

For instance, while Ahmed rants, "Adolph Hitler" roams. He is the bearded, long-haired white youth who commands the Deuces, a local motorcycle club that is patterned on California's Hell's Angels and vows allegiance to George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. During last summer's Hough riot the Deuces, decked out in Levis, animal-skin vests and chromed Nazi helmets, roared through the ghetto flailing with chains at Negroes. "This is probably the group around which other white gangs will rally should an outbreak occur," declares a social worker.

Both Ahmed and Adolph, and the circumstances that charge their activities with danger, are known to the police and presumably to the man who sits atop the Cleveland powder keg—Mayor Ralph Locher. Yet conversation with city officials turns up little hope of preventing new racial violence. Rather, discussion centers on when, where and how it will occur.

Mayor Locher, a Democrat, up for reelection next fall, tries hard to accentuate the positive. "We're progressing nicely on many fronts," he says. But his optimism evaporates when he is questioned about the possibility of riots this summer. "No mayor can guarantee peace," he replies.

Others in the Locher administration and private welfare-agency officials come close to predicting conflict. Mrs. Lolette Hanserd, a director of the Welfare Federation, an organization coordinating the activities of the city's social service agencies, has been receiving increasing reports of black and white gangs not only organizing but arming. "If the Negroes don't stir up trouble, then some whites may be trigger-happy," she says forlornly.

#### **An SOS to Washington**

Most pessimistic of all is the director of Mr. Locher's human relations board, Bertram Gardner. He fears an outbreak this summer larger than last summer's. "I suspect that it won't be confined to the Negro community," he says. "I'm afraid it will extend to the white communities and downtown—not a massive movement but guerrilla warfare."

White neighborhoods next to Negro ghettos share these fears. The Justice Department in Washington already has received an appeal for help from a social worker in Murray Hill, known as "Little Italy," which has been selected by some Negroes as a target for demonstrations this summer. If this happens, warns the social worker, "violence could erupt." He adds plaintively: "Our experience with local law-enforcing agencies has not been as comforting as we would like."

Underlying such pessimism is the feeling that much of Cleveland's attempt to deal with its racial problems has failed, and that those groups that might be expected to join in a leadership effort are alienated from one another.

City Hall and the Federal Government are at odds.

During the past 15 years or so, the city, eighth largest in the U.S. with a 1960 population of 876,050, has drawn up plans for a dozen urban renewal projects; it now surpasses all other metropolises in acreage tabbed for renewal. Yet Cleveland has been able to close the books on only one project, a pace so slow that Housing and Urban Development Secretary Weaver has begun cutting off the city's urban-renewal money. His

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## Racial Powder Keg Negro-White Hostility Mounting in Cleveland As City's Efforts Fail

Armed Youth Gangs Growing;  
Mayor Blamed by Business,  
Established Negro Leaders

CORE, Reds, Klan Eye City

By MONROE W. KARMIN and DAVID VIENNA

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CLEVELAND — To Ahmed, the high priest of Negro militancy here, the white man is a "beast" to be overcome. He predicts May 9 will be the "terrible day" that the anger of this city's black ghetto erupts into violence—partly because, by his calculations, that will be the day when an eclipse of the sun darkens the sky.

Because of his devotion to astrology, Ahmed is dismissed by many white Clevelanders who doubt that astrology has any value. Besides, Ahmed, whose real name is Fred Evans, was arrested last week on charges of assaulting a police officer; he has been released on \$5,000 bond.

Nevertheless, Ahmed's warnings that "blood must flow" and "some must die" are gospel to a small but growing number of followers, who gather every other Thursday night to hear him or other Negro radicals conduct what they call "dialogues in black." And though these sessions may be a muddle of mysticism and menace, they are all too symptomatic of the tensions that make this city one of the nation's leading racial trouble spots. Even to some city officials, Cleveland's inability to make a significant start toward coping with racial discontent seems to foreshadow a sequel, when the weather warms, to last summer's five-day riot in the "tough Hough" slum that left four dead.

### Fears in Washington

That also is the feeling of those in Washington who keep watch on racial developments. John A. Hannah, chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which held hearings here last year, says "the accounting of (Cleveland's) accomplishments is very short, and the agenda of its unfinished business is very long." Another civil rights specialist asserts that "what makes Cleveland different from other cities" in its potentiality for a racial explosion "is its complete lack of effective leadership" on the part of City Hall, the business community and the responsible Negro organizations.

This leadership vacuum and its effects are apparent to anyone who peers behind the "positive image" that Cleveland officialdom seeks to project. Outside organizations ranging from national civil rights groups to white-supremacy groups, are marking Cleveland as an arena for action this spring. Within the city, for every anti-white Negro group there is an equally hate-filled anti-Negro white group.



# Racial Powder Keg: Negro-White Hostility Is Mounting in Cleveland

*Continued From Page One*

reason: The "long history of negotiations with, and broken promises from, the local government." Mayor Locher accuses Mr. Weaver of unfairness.

City Hall and the Cleveland business community are at odds.

The Inner City Action Committee, led by Chairman Ralph Besse of Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., was created after the 1966 Hough riots, to help the city cope with its racial problems. But after six months it severed relations with the mayor because "the city administration will not accept meaningful assistance and coordination." Mr. Locher accuses the businessmen of "playing politics with the well-being of the people of Cleveland."

City Hall and the responsible Negro leadership are at odds.

"Frequently when it's most needed, the Negro leadership just isn't there," the mayor charges. Leo Jackson, a Negro city councilman, replies with equal intensity: "Locher's a decent, honest, sincere gentleman, but you can't be a gentleman and cope with the problems of this town. You've got to be a hard-fisted, practical guy who'll take risks."

Established Negro leadership and the Negro community are at odds.

A training program sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League has flopped badly in its aim of getting Negroes into building trades jobs. Ernest C. Cooper, the Urban League director, says: "We were in the position of preparing people to be put on shelves." With this failure, the NAACP and Urban League dropped another notch in the esteem of Cleveland's Negroes. According to one civil rights specialist, "The NAACP couldn't mobilize a picket line of 10 people now."

The Negro community and the police are at odds.

Harlell Jones, a slender Negro identified by a grand jury as a leading figure in last summer's riots, but never indicted, and who now works as a building maintenance man in Hough, assesses the current mood of the ghetto as worse than a year ago. The reason? "Police brutality," he says. Police Chief Richard Wagner replies: "We have no critics west of the Cuyahoga; we cannot appease those east of the Cuyahoga." Most whites live on the west side of the Cuyahoga River, which runs through the middle of Cleveland; most Negroes live on the east side.

## **Movement in the Schools**

Still, Mr. Wagner has established a new community relations unit in the department and has opened eight new police athletic centers for slum youths. Also, there has been some movement in education. A new school board has initiated the construction of some new schools, the opening of more kindergartens, libraries and vocational classrooms, and the creation of a supplementary education center to draw white and Negro pupils for specialized instruction.

"The only bright spot I can think of is our schools," says Alan Kandel of the Jewish

some authorities expect Communist operatives to be active here this year; the grand jury investigating last summer's Hough riots found evidence of Communist Party participation.

Local organization is proceeding on both sides of the color line. The United Black Brotherhood (UBB), formed last fall and regarded by Police Chief Wagner as "militantly racial," is actively involved in the "dialogues in black" that present Ahmed and others to the Negro community. The supposed aim of the "dialogues" is to steer militants away from violence and toward peaceful protest.

But police say the effect is to unite Negroes under the UBB banner.

Lewis Robinson, identified by a grand jury as a leader in last summer's riots but never indicted, and now a participant in the "dialogues," says of them: "We've had factionalism. Now we want to pull all these things together." He views rioting as "productive and good, a warning that drastic measures must be taken."

Harlell Jones also believes Negroes should crowd into a single group for "political" purposes. He plans to strike out on his own this month to organize such a group.

## **White Organizing**

An organizing drive among whites is being planned by Robert Annable, chairman of the Cleveland-based National Christian Conservative Society and also head of the North American Alliance of White People. Mr. Annable, who believes that Negroes are "culturally and intellectually inferior," will begin holding rallies in May. William Murphree, vice president of the White Citizens Council of Ohio, subscribes to many of Mr. Annable's beliefs and also plans rallies.

The special targets of all these racial organizers, whether they admit it or not, are the youngsters of this "city of nations," most of whom live in neighborhoods that are sharply segregated along nationality as well as racial lines. Murray Hill is largely Italian, Sowinski Park largely Polish, Hough largely Negro, and so on.

As the pressures of social change have mounted, what once were youth clubs have become gangs and now, say social workers and police alike, they are turning more viciously racist. "We know that white and Negro youth gangs now are clashing," says Mr. Kandel, "and we didn't have that before."

In Collinwood, a white neighborhood next to the Negro Glenville section, a young fellow in his twenties says: "When the civil rights groups said they were going to march this summer in our neighborhood, a bunch of the guys in our club decided to form vigilante groups." The "club" he refers to is a neighborhood social club. Mrs. Hanserd of the Welfare Federation says, "We keep hearing there's a buildup of guns in the Collinwood area."

## **"Chain Gang" Target Practice**

In Sowinski Park, members of the white Chain Gang recently have acquired shotguns. "They're practicing with the guns in the basement of one member's home, shooting at paper targets they call 'niggers,'" a social worker says. "The purpose for the guns, they say, is to defend themselves against the Negroes



creation of a supplementary education center to draw white and Negro pupils for specialized instruction.

"The only bright spot I can think of is our schools," says Alan Kandel of the Jewish Community Federation.

There are other activists at work, but without much visible result. The Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs is conscientious but, says Mr. Cooper, a member, "they're involved mostly in long-range planning, not immediate action." Two wood-products trade associations have announced plans to rehabilitate a section of Hough, but the project is said to be stymied by slum landlords who have jacked up prices. Other public and private rehabilitation projects amount to a drop in the bucket.

Mayor Locher, for his part, has some plans he expects to reveal as election time approaches. He already has repaved some slum streets, installed new street lights, and hauled off the streets hundreds of junked cars. Soon he hopes to start a citywide rat control program, collect ghetto trash weekly instead of monthly, let some contracts for play areas and "vest-pocket" parks, and augment the city's supply of housing inspectors, policemen and medical personnel.

#### Money Problems

But all this costs money, and the mayor is having his troubles on that score. Voters defeated a city income tax in 1965. Last year the city council enacted a tax to be effective this past Jan. 1, but disgruntled citizens have forced the levy to another ballot box test, to be held in May or June. "If the tax is defeated," says Mr. Locher, "then there will have to be a severe cutback" in his plans.

Anyway, the mayor is willing to move only so far. To him some specific recommendations for easing racial tension in Cleveland advanced by the Civil Rights Commission are "poppycock," and he is steadfastly loyal to his city officials. The Inner City Action Committee, in offering to supply the city with dollar-a-year men to unsnarl the urban renewal tangle, insisted on the removal of the city's urban renewal chief. The mayor refused.

Mr. Locher is looking to Washington for some new help. The White House is expected to announce soon a crash program to provide jobs for unemployed Negroes in 19 cities, and the mayor believes Cleveland will be one. But Mr. Kandel of the Jewish Community Federation, who has been in on some of the local planning, is not enthusiastic. "It's too late," he says. "They're talking about placing 2,000 people by June, and that's only three months away."

Less than two months away is the "doomsday" pinpointed by Ahmed. He is quite correct in predicting an eclipse of the sun on May 9, but authorities say the eclipse will be partial and won't turn the Cleveland sky dark. And Ahmed's forecast of revolt may be wildly exaggerated. But other events scheduled for Cleveland soon are likely to arouse racial tempers.

#### Enter Martin Luther King

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. will visit Cleveland soon to help prepare for simultaneous demonstrations this summer here and in other cities. The militant Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has narrowed its search for a summer "demonstration city" to Cleveland, Oakland, Calif., and Newark, N.J. A spokesman here says it is "quite possible" that Cleveland will be the final choice.

"If CORE makes Cleveland its target city," says J. B. Stoner, vice chairman of the white-supremacist National States Rights Party, "we'll come to Cleveland to stage peaceful counter-demonstrations." Last summer, after a States Rights Party rally in Baltimore, the 1966 CORE demonstration city, whites and Negroes tangled in the streets.

The Ku Klux Klan is preparing for an organizational meeting in this city in a few weeks. There are reports that the American Nazi Party intends activity here this spring. At the other end of the political spectrum,

"They're practicing with the guns in the basement of one member's home, shooting at paper targets they call 'niggers,'" a social worker says. "The purpose for the guns, they say, is to defend themselves against the Negroes when the riots come again this summer."

In another white section, on the western fringe of Hough, signs tacked on telephone poles and painted on buildings warn "Nigger, this is Alley Rat territory, keep your ass out," or urge "Wallace for President." This is the work of the Alley Rats gang whose members, social workers say, have attended meetings of the American Nazi Party in Detroit and Pittsburgh. The Outlaws, a Cleveland motorcycle club, is reported laying plans to attack the Checkered Cherubs, a Negro motorcycle club.

The United Black Brotherhood, whose strongholds have been found by police to contain fire bombs, has begun within the past few weeks to instruct some Negro youth gangs in "guerrilla warfare." Police Chief Wagner says the UBB has made contact with the Ponderosas, a 200-member group preoccupied until recently with vandalism but now turning increasingly anti-white.

A similar turn, says the police chief, has been detected among other Negro gangs, such as the Delamores, the Devil's Disciples and the Marquis. "They're getting away from gang activity and are forming militant racial organizations," Mr. Wagner declares.

## Interco Inc. Holders Vote Stock Increases

### Boost in Common and Preferred, Creation of a New Preferred To Enable Further Diversifying

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

ST. LOUIS — Interco Inc. shareholders cleared the way for further diversification of the company by voting to increase authorized common by four million shares, and the existing preferred by 327,060 shares in addition to creating a new preferred issue of one million shares.

However, aside from a pending acquisition of Sam Shainberg Co., Memphis, Tenn., operator of 79 junior department stores, for 410,000 shares of the present preferred, Interco isn't seriously studying any possible acquisitions. Norfleet H. Rand, vice chairman of the board and treasurer, said after the meeting.

Since 1964, Interco has pursued an active diversification program. It operates 210 junior department stores, eight work and play clothing factories and six retail hardware stores plus its shoe manufacturing and retailing operations. "We're interested primarily in the soft goods, although we'd consider any field that looked promising," Mr. Rand said.

Sales and earnings in December and January, the first two months of the company's fiscal year, showed an improvement over the similar period a year earlier, the executive said. And there will be "an improvement" for the quarter ended Feb. 28 from the first period of fiscal 1966, when Interco earned \$3,861,227, or \$1.09 a share, on sales of \$106,639,944, excluding results of Idaho Department Store Co., acquired in February 1966.

Mr. Rand also predicted higher sales and earnings for the year ending Nov. 30, even without a contribution from Sam Shainberg Co. On a pro-forma basis for last year, for instance, Shainberg would have contributed 18 cents a share, after preferred dividends, to Interco's reported earnings of \$14,598,000, or \$3.91 a share, on sales of \$469,100,000. Results of Idaho Department Store Co. were included only for nine months.