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# ONE YEAR AFTER THE RIOTS

# Inner City Small Business Find Crime More A Concern

Rioters struck Baltimore one year ago in the violent nationwide aftermath of the April 4 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. For four nights and three days Baltimore was under intermittent siege by firebombers, looters and assailants.

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This is the first in a series of articles examining the small business climate in sections hit by the riot, attitudes of some affected white businessmen, views of law-enforcement officials, the disposition of riot cases and attitudes by the courts and the views of some blacks in the ghettos.

*"Since the riot the city of Baltimore, more than any other city in the country, is beginning to make real progress in such areas as housing, recreation, employment and education."*

—Kalman Hettleman, administrative assistant to Mayor D'Alesandro.

*"Baltimore is a sick city. In fact, it's worse. It's a dying city. And the riot speeded up the disease. The riot really sent the city to hell."*

—Harry L. Goldberg, former spokesman for a defunct small businessmen's organization.

By Paul D. Samuel

Depending on your point of view, Baltimore, and in particular its business community and atmosphere, may be either healthy, getting better all the time, sick, dying, or perhaps somewhere in the middle.

Still, despite the wide range of opinions on the question of how business in Baltimore was affected by the riot of April, 1968, much is known about the cost of the riot in terms of property damaged, businesses destroyed, income lost. For example:

1. Damaged stores—An informal, city-wide survey conducted by The Evening Sun of 454 stores damaged or destroyed during the riot shows that one-third have never reopened at the scene. This proportion probably holds true for the more than 1,000 stores hit.



Sunpapers photos—Hutchins

**SAFEGUARD THAT FAILED**—This former store at 1536 East Monument street is evidence that the protective metal grill over the windows and door did not stop arsonists who burned it. It is still closed as are hundreds of others here.

2. Extent of damages—According to an official Police Department study, 1,049 privately owned business (and two Baltimore Transit Company buses) were burned, looted or otherwise damaged during the civil disorders between April 5 and April 12.

The worst damage was inflicted on grocery stores. The police study found that 263 of these, or 25.1 per cent of the total number of stores hit, were damaged or destroyed. Other favorite targets were package stores and bars, of which 217, or 20.7 per cent of the total, were hit.

#### Laundries Were Hit

Also singled out among business establishments were laundries and cleaners (70 stores hit, 6.7 per cent), clothing and department stores (67 stores hit, 6.4 per cent), drug stores (64 hit, 6.1 per cent), furniture and appliance stores (54 stores hit, 5.1 per cent), and restaurants (43 stores hit, 4.1 per cent).

3. Liquor outlets—According to the city Liquor Board, 55 of the approximately 300 establishments holding alcoholic beverage licenses affected by the riot remained closed by December 31, 1968. Half of those still closed will never reopen, estimated Joseph Van Collum, Jr., the board's executive secretary.

4. Cost of damage—The State Insurance Department places the total amount of damage at more than \$14 million. Of this, \$11,650,103 was covered by insurance; approximately \$2,500,000 was in uninsured losses.

5. Claims settled—About 90 per cent of the damage claims stemming from insured losses have been settled between insurance companies and their policyholders, estimated David Fentress, executive assistant to Newton I. Steers, Jr., state insurance commissioner. The remainder, he said, will probably be the subject of court fights.

6. Insurance made available—In the wake of the riot, insurance cancellations multiplied and a new program, backed by federal riot reinsurance, was established last October making property insurance more readily available. In the program's first four months, written coverage totaled \$27,320,801; the premiums for that amount cost \$315,987.

#### Voluntary Agreements

At present, participation in the program has been obtained by voluntary agreement on the part of insurance companies. However, bills to make participation mandatory for insurance companies operating in Maryland have been passed by both chambers of the General Assembly. This assures continued federal backing of the program.

7. Suits filed—More than 120 suits, demanding compensation totaling \$6,624,000, had been filed against Baltimore city by numerous merchants and property owners by the end of February. More such filings are expected.

8. Business volume—Thirteen business-

men, active in merchants' associations throughout the city, feel that business is "about the same" as last year before the riot, according to an informal survey recently conducted by Herman Katkow, director of the Mayor's advisory Committee on Small Business.

Five other merchants thought that business is "a little better," three found it to be "a little less," one felt it is "much less," and one believed business has become "much better" than before the riot.

9 Night business—The Katkow survey found that across the city merchants are concerned about the drop in night business, which they attribute directly to fears brought to the surface through last year's rioting. "There is a real after-dark ~~loss~~ on the part of customers and businessmen," Mr. Katkow commented.

#### Business Efforts

10. Negro-owned businesses—The riot, directed chiefly against white businessmen, spurred efforts to get Negroes into their own businesses.

Approximately 50 businesses—chiefly grocery stores, liquor outlets, drug stores, carry-outs and other small retailers have been successfully transferred from whites to Negroes through the Business Opportunities Administration, which itself was established as a direct result of the riot.

Officials of the city Economic Development Commission and the private Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Baltimore profess to find no evidence of any large firms either refusing to move into Baltimore or deciding to leave the city, if they are situated here, because of the April riot.

But neither these agencies, nor any other public or privately supported organization, has made any sort of follow-up study or report on what has happened, since last April, to the businesses which were damaged or destroyed in the riots.

#### Director's Answer

"What for? What good would it do?" replied Edward D. deLuca, director of the city's Economic Development Commission, when asked why no such follow-up study has been made.

The Evening Sun's informal study covered approximately half of the 1,000-plus buildings listed by the Bureau of Building Inspection as damaged in the April riot.

One-third, or 150, of the 454 stores visually inspected, had not reopened by the end of February.

Some of these stores might have been vacant and abandoned before the start of the riot. Some others would, in all likelihood, have closed whether or not there had been a riot.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the riot had a serious effect on the small businessmen of Baltimore, many of whom simply suffered losses and made no attempt to regain their former livelihoods.

#### Stores Were Moved

Or, if some of these merchants did reopen their stores, they moved away from the riot-prone inner-city neighborhoods in which their original losses were suffered.

Those businessmen who did remain began to take extraordinary precautions against future damage, if they had no already done so. Storefronts were bricked-up, boarded-up, screened-up. There are very few stores open today in the neighborhoods hit by the riot which do not look like miniature fortresses.

Mr. Katkow, who, as president of the Affiliated Merchants, Incorporated, a local association representing more than 1,000 retail stores, has wide contacts in the Baltimore business community, says he knows of many merchants who now keep guns on their premises.

Many businessmen will not be quoted publicly, or will not comment at all, on specific countermeasures they have taken in the event of another riot.

Some say they are fearful of harass-

ment by black militant groups. For others, last year's disturbances were a shocking experience which they would like to forget.

The number of people already upset by the riot is quite evident in the damage suits demanding more than \$6,600,000 in compensatory payments, filed against the city of Baltimore by numerous merchants and property owners.

There is every reason to believe that more suits, including many by insurance companies which have paid damage claims to policyholders, will be filed in the future, according to Jerry Kline, assistant city solicitor.

The suits charge that the city failed to enforce the law diligently and exercise its police powers authoritatively during the April riot week, thereby permitting extensive fires and looting.

The suits are tied up in pre-trial legal maneuvering before the Supreme Bench, and it will be months, possibly years, before the question of responsibility is ultimately decided before the Maryland Court of Appeals.

### Effects Studied

Although the overall effect of the riot was detrimental to Baltimore, some persons were able to see a glimmer of light: In the wake of the disturbances, some business opportunities were opened to Negroes which were not present before.

Following the riots, Mayor D'Alesandro announced the formation of the Business Opportunities Administration (BOA), a coalition of existing public and private agencies which would work to assist the transfer of small businesses from white ownership to Negro hands.

Its task, the Mayor said, would be "the difficult one of bringing together buyers and sellers in economically feasible and sound transactions."

After nine months of operation, it has become apparent that the Mayor's assessment of the difficulties in store for BOA was accurate.

Immediately after the riots, large numbers of store owners, fearful of future disturbances, flooded the BOA with selling inquiries and propositions. But as time passed, many of those merchants with profitable businesses realized they had been hasty, changed their minds and took their businesses off the market.

### Inquires Received

By mid-February, according to Mr. deLuca, whose Economic Development Commission acts as a coordinating agency for BOA, the Business Opportunities Administration had received 303 buying inquiries, compared with 238 offers to sell businesses. Fewer sellers appear every day.

Many of the available businesses, moreover, are uneconomic or only marginally economic and cannot be recommended as sound ventures, said Samuel T. Daniels, director of the privately-funded Council for Equal Business Opportunities (CEBO).

CEBO, and the city's Business Opportunities Center (BOC), are the arms of BOA, bringing together buyers and sellers.

Although figures supplied by CEBO and BOC show that about 50 businesses have been successfully transferred through these agencies from whites to Negroes since the riot last April, the city has no way of knowing how many other businesses were transferred without the help of BOA.

### Overestimates Cited

Also, this figure may be misleading because, as both Mr. Daniels and Henry H. Scarborough, BOC director agreed, equal attention should be given to the number of persons, well over one hundred, who have been counseled not to involve themselves in what were almost certainly unfeasible business ventures.

Both men also asserted that the num-

ber of Negro buyers who had available capital and experience to consummate business transfers was initially overestimated. Said Mr. Daniels: "This kind of 'instant Negro' just didn't exist."

Moreover, just because a man is black even operating in a Negro neighborhood, is no guaranter of success. Mr. Daniels believes that the riots have penalized budding Negro businessmen by making much more difficult or expensive the obtaining of insurance, credit, loans and other necessities.

"The fact that a man is black doesn't give him any shield against being shot in the head," Mr. Scarborough said. "He's subject to the same problems as are white entrepreneurs."

The riot and Baltimore's rising crime rates have become inextricably linked in the minds of many inner-city businessmen. These are the people who believe law enforcement authorities were lax last year in preventing the looting and burning of stores, and that police protection is still inadequate.

One Pennsylvania avenue merchant theorizes that much of the vandalism and burglarizing of stores following the riot have been committed by youngsters "who got their first taste of taking things which didn't belong to them during the riot. And they liked it."

"The riot, and crime in general, is part of a cancer that is eating at the heart of the city," said Harry L. Goldberg, a local attorney.

### Goldberg's View

"A city is no better than its commerce. Baltimore is dying. Everyday some businesses close up, or leave, but nobody ever hears about them. They're scared out."

Mr. Goldberg formerly headed an organization called Responsible Citizens for Law and Order, formed after the Baltimore riot to pressure public officials into taking more vigorous action against crime and disorder. Its first meeting, last May, drew more than 1,200 persons.

But the attorney said he disassociated himself from the group, which is now inactive, because of what he called public apathy and the unwillingness of public officials to take action against rising crime rates.

But Kalman Hettleman, an assistant to Mayor D'Alesandro, says the present administration has taken action against crime. He points to improved communications systems, the police-community relations program, filling of the vacancies on the police force, and additional foot patrolmen on the city streets.

Mr. Goldberg admits that Baltimore's problems are not unique, but those of every major American city, and he proposes no specific solutions other than stricter crackdown on crime.

### Auxiliary Police

Another businessman, Charles Bayor, director of the Maryland Association of Independent Insurance Agents, has advanced what he believes to be one answer to rising crime rates: a paid auxiliary police force composed of unarmed citizens.

Mr. Bayor, who heads a still-active group called Businessmen Against Crime, would have these auxiliaries given arrest powers in certain circumstances, but their primary purpose would be patrolling, observation and reporting of crime.

Such a force, Mr. Bayor feels, would give the police added manpower to control crime, would involve the average citizen in fighting crime, and would be a definite deterrent against rising crime rates and the possibility of riots.

He said he has mentioned this idea to high city officials but that they refuse to consider it seriously.

Some, but not enough, according to Mr. Katkow, local merchant groups have active community relations programs underway.

Mr. Katkow, who owns a ladies' wear shop in the 1700 block Pennsylvania avenue, is the president of P.A.L.M.A., the Pennsylvania Avenue-Lafayette Market Association—which he says has had a long-time working community relations program with neighboring residents.

One P.A.L.M.A. activity—its annual dinner at which an award is presented to a neighborhood leader—drew more than 200 persons when it was held late in February, Mr. Katkow said.

This, and other P.A.L.M.A. activities may have returned dividends in April when, during the riot, shops along Pennsylvania avenue were looted but not burned.

Nevertheless, since the riot the association has hired, as have several other merchants' associations in other parts of the city, a private security firm to patrol its members' stores at night.

"You know, it's funny in a way," said an East Side white businessman, "but if we didn't have to spend our money on these security precautions, we could put it to better use to improve our relations with the community around here. But there's simply no help for it."

Baltimore's problems with crime, violence and riots are akin to those of other major urban centers across the country. And like other cities, workable answers to these problems have been hard to come by.

**TOMORROW—Businessmen in new locations.**

## One Sad Year After

The riot that burned across Baltimore just one year ago left scars that have not begun to heal. Business suffered. Lives suffered. The vacuum left has not been filled. The hopeful new ventures that sprang up afterward have not begun to equal what was lost. That much is plain from the exhaustive study made over two months by a team of *Evening Sun* reporters. What happened to three burned-out merchants is told on Page C-1 today. The articles will appear through Friday.

Who were the victims of the riots? The greatest number are the slum residents, whose lives are that much harder for the fewer jobs, the drabber physical surroundings, the fewer shopping places, the longer walks to get to them. A second category includes those merchants who gave up their life enterprises.

About one thousand stores were damaged or destroyed. Reporter Paul Samuel checked nearly half of them, and of those, one-third were boarded up or gone. Nothing has replaced them.

There are no precise official figures on this. No agency has made the kind of detailed study that would be needed for any truly comprehensive reconstruction program. The several measures that have been taken have been based on impressions, not the detailed knowledge that government ought to have.

The city formed the Business Opportunities Administration after the riot, to accommodate the pressure both of the white merchants who wanted out and the black spokesmen calling for more black ownership. This agency has heard from 303 interested buyers and 238 would-be sellers, and yet has arranged only about 50 transactions.

Why? Some merchants changed their minds when they found themselves operating profitably again. This is a healthy development, a stubborn show of faith by those who thought that they had lost it. More than 100 of the would-be buyers were counseled out of it, either because they lacked the capital and know-how for a realistic venture, or because the little stores for sale were deemed uneconomic.

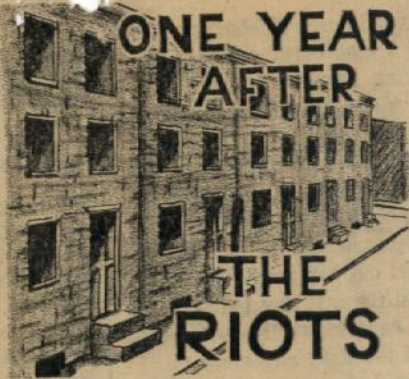
The greatest harm is immeasurable. Its signs are the replacement of windows by fortress fronts, the installation of all too obvious security devices, the decline in nighttime business. Final recovery from the riot, when it comes, will not just be a matter of economic units, but a return to civility. It is not in sight.

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By William Mock

National Guard and top-ranking police spokesmen in Maryland say they are better prepared to meet any civil disorders today than they were a year ago when Baltimore was under siege for four days by rioters.

The civil disorder, which caused at least \$14 million in property damages, hit the Baltimore city Police Department and the National Guard at a time of radical changes in training and reorganization.

Today the changes are nearly complete and both agencies feel they would be better prepared to prevent a small disorder from becoming a full-blown riot.

Authorities still refuse to agree with some critics who last year said city police didn't react quickly enough and there was too long a delay before the guard was called out.

They do say, though, it is now expected that the first sign of problems in Baltimore will result in a "full force" of city and state police and guard being called to the streets with little or no delay.

### 3,000 On Duty Within Hour

About 3,000 city and state police and guardsmen can be on the streets within an hour of any outbreak in Baltimore. Another 3,000 men can be patrolling within four hours and a full force of about 10,000 men can be in Baltimore within four to six hours of any outbreak of violence.

"The general policy now is, if something breaks out in one, small section of Baltimore, there is no reason to believe it will not spread to other areas of the city, like it did last April unless preventive measures are taken," says Col. John S. Edwards, Jr., Chief of Staff for the guard.

"It is generally agreed that a show of strength is necessary to maintain order," he continues.

Most spokesmen indicate, though, that their resources are limited and a full scale outbreak like last April could result in federal troops once again returning to Baltimore streets.

### Started On North Gay

Last year rioting started in a one-block area of North Gay street the evening of April 6, continued for four days and eventually took in most of the East and West Baltimore ghetto areas.

Since then, city and state police and the National Guard have held numerous meetings to map out strategy and deployment of men and equipment.

The only significant new anti-riot legislation enacted by the General Assembly creates a new offense of hindering the work of an on-duty fireman, defines the Governor's powers during emergency situations and allows police to make arrests on misdemeanor charges without a warrant.

Police still maintain that their prime offensive weapons remain in chemical agents and manpower.

Under new command policies, placed into either state or city government in order to immediately meet the problem, the city police department will commit mass numbers of men and chemical agents to trouble areas, says Donald D. Pomerleau, police commissioner.

### Systems Improved

Maj. Gen. George M. Gelston, adjutant general for the Maryland National Guard, says the guard, with a dual role to act in either federal or state emergencies, has improved its systems for communications, mobility and manpower.

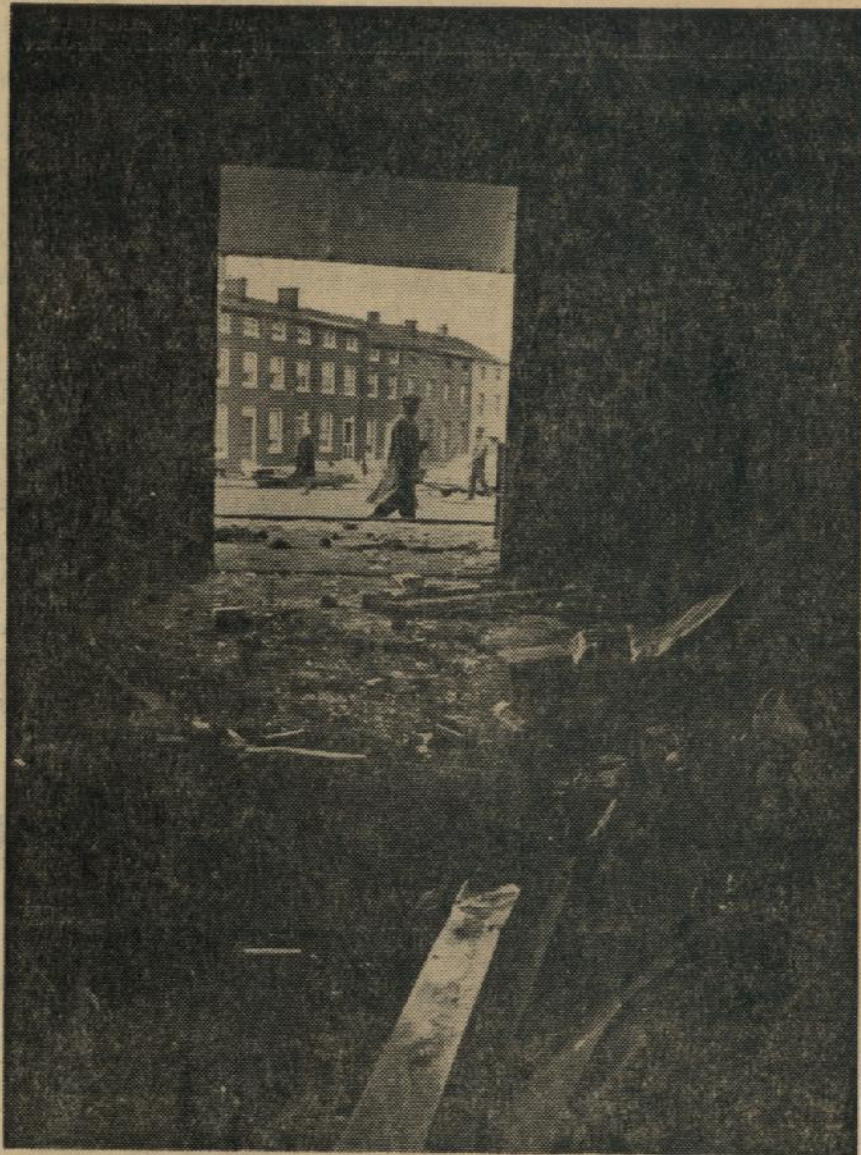
"I think the main thing we learned from last April's disturbances was to control the thing and keep it suppressed to a point," says Colonel Edwards.

"We have to hit early with manpower and control movement on the streets, and we believe the curfew is still the best weapon against indiscriminate movement on the streets," says Colonel Edwards.

Since April the city police department has ordered about \$70,000 in riot-control equipment but, Mr. Pomerleau says, the supplies were under consideration before the riots, as part of the department's reorganization, and are not a direct result of the disorders.

The new supplies are riot helmets and face shields, 12-gauge shotguns with buck

# Better Prepared To Handle Riots, Police And National Guard Claim



Sunpapers photo—Childress

**RUBBLE REMAINS**—Rioting started near this rubble-strewn area in the 800 block North Gay street a year ago. Many of the signs of that period of burning and destruction remain in the area, as does general run-of-the-mill litter.



shot and rifle-slug ammunition, tear gas grenades and gas masks, transistorized megaphones, binoculars and pepper foggers, a rifle-type weapon that expels a chemical agent that can envelope an entire block in less than a minute.

The State Police have purchased pepper foggers, too, and have increased their equipment capabilities with better helmets and better chemical agents, says Col. Robert J. Lally, superintendent.

Both police agencies have changed from the old type possibly explosive CN gas to a new CS gas, made by a number of firms who guarantee against the new gas being inflammable. This eliminates the chance of fires starting from projectiles hurled into buildings where rioters are holed up.

The guard, like city and state police, believe chemical gases are the most effective weapon against looters and rioters, saying indiscriminate shooting only creates a situation where innocent people could get killed. This results in more tension.

#### Detroit Situation Cited

General Gelston, compares his policy against one in Detroit where 200,000 rounds of ammunition, enough to settle a small border flare-up, were fired by police and guardsmen. Officially 43 persons were killed and unofficially, authorities say, no less than 200 died.

"There was little sniper shooting in Detroit. Most of the firing was by frightened guardsmen, police or federal troops, who, when they heard a shot—or thought they heard a shot—began firing indiscriminately, ending up in gun battles with each other," says General Gelston, basing his analysis on FBI reports.

General Gelston, whose guardsmen have been out on the streets five times since 1963, was sharply criticized by some quarters for allowing looters to get away instead of shooting at them in April. The guard has yet to fire a single shot, or kill a single rioter.

While losses in Baltimore were about

\$14 million, they totaled \$75 million in Detroit.

The restraint against indiscriminate shooting carries over to other areas in refresher training for the guard, to the continuous riot-training for Tactical Units of the State Police and to anti-riot procedures for the Baltimore city police.

In August, then-Gov. Spiro T. Agnew ordered anti-riot training for all sworn members of the Baltimore department. Part of the training included a modified dictum that police were not to interrupt controversial speeches unless there is "a clear and present danger" of violence. Before they were told to arrest the speaker.

"Everyone has been retrained for the first time in the history of the department and, because of this training and education, we feel our men have become more aware of what these demonstrations are all about," says Commissioner Pomerleau.

"The men are better able to relate to why people demonstrate and, we believe, this gives them a better perspective . . . a sensibility of what is happening," he continues. "And this should improve their ability to perform in this area."

#### Seminars Attended

Middle-management and ranking officers, including the commissioner, have attended a score of FBI and other federal agency seminars throughout the nation to discuss riot-oriented problems, exchanging ideas and learning how to better cope with demonstrations.

State Police and the guard have held, or attended, similar training programs and even though the guideline is to show restraint, the first sign of violence will bring a more forceful approach at the outset of any future disorders than was shown last April.

The first and second line of command, city and state police and guardsmen, at total strength, would be fully equipped with the latest riot-control weapons. If they are unable to contain the rioting, a



Sunpapers photo—Garrett

tion J. Avara, left, and Patrolman L. J. Campbell  
e device shoots a disabling chemical that can en-  
s than a minute to control a big unruly crowd.

decision, like last year, would be made to bring in federal troops.

General Gelston would relinquish command to a three-star Army general, who would then have at his command, on a decision by the Pentagon, another 3,000 Army reservists trained in Maryland.

#### 29 Units Trained

These Maryland reservists, in 29 different units throughout the state, headed by Col. William H. Adolph, commanding officer of the 2122d Provisional Brigade, have undergone intensive riot-control training over the last eight months, aimed primarily at strategy tactics in Baltimore.

If federal troops were called into the city, probably 3,000 regular Army personnel would arrive and, with the Maryland resources, this would raise full strength to about 13,000 men.

Maryland authorities hope federal troops will not be needed in any future Baltimore disturbances. It is possible, they say, that local resources could contain a major outbreak.

They are relying on the past year's training, more sophisticated weapons, mobility and better communications and better coordination between agencies to control any future riots.

#### Communication Set Up

All city police patrol facets have been equipped with walkie-talkies geared to stationary relay stations that beam radio messages between them and central communications. The guard has equipped helicopters to act as relay stations, roughly akin to a communications satellite, to broadcast messages that would normally be blacked out by dense, business developments.

Other helicopters have been equipped with gas dispensers for crowd control. With their mobility, they can rid a number of city blocks in various parts of Baltimore of rioters in a matter of minutes.

Baltimore police have converted a Civil Defense field truck to a mobile, tactical command-communications control center. It is complete with a transmitter-receiver communications system and when expanded to a crosslike structure, it becomes a strategy room for three dozen personnel.

They have further contracted with the Federal Armored Express Company an agreement that provides, free of cost, as many armored trucks as felt necessary to be used.

Basically, authorities are optimistic that the Baltimore police will be able to contain any outbreaks of violence, keeping demonstrations low-keyed and isolated to an immediate area.

Commissioner Pomerleau told at least one Baltimore group several months ago he believes full-blown riots are possibly a thing of the past and that a new form of civil disorder will be aimed at metropolitan cities.

"I'm very hopeful the (large scale) riots are over but today we face another problem we should be more concerned about . . . the micro-riot or the mini-riot," the commissioner said.

#### "Insurrectionary" Phase

He explained that the country is moving into "an insurrectionary, revolutionary phase of civil disorders" where small groups of between 200 and 300 militants will participate in what appears to be spontaneous disorders but in fact will be well-planned, thought-out disorders.

The city police department, as well as the State Police and National Guard, have trained their men to contain these mini-riots that will be aimed at running businessmen out of their shops in isolated sections of the city.

Commissioner Pomerleau feels "the very reorganization and restructure of the department have geared it for those modern-day trials and tribulations . . . those little annoyances that if not handled properly can get out of hand."

"We are a year further into our reorganization. We are better equipped and trained, and better prepared to handle demonstrations," he says. He backs up this feeling by citing a volatile situation early last October.

#### Five Demonstrations

The city was besieged with five demonstrations, all cramped within the relatively short period of 24 hours.

The Catonsville Nine trial was being held at Federal Court. A mass rally was held at Maryland avenue and 29th street and a march followed to the Federal Court and War Memorial buildings.

Other anti-war groups were demonstrating at draft boards and while that was going on, militants were demonstrating in behalf of Walter Carter, named by Mayor D'Alesandro to head the Community Action Agency but voted down by a white City Council.

There were other demonstrations and a march on City Hall by supporters of Mr. Carter and, later at the Civic Center, a mixed crowd of 10,000 people were protesting for and against former Alabama Gov. George Wallace, who was appearing there in his presidential bid.

#### To Control, Not Prevent

"Our responsibility is not to prevent disturbances but rather to control any outgrowth of a demonstration," explains the commissioner.

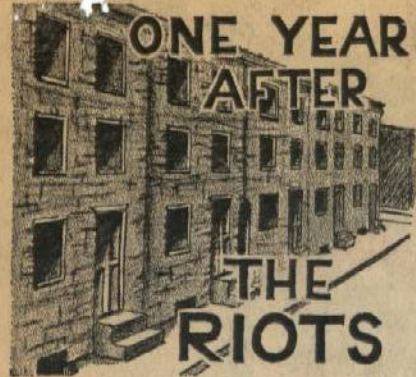
"The demonstrations in October were compressed into a tight period of time, and we were able to handle them without a spill over to other parts of the city."

And the thing to note, he continues, is that department's strategic deployment was accomplished successfully without detracting from the routine coverage of the rest of the community.

**TOMORROW—The courts and rioters.**

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# Justice During Riots Was Swift But Legal Ideals Were Blunted

Rioters struck Baltimore one year ago in the violent nationwide aftermath of the April 4 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. For four nights and three days Baltimore was under intermittent siege by firebombers, looters and assailants.

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**RIOT ARRESTS** — Spectators gathered on the steps of the Court House as police and guardsmen marshaled persons arrested during rioting in the city last April to stand trial. More than 5,000 persons were arrested during the rioting.

Sunpapers photo—Cook

By George Hanst

In a week of frenzied activity last April, the Baltimore courts kept pace with the rioters and held trials for about 5,000 persons arrested during the civil disorder.

The trials were efficient rather than deliberative, and most observers in the legal profession concede that the ideals of due process were blunted.

But Baltimore did clear up the bulk of its riot cases in just one week.

Washington, which adhered to all the trial formalities, still has a backlog of half of its 7,000 riot cases, says Charles E. Moylan, Jr., Baltimore state's attorney.

In Baltimore, some sources figure the number of riot arrests at about 5,500, but the available and admittedly incomplete statistics from the Municipal Court and the Supreme Bench account for 500 fewer.

#### 3,446 Trials

The nine municipal courts recorded 3,446 trials resulting in 2,193 convictions. There were 776 acquittals, and another 389 persons were given probation before verdict.

Only eight courts made any accounting of what happened to the convicted defendants. Of 1,836 accounted for, about 81 per cent, or 1,487 were fined.

The fines ranged from \$5 to \$300, but most were \$25 or \$50.

The other defendants, 349, were jailed for terms ranging from ten days to a year.

Curfew violations comprised the largest number of crimes, about 80 per cent. The remaining cases involved petty larceny, disorderly conduct, and simple assault.

#### Supreme Bench

At the Supreme Bench level, judges granted 237 acquittals and 63 probation-before-verdict rulings. Out of 539 convictions there, records show that 427, about 80 per cent, were fined.

An additional 400 cases tried by municipal court judges sitting in the Courthouse in the early days of the riot were not tabulated.

Felönies and other serious crimes, including murder, arson, inciting to riot, burglary, and deadly weapons charges, were considered later by the grand jury. Indictments were returned against 130 persons.

Only 19 of those defendants remain to be tried, and another four are awaiting sentence.

#### 66 Went To Jail

The serious charges finally adjudicated show that 66 defendants went to jail, 14 had prison terms suspended, 14 others were acquitted, 5 received probation before verdict, and the prosecution dropped charges against 8 persons.

The heaviest penalty so far was the life-plus-10-years sentence recently imposed on Isaac Junior Lynch, who fire-bombed a restaurant and caused the death of a man trapped inside. Two other persons are awaiting trial for the arson-murder.

A 22-year-old man was sentenced to 10 years for firebombing a furniture store on West Baltimore street. Two co-defendants still have to be tried.

#### Shot At Policemen

Another man received six years for shooting at two policemen, and a five-year term was imposed on a young man who broke into a restaurant where he was captured by the bartender. The bartender shot and killed the burglar's confederate.

Five-year terms were given two men caught setting fire to a school at Biddle and Caroline streets.

An 18-year-old boy was sentenced to a four-year term for setting fire to a grocery, but the Court of Special Appeals has reversed the conviction and ordered a new trial.

Another four-year term was meted out to a young man who broke into a motorcycle shop on Loch Raven road.

Other sentenced defendants received terms ranging up to three years.

Although the city's lawyers and judges seem pleased with the administration of justice during the riots, they are working for greater efficiency and more scrupu-

lous attention to legal rights should mass arrests recur.

Most efforts aim at mobilizing lawyers and court personnel faster, minimizing infringements on a defendant's right to due process, enactment of laws to cover looting and exploring possibilities for pretrial release of prisoners.

Some form of pretrial release is essential, says Paul R. Schlitz, former head of the Legal Aid Bureau. The emotional climate of a riot may work against it, but the opportunity should be provided, he says.

#### Shun Turmoil

A judge would have to receive reasonable assurances that the released prisoner would not go back to the turmoil in the streets but would go home, Mr. Schlitz concedes.

Definite plans are lacking in this area. The Mayor's committee on the riots has recommended passage of a scavenger law that would cover looting situations.

The proposal would make it a violation to be on the street during a period of curfew or emergency condition proclaimed by the Governor.

A person who could not explain his presence in a building, or who was found in possession of goods under circumstances leading to the inference that they were stolen, would be guilty under the scavenger law, Mr. Moylan says.

#### Power During Daytime

The law would give police some riot suppression power during the daytime, when a curfew is usually not in effect, the state's attorney says in an endorsement.

A proposed scavenger law died in committee at the recent session of the General Assembly.

Another necessary legal change, Mr. Moylan observes, should specifically give the Supreme bench and Municipal Court jurisdiction to try curfew cases, a provision absent from existing law.

#### Diversity In Sentences

At the start of the riot trials the defense attorneys noticed a wide diversity in the sentences.

The lawyers arranged a conference with some of the judges, who reached agreement that most of the curfew penalties should be in the range of \$25 or 30 days, recalls Charles P. Howard, Jr., who helped organize the defense lawyers.

Dulany Foster and I. Sewell Lamdin, chief judges, respectively, of the Supreme Bench and the Municipal Court, have since conducted a sentencing seminar and formulated general guidelines about uniformity of sentences in riot situations.

Deployment of personnel is another area that has received some planning.

### Eight Teams

Mr. Moylan's assistants are divided into eight teams, each headed by a captain who will notify his men at the outbreak of a riot.

Another assistant has been designated quartermaster with the task of finding food for the prosecutors and providing transportation for the women clerks.

Mr. Moylan says most of his men will report for duty at the start of a curfew and work night shifts. Last year busloads of prisoners began arriving at court about an hour after curfew began and reached a peak between 11 P.M. and 1 A.M., he says.

"We found we would sit around during the day with little to do," he reports.

Judge Foster, who says the scarcity of clerks and sheriffs was a problem last year, has moved to strengthen the courtroom personnel.

Deputy sheriffs who usually perform outside work are being trained in courtroom duties in the event of an emergency. Clerks in the civil courts have been trained to fill in for Criminal Court work.

The Legal Aid Bureau has set up panels of lawyers willing to serve as defense counsel during a riot. Each panel has a captain responsible for directing its members.

The judicial process for the riot cases

last year developed without advance planning but matured quickly in the courtroom arena.

Baltimore's court forces began mobilizing about midnight April 6, several hours after the rioting started.

Municipal Court judges agreed to put extra men on the bench for the morning session Sunday, and Mr. Moylan alerted his assistants to report to five of the police station courts.

### Ran Three Shifts

Later the Supreme Bench judges were pressed into service. They ran three shifts for two days and fell back to two shifts for the remainder of the riot period.

To bring cases swiftly before the Supreme Bench, Mr. Moylan relied heavily on a criminal information, a document available to the state's attorney for filing charges in certain misdemeanors.

The process bypasses the grand jury and the need for indictment and formal arraignment. A simple police charge was all that was necessary to bring a case to the Municipal Court, a lower tribunal.

Mr. Moylan asked the nearby counties for some prosecutors and got six from Anne Arundel, two from Howard and two from Baltimore county, along with some clerical help.

### Deputized For Duty

These prosecutors, together with some former members of Mr. Moylan's staff who volunteered, were deputized for duty.

The prosecution of riot cases "is relatively easy as long as defense counsel are available," Mr. Moylan says.

That problem was solved by Legal Aid, the city bar association, and numerous lawyers who donated their services without charge.

The bar association, working through William B. Somerville, Charles Mindel, E. Clinton Bamberger, Jr., and others, got about 100 responses to a call for volunteers.

Mr. Howard, president of the Monumental City Bar Association, persuaded about a dozen Negro lawyers to help.

Legal Aid, with its staff of about 20 lawyers, served as the clearing house and assigned the defense lawyers to the various courts.

### Students Collected Fines

About 10 law students from the University of Maryland were sent to help, and they went to families of defendants to collect money for fines.

Later in the week the courts granted seven-day grace periods for payment of fines, allowing many prisoners to go home.

A plan was devised, after consultation with several judges, to try the curfew cases on the basis of a written police report.

A defendant would have to plead guilty or at least admit that he was picked up during the curfew period, explains Mr. Schlitz.

The defense would then argue that the accused was justified in being on the street during the curfew.

### Rights Curtailed

This procedure, although it was usually agreed to by the defendant after consultation with his lawyer, curtailed the defendant's rights to due process that would have been his during a less hectic time.

The rule against hearsay evidence was relaxed or abandoned. The defendant frequently lost the right to face his accuser, because the arresting officer could not be spared from the riot lines.

A defendant has a right to remain silent, but in the speedy riot trials he had to talk so that prosecutor, defense attorney, and judge could find out some of the facts of his case.

The trial method "cut both ways," working against the defendant in some cases, Mr. Schlitz admits.

But in other cases, where reports of the crime were incomplete or failed to show that a simple curfew violator was actual-

ly caught coming out of a looted store, the defendant fared better.

There was also no time to check a defendant's prior police record, the result being that habitual thugs and hoodlums got the benefit of treatment as first-time offenders.

The restrictive trial process was adopted, says Mr. Schlitz, because the courts were not letting defendants out on their own recognizance without bond.

The dilemma, Mr. Schlitz explains, was that a defendant had to face the possibility of pleading innocent and waiting two weeks in jail for trial, or pleading guilty and getting tried right away.

#### Immediate Trial

"So most elected to take an immediate trial, to get it over with and probably get home sooner, and they were probably right," Mr. Schlitz says. "But that's no way to run a system of justice."

At first there was an effort to separate curfew cases from looting cases. Looting as such is not a crime but has to be covered by a larceny charge.

The prosecution has to produce the owner of the stolen goods, but it is almost impossible, for instance, to prove who owns a bottle of whisky carried by a youth caught in the vicinity of several looted taverns and liquor stores.

#### Jury Trials Asked

Those charged with larceny during the riots usually asked for jury trials. That meant a postponement.

Bail arrangements were unavailable during the riots, and the jail was becoming too full to take sentenced prisoners and defendants in postponed cases.

As the problems of larceny cases and postponements mounted, prosecutors directed police to charge most defendants with curfew violation and to note on the report whether there was suspicion of looting. Similarly, daytime looters were charged with disorderly conduct.

#### Defect Found

George L. Russell, Jr., city solicitor, who headed the Mayor's committee on the riots, found a defect with this arrangement.

An obvious looter was charged with curfew violation, was tried objectively on that charge, but was sentenced subjectively for looting, on the basis of testimony that came out during the curfew trial, Mr. Russell observes.

Declaring a defendant has a right to be charged with the crime for which he is sentenced, Mr. Russell and his committee proposed the scavenger law.

Some feel that Baltimore's decision to bring the majority of riot cases to trial as quickly as possible last year established a model of performance for other cities to follow.

#### "Excellent System"

Mr. Howard views the Baltimore system as "excellent."

"The bar rose to great heights, and the bench too," he declares, noting that the members of the Washington bar refused to defend that city's rioters except by court appointment.

During a riot, he says, "swift justice is necessary, right then and there. If it had not been done, the resentment would have been monumental among those innocently caught in the curfew."

Mr. Schlitz says "it wasn't a perfect system, but it was the best way to work under emergency conditions."

#### "Best Method Ever"

Despite the flaws, Mr. Moylan says, the Baltimore system is "the best method of handling cases that anybody has ever come up with."

Mr. Howard thinks that Washington's judicial system erred in going through with a formal arraignment and applying all the formal rules.

"It completely clogged the dockets, caused a lot of resentment among Negroes and cost a lot of money," he says.

"Some stayed in jail 60 days just to get arraigned," Mr. Howard says. "That's why they are still having trouble over there."

**TOMORROW—Voices from the ghetto.**

## A Year Later, City Officials, Community Leaders Appraise The Impact Of Rioting

By MICHAEL PARKS

A year ago, Baltimore exploded into four days of violence, burning and looting following the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The city's progress since, in the eyes of many, both black and white seems measurable not in miles or yards or even feet but in inches—three forward, two back.

The riot's underlying causes—poverty, unemployment, racism, inferior education, poor housing, frustration and despair—remain unsolved and in some cases unapproached.

"Things as far as I'm concerned haven't changed much," Councilman Robert L. Douglass (D., 2d) says simply.

"Baltimore is still two societies, and a lot of white people have no idea what we're talking about. . . . When you ask what's

happened in the past year, you're asking for a no-progress report."

Mr. Douglass was one of a number of city officials, community leaders and others asked to appraise what has happened in Baltimore in the last year. Excerpts from their assessments appear on Page C 6 today.

Their viewpoints were diverse, but a rough consensus emerged from the conversations:

Whatever progress may have been made is so slight that it is almost imperceptible to everyone except the purposely optimistic.

Mayor D'Alesandro, who had been in office only four months when the riot began, said that

"we've tried to zero in on jobs and education in the last year . . . and I think we have made a great deal of progress."

But he acknowledged, "We have a long, long way to go, and I don't think the people of this community or any other community know how far. . . ."

"It's wrong," the Mayor continued, "to anticipate a riot every year and wrong to anticipate that you will be free and clear of any future disturbances. . . ."

The precariousness of the city's racial situation was sharply evident in street disorders in

East Baltimore in September and in minor firebombing and looting over the weekend.

Robert B. Horsfall, a white psychologist active in community groups, commented last week: "I've been assuming we're going to have a riot. We deserve one . . . but community tension is low—why, I have no idea. It shouldn't be."

Maj. Gen. George M. Gelston, who as the state's adjutant general commanded the National

Guard troops called to restore order last April, suggests that "the riot got the city of Baltimore out of a false sense of complacency that it wouldn't happen here—despite the fact that all of us knew the ingredients were here."

The riot began with some looting along Gay street April

6, two days after the assassination of Dr. King. In the next four days, six persons were killed, more than 700 injured, 1,000 businesses destroyed or heavily damaged at a cost of

(Continued, Page C 6, Col. 3)

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# ... Things Improving ...

## 1968 Riot Assessed By Officials, Civic Leaders

### Viewpoints Differ On Progress, Lack Of It In Past Year

(Continued from Page C 20)

\$14 million and 5,000 persons were arrested.

Until last year, Baltimore had come through 15 years of civil rights demonstrations and mounting pressures for equal opportunities for all without any major violence—and, adds one Negro militant, “any major progress.”

After the riot last year, many officials and community leaders expressed the hope that the violence would focus attention upon the underlying problems and that efforts would be made to solve them.

“Immediately after the riot,” says David L. Glenn, executive director of the city’s Community Relations Commission, “there was obviously greater interest in the white community in the problems that produced it.”

“This stemmed basically from the non-power structure segment of the white community, which can be read as both good and bad. ... Until then the

average white man had no sophistication or knowledge about the depth of the problem, and he was learning and that’s good.

“The power structure also had a momentary flirtation with some of the problems, but there was no commitment to any dramatic change ... just a lot of lip service.”

Mr. Glenn’s evaluation of most of the post-riot programs is shared by many.

Parren J. Mitchell, the city’s former anti-poverty chief, contrasted the high priority given to bringing the Police Department to full strength with efforts to improve education, welfare and health programs.

“The present thinking on urban problems,” he concluded, “is of the ‘law-and-order’ variety, rather than making the city a decent place for everyone to live.”

#### Effort Praised

Baltimore’s Urban Coalition, the local branch of a national business group organized to attack urban problems, has been widely written off as a failure.

Walter H. Lively, who quit as its executive director in October, laughs now when the group

is mentioned. Councilman Douglass says it is a prime example of “a growing failure in communication between the black community and the white community.”

At the same time, however, Mayor D’Alessandro’s emphasis on improving job opportunities for ghetto residents, especially the hard-core unemployed, is drawing praise from the people it is meant to help.

“The riot made people aware of unemployment,” said Mrs. Frances W. McDowell, of 225½ North Mount street. “Jobs are really opening up to the poor man now, and this information is getting to the community.”

Her view was seconded by a 22-year-old hardware supply firm clerk, arrested for curfew violation last year, who said there are more jobs now, but still not enough.

The City Council came in for frequent and harsh criticism.

It was accused of sapping the effectiveness from any program designed to aid the inner city, of being subtly and sometimes overtly racist, of being a group of largely “fat-bellied neo-colonialists” and of not really caring what happens to the city,

believing that within a generation it will be predominantly black.

Councilman Reuben Caplan (D., 5th), admittedly conservative, replied that, “if the do-gooders in our community would let the white man and the black man alone they would through normal association and everyday living reach an understanding sooner.”

Mr. Caplan’s sanguine appraisal appears to be a minority one, however, for many observers believe that Baltimore’s white and black communities have grown farther apart since the 1968 riot.

#### Tension Cited

“There is a tension between the races,” said Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, of Congregation Har Sinai. “There seems to be more of a polarization than a year ago.”

He said that even the city’s clergy association, long an interracial group, has become an all-white organization in effect.

He suggested that the “loss of the person-to-person relationship in the riot ... set us back a quarter century. It will take another generation to overcome.”

Take whole page

# 'Long Way To

## General Gelston

Maj. Gen. George M. Gelston, the state adjutant general, has commanded the state's National Guard troops in five civil disorders, including last April's riot. He has also served as the city police commissioner.



The riot got the city of Baltimore out of a false sense of complacency that it wouldn't happen here—despite the fact that all of us knew the ingredients were here. . . . It had a sobering effect on everyone concerned, not only on the rioters and those in the areas concerned but the rest of us who realized that it could happen here.

I think there was an unfortunate polarization immediately following the riots, but that's been resolved to a large extent. Business and government, I gather, are attempting to solve the basic problems.

But the dumping of millions of dollars into the ghetto is one of the most cynical things that can be done. It's trying to buy people off. . . . The greatest thing to prevent recurrences is the common sense of the people who have seen

what a senseless waste, benefiting no one and a tremendous inconvenience or worse, the riot is to everyone. . . .

As far as our plans go, in future disorders, we don't intend to go in shooting because that, aside from humanitarian reasons, doesn't work. . . .

With the massing of force and the use of nonlethal weapons, crowds can be dispersed quickly and the tendency to riot greatly lessened.

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## Parren Mitchell

Parren J. Mitchell, former director of the Community Action Agency, the city's anti-poverty office, is now a sociology professor at Morgan State College and director of the school's urban studies program. In September he ran for the Democratic congressional nomination in the 7th District, but lost to incumbent Representative Samuel N. Friedel, who was re-elected.

In the last year, we've seen the reactionary element in the City Council swing even more firmly into the saddle, opposing anti-poverty programs, Model Cities, rent supplement three times, downing open occupancy. I wonder whether the City Council has any more credibility with inner city residents this year than last. I doubt it.

Baltimore is becoming a black city, and the trend is almost irreversible. Because of this, I feel a lot of city officials are writing off efforts to improve the city . . .

The Police Department is now up to full strength, but what about the teachers, doctors, social workers and other groups that ought to be helping in the inner city. Did they get the same priority? This



suggests to me that the present thinking on urban problems is of the "law-and-order" variety rather than making the city a decent place for everyone to live . . .

Maybe we ought to just recognize all this as a natural cyclical movement. We had a major thrust in civil rights, a not-so-major thrust to eliminate poverty and now the pendulum is going the other way. This is the history of America, but young blacks will not tolerate it very long.

## Mayor D'Alesandro

Mayor Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3d had been in office only four months when the riot broke out.

We're in very good shape a year later. We've concentrated in two areas—jobs and education. We have one of the strongest Manpower efforts in the country, our \$80 million bond issue for new schools passed, our rat-eradication program is very successful and we're working on housing.

But whatever we've been able to do is minute in comparison with the largeness of this problem. . . . We have a long, long way to go, and I don't think the people of this community or any other community know how far. . .

It's wrong to anticipate a riot every year and wrong to anticipate that you will be free and clear of any future disturbances, the basis for which, I maintain, is outright poverty among our people.

When people are working, eating, wearing good clothing and have good shelter, you can't rile them up to any type of antisocial behavior. When they are poor, hungry, without shelter and only token clothing, any type of rabble rouser can go in and stir them up.



as the potential for riot goes, law enforcement agencies are geared up, with more manpower, equipment and better intelligence.

While serious damage was inflicted to businesses and there was much personal tragedy and loss incorporated, when compared with other cities, Baltimore did not incur the loss of life or damage they did, and we have made the best rehabilitation. . . . There are people who would say we haven't done enough, but we have. We're trying.

## Mrs. F. W. McDowell

Mrs. Frances W. McDowell, 45, of 225½ North Mount street cared for her three school-age children and went to work every day during the riot last year. Her block was spared by looters and arsonists. She now works at Echo House, a West Baltimore settlement house.



I don't see much difference in the community. Housing is still rotten. Stores charge the same high prices for bad food; all they've done is seal up the windows with bricks. The schools—well, the schools have been sliding backward for decades.

As far as job opportunities though, the riot made people aware of unemployment. It made the richer, white class of people see what was happening and they've taken notice. Jobs are really opening up to the poor man now, and this information is getting to the community. . . .

After the riot it was pretty

rugged at first, but the white people began to realize we're people with feelings too. We're not close yet, but things are improving. I'm wondering what's really happening. Will people stay apathetic and let it happen again?

## Arnold Dickman

Arnold L. Dickman, 47, was burned out of his pharmacy at 2300 Edmondson avenue during the riot. He has just relocated on Darlington avenue off Perring parkway in Baltimore county.



I had a pharmacy on Edmondson for 15, 16 years. It was my first store, and I ran what to me was a very successful operation. And that's all I wanted from life. . . . Well, they looted me and burnt my building. . . . and black capital wanted to buy at distress prices.

But don't get me wrong: I hold absolutely no animosity toward the Negro race. I have many good friends back in the old neighborhood, and I am still sponsoring the Little League team there. I decided to relocate out here because I thought the arrogance of a few would harass and disrupt my day-to-day existence as a storekeeper.

As far as the merchants are concerned, nothing has been accomplished in the last year,

at least at the grass-roots level. Every storekeeper I know wants to sell at any price. It's the daily arrogance from individual youths that keeps them off balance. . . . None of it is anti-semitism. We just represent the white business structure; the storekeeper is not there to take advantage. . . .

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## 'Situation Worse'

### David Glenn

David L. Glenn, executive director of the Community Relations Commission, has been working to increase job opportunities for Negroes in Baltimore since 1951.



Immediately after the riots, there was greater interest in the white community in the problems that produced it. . . . Until then, the average white man had no sophistication or knowledge about the depth of the problem. The power structure also had a momentary flirtation with some of the problems, but there was no commitment to any dramatic change . . . just a lot of lip service.

The Mayor has tried to do something at the surface, and I can't complain because it's all to the good. But what we need is revamping of the entire system and until we do that little will change. . . .

The white community and its leaders don't realize that what was acceptable 10 or 15 years ago just won't do. . . . And government can't do it alone. Until we get some response from the private sector, we're just not going to make it. . . .

In the Negro community, attitudes may have hardened, in

some cases beyond redemption. They've seen little reaction or response, and every day more and more Negroes are becoming militant in the popular sense of the word.

The vast majority of black people want to be part of the mainstream. They want in and want in on dignified terms. The black community has always had hope. After all the oppression, black people still believe in this system. I suppose it's because people do drift upwards.

## Councilman Douglass

Councilman Robert L. Douglass (D., 2d), who represents an increasingly black district in the center city, is one of four Negroes on the 21-member City Council.

Things as far as I'm concerned haven't changed much . . . When I look at the situation in terms of jobs in the city, nothing has changed. Job opportunities are nonexistent for the poorest of us and getting worse, not better—why, I don't know. Unemployment is at its lowest, down to around 3 per cent—but I'd say my district runs twice that.

Baltimore is still two societies, very far apart, and a lot of white people have no idea what we're talking about . . . The Urban Coalition's ineffectiveness has sort of stunted the growth of an organization that should have been the kind of organization that should have had the two communities talking to each other.



There are some things that are encouraging. No. 1 is the Mayor's commitment to education and the passage of the \$80 million bond issue, which puts us in the position to do something about the education of inner city youth . . .

## Commissioner Pomerleau

Donald D. Pomerleau, the city police commissioner since September, 1966, called for National Guard troops quickly last April as the riot began in East Baltimore and grew out of control.

I am one that believes we would not have had a problem of the magnitude we did were it not for the unfortunate assassination of Dr. King and the sympathetic detonation that occurred spontaneously in scores of cities . . .

I felt the rapport between the department and the citizens of this community was very good, and certainly nothing has occurred to detract from this. If anything, it's been enhanced. If there were casual problems in back of the disorder, we feel strongly the police are not part of them.

If there is another disorder, we will move to meet it as quickly as possible with all the force we can muster, and force



means people to us, people and chemicals. We will not hesitate to deploy manpower and use chemical agents to reduce problem areas to a level of stability desired by the majority of our citizens.

## Robert Horsfall

Robert B. Horsfall, 30, of 809 Lake drive, is a doctoral student in psychology at the Johns Hopkins University with a special interest in urban psychology. He is also active in a number of community and neighborhood groups.

Politically, absolutely nothing has happened in the last year, and that's a little frightening. The City Council and city agencies have moved to the right and the militants to the left and Governor Agnew did a lovely job eliminating any power the moderates might have had.

There's been no effective reform in housing . . . Stores are still overcharging. In education, people are trying there . . . One of the things that's been keeping the lid on the past year is that [Mayor] D'Alessandro's obviously trying, although he's not getting far with that City Council. . . . Council control of any program guarantees its ineffectiveness.

One thing that is developing is coalition politics. That's



how Joe Howard got elected [Judge Joseph C. Howard of the Supreme Bench] . . . Community groups, ethnic groups seem to be working together on specific issues. It is possible to win, like on the rent escrow law, but it takes such a huge concerted effort by a huge number of people. . . .

## Gardie Williamson

Gardie Williamson, 53, has been operating a small, corner grocery at 1048 North Central avenue for 20 years. He has served on the policy-setting board of the Community Action Agency, the city's anti-poverty office.

The riot brought about a more or less complete split in relations between the two races just when they were getting on a more harmonious footing. We could have easily gotten some colored candidates elected in November; Parren Mitchell's defeat when he ran for Congress should be blamed on the riot. . . .

In the black community, we're faced with more of a separatism now. The seeds were there before, but the riot brought it out. And we have a lot more militants too. . . .

Housing is no better; if anything the situation is worse because landlords don't want to fix things up if they don't know what's coming.



What I find most alarming is that children are much different since the riot. They are looking at the white man altogether differently than they used to. . . . There's hate and violence in their eyes.

## Walter Lively

Walter H. Lively, 26, a community organizer and civil rights activist since the freedom rides of the early 1960's, is now an international representative for the AFL-CIO American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. He quit as executive director of the Urban Coalition last fall when the City Council refused to confirm Walter P. Carter to head the Community Action Agency.

Since last year's rebellion, the political and economic establishment of the city . . . has entrenched its racist domination of the ghetto in slightly more sophisticated forms, but the overall situation of the poor blacks and the other poor people in the heart of the city has gotten worse. . . .

Things cost more. Getting out of the ghetto . . . costs more. Housing is still rotten . . . The traditional programs held out as hope have become much more obvious failures. All the poverty programs are viewed as failures by most black people. . . .

There was a chance for change in the situation by establishing a partnership of radical elements in the black community with those in the white community committed



to social change. But it failed, in part because some black people were looking out for their own well being and in part because the business community would not commit itself to survival of the black people in a racist country. . . .

The mere discussion of black power has not produced it . . . and there is confusion in the black activist community about what is to be done about who's a militant, a radical, who's got programs and what our goals are . . . .

## Rabbi Shusterman

Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, senior rabbi of Congregation Har Sinai, has had frequent contact with the Negro community through clergy groups. His congregation, one of the city's largest, operated a recreation program for ghetto children last summer.

There may be some possible gains our society has made in the past year, but this is purely a matter of speculation. Among them may be the new direction taken by Negro leaders to enter private enterprise—black capitalism. And there may be gains in the fields of employment, education and housing. . . .

But there is still a tension between the races. . . . There seems to be more of a polarization than a year ago. For example, there are fewer meetings between groups of people who ought to be bound together by ties of fellowship and co-operation—ministers for instance—who no longer get together.

You also hear and know that

many merchants active in the ghetto, whites and many of them Jews . . . have gone out of business. . . . In the past year, I have visited more families in which a murder of a small shopkeeper has occurred

There is one more thing—an increase in Negro anti-semitism. In Baltimore, where it has increased less than in other cities, many of the ghetto merchants were Jewish and the attacks upon them were interpreted [in the Jewish community] as anti-Semitic. If there is an increase it certainly wasn't provoked by any feelings of antagonism by Jews. But [the anti-semitism] itself might be the cause now of certain Jewish antagonism. Merchants are unwilling to go back into the ghetto because they fear for their lives. . . .

The loss of the person-to-person relationship in the riot . . . set us back a quarter century. It will take another generation to overcome.

*Local Riots*