

Poli - Poly

Darned interesting, and you might want to look it over.

It's a course on race relations given to the police of Richmond, California, under the general direction of Bob Kenny, the state attorney general - who just lost the Democratic nomination for governor to Earl Warren.

I think it's awfully well done. Particularly interesting is the angle - reminding the police that they, too, suffer from majority prejudice, on the part of millions of people who think all cops have flat feet and steal bananas off push carts.

It apparently was sent to you by Pauli Murray, although there isn't any letter with it.

I'd read it.

Police Training
Bulletin

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
STATE OF CALIFORNIA

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POLICE TRAINING BULLETIN

*A Guide to Race Relations
for Police Officers*

With foreword by
ROBERT W. KENNY
Attorney General

Based primarily on results of training conferences in the Richmond,
California, Police Department, the State Department of Justice
and the American Council on Race Relations Cooperation

Murray

To Speakers, Police Captains and Other Law Enforcement Officers:
The contents of this bulletin are being made available to law enforcement officers
throughout the State of California for their information and use. While we understand
it is intended, however, that its circulation be limited to law enforcement officers
and responsible persons having a legitimate interest in the subject matter.

POLICE TRAINING BULLETIN

A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers

By **DAVIS McENTIRE**

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In collaboration with

ROBERT B. POWERS

Coordinator of Law Enforcement Agencies, Department of Justice

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

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FOREWORD

This bulletin offers peace officers, for the first time, a concrete, practical guide for training in the vitally important field of race relations or, more accurately, the racial aspects of human relations. I wish to commend it to the serious consideration of police chiefs, sheriffs, and all other law enforcement officers throughout the State.

During recent years, we in the profession of law enforcement have realized more and more the importance of training in human relations as well as in the detection of crime. In August, 1943, the Governor's Peace Officers Committee on Civil Disturbances, recognizing that "the police play a vitally important role in race relations," strongly urged the necessity of special training to equip officers to meet their responsibilities in this regard. One of the difficulties, however, has been the lack of any concrete program of training designed from the point of view, and adapted to the needs of peace officers. The present bulletin admirably fills that need.

This bulletin was developed from a course of training given in the Richmond, California, Police Department. At the invitation of the City of Richmond, Mr. Davis McEntire of the American Council on Race Relations prepared the curriculum and conducted the course in collaboration with Mr. Robert B. Powers of my office. Special acknowledgment is due the following persons who served as consultants:

WALTER A. GORDON, Chairman of the Adult Authority of California, former Berkeley police officer;

JOSEPH JAMES, President of the San Francisco Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People;

JOE GRANT MASAOKA, Regional Representative of the Japanese American Citizens League;

STAFF SERGEANT KEN KATO, United States Army, who had just returned from the Southwest Pacific where he served with the Marines and Army Combat Forces from Guadalcanal to Leyte;

E. W. LESTER, Member of the Adult Authority, former Deputy Chief of Police of Los Angeles.

The Richmond course made history in California police annals. There were no cut-and-dried lectures. Instead, 12 selected officers and two superintendents of plant protection sat around a table with the consultants, and through five sessions of two hours each, discussed openly and frankly the problems they were up against and the best ways of dealing with them. The substance of these discussions and the conclusions arrived at are incorporated in this bulletin. Originally intended only for the training of the rest of the force at Richmond, the bulletin impressed me as being so well suited to the needs of peace officers generally that I have authorized its publication for the use of police and sheriffs throughout the State.

The great merit of this bulletin is that the information it contains has been developed by policemen for policemen, with the aid of expert consultation and guidance. It approaches the problems of race relations, not from an academic standpoint, but from the point of view of the practical policeman.

The contents of this bulletin range over a wide field, but there is one point which can not be too strongly emphasized. That is the necessity for a professional attitude on the part of the police officer. The officers who met at Richmond have very properly, in my opinion, emphasized this as the indispensable prerequisite for successful law enforcement in any interracial situation. The various police techniques will avail little unless policemen acquire a basic understanding of the problem and take a professional attitude toward its treatment.

I should like to add a word about the role of the American Council on Race Relations. The Department of Justice has on several occasions cooperated with that Council on law enforcement matters. Our experience can best be described by quoting a portion of a report made to me by the officer assigned to work with the Council. He wrote: "Frankly, when I approached my first meeting with members of their staff, I was skeptical. I had a chip of suspicion on my shoulder. Yet I left that first meeting with the firm belief, which I still hold, that these people have more to contribute to the police than any other group with which I have come in contact. I had expected to find in the American Council a bunch of amateur, reforming crusaders who didn't know the facts of life. That was my mistake; I met men who are leaders in their field—professionals who, with their high ideals, have few illusions. These people believe that if we police officers will put aside our prejudice against 'social workers' and accept their assistance, together we can find solutions to the problems which have been troubling us for so long."

Police officers who will carefully study the contents of this bulletin will, I am sure, agree that it does offer a constructive approach toward the solution of some of our most urgent problems.

ROBERT W. KENNY
Attorney General

INTRODUCTION

This bulletin is designed to serve as an outline for in-service training of police officers in the problems of race relations. It may be used as a basis for lectures or individual study. Experience has shown, however, that the most successful method of aiding mature, practical men toward a better understanding of their professional problems is that of round-table, group discussion. By this means, the experience and judgment of a group are brought to bear on the solution of a problem. Practice is united with science, and conclusions are reached based on evaluation of actual experience rather than theory. Moreover, the conclusions which a group of officers reach through their own thinking and discussion will naturally be more significant to them than any prescription handed down from the lecture platform.

The fact that this bulletin has been prepared in outline form may at first be disconcerting to those who are accustomed to a complete and well-rounded text. However, it is not intended to provide policemen with ready-made answers to all their problems, but merely to create a framework for discussion. Each topic in the outline might well be preceded by a phrase such as "What do you think of . . . ?" or "Do you agree with . . . ?" If users of the bulletin will bear this in mind, the statements in the outline which might otherwise appear as dogmatic are seen at once in their proper light, of challenging discussion.

This bulletin will, therefore, find its chief usefulness as an outline for discussion by groups of police officers. It originated from a series of conferences in the Richmond, California, Police Department and reflects the combined thinking of the score of officers and consultants who participated. The conclusions reached in those discussions are presented in this bulletin in logical sequence, supplemented by materials drawn from authoritative publications studied by the group. The latter are listed below.

The following steps are suggested for any law enforcement agency which desires to use this bulletin in connection with its in-service training program. First, a group of not to exceed 20 officers should be assigned the duty of working through an initial series of discussions, following this outline. Each department will have its own judgment of the time which can be devoted to the discussions and the best distribution of time among the various topics, but the following time schedule is suggested as a standard:

I. Police Problems of Minority Group Relations	One hour
II. Official Attitude of Police Toward Race Relations	One hour
III. Prejudice	One hour
IV. Basic Facts About Minority Groups	One hour
V. Minority Group Behavior	Two hours
VI. Practical Police Methods in Race Relations	Four hours

Second, secure the services of a discussion leader. At least for the initial group of officers, the discussion leader should be someone from outside the department. It is not necessary that he be a police officer, but if not, he should have a broad understanding of social problems and he should be expert in conducting discussion. The success of the discussion method of training depends on the ability of the leader. It is his function to raise questions for discussion, draw out the individual officers on their own experiences, and guide the group toward agreement and conclusions. He must accomplish this without dominating the discussion or trying to make his personal point of view prevail. A good discussion leader is a combination of interlocutor, umpire, and diplomat.

Third, it will be highly desirable to bring into the discussion at least three outside consultants. One should be a leading representative of the principal minority racial group in the community; another should be a law enforcement officer of outstanding reputation; and the third might be a lawyer, a social scientist, or a community relations expert.

Fourth, to provide a common basis for discussion, all officers participating should read and discuss a number of authoritative publications. The following reading list is recommended. These are short pamphlets and can all be read in a few hours' time.

"Interim Report of the Peace Officers Committee on Civil Disturbances."
(Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General, State of California.)

"Police and Minority Groups" by Joseph E. Weckler and Theo E. Hall. (International City Managers Association, 1944.)

"The Races of Mankind" by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85.)

"The Bigot in Our Midst" by Gordon W. Allport. (Reprinted from *Commonweal*, October 6, 1944.)

"Race Riots Aren't Necessary" by Alfred McClung Lee, American Council on Race Relations. (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 107.)

"Tolerance in Police Work" by E. W. Lester. (Mimeographed lecture, Los Angeles Police Department.)

After a department has carried through one series of discussions for a selected group of officers, additional series can be scheduled for the entire force.

A properly conducted course of discussion based on this bulletin will tend to improve the relations between police officers and minority groups. Police officers are usually conscious of their responsibility to the public. The public has every right to expect that the law enforcement as well as other branches of civil government administration will seek to operate as efficiently as possible, and it is assumed that law enforcement personnel are equally anxious to raise their performance to a high professional level. In order to achieve professional standards for police work with minority groups, science and fact must replace the mixture of prejudice, myth, and folk-lore, which in all too many police departments are used as guides in relations with minority groups.

The rapid pace of modern life imposes the obligation on public officials to keep abreast of the many aids which science and research can give them. It is hoped that this bulletin will be viewed in this light.

DAVIS McENTIRE
ROBERT B. POWERS

I

POLICE PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUP RELATIONS

1. Tension among racial groups is a constant threat to the peace and public order.
 - A. Violent incidents demand the immediate attention of police officers. Fights, assaults, and disturbances of the peace are examples.

Sometimes, in disregard of law, members of one group try to terrorize members of another group to "keep them in their place" (Whites versus Negroes) or to force them out of certain localities (Chinese, Japanese, Negroes who are moving into white residential areas). Members of terrorized groups sometimes retaliate with violence, in equal disregard of law.

When incidents occur between individuals of antagonistic groups, there is always a danger of inflaming the groups. A fight between a Negro and a White may be just a fight between two persons, but if others interpret it as a race fight, the stage may be set for a clash of groups. When a White person is attacked by a Negro, Whites are inclined to feel they have a grievance against the entire Negro population.
 - B. Police are always in the "middle" of any racial dispute. They are often charged with racial discrimination. If they try to be fair, prejudiced people may call them "Nigger-lovers" or "Jap-lovers."
 - C. Minority groups often fear the police and distrust their fairness. As a result, police have difficulty in working with these groups.
 - D. The race riot. This is the extreme disruption of public peace, disorder on a large scale. It is extremely destructive of life and property. The Detroit riot of June, 1943, cost 34 fatalities, over a thousand persons injured, and \$2,000,000 in property damage. Over a million man-hours of work were lost in war plants. The Harlem, New York City riot of August, 1943, killed five, injured 307, including 53 policemen, and destroyed \$5,000,000 worth of property.

Riots are only the explosion of long-accumulated tensions. The impending danger to law and order is apparent long before tensions blow up in open conflict. Race riots never happen suddenly or unexpectedly except to those who can not see the symptoms and signs of danger.
2. Race tensions at present are high and liable to increase unless relieved. Basic factors in the present situation are:
 - A. Population shifts—huge wartime migrations, bringing thousands of white and colored workers together in a new environment.

B. Return of previously evacuated Japanese-Americans. A number of attacks were made on Japanese-Americans when they first began returning to California early in 1945. The action of State law enforcement agencies and local public officials effectively discouraged this terrorism and the attacks stopped. This problem appears now to be settled from a law enforcement standpoint, but may recur in some communities.

C. Post-war Dislocations. Reconversion and demobilization are causing new population shifts.

If jobs become scarce, there may be efforts to exclude minority groups from various kinds of employment. If unemployment becomes concentrated among minority groups, they will feel discriminated against and white workers will feel that the unemployed minority groups are a threat to their jobs. This may cause serious racial trouble, especially if employer attempts should be made to use minority group workers to keep wages down or to break strikes.

Some white people think, now that the war is over, that it is time "to get the Negroes in line" or make them stay "in their place." Negroes are also tense—afraid they are going to be discriminated against in postwar jobs and housing. They will do everything they can to hold on to their wartime gains.

D. Community tensions. In troubled times, people suffer from many tensions and frustrations. The housing shortage, economic fears and insecurities, overcrowded transportation, and inadequate recreational facilities, all contribute to the general unrest and discontent. Nearly everyone seems to have a grievance of some sort.

Community tensions have a tendency to focus on minority groups. People look for someone to blame for their troubles. They may blame "the Administration," "the Communists," "the unions," "grasping capitalists," "corrupt police," etc. Often minority groups get the blame. People will say "the Jews are ruining the country," or "the Negroes have spoiled this community."

3. The present situation on the West Coast is similar to that in northern cities after World War I.

A. There was heavy migration of Whites and Negroes from the South to northern industrial centers during that war.

B. Racial tensions and community tensions were built up during the war. Practically nothing was done to relieve the tensions.

C. Postwar dislocations aggravated the problem; still nothing was done to solve it.

D. Outbreak of race riots occurred in 26 cities during the year 1919.

4. Cities and counties, under California law, are responsible for property damage caused by riots, and this responsibility is heavy on the shoulders of peace officers.

Political Code Section 1452, makes every county and municipal corporation responsible for "injury to real or personal property situated within its corporate limits, done or caused by mobs or riots."

II

OFFICIAL ATTITUDE OF POLICE TOWARD RACE RELATIONS

1. What should be the objectives of a police department and of individual policemen in dealing with racial problems? What is the selfish interest of police officers in the matter?
 - A. "Essentially, the policeman wants to be in a strong position when he is on his beat or when working on an investigation. He wants to be in such position that he can deal with any condition arising with the greatest of freedom from restrictions and the greatest of latitude insofar as positive action is concerned."—*Attorney General's representative, Richmond.*
 - B. A police department wants the same thing—to be in a strong position; to have the support and confidence of the public in its policies; to have the necessary freedom for a good job of law enforcement; and to have the capacity for dealing effectually with any situation which may arise.
 - C. Charges of racial discrimination, unfairness, or brutality hamper a police department—even if untrue, they still hurt.
 - D. Lack of public confidence in the police, on the part of any considerable section of the people, hurts and hinders the effectiveness of law enforcement officers.
2. What can police officers do to attain these desired objectives?
 - A. Being prepared to suppress a riot, if one should develop, is necessary but *it is not enough.*
 - B. They must exert every effort to prevent major disturbances because police are the real losers in a race riot. When a race riot once starts, loss of life and extensive property destruction are practically inevitable.

Unless a riot is handled with exceptional skill, police will be the target of serious criticism from one source or another.

The barrage of criticism growing out of a race riot destroys public confidence in the police and tends to hamper them in subsequent enforcement of the law in interracial and other situations. No race riot settles anything. Except for directing attention to its fundamental causes, conditions after the riot are usually worse than they were before.

- C. The best hope of the police lies in *prevention*. This requires knowledge of the causes of racial unrest and ways of reducing tensions. Special techniques are required.

"Race problems have not received the special study their importance merits. In attempting to cope with such problems, the police have sometimes used routine methods which, for a variety of reasons, have not proved successful. Race riots involve special social problems which must be understood before they can be met successfully."—*Report of the Peace Officers Committee on Civil Disturbances.*

- D. Police should not underestimate the importance of what they can do in race relations; nor should they be deterred from action by an attitude that the problem is insoluble. Experience proves that they can do a great deal to improve race relations, to the benefit of the police and the whole community.

"The police play a vitally important role in race relations. No agency of government can be more effective in furthering good race relations and in preventing race riots than the police. *Police can prevent race riots.* Not only can they prevent such riots from occurring, but should they occur, intelligent police methods can minimize their consequences."—*Report of the Peace Officers Committee, etc.*

"At the same time, lax police policies contribute to race riots and antiquated methods of coping with riots can greatly aggravate their consequences."—*Ibid.*

3. The first essential in a preventive program is a *professional approach to the problem.*
 - A. This is in keeping with the trend toward professional status of police work.

"During the past 20 years we have seen police work develop from the category of unskilled labor to a semiprofession. * * * We may some day take our place among the truly professional vocations such as medicine, law, and education. * * * Many aspects of police work indicate that we are already approaching professional status."—*E. W. Lester, Member, Adult Authority, formerly Deputy Chief of Police, Los Angeles.*

- B. A professional attitude is essential to success in the problems of human relations. Neutral, impartial, unbiased, inquiring—these are attributes of the professional.

Fundamental principle of law enforcement: All citizens are equal before the law. Race, color, politics, or religion make no difference.

The policeman is an arm of the law—therefore, all citizens must be equal in his official eyes. This is the starting point of professional policemanhip.

"I believe that if the policeman were not to show any partiality one way or another, if he should judge each case as if there were all Whites or all Negroes involved, he would be doing his job as he should. He shouldn't lean over backwards to protect the Negro, nor should he discriminate against the Negro. He should enforce the law as it is."—*Captain George W. Bengley, Richmond Police Department.*

"Adopt a professional attitude, basing decisions and action on observation, evidence, and probability, rather than on prejudice, rumor and possibility. The physician's diagnosis and treatment of physical ills is based on symptoms, and on the differences in individuals, not on prejudices, races, and religion. The police officer's decision and action must likewise be determined not on a basis of group membership but on individuality."—*Attorney General's representative, Richmond.*

"Expression of bias invariably leads to charges of discrimination, prejudice, and intolerance. We must never forget that we are representatives of government—a Democracy, and as such we must be impersonal and unbiased in every act. * * * We must rigorously enforce the law against all transgressors * * * without regard to the race, religion, or political views of the violator."—*E. W. Lester.*

Almost all police officers firmly believe that they do treat citizens alike, regardless of race or color. Nevertheless, policemen are human beings and like everyone else they have opinions and prejudices. "Police officers often fail to realize that their prejudices make impartiality impossible. Believing, as many do, that 'Negroes have criminal tendencies' leads to unconscious discrimination."—*Attorney General's representative, Richmond.*

A high ranking peace officer in California once stated in an official report that Mexicans had a "biological disregard for the value of life," that they had an "inborn desire to kill or at least let blood." Negroes, also, he said, had this same hereditary blood lust, while Filipines were biologically disposed to crimes of violence, especially over women. These interpretations are scientifically as wrong as anything could be. As one anthropologist remarked, "it would be just as logical to charge Americans with being hereditary killers because they kill so many people with automobiles." This example of a tendency to regard an entire group as inherently criminal, blinds the officer to facts and destroys his standard as a professional. And if minority group members learn that such ideas are held by enforcement officers, they may rightfully feel that they are convicted without hearing and have no chance of fair treatment.

Just as a new police officer has to learn the techniques of making an arrest, detecting a crime, or preserving evidence, so he has to learn to be aware of his human prejudices and to curb their expression. An impartial, professional attitude does not come naturally; it has to be acquired and cultivated.

- C. Use of expressions which may antagonize members of racial, religious, or other groups, such as "nigger," "kike," "wop," "cholo," "chink," "chili-picker," "Jap," etc., is unprofessional conduct.

"When we stoop to call names * * * we are simply injuring ourselves and making our job more difficult. Such conduct * * * nullifies the possibility of cooperation from those so addressed. * * * When we offend the sensitiveness of those with whom we deal, even our most just act becomes discriminatory from the standpoint of its interpretation. We lose the professional standing of an impartial agent of government and are vulnerable to almost any charge of intolerance."—*E. W. Lester.*

To same effect are New York City Police Department, Instructions: "Remember that actions and language if improper, will be the subject of much criticism. Be careful not to do or say anything improper. At all times remain calm, cool, and collected. Act firmly but courteously. * * * Make no comment or give opinions concerning the disorder or disturbance."

NOTE.—The New York Police Department received high praise from both Negro and White leaders for its handling of the Harlem riot in 1943.

- D. Professional knowledge and training are also essential to success in field of human relations. Is modern police work any less exacting or responsible than school teaching or social work? Should not professional standards for police be at least as high as for social workers and school teachers?

A distinguished foreign observer who notes the trend toward professional status of police work, advocates that it be strengthened. He urges that training for police work "should not be directed only on the technicalities of crime detection. Even more important is an understanding of the wider aims of crime prevention. Ideally, the policeman should be something of an educator and a social worker at the same time that he is the arm of the law. Even * * * where standards of professional policemanhip are highest, too little interest has been given to social and educational viewpoints. One result of this is that the policeman in America is not commonly liked and trusted as he rightly ought to be."—*Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish economist, author of "An American Dilemma," authoritative study of the Negro problem in America.*

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For professional approach to law enforcement problems in race relations, a police officer should have a practical working knowledge of:

- (1) The psychology of race prejudice—its nature, causes, and manifestations.
- (2) The essential facts of racial and cultural differences among people. What characteristics are inborn and which result from environment? Why is there more crime among some groups than others?
- (3) The psychology of minority group behavior and attitudes. Why are members of minority groups frequently sensitive and defensive? Why are they often aggressive and overbearing in behavior? Why do Negroes and Mexicans, for example, so often fear and distrust the police? What effects do segregation and discrimination have on the behavior of people?
- (4) Basic facts of social and economic conditions under which minority groups live in the community.
- (5) How to recognize the symptoms of rising tension among groups, creating potential riot conditions.
- (6) Practical police methods, based on experience, of reducing tensions and preventing routine police incidents from assuming riotous proportions.

III

PREJUDICE

1. The successful policeman has to be a practical psychologist—he has to know something of how people's minds work.
2. Prejudice, which takes some form in all persons, is a common way of thinking which creates problems for law enforcement officers.
 - A. Prejudice is literally a "prejudgment"—an opinion formed before knowing the facts.
 - B. Everyone has prejudices. It's only human to substitute prejudice for thinking. It's easier to *believe* than to *think*.
3. There are many kinds of prejudice.
 - A. Prejudice exists against certain foods (horsemeat), certain colors, kinds of clothing, makes of automobiles, and certain animals. Such prejudices are harmless.
 - B. But prejudices against groups of people can be harmful and dangerous, from the standpoint of public safety.
 - C. For example: There is the prejudice which many people have against police officers—the idea that "cops" as a group are stupid, brutal and crooked. This is certainly harmful. It undermines public confidence in the police and makes it hard for them to do a good job of law enforcement.
 - D. Race prejudice causes bad feelings between racial groups, sometimes breaking out in violence.
4. Prejudice of one group against another always complicates the police problem.
 - A. Ordinary offenses are magnified. Incidents between individuals of antagonistic groups may lead to conflict of groups.

Example: White rioters said in Detroit, "The black bastards had it coming to them." A whole racial group was condemned for the sins, real or imagined, of individuals.
 - B. Police are hampered by prejudiced criticism.

"I think a lot of white officers are a bit reticent about speaking up for the Negro because there is always some guy standing around the corner who will say, 'He's a nigger-lover.' I think there would

be a lot more of us who would do more if it were not for this."—*Richmond officer.*

While prejudiced Whites will criticize the police officer for being fair, prejudiced Negroes will condemn him for fancied discrimination. This hampers the police officer in any case involving members of different racial groups because of the danger that an ordinary arrest, if regarded as discriminatory, may precipitate a racial incident.

5. Group prejudices are based on stereotypes—i.e., fixed ideas which people hold about groups other than their own.
 - A. Many people have definite ideas regarding the characteristics of all Italians, Mexicans, Jews, Negroes, and others. This is one of the most common ways of thinking about groups of people.

Examples: Beliefs that Negroes are lazy, dirty, and immoral; Jews, shrewd and wily; Italians, emotional and criminal; Irish, ignorant and superstitious; that Japanese are tricky.

- B. The same sort of fixed notions are also held about occupational groups such as policemen, professors, or social workers.

Many people hold the belief that policemen are fat, stupid, and flat-footed; professors, absent-minded and impractical; social workers, sentimental and idealistic.

"We don't have to look at a racial minority group to make that point. We can just think about ourselves. I run into far too many people who think of a policeman as an ignorant, flat-footed, stupid fellow that any private detective or layman can outwit. This stereotype of us has been developed in detective stories, in the movies, in cartoons, and on the stage. We know there are as many different kinds of people in police work as there are patterns of fingerprints. Yet some of us have the stereotyped idea that a Negro is lazy, indolent, lustful, and carries a razor. And that thinking doesn't work for us as policemen. Until we realize that there are just as many different kinds of Negroes as there are different kinds of policemen, we shan't be able to make intelligent and creditable decisions."—*Attorney General's representative, Richmond.*

6. To recognize prejudice in themselves and combat it in others, policemen must understand its causes.
 - A. Psychologists agree that prejudice is 100 per cent learned. No one inherits his prejudices. Small children are not prejudiced. A child may be told by his mother that if he doesn't behave, she will send for a policeman who will put him in jail. Repeated often enough, the child acquires a fear of, and consequent prejudice against, all policemen.

In the same way, children hear their parents and older associates talk about Negroes, Jews, Catholics, etc., and they acquire prejudiced ideas about these and other groups.

- B. Tolerant attitudes can be taught as easily as prejudices. But there is very little teaching of tolerance and much inculcation of prejudice. Hence, most people grow up with all sorts of fears and dislikes of various groups. When circumstances require a person to act without prejudice (such as in discharging the duties of a police officer in a professional manner), strenuous efforts usually have to be made to overcome prejudices taught since childhood.
- C. Prejudice is the bastard child of fear and ignorance. In general, the more intelligent, experienced, and educated a person is, the fewer prejudices he will have. The intelligent person thinks in terms of individuals; the ignorant thinks of groups.
- D. Prejudice is largely based on insecurity and fear. In general, the more sure of himself a person is, the less prejudice he will have. Thus, the most spiteful and bitter feelings toward minority groups are found among the most ignorant and poverty-stricken classes, notoriously among the Southern poor-whites, and insecure Whites in other parts of the country.
- E. Everyone has a natural desire to feel superior. Those who can satisfy this desire by being a better-than-average officer, a successful executive, a distinguished teacher, or other desirable achievement, have little need to fall back upon the mistaken belief that their group is superior to minority groups. In general, it is the people whose achievements are the least or whose social position is the lowest who insist most strongly on the inferiority of the Negro and other non-white groups. For such people, the Negro is practically the only group toward which they can feel superior.
- F. "The prejudice of the policeman is also based on the fact that even with experience he has little or no contact with the better type of Negro—the stable citizen. Because his duty involves the curbing of antisocial behavior, he comes to know only the rowdy, the hoodlum, and the criminal. The law-abiding citizen is ignored by the patrolman on a busy beat; attention is focused on the law violator. Consequently, in careless thinking, the policeman comes to stereotype all Negroes as being like those with whom he makes contact.

"In his desire to find a simple answer on which he can base action, the police recruit becomes one of the worst offenders insofar as he regards people as behaving according to group patterns. On the other hand, the experienced officer has learned that the characters and personalities of Negroes, Whites, Jews, or Mexicans vary as much as do the patterns of fingerprints—no two being alike. Prejudice is retained only where knowledge is limited and the opinions of

others are accepted without question."—*Attorney General's representative, Richmond.*

7. The tyrant, prejudice, is an enemy of democracy. Its consequences, like those of Fascism and criminality, are of serious concern:

A. *For the objects of prejudice:* They are set apart from the general society and regarded as different, inferior, dangerous, or all three.

Individual members of such groups are deprived of a fundamental freedom: the right to be judged according to individual merits or faults. Instead they are judged according to ideas about the groups to which they belong. (A Negro is judged in a certain way, so is a Jew, so is a policeman, not because they individually deserve these judgments but because they are members of a group.) Such judgments are always wrong, of course.

Individuals are discriminated against because of the group to which they belong. They are deprived of rights and privileges which others enjoy. (Right to compete for jobs in accordance with ability; right to live in any neighborhood of their choice in accordance with their ability to pay; right to be served in public facilities—hotels, restaurants, etc.)

People react to prejudice by becoming sensitive and defensive. (See section on "Minority Group Behavior," below.)

B. *For the holders of prejudice.* Prejudice limits and distorts an individual's point of view, closes the mind to facts, makes unbiased judgment impossible. Some people become possessed by their prejudices. They can't think. They can only fear and hate. Such people are *bigots*. They are usually insecure, frustrated, and ignorant individuals and they blame whole groups of people for whatever is wrong in the community, nation, or world. This is *scapegoating*.

Jews, Negroes, Japanese-Americans, Catholics have all been scapegoats. Police, too, have had many experiences of being made "the goat."

Bigots are the support of race-hatred campaigns. They circulate the vicious rumors, agitate, and engage in race riots.

Most extreme case of bigotry and racial scapegoating in modern times was the persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany. The same tendencies are evident in postwar United States.

C. *For law enforcement.*

- (1) People who suffer from prejudice and discrimination acquire thereby attitudes of sensitiveness, defensiveness, and suspicion which interfere with cooperation with the police. This is aggravated in the case of many Negroes from the South who have

had bad experiences with police in their former communities where police brutality toward Negroes has been the rule.

- (2) Bigotry is a serious problem for police, leading to racial persecution and violence.
- (3) Insofar as police officers themselves are prejudiced against certain groups, it is impossible for them to be impartial; their judgment is clouded; their professional attitude is nullified.

"Prejudice—that is, the combination of ignorance and fear—precludes expertness in the field of human relations. Since a policeman must be a human relations expert, he must constantly extend his acquaintance with individuals, including those who are members of minority groups."—*Attorney-General's representative, Richmond.*

IV

BASIC FACTS ABOUT MINORITY GROUPS

1. A minority group is *any* distinct group toward which others have prejudices; i.e., preconceived ideas about what the group as a whole is like.
2. Minority groups are set apart from the general population by differences in race, color, religion, language, other cultural characteristics, or occupation.
 - A. Policemen are a good example of a minority group based on occupation. Their occupation makes them distinct, and the general public has definite ideas about what policemen are like as a group. Therefore, they are a minority group.
 - B. Jews, Mormons, and Catholics are set apart by their religion; Negroes, by race and color; Chinese and Japanese by race and culture; Mexicans by color and culture; Russians, Poles, French, Italians, etc., by culture only.
3. Group differences in race, color, religion, culture, or occupation are significant because they are pegs upon which prejudices can be hung. (Difference plus prejudice equals problem.)
4. From a *problem* standpoint, the most important differences are those of race or color.

Because these surface differences are permanent and inescapable, every member of a distinct racial or colored group can usually be instantly identified.

Contrast: Policemen can not be recognized as policemen except when in uniform; Mormons and Catholics can not be identified as such on sight; Italians, Russians, etc. cease to be set apart when they become "Americanized." But a Negro is a Negro 24 hours a day all his life.

What would police officers think of a condition which (a) required all policemen to be in uniform at all times, and (b) prohibited policemen from ever leaving the profession?

5. Race differences.
 - A. "Race" is biological—it refers to *inherited, physical* characteristics.
 - B. Scientists do not agree on how many races there are. Some say—only one race—the "human race." Others describe hundreds of races.

- C. All agree—human beings the world over are much more alike than they are different.

In body structure, organs, skeleton, physical functioning—human beings are all alike.

Race differences are in the outermost layer only—skin color, head shape, nose shape, lip shape, eye shape, amount and texture of hair, other details.

Compare race differences among human beings with differences among breeds of animals. Human differences are much smaller. No variations in mankind are comparable, for example, to the difference between a Pekinese and a Great Dane.

- D. Races can not be ranked in an evolutionary scale. No race is more primitive or more advanced biologically than any other.

Compare with apes: Negroids are most like apes in regard to skin color, nose shape, and jaw shape; but apes have very thin lips. Mongoloids are most ape-like in this respect while Negroid lips are most human. In regard to amount and texture of hair, Caucasoids are the most ape-like; Negroids the least. Apes have long arms, short legs; Negroes are most like apes in length of arms, least ape-like in length of legs.

- E. Race mixture has been going on since time immemorial. There are no pure races; all races are intermingled.

Of the Negroes in America, probably not more than 20 per cent are of pure Negro ancestry.

The White Race includes a wide variety of physical types from tall, blue-eyed blondes to the short, very dark types of Southern and Eastern Europe. Many "Whites" are actually darker than many Negroes.

Race crossing produces neither superior nor inferior types.

6. Mental differences among races.
 - A. There is a popular belief that since races differ physically, they also differ mentally. Race prejudice among Whites is based on the belief that non-white races are inferior.
 - B. A vast amount of scientific research has been made on the subject of racial differences in mentality. Intelligence tests have been given to millions of people of all races. All this research has revealed *no evidence* of any differences in mentality due to race. All racial groups have the same capacity for mental development.
 - C. It has been proved that environment has a great influence on the mental development of people.

Slum dwellers test lower on the average than the middle class; people in the North and West test higher than people in the South, on the average; city dwellers average higher than rural people. These differences cut across racial lines; that is, middle-class Negroes average higher in intelligence than poverty-stricken Whites.

Intelligence tests given to Army recruits in World War I showed the average intelligence of Negroes from several Northern States to be above the average for Whites in some Southern States.

In World War II, rejections for military service because of failure to meet minimum intelligence standards were higher among southern Whites than among northern Negroes.

These differences reflect differences in environment; that is, in opportunity for mental development.

- D. Because Negroes on the whole are poorer and have fewer opportunities than Whites, it would be expected that their average mental development would be lower than the average for whites, and that is the fact.

But the Negro population, the same as the white, includes the whole gamut from imbecile to genius.

Negro and white groups on the same social-economic level are equally intelligent.

- Intelligence tests in Los Angeles city schools showed Negro children slightly above the average of white children.
- E. *Conclusion:* All the evidence shows there is no such thing as racial superiority or inferiority. The color of a person's skin does not determine the kind of intellect he possesses.

V

MINORITY GROUP BEHAVIOR

1. Police officers will notice certain distinctive behavior traits of Negroes as a group, and of other minority groups. It is of the utmost importance that the reasons for such behavior be correctly understood.
 - A. Behavior is not racial. Physical appearance excepted, there are no known differences among racial groups that are the result of race or heredity. Any differences in group behavior are due to differences in the environment.
 - B. Prejudice and discrimination are important parts of the environment of minority groups and affect their behavior in significant ways.
2. Members of minority groups are more than usually sensitive and defensive.
 - A. This results from prejudice and discrimination against them. When people are made to feel, from childhood, that they are "different" from other people, they are bound to be affected in some way.
 - B. Because minority individuals feel that others are prejudiced against them, they become apprehensive and continually fearful of insult or discrimination. Therefore, they often develop strong self-protective reactions.

"I know that a lot of members of minority groups are super-sensitive. They have been discriminated against so much that they are on the anxious seat all the time. You can't put yourself in the position of a minority group person. In Richmond you can walk into any hotel or restaurant. But if I go in I would be very alert to anything that might appear to be an insult. I would have a certain amount of apprehension in going into any public restaurant or any hotel. I know the different forms in which insults occur. There might be delays—it might be normal delay but I would feel that it was unusual delay—maybe delay telling me to get out, that they are not serving me."—Walter A. Gordon.

- C. When a person is treated as an inferior, he will begin to feel inferior. He may develop aggressiveness or shyness to cover up his inferiority feelings. This is not peculiar to minority groups. It is a universal human reaction. Anyone who feels insecure or inferior is bound to develop some defense mechanisms. Psychologists know that arrogance is more often than not a cover-up for an inferiority complex.

D. Discrimination means that members of minority groups are subject to many deprivations and their ambitions and desires are constantly being frustrated. Many rights and privileges which people generally take for granted are denied to minority groups, such as the privileges of hotels, restaurants, and bars; free choice of residence and free competition for jobs. People react to frustration either by aggression or by withdrawing and trying to avoid further frustration.

Negroes and Mexican-American youth, as groups, seem more inclined to react aggressively to discrimination. This shows up in the crimes for which members of these groups are most frequently arrested—crimes of violence. The Chinese, on the other hand, have generally withdrawn from contacts with Whites which would expose them to discrimination. Japanese and Jews have responded by aggression but of a competitive character—they compete vigorously and try hard to be better than anyone else.

E. Police officers should readily be able to understand what the minority groups are up against and why they react defensively as they do, because, as Chief Lester observed, "In many respects we are a minority group."

"An exaggerated illustration that we often bring out in training new officers is, 'You may have been beating your wife before you joined the force, but you were just a guy up the street who beats his wife; now, you are that policeman who beats his wife. Or, you were that harum-scarum who drives like wild up the street; now, you are that policeman who drives like wild. The public generalizes about policemen just as it does about Negroes. That is the basis of the squawks about those portrayals (of policemen) in the motion pictures and the press. The cartoons always depict him as a fellow with a little head, big stomach, big feet, reaching back and getting an apple or banana off the fruit stand. Law enforcement officers are striving to professionalize the service and develop a code of ethics which will demand recognition as a profession—this constant stereotyping just crucifies them.'—E. W. Lester.

3. Fear and distrust of police.

A. One aspect of the sensitiveness and defensiveness of minority groups which is of special concern to the police is the fear and distrust of police which these groups generally have.

"The average Negro, coming out of the South, believes that if he gets arrested he will immediately get his head beaten in with a club. * * * Far too many Negroes believe that they will get the worst of it everytime they get arrested. * * * We don't realize as policemen how deep that fear goes in them."—Attorney General's representative, Richmond.

"There is a resentment on the part of minority groups toward the police in general—not always justified. But in many instances there is justification. * * * It is based on the fact that a lot of them feel they are treated unfairly. Maybe they are over-sensitive. It's a normal reaction for them to be over-sensitive in view of their general treatment in America."—Walter A. Gordon.

B. Negroes coming from the South bring with them a deep suspicion and a deadly fear of all police officers, based on their whole experience.

In the South, as a rule, police make no pretense of impartiality where Negroes are concerned. The southern police officer's job is not only to enforce the law but also to enforce "White Supremacy" and keep the Negroes "in their place."

"It is part of the (southern) policeman's philosophy that Negro criminals or suspects, or any Negro who shows signs of insubordination, should be punished bodily."—(Myrdal.)

A Richmond officer states, "In parts of the South for example, Negroes aren't allowed on the street after dark. A Texas officer told me, 'We don't have any trouble in niggertown. If a nigger kills a nigger it's a routine investigation. If a nigger kills a white man, we kill the nigger and that's all there is to it.'"

The result is that the average southern Negro regards the police officer as his mortal enemy. When he migrates to California, he naturally brings these attitudes with him.

A Richmond officer: "We have gained the confidence of the Negroes to the extent that they will call us if they need us. But to try to get a Negro witness to an incident to talk is like getting blood out of a turnip."

Other officers, however, reported favorable experiences in gaining the cooperation of Negro witnesses. It was generally agreed that the Negroes who had lived in Richmond for a period of years were reasonably cooperative with the police.

C. Mexican-American youth are inclined to show attitudes similar to those of Negroes.

"They start in the gangs as a self-defense mechanism. They realize they are members of a minority group and feel a certain amount of frustration and animosity from society. They are particularly fearful of police. This fear comes out in aggressiveness and in an attempt to show that they are not afraid. In Los Angeles they often feel that they are being picked on and singled out for police attention because of nationality or dress (zoot suits). That's the thing the police have to watch very carefully—not to identify police activity with a given minority group, giving them the impression that they are being singled out for special attention. Anything that looks like special treatment to them is discrimination—whether the action is good or bad."—E. W. Lester.

- D. This attitude of fear and distrust for the police, regardless of whether justified or not, presents a serious problem in public relations for the police.

Police officers must have the confidence and support of the public in order to do a good job of law enforcement.

In the field of race relations, police can't accomplish much unless they have the confidence of both sides—majority group and minority groups.

There is always a strong tendency for prejudice to be paid back by prejudice. If Whites dislike the Negroes, the latter will respond by disliking the Whites. If minorities are antagonistic and uncooperative toward the police, it is only human for police officers to respond in kind, especially if they have had bad experiences with members of minority groups.

When a condition of mutual antagonism develops between police and minority groups, it is almost impossible for police to do a fair and effective job of law enforcement. A situation is created which is very dangerous to the public peace. This was the situation in Chicago before the 1919 riot and also in Detroit in 1943.

4. Adjustment of the in-migrant southern Negro to life in California.
- A. Negroes recently arrived from the South at times are likely to behave in strange and seemingly obnoxious ways because of their unfamiliarity with the new environment. A world of difference exists between the life of the Negro in the South and the life in Pacific Coast cities. The in-migrant Negro has to learn a whole new way of living, ranging all the way from urban standards of sanitation and garbage disposal to new ideals and aims of life. Great personal uncertainty and insecurity are involved in this shift. To some degree, this, of course, is true of any in-migrant, underprivileged group, black or white.
- B. The Southern Negro is compelled to be subservient to the white man in all ways. In trying to cast off this life-long habit of subservience, he is often likely to be rude and arrogant, or at least ill-mannered.
- C. The in-migrant comes to California expecting to be a free man and as good as anyone else. He does find more freedom than in the South, but he is still segregated and discriminated against in various ways. He doesn't know the limits of the new freedom; in trying to discover the limits, he is likely to go too far. He encounters many disappointments and frustrations, to which he may have an aggressive reaction.
- D. *Police officers will see an analogy between the in-migrant Negro testing his new freedom and a new policeman vested with authority for the first time in his life. The recruit policeman is also insecure*

in his new authority, he doesn't know how far he can go in any situation, and he is liable to commit his share of "boiners" before he becomes an experienced officer.

5. The majority of Negroes and Mexican-American youth live under conditions conducive to crime.
- A. It is well known that slum conditions and a vicious environment breed crime. Practically always, in any city, the highest crime rates occur in the poorest districts.
- B. The economic status of most Negroes and Mexicans is very low. Due partly to poverty and partly to segregation, these groups live mainly in the slums. Their housing is poor and overcrowded. Recreational facilities are generally inadequate. The slum neighborhoods in which they live are also frequently the centers of organized prostitution, gambling, and other vicious activities.
"The police will allow gambling dives, houses of prostitution, and other forms of vice to exist in a Negro neighborhood because the officers think it solves their immediate problems to some extent and keeps the people off the street. But what are you doing to the Negroes when you do that?"—Walter A. Gordon.
- C. These conditions mean that members of minority groups are more exposed to vicious associations and other conditions conducive to crime than are members of the general public. This is part of the explanation for the relatively high delinquency and crime rates in these groups.
6. Restrictions on normal activities of minority groups often cause exaggerated behavior in other directions.
- A. Minority groups suffer from restrictions on many types of activity which other people take for granted (enjoyment of hotel, restaurant, and tavern facilities, bowling alleys, swimming pools, for example). Discrimination has the effect of narrowing a person's field of opportunities and activities. It is only normal that people so restricted, should intensify their activities in fields where they are not interfered with. Sexual activity is an example. It has been aptly described as "the poor man's recreation." Religion is another. This is part of the reason why church activities play such an important part in Negro life.
- B. An example significant for law enforcement: In the Berkeley-Albany public housing project, white residents complained that the Negroes were drinking and partying excessively in their apartments. Investigation revealed that the numerous bars and taverns along San Pablo Avenue adjoining the project refused Negro trade and had signs posted to that effect. While white people could do their drinking at the bars, if they cared to do so, the only way a Negro could get a drink was to buy a bottle and take it home with him.

VI

PRACTICAL POLICE METHODS IN RACE RELATIONS

The *Interim Report of the Peace Officers Committee on Civil Disturbances* (revised edition, 1945) contains a list of 39 suggestions for meeting the problem of racial tensions. These deserve careful study. The police conferences at Richmond and the study materials used therein, including the *Peace Officers Committee Report*, emphasized the following as preventive measures:

1. A professional attitude and professional knowledge on the part of police officers. This is fundamental. Racial problems are after all only a rather severe test of a police department's efficiency. A good department staffed with officers who are professionals in their field will handle racial tensions in stride and will not allow conditions to develop which would cause a race riot. On the other hand, a poor department, which is unable to handle the ordinary problems of law enforcement effectively, will never be able to cope with racial tensions.
2. Absolute impartiality. Essential to a professional approach but is not easy to achieve. The following points should be emphasized:
 - A. Enforcement of the law against ALL violators without regard to the race, color, or religion of the violator.

Example of good practice: "We had an experience in Los Angeles. * * * There was a white fellow who had for two or three years visited a Negro woman on week-end trips to Los Angeles. She was married. Her husband was a railroad man and was usually out of town. On this particular occasion, this man came into Los Angeles and went to see the girl, and she told him she couldn't see him that week-end. He was pretty rude and hard-boiled—had had a couple of drinks. He went out and proceeded to get really drunk. He came back about sundown. He broke the door down and went in and got this woman. * * * A crowd of people gathered. The police were called, and the man was taken down to the station. The captain of detectives said, 'Well, go ahead, book the man for rape or attempt to rape.' Someone spoke up, 'You can't do that. Why, this man is a white man, and the woman is a Negro. We couldn't book a man like that. Every white person in the division will be disturbed about it.' The captain said, 'Well, did he attempt it or didn't he? That's the question.' There was further objection, 'We think you'd better book him for drunkenness and disturbance of the peace.' But the captain of

detectives insisted on the correct booking. He asked, 'Well, what if it were the other way around?' And the reply was, 'We'd certainly book him for rape.' Then, ordered the captain, 'that's exactly what we're going to do in this case.' * * * The men respected this captain for his cool and calm judgment, for his attempt to secure equal justice as far as the racial groups were concerned. It made it a lot easier for the policemen to work with the Negroes who were a majority of the population of the district. It meant that the Negroes were going to be treated fairly."—E. W. Lester.

- B. A "human" approach, regarding every individual as different from every other, and treating every person as an individual. The contrary is the "stereotype" approach which views the members of any group as all alike and regards the various groups as superior or inferior to each other.
- C. Avoid use of insulting terms and names. Some expressions, used casually without thought of offending, are nevertheless offensive to members of minority groups. Such as:

"He looks like an Okie to me."

"Black as a Negro."

"Who do you mean, that nigger?"

Terms such as "kike," "nigger," "chili-picker," "wop," "cholo," invariably antagonize the person and the group to whom they are addressed. If an officer thinks he has to use an insulting name, it is better to use one which insults only the individual and not his group. The consultant from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People observed that a Negro would rather be called a "black sonuvabitch" than a "nigger." The term "Negress," while technically accurate is found to be offensive to Negro women.

Policemen feel the same way about derogatory names applied to their group. "We don't mind calling each other 'cops' or 'flat-feet,' but we don't want other people to do it."—E. W. Lester.

Because of the sensitiveness and defensiveness of minority groups and their ingrained fear of police, "every act of an officer, even to the tone of his voice, is examined for prejudice. It behooves us to treat members of such groups with the same professional courtesy that we use in our contacts with the general public."—E. W. Lester.

"The wise officer in the discharge of his duties will so conduct himself that his work is made easier by creating the desire to cooperate on the part of those with whom he works."—E. W. Lester.

- D. The same kind of law enforcement in a minority group district as anywhere else in the city.

A paternalistic attitude toward minority groups is one of the most difficult kinds of discrimination to get away from—the attitude

that one can't expect too much of a given group because they are Negro, Mexican, or whatnot. There is the related attitude that crimes of minority group members don't matter very much so long as they only affect other members of the same group. Too often, police will allow conditions to exist in a Negro neighborhood that they would never tolerate in a white district.

"Those Negroes who are thinking about the future of the race feel that every Negro should be made to toe the mark just the same as every other individual. Until police departments accept that as a basic philosophy, you are going to find that the Negro will deteriorate morally, physically, and otherwise. I know of police departments right here in California that will permit dens of vice, gambling, prostitution, etc., to exist in Negro neighborhoods because it will keep the Negroes off the streets, and as long as they are just Negroes, it doesn't make any difference. Now that is a paternalistic attitude which we don't appreciate because it affects our whole racial uplift."
—Walter A. Gordon.

3. Employment of qualified members of minority groups on the police force.
 - A. The problems of overcoming prejudice against the employment of minority group members will vary with community attitudes. Likewise, the problems incident to Department and public acceptance of a minority group officer assigned to general police duty will vary.
 - B. No person should be appointed to a police force *because* he is a member of a minority group, and no one should be appointed to *represent* a minority group. While superior qualifications are desirable in a minority group member initially appointed to a force, in order to overcome prejudice, minority group members should be required to meet the same standards of qualification and performance as anyone else.
 - C. For maximum benefit in preventing crime, protecting life and property, and improving race relations, officers who happen to be minority group members should be treated like anyone else on the force without discrimination insofar as assignments and duties are concerned.
 - D. Harm, rather than good, is the frequent result of (1) appointing poorly qualified members of minority groups and (2) restricting their activities and opportunities only to patrol in minority group areas.
 - E. Great good may come from assigning a member of a minority group to majority group areas where, in addition to his general qualifications, he has a genial and engaging personality.
 - (1) His presence is a constant education to the majority community who thus will become accustomed to seeing minority group members in official positions.

- (2) His presence will tend to break down the stereotype that minority group persons are and should be in inferior positions.
- (3) His tactful handling of job situations will build good will toward the group of which he is a member.
- (4) He, in turn, through integration as a "member of the force" rather than a "representative of a minority group," will be an agent of good will in the minority community when he is acting off duty and as a private citizen.
- (5) His presence on the police department will stimulate a better attitude in all other officers toward the minority group. Their tendency toward group classification will be deterred because of their acquaintance with a group member who differs from the stereotype.

4. Recognize and stay within the proper field of law enforcement.

- A. One reason why relations between Negroes and police in the South are so bad is that the police consider it part of their duty to enforce "White Supremacy" and keep the Negro "in his place." The result is that the police officer becomes a living symbol to the Negroes of all the discriminations that they have to face.

Policemen must be careful to refrain from intervening in the lawful social relations of people and the association of individuals, on the theory that people of different races should be kept apart.

"Police officers many times try to tell a white person that he can't go to this dance or into that neighborhood, etc. Police departments often refuse to issue permits or licenses for dance halls without inquiring who is going to be at the dance, and sometimes they request that the permit state the hall shall be closed to Negroes or to Whites. You have them refusing to recommend to the city council to give cabaret permits unless they agree that no Negroes or Whites shall be on the dance floor at the same time either as mixed couples or as White couples and Negro couples."—Walter A. Gordon.

- B. Outside the South, the intent of police action such as the foregoing is usually not to subordinate any group, but to preserve the peace. There is serious question, however, whether such actions really serve the purpose intended. They do expose the police to criticism on the grounds (1) of exceeding their lawful authority, and (2) of making color rather than conduct the test of a permissible activity.

The only sound and impartial rule is: *The proper object of police surveillance is conduct, not color.*

5. Contact with minority group leaders and organizations.

- A. Such activity is helpful in gaining confidence and cooperation of minority groups and overcoming their unfavorable attitudes toward police.

B. On a friendly basis, police can make suggestions to minority group leaders for the education and guidance of their respective groups, and can receive suggestions for the improvement of law enforcement work among the minority groups.

C. Liaison with these groups will be extremely valuable in dealing with any troublesome situations.

In the expertly handled 1943 riot in Harlem, for example, "The mayor himself toured the Negro sections in company with well-known Negro leaders, exhorting the people by loud speaker to get off the streets and assuring them of protection. * * * All during the night Negroes known to the people of Harlem broadcast from sound trucks exploding the false rumor that a Negro had been killed and urging the people to return to their homes and stop vandalism and other violent acts. Coupled with this was the magnificent restraint and efficiency of the police."—(*New Republic*, August 16, 1945. Quoted in Report of the Peace Officers Committee on Civil Disturbances.)

D. Irresponsible and inflammatory movements among minority groups frequently create problems for police. Cooperation with responsible leaders and organizations will help in handling such problems.

"Seek out the responsible leadership in the community, talk frankly to them about your problems * * * present your facts and make it plain that you will not jump on a man because he is a Negro, and you will get your response."—*Walter A. Gordon*.

"Perhaps the most important of all things to be kept in mind by law enforcement officials in communities newly confronted with the possibility of riots is that there are responsible, law-abiding elements in every racial group whose cooperation can be secured by friendly and intelligent efforts. These responsible elements can do more to prevent the spread of riot infection than any number of police officers who might be added to the force."—(*Report of the Peace Officers Committee*.)

E. Contact with individuals of minority groups on a nonofficial "person-to-person" basis will be very helpful.

6. Liaison with school authorities and other youth-serving agencies to work out programs for reducing racial tensions among the youth.

A. Recent events in Gary, Indiana, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Richmond have indicated a serious condition of racial tension among the children in many junior high and high schools.

Investigations indicate such tensions have arisen where school conditions generally are bad (overcrowded classes, shift sessions, poorly prepared teachers, inadequate equipment, lack of recreational programs, community dissatisfaction with the schools, etc.).

Tensions among the youth involve the parents and hence the whole community.

B. The schools can do much to reduce tensions by (1) eliminating the conditions which cause friction, (2) preparing the teachers to do a better job of promoting interracial understanding, and (3) educating the parents to cooperate and produce interracial good will through their parent teachers' associations.

7. Consult with the press to work out a constructive policy of handling news of racial matters and ensure cooperation with the police department.

A. Newspapers have been often criticized for handling racial news in an inflammatory manner. Minority groups frequently charge the press with playing up unfavorable news about their members while giving little attention to their praiseworthy activities. (Some papers seem to love headlines such as "Sheriff Arrested" or "Negro Rapist at Large.")

B. In self-defense, many newspapers have adopted a policy of printing as little news as possible about racial matters. This policy, while better than a sensational one, ignores the important contribution which the press can make toward a constructive handling of racial problems. Some newspapers are sincerely trying to do a job in this field.

C. A constructive press policy cooperating with the police department would include:

- (1) Unbiased, accurate reporting of all newsworthy events in the interracial field.
- (2) Elimination of racial identifications in crime stories except where publication of the race of a suspect would be helpful in his apprehension.
- (3) Adequate publicity to constructive programs in race relations, such as programs in the schools, activities of interracial committees, etc.
- (4) Publication of facts to counteract rumors.
- (5) Close cooperation between newspapers and police to ensure that the press always promptly receive the full and correct facts of any racial incident.

8. Contacts with minority press.

A. Relations between minority group newspapers and police are bad in most cities. The press is constantly playing up stories of police discrimination and brutality; the police consider the newspapers inflammatory.

B. Straightforward and frank discussions would help in some instances to produce a better understanding here on both sides. Police would find it worth while to gain the cooperation of the minority press in a preventive program. This might be done through frequent press conferences involving the entire local minority press.

9. Investigation and control of rumors.

A. Rumors are both a symptom and a cause of trouble. They have played an extremely important part in every major race riot that has occurred in this country.

Rumor is such a characteristic sign of tension that the degree and seriousness of tension at any time can be judged from the number and character of rumors prevalent.

B. As tensions rise, rumors increase and take on a more menacing character.

In periods of high tension, people will circulate and believe the most extraordinary and outlandish stories. During the Detroit riot of June, 1943, the Negro community was full of stories of Negro babies being thrown off a bridge and Negro girls being attacked, while white people were excited over similar stories with white babies and white girls as victims.

The New York Harlem riot of August, 1943, began with the utterly false rumor that a Negro soldier had been shot and killed by a white policeman.

In Richmond in October, 1945, when a white boy received a knife wound in the leg during a fight with a Negro boy, stories circulated all over the East Bay that the white boy's leg had been amputated and later that he had died.

C. A rumor that circulated all over the country in 1943 and 1944 said that Negroes were organized in "Bumper Clubs" for the purpose of "bumping" white people on the streets, in streetcars, etc. Concerning this rumor, Chief Lester said:

"This information would come from all types of sources and be told in detail without thought of its being anything but the truth. Time after time these rumors were investigated (by the Los Angeles Police) with the definite purpose of finding out the true origin, and in every case that we investigated—and the FBI was working on these cases too—it just blew up in thin air. There was absolutely no foundation. Yet after this rumor got spread around, people by the hundreds were convinced that groups of people were going out on certain days each week to make as big a nuisance of themselves as possible. Investigations were made in Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and no one could trace the rumors down there either. It was most revealing. Some of the most intelligent people in Los Angeles were passing on that rumor with the utmost confidence that it was the truth. Even after they were told about the investigation, their faith still wasn't entirely shaken in those rumors. * * * I have heard high police officials state the rumor as a fact."—E. W. Lester.

D. Even though they are false, vicious rumors do great damage. They heighten the tension and aggravate people's fears and hatreds. When people begin to suspect that others are plotting and arming against them, the result may be as disastrous as if it were true. Even groundless atrocity stories can lead to retaliations and "what is in the beginning fictitious eventually becomes real."

E. Police experience indicates that efforts to track down the source of inflammatory rumors are seldom productive. Officers can, however, and should be on the lookout for rumors and get the facts to counteract them.

F. *Never repeat a rumor, even to deny it.* The rumor is usually so much more sensational than the fact that the latter will be overshadowed. The only antidote for poisonous rumor is fact.

Get the facts promptly, and publish them as widely as possible. Cooperative relations with the press will be helpful here, but use should also be made of radio, civic organizations, minority group organizations, and other channels of information.

10. Persuade proprietors of restaurants, bars, etc., to remove signs such as "Colored Trade Not Solicited," or "No Japs."

Open flaunting of discrimination by means of posted signs is insulting to the groups affected and a cause of antagonism.

The California Civil Code prohibits restaurants, hotels, and other places of public accommodation or amusement from discriminating against any customer because of race or color. The remedy is only civil. Police, however, by virtue of their responsibilities, should concern themselves with conditions threatening the public peace.

The Berkeley Police Department, on several occasions, has been successful in securing the removal of discriminatory signs.

11. Investigate inflammatory publications or agitating groups which promote prejudice against Negroes, Jews, Japanese-Americans, or other minority groups.

A. While it is *conditions* rather than any specific persons or groups which cause racial tensions, nevertheless, groups frequently appear which seek to advance their selfish interests by playing upon the fears and prejudices of the people.

"In most of the riots that have been investigated, the existence of a pattern of action has been indicated by the evidence. In most cases there has been instigation, provocation, or manipulation."—*Peace Officers Committee Report.*

B. The following is quoted from the Richmond Police Department Conference on September 14th:

"MR. POWERS: It is my thought that race riots are seldom if ever caused by one organized group attempting to cause a riot. They

are an outgrowth of misunderstanding and bad social conditions, generally. We can't say, "This or that group caused this riot." It has to do with housing, with unintelligent handling by the police, etc. * * *

"QUESTION: Are there organizations though that make a business of stirring up bad feeling among racial groups?"

"MR. POWERS: Certainly, there are. In the Japanese-American situation we have organizations which work to stir up bad feeling. We have many groups based on a race hatred of Negroes. I can't think of any organization which attempted specifically to start race riots, but there are organizations which have contributed greatly to setting them off.

"QUESTION: What about Los Angeles, Mr. Lester? Have you had any organized antagonism there?"

"MR. LESTER: We have had deliberate attempts from individuals. Some are unscrupulous fellows going around using this as a means of livelihood. Some of them preach discrimination to the point of making the listener feel a hatred and do not give him a proper outlet of seeing any other solution than one of violence. They create hatred. * * *"

- C. One type of organization whose activities often lead into anti-racial campaigns is the property owners' association or improvement club which seeks to keep minority groups out of a certain neighborhood. Their avowed purpose is economic; they claim to be interested only in property values; but in trying to exclude minority groups, they often slide over into preaching race hatred and stir up much bad feeling.

"A lot of your community clubs in any given city are consciously or unconsciously fomenting racial tensions. * * * They say it is economic and that they are protecting their property values. But they will go to the extent of trying to make the Negro person lose his or her job. They will go to the banks and bring pressure on them to not loan money. They will spread the rumor that people should stop depositing at the bank. They will go to the realtor who sold the property and see that he loses his job. They will sometimes, as a last resort, by innuendo suggest force. * * * In Oakland one man tried to get a group of white people aroused and couldn't. He said, 'What's the matter with you people? You ought to be mad enough to put somebody at the end of a rope. * * * That is doing something not only to their thinking, but it is doing something to the Negro in the community.'—Walter A. Gordon.

- D. *Police action:* Report any agitational or propaganda activities which appear to be subversive to the FBI. For the others (most operate within the law), point out to them what they are doing; warn them of the dangers involved; keep them under surveillance.

12. Observe and report symptoms of trouble.

A. Race riots never happen suddenly or without warning. They are the product of tensions which accumulate over a fairly long period, sometimes for years. These tensions can be recognized and measured closely enough to permit preventive action. In other words, the growth of a dangerous racial situation can be diagnosed in the way that a doctor diagnoses a disease.

B. The thing to watch is *change* in the existing situation: the *growth* or *decline* of tensions.

The following are generally accepted as reliable indicators of rising tension:

- (1) An *increasing* number of rumors, together with an *increase* in their sensational character.
- (2) An *increasing* number of incidents of violence or threats of violence.
- (3) *Increasing* activity of race-agitating organizations, including groups seeking to exclude minorities from certain districts.
- (4) *Growing* distrust of police by minority groups. An *increase* in the number of charges and complaints of "police brutality" would be one evidence of this.
- (5) An *increase* in labor unrest (strikes and threats of strikes, etc.)
- (6) An *increase* in altercations on street cars and buses.
- (7) Minority reaction to the increasing tension, as reflected in the minority press.

13. A definite public relations policy. Cooperation with the press and contacts with minority group organizations, already mentioned, are important parts of a sound public relations program.

In addition, talks of police officers before service clubs, church groups, youth groups, on the radio, etc., are desirable to build public confidence in the police department, and also to guide public opinion on racial matters.

14. Establish a Human Relations Detail in the Police Department. To centralize responsibility for the Department's action in the field of race relations.

Human Relations Detail should be primarily responsible for carrying out Points 5 to 13, above listed.

15. Dealing with Riot Situations. Emphasis in this bulletin is laid on *preventive* measures rather than riot tactics.

The importance of sound police tactics in an emergency is not underestimated. However, a department which is capable of developing a sound preventive program will be in the best possible position to handle a riot, should its preventive efforts fail.

Most of the preventive principles discussed above will be valuable in bringing a riot under control with minimum loss of life and property damage.

Unless the situation is extremely aggravated by conditions beyond the police department's control, there is no reason why a thoroughgoing preventive program should fail.

In a tense situation, the police have to deal almost every day with the makings of a riot, that is, rumor, violent incidents, crowds. The way of handling these minor situations will determine whether tensions go up or down.

Recent incidents in the Richmond schools, for example, have had riot potentialities. There was tension to begin with, followed by a violent incident, rumors, crowds, and widespread fear. The situation was competently handled and the danger abated. If the good work done by the police in that immediate situation is followed up by longer-range preventive measures, the danger in the schools may well be removed entirely.

To Pauli Murray —
who contributed
so much to
my enthusiasm for
this, and who
added a paragraph,
a sentence, or a
word here and there
to make this appear
less like the work
of a Cop.

25 January 46 Bob Towers

Have a
grand
Coby Newson,
who is in
Merchant Navy
must have
been in N.Y.
during holiday

[Mrs Paula Polk]

Spring, Tex.,
Jan 1, 1946.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I hope you will not
think me too bold to
write to any one as exalt-
ed in life as you are,
but I think you "are" a
good woman, and when
I say that, I mean a lot.
Will I hope you will
have a prosperous and
especially Happy New
Year.

Have read your letters
in the Press every chance
I've had and like them.
Have not seen one in
a long time now.

Have made a poem
for you & your dear
husband, and only
wish it was better. Last
Apr. I said nothing that
was said of him, was
too good & I heard lots of good.
I sent you a few other
poems, and would like
to ask you if I could
make any money out
of such, and how I
could go about it.

Would they have to be
copyrighted, (I don't
even know what that all means)
and would my name
have to be printed on
it if put in book or
pamphlet form.

Tell me all if you can
and find time.

I saw you was given
some position in
paper. Here glad for you.
Should be glad if you
could help me on this,
if you can find time.

I wish all of your
entire family, a very
Happy New Year.

I've not of you much
often than I've written,
and never really that
of writing till now.

With love & admiration

I am,

Mrs Paula Folke.

Spring Tex.

Have gotten my right
arm hurt or I could do better.
Have not been able to work but little,
for 3 wks.

written

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
Our most beloved president;
Whose great love and courage
We have always felt
Has finished his journey here below,
In a most wonderful way,
That when to the world he bade farewell
We believe, with his soul, all was well.
May we ever strive to meet him,
And with the angels greet him.

And may his beloved companions,
Who were left behind,
Trace courage, in his example,
Never fail to find.
And also strive to meet him,
And with the angels greet him.

Composed at 11:30 P.M. Dec 30 '45
by Mrs. Paula Polk Spring, Tex.
P.L. Box 243A - 20 miles from Houston.

Some Verses or Quotations
By Paula Palk Spring 1944

'Going about, doing your duty,
Will give you that true beauty,
Which leads to Heaven above,
Where all is peace and love.'

"God sent you to this world below,
God deede to do, good ends to sow,
This will give you happiness,
Which leads to eternal bliss."

To a crippled boy.

Just why God sent this little
boy to this world below we
cannot tell:

But Jesus, the blessed Saviour,
doeth all things well.

May we love him, cheer
him, and pray for him,
Till God will ^{claim} him
from this world of sin.

"If you have trusted
the Saviour,

May you ever for Him labor,
If not, just now take
Him in your heart,
And from sin, do ne'er
depart.

Angels will hover round
you in love,

While living for Him, who
reigns above."

"To my dear when she had 4, now 5,
Irene the mother of four,
Does all their work & even more.
May we hope that God in turn
Will give her heavens in return."

On Jan. 1, 9:00 PM '46

"Irene the mother of five,
Is kept very much alive,
With work and play and errands galore,
Till she scarcely has time to close her door."