming from the minorities is not lack of knowledge, but with the knowledge of police procedures. Because they are constantly dealing with you, and their preconceptions of misconduct can be verified by your recent investigation.

How do we solve this? How do we solve discrimination? It is a very difficult and slow process. From the time that this country was developed, everything that was enacted, our laws and everything, were by interested groups, they imposed

values and they tried to make everyone live as they felt everyone should. This created a lot of problems.

Other people say you can do it with community involvement. Frankly, I am glad all of you are here because at least it indicates that you are aware and would like to do something about it. Yet, I have this feeling that when it is all over, some of you will revert back to your little slot, and forget about it. When I say an attitude, I don't mean an eight to five thing, but a continuous awareness.

As far as community involvement, some people say participate in community programs, but I don't feel that is the total answer. I think both segments of society should be considered since you are in the middle of both of them.

There is education to be given to both levels, and you are in the very position to extend this.

Let's say some Sunday one of you put on your dirty trousers and go out to a poor neighborhood and just mingle, and the next Sunday go to a party with your social peers and start a discussion just to see the different opinions. You would be surprised. This is what bothers me. I really realize that a lot of people, no matter what you say or how logically you refute the premises, still adhere to their beliefs. They really do. Most of them are stereotyping which is also coming from the minority and from your own group.

As Mr. Morgan mentioned this morning, you don't have an image. You are among the minority. There is a lot of ambivalence among them. Their reactions are dependent upon how many scrimages they had with your department. To some

of them you are individuals, law abiding, and the protectors; but to others, you are plain no good.

Speaking from personal experience, I don't know if any of you in the audience recognize me or not, but I used to be on the wrong side of the fence, and it took me a long time to really accept law enforcement as an individual thing instead of collectively. I think a lot of their people are not ready to accept you as individuals.

One thing you can really do, if you want to contribute and which is sort of comical as I don't know if your conference was set to run in conjunction with the investigation, but this is your opportunity. If you want to do something and really affect both segments of society, the opportunity is here now, but it is up to you to take advantage of it.

I would like to say before I conclude that there is a story about a chicken and a pig who were walking one Sunday morning, and they came to the front of a church, and they noticed the sermon for the day which read, "How do we Help the Poor Minorities." The little chicken said, "I suppose we could give them a ham and egg breakfast. So the little pig looked over and said, It is easy for you, because you only contribute, but for me it is a total involvement.

As far as I see now, I see the egg but I do not see any ham!

MR. PRESTON

We get into all these details of what is an Indian? How do you treat him? The biggest thing that I get sore about is that everybody tries to treat somebody that is a little off color different. It is like the Negro astronaut

that went to Mars. He got up there and this big purple monster with eight eyes and green warts looked at the Negro astronaut and said, "You ain't going to marry my sister, neither."

You get in a dilemma. There are some people, and so many people in the department that I've got to know as people, as my friends, and somebody that puts their pants on the same way I do. You get up and the people ask you, "What Do You Think of the Police?" Well, they are people, you know. But then some of the other people want you to give the expression, "Well, they treat you bad." Well they are going to treat you bad if you treat them bad. It is a two way street.

There is a tendency for most people, the ones that I consider goodie-goods, to always come around and ask, "How come they treat you in a real nice way. A put on nice way." This to me is lumping me with the Negro, the Mexican, and with any other Indian tribe you have in the country. Don't treat me like that. Treat me like a person and I am sure everybody has in Tucson. There have been a few times that things have happened and I may have used indiscretion, but at the same time, I have to think the same way any other person thinks. But the greatest difficulty I have in thinking is to me a defensive mechanism, and my experience with every other Indian is this same thing. Someone will say something to you, and if you are thinking in terms of English and if you become defensive toward anything, and I do it all the time when someone says something wrong and instead

of interpreting and taking it literally, I have a tendency to interpret it into Navajo and think of it in terms of a Navajo. I had a class at the university and there was this professor who started taking off on the Hopi and automatically I began to think in terms of a Hopi rather than taking the thing objectively and analyzing it the way a white person would. I've always come to the conclusion that the only thing dumber than a dumb Indian is a smart white man, so I'm always on top.

This paternalistic attitude that Vince mentioned is somewhat true. We get the feeling, especially on the reservation not here I don't get this feeling from the Indian we have in the community because he has not been primarily involved with the federal government as much as the Northern Arizona has. You might get some of this animosity toward this paternalistic feeling primarily because you have so many of the Indian Bureau people who have the higher positions and they seem to perpetuate themselves. They continue creating positions and jobs. And the guy who runs the whole thing is the guy who works with the Bureau and you have a tendency to connect these two. When you get this feeling, you wonder, what am I here for? My people only exist to keep a reservation going, to keep 10,000 white people employed so they can go back to Washington to have votes for their congressman, and this thing just perpetuates itself and sometimes it gets nerve wracking.

The one great thing that I am so proud of is the fact that I am an Indian. You find so many people, and I don't want to give you the impression that I am looking down at

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these people, but I am so proud of being an Indian that sometimes I get carried away.

When I look at the poor Negro and some of the other people, they have no culture. They have nothing. They came here as slaves. They were a piece of property. I could never be a piece of property. I think of myself as an individual and I will try to treat everyone as an individual. This is what makes me feel that I have to learn to get along one way or another. One of the greatest things is to treat everybody like a man and nothing else.

If you go to Mississippi you hear a lot of people say, "Hey, colored boy move over." And when somebody comes up to me and says, "Hey, Chief." You know, I am proud, I'd sure like to be a chief. I can probably never be, but this thing being a chief I think is something great. Some people have a tendency to twist all these things around. The intention of the person is important. I couldn't read any one of your minds, but at the same time if there were some way that you and I could communicate where your ideas could come to me, and I could give you my ideas, we would have a better understanding of one another.

Going back to the relationship of the police with the Indian. So many of the guys I see everyday and I talk to them, but there are some people that a police officer doesn't know and it could be anybody. Take for example our new Personnel Technician who knows one of the officers now - he was walking down the street and he said hi and the guy turned around and didn't say a thing. Jim Brindle is a

gringo too, but he felt that. When a minority goes up and thinks he knows someone and tries to communicate with them and he's mumbling and doesn't know what to say, this is going to have to be incorporated in your own bring and how you want to treat a person. Your own value system or your own cultural background if we have to use that term is going to influence whatever your reaction is. If you have been stabbed a hundred times, and you see a knife, you probably will be a little apprehensive. To incorporate this thing in your own functioning on the job, it would seem that there should be some way that there has to be an exchange of ideas.

I've been treated so well that if I go into any minority community, I know that I can go out there and with an honest conviction that I know a certain amount of people who will treat an individual like a man and nothing else' but when you have a group of people who have never been exposed to this, they really don't know what it is.

Another thing we are dealing with is time. Time is of the essence and as you become aware of these things, you have to implement them no matter how long it takes. It will probably take another fifty or sixty years before anything concrete is done, but the thing that is so hearting is we are taking the step to do it now and not tomorrow.

In going back over what Vince said, he is right. We have so many Indians that come in contact with the law, and probably when they do the majority of them are probably in the misdemeanor area. These people who commit these crimes over and over again, we have to consider what kind of people

they are. Almost in any kind of society you will find this sort of stratification. You can go in the Negro community, you can go in the Mexican community, you can go into an Indian community and it is just as stratified as what we have now. We have the lower class Indian, the middle class Indian and the high class Indian. You go into the Negro area, and you have the same thing, it's stratified. But the ones that we have to get to are those on the lowe rung of this stratification, and if I said OK that is how we go about doing it, I could be totally wrong. Because in so many ways I have accepted a lot of rules established by the society that has accepted me. But yet at the same time, I don't want any white man coming in and telling me that I should change what has been my background and history on the reservation, because if I go back to the reservation, you act like me, and I'll act like you in your society.

This thing is a two way street and however we go about it, we must do it with all the integrity we have. Everything you people have given me, everything the City of Tucson has given me, I will try to give back a portion of what I hope I have earned.

To give you any one concrete thing, I think I would be totally mistaken and my only advice would be to go into each individual case and learn how you would treat any other man. Any other person that you would consider your equal and treat him accordingly.

QUESTIONS

LT. BERGSTROM

My question is about this paternalistic attitude the

government has toward the Indian. Precisely how has this affected the Indian relationship with Caucasians or people outside of the reservation?

MR. PRESTON

After you have become acclimated to the way you have been treated on the reservation, when you go out into the cold, cruel world, on the reservation you have the Public Health Service and you can go here. There is always some place you can go, but in an open society, where do you go? You have to fight and scratch for everything you have and sometimes the adjustment is quite difficult and for many many people, they have to find some other way to alleviate this and many times this is going in the wrong direction.

So a high percentage of the Indians who have left the reservation have a tendency to be more withdrawn than need be necessary.

SGT. RONSTADT

Question is for Mr. Matus. How could you explain the set of values in the Yaqui community - How closely they align themselves with the sets of values in the Anglo community - Is possibly a difference there one of the reasons for conflict here?

MR. MATUS

Yes, very definitely. Their value system is really unique. For example let's say in a family setting, there is close unity just the same as everybody else's, but it is usually embedded with religion plus they accept a lot of things in their values such as transgressions. Maybe because of their poverty, they have also come to accept things that

directly affect the white community and your department such as drunkenness, drug addiction, and other types of crimes such as burglary. They have no qualms about any person committing any of these transgressions. It has come to the point where it really is accepted as a way of life, because they have not known any other.

SGT. RONSTADT

Do you have any suggestions, Sir, as to how the Yaqui community can be helped in rearranging of their sets of values and how we can govern our acts so in doing our job we don't come in conflict with this set of values? Do you have any suggestions as to how this can be accomplished?

MR. MATUS

Before I answer the question, there is a little catch word that you inserted there. You said, "How do we go about changing their values?" Sgt. Ronstadt stated that perhaps he had used a poor choice of words, but when a conflict exists something has to give.

When this comes up, it is usually "You have to come my way." This is what we get from the dominant society, instead of accepting them with their cultural differences and understanding their cultural differences. By this way you can make a little nudge into the problem, but when you say 'change' or conflict - conflict because of what - because they don't meet your standards?

All these things are inter-related with other things, like education, for example. There is no key to any one thing. Education is not the answer, employment is not the

answer because they are all inter-related with one another and it's a vast change in a whole society has to come about before this can be realized.

Here at Pasque, I realize that you can't stand for people running down the streets and breaking into houses, etc. But what I do think is for you to try to understand why this has come about and when in dealing with them try to grant them the dignity of a human being and not as an Indian.

SGT. WOLLARD

Mr. Matus, did you live in the village?

MR. MATUS

Yes, for a short while.

SGT. WOLLARD

I worked in and out of the village for twenty five years, both as a deputy and as a city policeman and maybe you can explain something to me. I know of two families, the head of which are highly skilled in the building crafts. One being a brick mason and the other being a cabinet maker, making fabulous money, yet they revert back to those old oil can shacks and their families are not that large. I have seen two wars, World War II and the Korean Conflict, where young men from that community go into the service where they learn sanitary conditions, yet the minute they are discharged they go right back.

MR. MATUS

First of all, this is their home and as you realize when someone establishes any type of roots in their own

little culture, it is very difficult to break away. As to the families you mentioned, I really couldn't answer as to why they revert back to this. Yet, now most of them are becoming conscious of this and I guess this will help out the relocation program. Most of them have signed up and been given the privilege of constructing decent housing and they are taking it up. In fact, I was out the New Pasque and there were about ten houses up and occupied. Others are on their way up. It is a community action thing helping each other.

OFFICER KALAK

Living in a small group as they do, they must be fairly close and the one we would consider your leader or your chief or representative down there would be fairly influential. Is there any way we individual police officers could work with your representative and gain his cooperation?

MR. MATUS

I don't know if this could be done. A lot of people in the Yaqui community, Pasqua Village and also on the south-side, are very distrustful of their leaders. You hear they do this and they do that. Some may be facts but others may not, but nevertheless, they are coming about very slowly to accept this leadership. I am quite sure that you could get full cooperation working with them - not on an official basis, but on a person to person basis where they could do come good for you.

I know that I personally would be more than happy to intercede on your behalf in any case and talk with whomever you would want me to or whatever party you would want me to.

MR. PRESTON

One of the things mentioned here--how do you get people to cooperate? One of the unique things I was involved in on the reservation was a study of why we had so much difficulty in getting the Navajos to practice the sanitary habit of keeping clean, etc. This goes back long before our time, because in the early '30's, they used to yank the youngsters out of the home when they reach the age of six and put them in government schools as far away as Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah; and when these youngsters went to school, they learned a complete set of morals that they had to abide by when living in a white society. When they returned to the reservation, the parents found these children doing things that weren't accepted in an Indian community, so they began to resent education and what they were being taught. The parents then began hiding their children and became completely distrustful of the educational system established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Later on, there was some recognition that the parents had to learn along with the children. So they established public schools, trailer schools and day schools on the reservations--Holbrook, Winslow, Snowflake, [Arizona]; Gallup, New Mexico; Shiprock, New Mexico--and the people were closer to their children. They could visit them on weekends or the children would come home daily.

This study I made was in conjunction with a project my wife had in home economics. We took a group of a hundred young Indian girls -- fifty of them left for a reservation more than a hundred miles from their home, and the rest were living within twenty-five miles of their home. Many times

they would go home for weekend visits, etc. The children that stayed in the community learned certain things and brought certain types of knowledge back to their parents. As their parents saw this slow improvement in how to keep things clean, how to save money by using flour, etc. there was a complete change in the people who had their children nearer home and were able to learn from them, but those people that had children a long way when the children came back, they had that much more difficulty in readjusting to their own community. This did cause a problem. But slowly there has to be some chance for the Indian youngster to disseminate this information to his parents so they become aware of these things.

I think in most cases, we are dealing with older people who have already established their type of behavior, their own type of feelings, and there is no way you can change. We still have the younger mind that can be moved, that can be motivated, and we should go in this direction. So we have a stereotype of parents that are bad, but hopefully if we can change the youngster now, the next generation will be much more susceptible to our educational system, and our way of life. I am speaking in terms of our way of life because I would hope that I am pretty well accepted in the community as a person and then when I go back and talk to my people, I say this is the way they do things. This is the way they write things, this is the way they understand things, this is what they mean when they talk and the people are more willing to listen to me than having LBJ set up a whole new poverty program and send out five hundred white

people who say let's do this - it just doesn't work.

LT. BERGSTROM

Mr. Matus, in Pasque Village which is a small area, I noticed that there is activity from three different religious denominations. How much confusion or dissention does this cause between the different groups working in a community that small? Is there any conflict there?

MR. MATUS

What group are you referring to?

LT. BERGSTROM

If I recall correctly, I think there are two Protestant denominations that have buildings or churches in your area, and the Catholic church. With three groups working in this small area, I wonder what social problems this creates.

MR. MATUS

Not very much. It's surprising, because when Easter comes around there is a big unity for the Yaqui religion, and all the other ones are forsaken. It causes no conflict, especially with the Catholic religion. The Yaqui ceremonies were originally infused with Catholicism principles so they have the edge over the other denominations.

MR. PRESTON

No matter how much we condense the issue or try to look at the thing in perspective - going into the question that was asked of Vince about the conflict of religion. As many of you know, I worked with the Juvenile Court, and in working with these people, I found it does, from my point of view, cause some confusion because you have three white people who are saying, "I am honest, I don't lie, I don't steal,"

and they are all telling them a different story. What would you think? How would you feel, if you had to come in contact with someone who says, "My God is the best, My way is the best," and it is completely different from the others. Looking at it from my way of thinking, it has a tendency to discolor things that need not be necessary.

END