



DETROIT: Policemen scatter for cover, while others (right) fire back at riot/looters

INSIGHT on the deadly economics of segregation: the time-bomb in the core of the American city

GENERATION OF ESPIONAGE

TO GET an idea of the despair behind America's race riots requires a considerable effort of belief from most of us in Britain.

We are not used to thinking of America in images of poverty; and even if we were, the poverty which afflicts the Negro sections of a city like Detroit is of a kind so bizarre as to make any European experience irrelevant.

The whole story takes a lot of telling. But there are some facts which can be brief and bluntly stated in advance, to give some idea of the scope and subtlety of the corruption which has taken over the American cities.

—One in three of the Negroes in most Northern cities are unemployed, or as good as unemployed (according to the latest Department of Labour survey).

—Thirteen years after the Supreme Court outlawed it, there is more segregation in the schools than ever before.

—In a period of unparalleled boom, after six years on steady economic expansion, median incomes in the urban ghettos (where most Negroes live) have decreased during the 1960s.

This is also after several years of unparalleled growth in the Negroes, so hardly one of the Negroes as hardy one as has come true. A tragic, automatic mechanism has been expatriated in American society, through which nearly every attempt to help the poor—and the poor are, basically, the Negroes—has been transmuted into a device for making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The kind of irony confronting America is that the Federal money for the urban renewal programmes—running this year at £200 million—is being diverted into replacing slum dwellings with middle-class housing, which the slum-dwellers cannot afford.

The situation is one in which a city like Detroit can be much discriminated against as "liberal"—although no public housing programme has been completed there since the early fifties. Against

this background Stokely Carmichael, the apostle of Black Power, calls for guerrilla war against the whites. It is an immediate and violent demand. But the current predicament of the Negro is as immediate. The violence is part of a context in which thirty-six murders in the South, of Civil Rights workers, have produced only three convictions, and no sentence of more than ten years.

And even moderate Negro leaders freely admit their sympathy with Carmichael's bitter denunciation. Bayard Rustin, leader of the great 1963 Negro march on Congress, what Stokely is saying is that if things have got worse after all we've been through, there's something goddam wrong with the leaders, the liberals, the Jews, the unions—the whole alliance which has not produced victories. He's lost faith in the ability of this society to move that he's addressing only the Negroes.

America has been grappling with the problem since the civil war a century ago. (This is commonly advanced in Britain to demonstrate that "you cannot legislate the hearts of men.") The second myth is that the upsurge of violence in the negro ghettos of American cities over the last four years is a new phenomenon.

The central truth is that, right until the end of the second world war, American Government was, at least tacitly and usually explicitly, segregationist. President Woodrow Wilson—the man proudly bringing freedom to Europe at the close of the first world war—actually imposed segregation in all federal services. In the same period, only the intervention of the Supreme Court prevented the imposition of formal apartheid through racial zoning legislation.

system with sufficient starkness to have come to terms with the basic, economic nature of the Negro plight—if anyone had wanted to look that hard. But the Negro emerged from the New Deal if anything worse than he had entered it: a depressed segregated urban subclass.

But in a back-handed way the New Deal did bring about the alliance on which the Negroes pinned their faith for the next generation: the common front of the Negro organisations and the white labour unions. That alliance is arguably the single most important reason why American cities enjoyed almost complete racial peace for twenty years up to 1964. As long as the grouping held the Negroes had at least some powerful allies—notably Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers—in the jobs market.

From the unions' point of view there was never much altruism involved. They were simply shrewd enough to see in the 1930s that, with millions unemployed, the Negroes would make excellent strikebreakers unless controlled.

It was in Detroit, home of the United Auto Workers, that the alliance between Negroes and the unions finally dissolved in 1960, when the white craft unions and industrial unions rejoined forces, and all the craft unions and industrial unions joined forces. As automation ate up the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, the Negroes were once again competitors of the white workers on the lowest rungs of the ladder.

In the Negroes' post-war struggle for equality, the Supreme Court judgment of 1954 against segregation in schools is often seen as a landmark.

But in fact the willingness of the Court to temper the Constitution to the times emasculated the victory. A constitutional right, the Court had always maintained was "personal and present"; it could not be supposed for a single day. Until 1954, when the Court handed down the unprecedented decision that desegregation of schools was

to proceed, not at once, but merely "with all deliberate speed." As the Negroes have learned with growing bitterness, the court could not have handed the southern states a more perfectly fashioned weapon for delay. Ten years later, surveying the rubble of the desegregation programme, a Supreme Court justice was moved to remark: "There has been entirely too much deliberation and not enough speed."

Nor has the Government demonstrated any more eagerness to enforce the 1954 decision. The 1964 Civil Rights Act was clear, no more federal funds to segregated schools. That should have cut off about 1,900 of the South's 2,200 school districts right away. But Congress and the U.S. Office of Education decided to be lenient: it was ten years since the Supreme Court decision, but the schools could have even more time to ease themselves into segregation.

The result goes far to explain the growing Negro disdain of Government, or Supreme Court promises of action. In 1963 1.8 per cent of Negro pupils in the South went to integrated schools; by 1965, 5.8 per cent; today only 13 per cent—almost 14 years since the highest court in the land ruled it was every child's right.

apart this month had been on the move a long time. (And Detroit was, in a sense, a liberal city: the Negro Hand book, published by Ebony magazine lists it as one of the ten best cities for Negro employment.)

Building the ghetto began a long way from Detroit, in the Deep South. Ever since the firm of the century there has been a movement of Negroes from the southern farmlands to the urban north: expelled most vigorously by the decline of employment in the cotton fields. Four million have moved north since 1940—a million of them in the last ten years. Two-thirds of all adult Negroes in the northern cities were born in the south.

Mechanisation of the farms, and the use of chemicals, are making the share-croppers obsolete. The pattern is continuing, an 80,000 Negroes are expected to be out of work in the Mississippi delta this autumn. Landowners, consolidating and mechanising their estates, are glad to see the Negroes go: their attitudes are not unlike those which in Britain during the Enclosure movement of the eighteenth century. Some of them have placed advertisements offering to pay the bus-fares of any Negroes who want to go north. Some rural counties are starting-out their superluous black tenants by refusing to take part in Federal food-distribution programmes.

Willing or unwilling, scores of Negroes pack their cardboard boxes every day and board the buses for Harlem, Watts and Detroit. Their life has not usually helped them towards handling the urban experience, naturally most of them are trained only to chop, or fillet, or.

In the northern city centres, they find accommodation in buildings vacated by whites—who are making for the suburbs in the classic pattern of white, middle-class America. The result is the estimate of the Congressional Quarterly that by 1970 at least fourteen core-cities will have populations more than 50 per cent black. They have passed that point already: Washington, Baltimore and Detroit.

According to Walter Lippmann, America's most respected commentator: The race problem as we know it is really the by-product of our planless, disordered, bedraggled, drifting democracy.

"Until we have learned to house everybody, employ everybody at decent wages in a self-respecting status, guarantee his civil liberties, and bring education and play to him, the bulk of our race problem will remain a sinister mythology in a dither civilisation the relation between black men and white will be a dirty one. In a clean civilisation the two races can conduct their business together cleanly and not until then."

The slowness of America's response to the indictment is indicated by its date. Lippmann was writing in 1919.

That was the "Red Summer," the first of the long hot ones. More than twenty race battles flared in the streets that summer, seven of them major riots, by the heat of the blood erupting in Chicago in July, twenty-three Negroes and fifteen whites were killed.

Two myriads of the subject. The first is that

we devoted too many years to arguing that you couldn't legislate against prejudice

—See U.S. Dept. of Labour, *Employment Opportunity Commission*

Even Roosevelt's New Deal was segregationist. In the rural areas the Agricultural Adjustment Administration adjusted thousands of Negro sharecroppers off the land. When the destitute refugees swelled the urban ghettos, the New Deal housing agencies turned out to have policies rooted in the old deal. One agency, the Federal Housing Administration, blocked mortgages on homes that Negroes wanted to buy in white suburbs. The other, the United States Housing Authority, financed separate housing projects for black and white. Inhabitably, the black developments became merely extensions of the old ghettos.

Effectively, the New Deal was the final tightening of the noose round the Negro's neck. The depression was probably the last occasion on which America confronted the shortcomings of her economic

system with sufficient starkness to have come to terms with the basic, economic nature of the Negro plight—if anyone had wanted to look that hard. But the Negro emerged from the New Deal if anything worse than he had entered it: a depressed segregated urban subclass.

But in a back-handed way the New Deal did bring about the alliance on which the Negroes pinned their faith for the next generation: the common front of the Negro organisations and the white labour unions. That alliance is arguably the single most important reason why American cities enjoyed almost complete racial peace for twenty years up to 1964. As long as the grouping held the Negroes had at least some powerful allies—notably Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers—in the jobs market.

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Why it shouldn't happen here

LAST YEAR the big question which intelligent white people were hesitantly asking was whether there really is much discrimination against coloured people in Britain. Suddenly this week the same people in similar bewilderment, are asking whether there will soon be a race riot in Mass Side or Brixton or Southall. The Liberals are using the question to argue for urgent Government action. The Conservatives are using it to show that things could never be as bad here as in Detroit. And predictably it is left to Duncan Sandys (a former Commonwealth Secretary) to use it as a reason to end all coloured immigration and prevent the "breeding of millions of half-caste children"—a generation of misfits.

The first question is dangerous not because it titillates our latent fascination with violence but because it encourages an already widespread British conviction that the absence of race relations in industrialised good race relations, and that harmony should be our primary goal. It would be tragic if the U.S. race riots made us equate the Equilibrium Society with the just

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the United States, is likely to remain deceptively calm. We are in a position to make the Equilibrium Society's is the just society. Roy Jenkins's statement this week on the proposed extension of the Race Relations Act offers some hope, in that it is the last besting the warning from America by extending the Act to cover discrimination in jobs, housing and insurance, the Government can ensure that in Britain we shall have an opportunity, which America has lost. It is not yet effectively before the problems become insoluble. The Race Relations Board has already done better, from its position of powerlessness, than its transatlantic counterparts in winning the confidence of coloured people. It may now be able to tackle the real problems of discrimination and it must be given the power to enforce the law.

The alternatives are clear. We can provide effective redress for the victim of discrimination, or we can compel him to choose to accept injustice or to take his grievances to the streets. Britain's coloured population is more likely to put up with injustice in the next five years than to engage in a civilised society have any choice?

Anthony Lester

The death of Billy Furr

By Dale Wittner, Newark NJ

I MET Billy Furr at the corner of Aven and Livingston when he barged into my conversation with a Black brother who called himself Blazing 3. Blazing was predicting that the riot would go on "until every white man's building in Newark is burned. But Billy disagreed.

"We ain't riotin' against all you whites. We're riotin' against police brutality, the fact that they beat up the other night," Billy declared.

But that he turned away and went with his friends in search of beer, which he could not buy because of the curfew.

Billy, who was 24, had been stranded in Newark. He came to the city to pick up a job unemployment check and look for a job. When the buses back to his home were stopped by the riot, Billy stayed on. Photographer Bud Lee and I came on Billy again later—a black father down Aven at Mack Ligon. He and his friends were inside the store, which had already been broken into the day before. They loaded all the beer they could carry into car trunks and handed it out to passers-by. Billy threw a can in my hand.

I opened the beer, then went off to view racetracks and beaches in a crowded 1885-month apartment half a block away. Monday later, tears streamed and a city police car stopped for a man driving in front of Mack Ligon. There had been no warrant—it had raved in with its siren blaring. This was the first sign of police activity on the block in more than an hour, but a police trainer who spotted beer and watched the looking with me.

In an instant the shotgun breaking from the cruiser's windows shattered the relative calm. The sudden explosion, rather than clearing the street, sent mothers screaming to pull children to safety.

For the looting caught in the store there was no place to run. They simply fell to the floor in a flash of their lives. But Billy was standing outside with part of a brick in his hand. He'd been arrested before. This time he ran.

He raced past me down Aven. I was barely 30 feet away from a yellow-beleated officer with a shotgun pointed towards me. "Get down," he screamed. I fell onto the sidewalk just as a blast from the weapon exploded over me and the officer shouted an order to fall. But apparently Billy kept running behind me. From the ground I looked up into the sweating face of the policeman as he squinted down the long barrel. I feared he wouldn't shoot. He pulled the trigger.

My piece of spirit shell flattered down on the asphalt surface inches from the feet of Billy lying on the ground. Already people were screaming obscenities from the windows and balconies of a nearby building. More gunfire erupted from the windows.

Call an ambulance, a policeman yelled back to the car. By the street the officer who had shot Billy stood over him, the shotgun resting in the crook of his arm. Billy's blood poured to the city sidewalk. Then a jet was made him sobbing and ignoring the order to "get the hell out of here."



NEWARK: he dies, 12, wounded by chance

"I'm his girl-friend, Billy. Please do something. God, don't let him die."

Back at the corner of Livingston there was more shooting as a line of police reinforcements arrived with an ambulance. I ran toward the crowd being held back at gunpoint on the corner. In the crowd, blood streaming from his neck, by Bill Joe East Jr., a 12-year-old who had been slapping shoes at home with his brother as four rioters were playing catch ball to one another.

Two points from the same shotgun that killed Billy had struck Joey in the neck and thigh. Among his first words about the shooting was to cry out to his mother: "I'm his girl-friend, Billy. Please do something. God, don't let him die."

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PERIT: Bringing a National Guard truck through the city

NEWARK: His girl-friend weeps over Billy Furr shot by police

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In the Negro slums, one man in three cannot earn a basic living



SUB-EMPLOYMENT in the Negro slums, traditional unemployment figures are irrelevant

Between 1950 and 1960 the Negro slum areas of the city were hit by a 22 per cent increase in the number of Negroes. In the same period, the number of jobs available in the slum areas fell by 40 per cent. This means that for every 100 Negroes who moved into the slum areas, only 60 jobs were available. The result was a 40 per cent unemployment rate for Negroes in the slum areas. This is a much higher rate than the 11 per cent unemployment rate for the city as a whole.

Which over the last decade the Negro has been forced further back into ever crowded slums, while on his borders public money into the building of a new middle-class. Social conditions in the Negro slums have deteriorated to a point where the Negro slum areas are now a vast wasteland. The number of jobs available in the slum areas has fallen to a point where the unemployment rate for Negroes in the slum areas is now 40 per cent. This is a much higher rate than the 11 per cent unemployment rate for the city as a whole.

A great deal was said in Detroit about the need for an "urban renewal" program to attract at least some white back to the depressed area. But the city's industry is now nearly dead. The unemployment rate for Negroes in the slum areas is now 40 per cent. This is a much higher rate than the 11 per cent unemployment rate for the city as a whole.

Under the Great Project 120 acres of slum were cleared, and 1,800 Negro families were rehoused. Although 75 per cent of these families earned less than \$3,000 a year, they were not rehoused in the "better" area, but in the "worse" area. This means that the Great Project has done nothing to improve the living conditions of the Negroes in the slum areas.

More than 1,800 Negro families were rehoused in the "better" area, but in the "worse" area. This means that the Great Project has done nothing to improve the living conditions of the Negroes in the slum areas.

added for 40 million for rent subsidies, but got nothing. He asked for \$20 million for public transport programs but this was a quarter of what Congress has authorized. The Federal office and state offices are in a state of confusion. The Federal office is in a state of confusion. The Federal office is in a state of confusion.

Let the little progress that has been made be a sign of hope. Let the little progress that has been made be a sign of hope. Let the little progress that has been made be a sign of hope.

How much this country goes for the surface glossing over instead of truly dealing with its deep-rooted problems. The question is whether white America really has the courage to face the reality of the situation. The question is whether white America really has the courage to face the reality of the situation.

Across the bay from San Francisco another program is being carried out. The program is being carried out. The program is being carried out.

It was only one of many programs that were carried out. It was only one of many programs that were carried out.

PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

UNIVERSITY continued from page 6 DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

ASSISTANT LECTURER SENIOR DEMONSTRATOR DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

LECTURERS AND TEACHING DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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