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Understanding the Police

By PETER GREENBERG

Ed. Note: Peter Greenberg is the Associate Editor of the Daily Cardinal.

Almost every American city today is undergoing some form of crisis with respect to their police departments. The crises may stretch over a broad spectrum: the duties of the cops, role conflicts, police politicization, community relations and political violence, or minority recruitment.

Madison is no exception to the police-metropolis crisis. It is, as a city, unique. Students comprise 12 per cent of Madison's population, and yet Madison is not a "university town" per se.

The Madison community, however, tends to mistrust the university and its powerful autonomy within the city. And students, as part of the university,

vis a vis the police, are often pitted in a class struggle with the cop on the street.

Surprisingly, perhaps, many parallels can be drawn between the roles of the cop and the student. Both live and work at the bottom of a highly structured, fraternalized environment, and both the student and the policeman are affected by tremendous peer group pressure within the respective fraternities of the university and the police department.

Both the student and the police are, as groups, isolated from the community at large. The only difference, (and a large one) is that the police are permanent, often static institution within

society; students are not.

The policeman is a member of the society whose laws and norms he is required to enforce. On the one hand, his membership in that society has an important effect upon the way he performs his job and, on the other hand, his having to police his own community has a profound effect upon his off-duty role as a member of that community.

In Madison, the cop finds himself enforcing a white middle-class morality that is often alien to broad segments of the population, including students.

In day to day individual confrontations, or in large demonstrations, it becomes relatively easy to loathe the cop. While he seems to be a prime target, he may be, in the long run, no more than a decoy.

The policeman shields us from ourselves and allows us to live in our American liberal dream of decency.

Paul Chevigny, attorney for the New York Civil Liberties Union (and author of "Police Power"), writes:

"For legislators and judges, the police are a godsend, because all the acts of oppression that must be performed in this society to keep it running smoothly are pushed upon the police. The police get the blame, and the officials stay free of the stigma of approving their high-handed acts. The police have become the repository of all the illiberal impulses in this liberal society."

The rookie cop in Madison often experiences the same orientation problems as the college freshman. He is taught that he does not possess discretion in the enforcement of the law, and yet when he issues his first traffic ticket he is exercising discretion.

The "low-visibility" decisions of a police officer are the hardest to keep under control or, for that matter review. They are often based not on particular law violations, but on the interpretation an officer gives to a specific law. It is often the drunk Legionnaire who gets driven home and the peaceful demonstrator who gets arrested for "disorderly conduct."

Nevertheless, it is the cop who is low man on the force. He, like the student, does not make operational policy, and yet he is forced to make hard choices every day.

What we have is a resultant dual standard of law enforcement. The National Crime Commission also saw the duplicity and the power that it creates:

"In view of the importance, complexity, and delicacy of police work, it is curious that police administrators have seldom attempted to develop and articulate clear policies aimed at guiding or governing the way policemen exercise their discretion on the street."

It goes without saying that the Madison police rules and code manual, which deals at length with personal conduct of officers, uniform and firearms regulations, does not provide the answer.

The answer, or at least part of it, must come from the specific training an officer or recruit receives. The other part of the answer has to come from the top also, in terms of qualifications for hiring and educational prerequisites.

Since August of 1968, when, according to Dick Gregory, "the white folks found out what black militants have been saying all along about police is true," the demand for the well-trained cop, the educated cop, equipped to deal with psychology as well as ballistics, has grown.

The demand is still with us. And the police administrators have yet to serve it.

TRAINING

The first, and perhaps biggest problem area is in police training, both on qualitative and quantitative levels. It is often outdated and irrelevant to the task the officer is asked to perform. Even the

time spent in training is nowhere near commensurate with the job.

As a result, the police institution has deteriorated on a national level.

And the Madison police training program remains provincial. Fewer than 25 per cent of the policemen in the United States have finished high school.

The President's Crime Commission has called for a far-reaching 400 hours of training before acceptance into a police force. The Madison Police Department exceeds this level, boasting of a 16-week, 640-hour course. Quantitatively it seems impressive. An hour by hour breakdown of the program, however, suggests a possible misordering of what should be contemporary priorities.

Of the 640 hour program, over 60 are devoted to typing and grammar, over 88 are spent dealing with traffic law and defensive driving. Yet only 15 hours are spent on riot control, 3 hours are spent on community relations and the Equal Opportunities Commission, 1 hour on the "Police and the Press," and in the sensitive drug area, only three hours on Narcotics.

A new addition to the program has been a one hour lecture on "Bombs and Explosives."

The three hour-long periods on Narcotics is handled by Detective Captain Stanley Davenport. No doctor or psychologist participates in this particular class. As a result, the police are taught that heroin is illegal, yet at the same time they are not allowed to perceive the heroin addict as one who is sick as opposed to one who is a criminal.

The Dane County Sheriffs Department is also operated along similar training lines, although both quality and quantity-wise their training program is regarded as inferior to the city course.

Recently, though, under grants from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Association (LEAA), the Sheriffs enjoyed their first riot training programs.

RECRUITING AND SALARY

There is often a vicious circle attached to the areas of recruiting and salary in the police force. It also centers on the definition of the term "professional" law en-

"Police departments traditionally have resisted change and have been wary of the intellectual. As long as this attitude prevails, the police will never successfully compete for the type of person they desperately need."

The President's Crime Commission

forcement. Which comes first, the salary or the competence? It has been said that "if you start a cop on \$10,000 a year, then he'll have something to lose."

This is certainly a valid argument. It is more than argument that police are underpaid—it is fact. However, while the argument is valid, if we are to be practical we must reverse the

power at his disposal he is not a community relations officer at all. And, unfortunately, that is the way things stand now.

Since 1967 we have seen the deterioration of many police departments. The men, as a group are beginning to see themselves

(continued on page 11)



Mickey Pfleger

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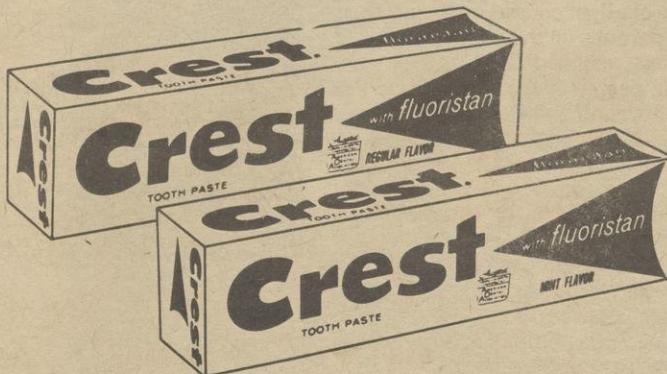
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JOSEPH PAUL KIMBLE

Ed. Note: Joseph Paul Kimble is the controversial former Chief of Police of Beverly Hills, California. He supervised the lenient "security" forces at Woodstock in 1969, writes poetry, listens to classical music, and was fired by the Beverly Hills City Council in early April 1970. But massive public support for Kimble in that city forced the council to rehire him. This article first appeared in Nation magazine shortly thereafter. Only a few weeks ago, the B.H. City Council repeated their actions and fired Kimble for the second time. He is presently suing the city for reinstatement.

If one were asked to characterize the Sixties, it might be fair to say that it has been a period of thrashing about. Our frenetic search for stability, our feverish longing for the "normalcy" of the pre-nuclear years, has left a substantial part of our population uncomfortable, unsure, and extremely anxious.

As a consequence, it appears, the pendulum on our social clock is swinging in wider and wider arcs. Like a tired metronome, the pendulum finds it increasingly difficult to resist staying at its extreme limits. It has become deceptively easy to "hang-up" on the points of the extremes.

In many ways it's a somewhat welcome relief to begin identifying the sources of our discontent in a simplistic "Them vs. Us" formula. As we gulp our social and political tranquilizers, as we re-adjust our conscience, the world around us momentarily resumes the sound and shape and shadows of the distant past.

We come to depend upon these periods of euphoria as our escape from the hurting world around us. We come to depend upon the prescriptions of the vocal extremes, or to compound something at home that is more palatable, but just as deadening. After awhile we cease to question the efficacy of what we ingest. It simply becomes easier to let others think for us—it becomes more comfortable to let people act for us. The only act we hold to be exclusive is the right to reject—the right to reject or even hate anyone or anything that might threaten our great and sovereign state of Rationalization.

IT IS WITH justifiable concern, then, that when certain segments of our population find the reasonableness of their great crusade doubted, threatened, and even attacked, they react with indignation. The greatest blow of all, of course, is to find their comfortable perches on the radical right, or the radical left, jeopardized by those subversive young people of the radical middle! Although the foregoing statement smacks of facetiousness, it speaks to a point shared by many; namely, that the anguished protestation of modern youth is largely directed against the ideology of extremism in either sector. It is also directed towards the silent, ambivalent middle, that by default perpetuates the extremes.

At the risk of generalizing, it appears to many concerned people that the majority of American youth are protesting the addiction to uncompromising viewpoints. They are protesting the unhealthy obsession with the past. They are protesting self-indulgence and self-hypnosis. They are protesting inertia, indifference, and prostitution of integrity for the sake of expediency. It is unfortunate that their protests generate overreaction in some quarters, even when they are not accompanied by violence or unreasonable conduct. Many young people are protesting, for the most part, those forces and conditions that generate radical reaction. It is unfortunate that it has become so unfashionable in today's society to question the status quo, that the motives of those who protest become automatically suspect.

WHAT IS IT that perceptive young Americans, these "knights in shining acne," are so intent on bringing to our attention? What are some of the urgent messages being articulated in the urban and academic wilderness? My exposure to young people indicates that their concerns focus on many areas, including my field of law enforcement. I'd like to address that issue for a moment, and share with you some of the viewpoints expressed by this new generation.

Young people tend to view traditional law enforcement in a non-traditional way. Ignoring the precepts of past generations, they too often view police as a threat, rather than a positive and constructive force. Their perception is that police, as a group, are

resistant to change. Impressed more by what they see than by what they're told, youth are prone to state that some police agencies are ineffective and inconsistent. The rationale is that they keep hearing loud pronouncements regarding modern investigatory methods, crime laboratories, computers, and space-age gimmickry, training and correctional and rehabilitation programs. In spite of such pronouncements, they observe that crime is still increasing, our clearance rates for major crimes are still under 30 per cent, some cops still "hassle" people on the street, and very few of our serious offenders are rehabilitated to any meaningful degree.

They hear the police side of drugs and other issues but at the same time have access to bodies of knowledge that provide different and sometimes better answers.

OTHERS QUESTION the honesty of a few police agencies across the country—not necessarily in the sense of corruption, but in their response to certain community

still live within 50 miles of where they were born. This tendency to gravitate to urban areas has resulted in an influx of people who are ill-equipped to cope with the frustrating, abrasive life of the city. Their children, in turn, are even less tolerant of the stress, regulation, and loss of dignity that is inherent in being hopelessly bogged in poverty in a large city. It is understandable, then, that traditional police approaches and reactions to the new problems of the central city and its suburbs fall short of the mark. One can't deny that, in all reasonableness, the police shouldn't be expected to deal with these broader community problems, but the reality is that they have been forced to deal with situations that the community as a whole chooses to ignore, or to pretend don't even exist.

IT'S NO SECRET to policemen that ghettos, whether they trap white or black, are the urban cancer. The police recognize this disease is perilously close to the terminal stage in many of our cities. Yet, the

morally equipped to deal effectively with the complex problems of our society. Young people want law enforcement that is contemporary, relevant, and constitutional. They are asking for what the President's Crime Commission recommended in 1967; a rational restructuring of law enforcement.

ALTHOUGH THE police are the subject of a great deal of attention by young people, the rest of the community is not exempted from their scrutiny. One of the loudest blasts is directed towards the categorization of people and institutions. Too many Americans have succumbed to the deceptive and dangerous practice of stereotyping. In rebuttal, young people have stated that stereotyping of people and events is fallacious. Their position is that:

—not all people with a "hippie appearance" are: degenerates, thieves, addicts, or even hippies! (particularly in California)

—not all policemen are: racist, fascist, honky, pig cops; not all policemen are biologically, physiologically and intellectually inferior; not all policemen want to marry your daughters

—not all governmental institutions are insensitive, inappropriate, or nonresponsive; not all politicians are effete snobs

—not all wars are good simply because we happen to be involved in them

—in trying to change the "establishment" not all young people are intent on destroying it.

—law and order, without reason and justice, denies us the best of our system

—there is no generation gap; there is a communication and an image reality gap

—people over 30 can be trusted; it's so sad, however, that people over 30 attach so little importance to being trusted by the young.

EVEN THE CHURCH is examined in a critical light by young people. They observe that too many churches are nothing more than stained glass filling stations, where people occasionally stop to fill their spiritual tank and inflate their ego. The clergy seems content to chew their theological cud, oblivious to the problems of civil rights and social justice in that cold world of reality outside. Some point out the irony that although Christ was involved with the masses and their problems during His early existence, His contemporary representatives prefer the security of their sanctuary to wrestling with the heart-rending problems of the outside world. Young people feel the church cannot regain its rightful place of influence until they once again become relevant to the challenges of today.

The concluding observation I would like to share with you concerns the expectations young people hold for the American public. Their greatest hope, I'm told, is that America will at long last acknowledge her basic problems as a first step to finding solutions for her dilemmas. Many young people would like the country as a whole to say, "As a result of a number of circumstances and events, we are, at this point in time, a racist society, a violent society, a criminal society." (This is a terribly difficult statement to make, and a painful premise to consider.)



Michael Mally

problems. For example, do officers in some areas, accord more respectful treatment to certain segments of the community? To the majority as opposed to ethnic minorities? Do their hiring policies and requirements tend to exclude minority groups? Are observed acts inconsistent with officially stated policies? Do too many agencies stress training, rather than education for their officers? Are too many agencies operated on the military general staff concept, as opposed to a department that is open—responsive to and held accountable by the community? These are just a few of the feelings articulated by young people concerning justice and the police.

In spite of the seeming cynicism of their inquiry, it appears they're leading to a more centralized concern. Young people, more than any other group, understand the need for a re-definition of the police role, and the need for a new kind of policeman.

It's painfully obvious we're no longer a tranquil, rural society. It follows then, that 18th century police practices (or 18th century governmental practices) are irrelevant to the 20th century. For example, we're witnessing the mass movement of people on an unprecedented scale. One million blacks moved out of the south in ten years. Four hundred thousand young people converged on the Catskills in one week to attend a "rock festival." Nearly 40 million citizens—more than 12 million households—move every year in the United States! All this is staggering when one remembers that before 1900, most people never left the area in

police have been asked to practice medicine without a license—a license the community has failed to issue in terms of support and involvement.

Too many people, young and old, look to the police to cure problems that years of rejection and indifference have left unchanged. Concerned police officers are attempting to reach solutions, in spite of the lack of interest on the part of the larger

"The majority of American youth are protesting the addiction to uncompromising viewpoints."

community. It becomes obvious that there is a need not only for more policemen, but a need for more effective policemen.

Young people have acknowledged this need in their verbalized expectations of police. These expectations include the enforcement of law in a legal, ethical and humanistic fashion, by officers with a broadened social outlook and an awareness of the changing world around them. They envision an enlightened, qualified, and positive type of leadership, directing an organization composed of individuals who care about other people . . . individuals

The rationale of the young on these issues is that we cannot seek effective solutions until we admit the existence of the problem! It is their contention, first of all, that this country is basically a racist society. They document their argument with a series of reports and observations, most of which are embodied in the Kerner Report. The Kerner Report, young people are quick to point out, came as quite a shock to the white, middleclass segment of our population. It came as a shock to black people, they say, only in that so much money was spent in reaching a conclusion that was already self-evident.

Police unions are slowed by police politics

By DAN LAZARE

Ed. Note: Dan Lazare is the Editorial Page Editor of The Daily Cardinal.

In 1919, President Woodrow Wilson called it "a crime against civilization" when the entire Boston police force walked off the job to protest outright union busting actions by the municipal government. Boston exploded, wild lawless mobs roamed the streets unimpeded and eventually several thousand National Guardsmen armed with machine guns were used to restore order. Although the strike was crushed, due to a betrayal by the American Federation of Labor, and efforts to organize the police met with little success for the next 50 years, the phenomenon of police unionization has now returned with renewed vigor.

But many consider the notion of policemen grouping themselves into labor organizations paradoxical. In the not so long ago era when labor unions trod as unsteadily as a year old infant it was the police who were used to break the labor movement. It was the police who were continually called

"Police unions are all young and few existed five years ago. Thus union members can base their actions on few precedents and the policeman's natural conservatism prevents him from taking any rash, daring steps."

upon to escort scabs through picket lines, to destroy the strikes, and sometimes to murder the strikers. The memory of those first unsteady days has faded, however. Today, the overwhelming number of strikes are nonviolent, organized labor is a fact accepted by nearly everybody, and the dominant attitude among labor leaders to the police is a welcoming one. Recently, George Meany offered to the fledgling patrolmen's associations scattered across the country the protective cover of the AFL-CIO umbrella. Most groups declined the offer.

How long this open-armed spirit will last is a matter of conjecture. Although most strikes today are indeed nonviolent and do not require police involvement, some groups within the AFL-CIO, most notably Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers union in California, are still subject to extensive police harassment. Also, new friction between labor and the police could develop as a declining economy and rising militancy in the unions combine to produce strikes deemed, by the established powers,

necessary to suppress.

The final and most persuasive word on the controversy comes from the proponents of police unionization. What could be better in a time of crisis, they argue, than to have all those potentially dangerous blue uniforms filled by union men? The argument that the best way to fight your foe is to convert him has thus taken hold.

The great majority of policemen presently belong to protective professional societies, although only half of these organizations can be regarded as labor unions in that collective bargaining is used. The others, to achieve their ends, rely either on lobbying directly with the local city councils, or on maintaining informal contacts with their police commissioners.

More than half of the organizations are independent, self-contained units and it is these groups who tend to rely on methods other than collective bargaining. The remaining organizations are connected with state or national groups, of which the largest are:

*The Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), with some 800 subordinate lodges, is the closest thing to a national police officer's organization. 50 per cent of the locals in the FOP engage in collective bargaining, which usually implies that the unions will, as a last resort, strike, although the FOP will purge any local which carries off even the measiest work slowdown.

*International Conference of Police Associations (ICPA). In its constitution, the ICPA states it will "strive for the ... mutual welfare, protection and advancement of all police officers." But it will never carry out any unified action in order to achieve those goals. Just as the word "conference" in its title implies, it is a loose coalition, never intended for the kind of militant tactics a trade union employs. When an ICPA affiliate engages in collective bargaining, as 40 per cent of them do, it cannot look to its parent organization for support.

*The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) are statewide organizations and are not coordinated across state lines. Some, in fact, are connected with the ICPA. The PBA's are the oldest police labor organizations and stretch back into the nineteenth century. Strongest in the Northeast, the PBA's have discovered how to cover their rear by mobilizing public opinion. Their political influence is greatest in the large cities and in New York they are one of the most powerful forces in local politics.

*The last category consists of those groups which are under the wing of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which is allied with the AFL-CIO. In the face of a solid wall of state and city statutes which forbid strikes by public employees, AFSCME has always reserved the right to call its members off the job, a right which has been carried through many times by its locals. But in spite of its reputation for militancy, AFSCME does not extend the right to strike to its police locals and went so far as to revoke the charter of its one police local which did strike, in Lockport, Illinois. 85 per cent of the police groups within AFSCME bargain collectively, which is nearly twice the percentage of any of the

other three listed organization.

There are several reasons why police unions are not as advanced as their counterparts in the labor movement. The first is simply that state laws, which are not too favorable when it comes to collective bargaining by any union of public employees, positively scowl at the thought of facing a police union across the negotiation table. 11 states have laws which virtually deny the right of collective bargaining to policemen and five states plus the District of Columbia ban completely police unions.

Another reason for the movement's backwardness is its newness. Police unions are all young and few existed five years ago. Thus union members and the policeman's natural conservatism prevents him from taking any rash, daring steps.

Marx said the role of a policeman is to preserve and protect the state, i.e. to maintain the status quo. Obviously, a police force is not the place to be if you are of a reformist bent and intent on changing the

a political orientation is rated for a short and dismal life. After the Industrial Workers of the World, no union was willing to pick up the infinitely heavy political banner. Even the Congress of Industrial Organizations, founded in the 1930's with much help from members of the Communist Party, stuck closely to the rule that a union should concern itself with winning benefits from management for its members.

This rule has been broken by the newly formed police unions which have enthusiastically taken on the slew of law and order-civilian review board issues. When the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, an attempt at a nation-wide policeman's union, was founded last spring, its sponsors hardly mentioned economic and working condition demands which are central to all other labor organizations, but, instead, stated that the purpose of the union would be to defend police officers from all slurs directed at them by their critics. Those slurs, it can be assumed, come in the form of



world. As one labor journalist observed, if the police alone could vote, Wallace would be presently in the White House. In fact, John Harrington, President of the FOP, publicly supported Wallace. This same conservatism greatly impedes their receptivity to unionization.

Yet another reason exists which explains the existence of the great number of independent, local policemen's associations. Groups of this sort are concentrated in those cities with populations between 50 and 100,000. Apparently, municipal governments in those communities are small enough, and lines of communication fluid enough that the organizations feel they can reach honest agreements without resorting to trial by strike.

One irrepressible fact of the American labor movement is that any union born with

review boards and restrictive court decisions. The police unions are created as mutually protective organizations, as all labor organizations are, but they see the political attacks as the most dangerous while other unions mainly concentrate on financial and living standard attacks.

The political role affected by the police unions was most sharply exposed in New York over the last five years. The police department of New York City, perhaps no more so than the police force in any other major metropolis, is an inbred, stratified and calcified bureaucracy and, not surprisingly, highly resentful of change. Efforts by liberal Mayor John Lindsay to reform the department and inject new blood into its stiff veins irritated the police union, the local Policemen's Benevolent Association.

The PBA made its move to check Lindsay when it challenged the decade old civilian review board in 1966. The question of the board was to come up in a city referendum and playing expertly on the racial tension which existed in that town, the PBA built its campaign around the charge that by crippling the police, the review board was

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Police 'training' programs-more every day

Ed. Note: Martin Schwartz is associate professor of clinical psychiatry at Yale University and a Wisconsin graduate. He is also the Director of Social Work at the Connecticut Mental Health Center.

Recently, throughout the country, training programs for police have increased at a phenomenal rate. The existence of such programs led by mental health and allied health professionals is a modern phenomenon. In searching for a rationale for such fervent and often controversial activities, three causal factors can be isolated. They are: black and student unrest, the Presidential reports on Law Enforcement and Justice and Civil Disorders and Violence, and the community mental health acts of the Sixties. The resultant has been an outburst of energies by mental health experts, community residents, and police officials, spent in establishing "training programs" that would prevent the horrendous events of Chicago, Jackson, Detroit, et al. The objectives and goals for such programs appear to be different as

each power group has its priorities and self-interests.

Training programs in recent times have concentrated on attempts to modify police attitudes and behavior towards blacks, Puerto Ricans and students. Programs have zeroed in on those police who have been assigned to ghetto areas. Usually, these programs are established by interested community residents, high up police officials, and community oriented mental health people. Most of the time, these programs are "forced upon" the patrolman or his sergeant who are bewildered by the negative public view of them and their work. As a result, they feel even more alone and bitter about their position in society.

For a mental health professional, the services offered to the community are either direct (therapy) or indirect (consultation, mental health education). He can choose to assume the role of change agent, mediator, or conciliator in those community events that exacerbate the pain of those who are emotionally or mentally ill. In partaking in a training program for the police, the mental health professional is guided by the need to sensitize the various

caretakers and institutions in society to the needs of the consumers. In addition, there is the agenda item of modifying any negative attitudes that interfere with appropriate services to the community. He might not be able to change the system but he can prevent the continuance of de-humanization of people, particularly those from powerless groups.

IN THE VOLATILE "teaching" area, group processes are the vehicle utilized to attain the desired objectives. Groups may be organized along an "encounter" or "group discussion" basis. An example of the former would be to establish a police-community sensitivity training group led by an experienced group leader (usually from the mental health professions). The group members are equally divided between officers and community residents.

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the madison community:
"rights in conflict"

By WILBUR EMERY

Ed. Note: Wilbur Emery is the Chief of Police of Madison, Wisconsin. Born and raised here, he has been chief of the force for the past 11 years.

The city of Madison, as a center for governmental and educational activity, is a focal point in our area for issues demanding attention. The issues which confront us today are often of such a character that they precipitate strong emotional attitudes in opposition to each other. The right to express an attitude is a fundamental element in our democracy. A key issue today involves the legitimacy of various forms of expression. At what point does an activity cease to qualify as a "right" and be so protected? Does there exist implied, if not recorded, responsibilities that accompany constitutional and other human rights? If rights are tied to responsibility, are they not, in fact, privileges subject to regulation and control by society? We view rights, in general, as privileges dependent upon society for their exercise and maintenance.

Contemporary society has been described as experiencing a "rights in conflict" period. That is, conflict between the exercise of rights by individuals and groups, individuals and government, and groups and government. The experience of rights in conflict is nothing new. It receives renewed attention today when issues of great controversy precipitate mass demonstrations and other emotional forms of expression. Such expression naturally results in situations where the exercise of rights by one results in the denial of rights of another. To permit the second, the exercise of his rights tends to deny, at least to some degree, the rights of the first. At

best, both parties experience something less than full realization of their concept of rightful expression or activity. One can hardly hold a rally or demonstration of any size without preventing the accustomed right to move through or conduct activity in and about the demonstration area. Limitations on rallies or demonstrations as to place, time, size, and activity in consideration of reducing or controlling its effect on other "rightful" activity tend to diminish their effectiveness.

Historically, police have been viewed as law enforcement officers, with emphasis on their role in the detection of crime and the arrest of criminals. The definition of the officer's role in the criminal justice function has received much work and clarification recently by our courts and legislatures. Although this area is of high priority, the extensive activity surrounding criminal justice functions has imparted a public view of police primarily in the enforcement-arrest role. Our first priority is that of preserving the peace. Other functions such as arrest of law violators sometimes cannot immediately be realized if our ability to meet our primary responsibility is jeopardized.

The formal definition of the police role in preserving the peace has not reached the degree of refinement found within the criminal process. Situations are so varied in size and character that legislation attempting to deal specifically with them have been found by our courts to be overbroad and, hence, unconstitutional. A result is that police inherit a problem that they can do little to prevent, have limited resources available to effectively deal with them, and find little clarification or specification within the law or from our courts to act as guides.

Invariably the police are found in the middle of disputes surrounding rights in conflict. The police have received responsibility from our society through law which outlines its mission as: preservation of peace, prevention and control of crime, enforcement of law, etc. The individual officer is called upon to provide a wide variety of services encompassing a multiplicity of "roles." He is called upon to be a protector of life, personal liberty, and property.

Our community, since the fall of 1967, has been involved in a learning process, often painful to all involved. We have approached understanding of problems but their ultimate solutions still are not realized. We can hope that during the future learning process we, as a community, will not experience the degree of pain common to the past, and fruitful solutions to mutual problems will accompany advanced understanding.

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The Police: Black and White Issue

Ed. Note: Brian Poster is the City Editor of The Daily Cardinal.

By BRIAN POSTER
of the Cardinal Staff

Do officers of the Madison Police Department ignore the rights of the community's black citizens, express racism, and employ physical brutality when dealing with blacks?

It's a question that is not raised very often primarily for two reasons: First, Madison's black community numbers only 2 per cent of the city's population of about 170,000, so in a sense, blacks in Madison are an invisible group. Second, questions of police conduct usually center on the volatile University campus, where students charge "police brutality" during protest activities.

Nevertheless, there are blacks in Madison and they have leveled charges against the police department that, both overtly and covertly, racism exists today.

"If I wanted to be a policeman, I'd want to see the nature of the police dept. changed," comments Alderman Eugene Parks, one of the three black aldermen on the city council. "They are only looking for patrolmen. They should recruit blacks for middle administrative and upper echelon positions."

CURRENTLY, THERE are no blacks serving on the 226 man police force, though one black briefly served in 1970, an account of which will later be discussed. Police officials say they are making "every effort" to hire blacks.

Parks believes, though, that to limit reform to the police would be a mistake.

"The judicial system is racist to blacks and other minority groups and the poor," charges Parks. "Blacks on the average receive harsher penalties (than whites) for comparable crimes."

A check into Madison police records disclose that, in certain crimes, blacks are apprehended in a disproportionate number. However, court records on conviction and acquittal do not show separate statistics on blacks and whites.

With 1969 as the latest year for compiled data and it being a "typical" year, six blacks were apprehended but not necessarily charged on suspicion of forcible rape compared to five whites. Seven blacks were held on suspicion of robbery, only four less than the number of whites detained. Twelve blacks were held for possessing or carrying a weapon in contrast to 32 whites.

ON THE OTHER hand, out of 93 held on suspicion of violating narcotic drug laws, only three were blacks. On liquor law violations, 546 whites were detained compared to only 15 blacks.

What the statistics do indicate is that, while in many areas of law violations a disproportionate number of blacks are detained, this is not an all inclusive pattern.

Park's answer to ending racism "is a change of attitude" by everyone involved in the arrest situation from the apprehending policeman through the judge deciding the case.

Parks charges that while acting director of the Afro-American Center in 1970, he and fellow blacks would often have to find other blacks to stand in a police lineup with an arrested black for identification by the plaintiff because the police would often fail to do the job themselves.

EOC and the Breese incident

One city agency created to deal with police-black relations is the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC). Established in 1963 by the city council as a body designed to hear black citizens' complaints of discrimination in the purchase or rental of housing, the EOC has become today the major agency where blacks air their grievances concerning police conduct.

city would limit further the powers of the commission.

EDWARD BURDULIS, chairman of an EOC committee working on black-police relations, defends the role of the EOC in Madison.

"Our greatest asset," states Burdulis, "is that it (EOC) is an intermediary in tense situations without public recognition." He says the EOC "moves to head off trouble" before it begins.

Burdulis feels the police dept. should be "more aggressive" in seeking black police officers and said the police should hire more than "just one or two" blacks.

The EOC has recommended that more communication between blacks and police, improved human relations training programs for police, and "intensive efforts" to eliminate discrimination be undertaken immediately.

Not until the 1960's did the issue of "ill treatment" of the black community begin to arise in public debate. Mainly located in the southern part of Madison, blacks first began to protest alleged discrimination in the sale and rental of homes and apartments.

In 1967, the focus shifted from housing discrimination to the broader issue of black unrest and the resultant police response.

FOLLOWING THE August, 1967 black protests in Milwaukee, the EOC held an emergency open hearing in Madison to decide whether rumors sweeping the city of an impending riot were true. The consensus of the hearing was that a riot would not take place in the foreseeable future.

However, the hearing did bring to the public's view charges of "long years of overt

though the major disorders at the dance were touched off when a car driven by a white youth struck a black youth.

"Not one white person was apprehended, charged, or detained," stated the open letter by 18 Madison blacks. "Not even the white driver of the car which struck a black youth and fractured his ankle."

Public hearing on the incident were begun one month later, though they were opposed by Madison Police Chief Wilbur Emery, who

The Breese hearings disclosed another interesting incident. A black jazz musician claimed that four years earlier he and a white girl with him were arrested in his hotel room after the police had entered through a window and read his mail.

Though he claimed he was fully clothed and never asked if the girl was his wife, the police charged him, he contended, with "lewd and lascivious conduct," a charge later reduced to disorderly conduct. He asked at

"In the execution of racial justice, (Madison) is in many instances as negligent as those notorious southern cities which have made a tradition of ignoring the rights and needs of black citizens."

**—Open letter to the
Madison Police Dept.
by 18 blacks, Aug., 1968**

said any charges against the policemen involved should be handled by the police department.

Emery denied any "incorrect actions" were taken by the police, and then he leveled numerous criticisms.

the hearing how a person could be charged with disorderly conduct in his own room.

Further, he maintained, the police told him at the station, "Your boys are going to have to learn there are certain people you can't have in your room."

City's first black policeman

In January, 1970, after an "intensive search," a Vietnam veteran, John Winston, became Madison's first black police officer.

"John was accepted as one of the people pretty much," stated Detective Roth Watson, former head of the Madison Professional Policemen's Association. "He performs his duties. He's just another cop."

Yet just six months later on July 15, 1970, Winston turned in his badge and left town for a job in Indiana with the controversy surrounding his resignation still being debated.

In his letter of resignation, Winston charged that the police had attempted to "degrade" him in connection with a black murder defendant who was being tried at the time of Winston's resignation for a murder committed in January, 1970, when Winston first joined the force.

WINSTON MAINTAINED he was asked to help cover up the "mistake" of a fellow policeman, who he alleged, had failed to tell the black defendant his constitutional rights at the time of arrest and thus an illegal confession was subsequently obtained.

"One detective wanted to have me kicked off the force because of a case we were working on together which concerned a black suspect," stated Winston. "The defendant was denied his rights. When I refused to lie for the detective, he attempted to degrade me and suggested to others that I was taking sides with the defendant because he was black and so was I."

Circuit Judge Norris Maloney, who was trying the murder case, dismissed Winston's allegations when the latter admitted he "may have" told another detective the defendant had changed his mind and did not want an attorney shortly before giving a confession. Maloney called Winston's charges "unbelievable."

However, Parks believes, in essence, Winston's side of the story. Parks feels that Winston was used by the police as an "agent" in dealing with blacks that were being interrogated by the police.

MADISON POLICE Inspector Herman Thomas presents a different view as to why Winston left the force. Noting he was a "fine officer, good policeman," Thomas states, "Because of the student strikes, he couldn't continue his education and went to Indiana to continue his education."

Out of these conflicts and disputes have emerged two community relations programs.

One is operated by the police department in which there is a "public speaking bureau" of officers sent where requested. During training, in addition, all police cadets receive several pamphlets from the EOC on how to effectively work with the black community.

The EOC also has a community relations program which stresses "open hearings" to air grievances and a communications program as a channel of dialogue between blacks and the police.

(continued on page 13)



POLICE AND WELFARE DEMONSTRATORS, FALL 1969

and covert discrimination" by police in black neighborhoods such as the Williamson St.-Marquette area.

The situation was quiet for exactly one year when the most controversial police-black confrontation occurred on a quiet Saturday night on August 3, 1968.

A highschool dance was being held at Breese Stevens Field when tension between whites and blacks ended in fights that brought a police order to end the dance and the arrest of six black males - five of them juveniles.

What this issue soon made clear to

FIRST, EMERY FELT the only reason there was tension in the black community was because "we have been faced with some black agitators who have just come to Madison for the specific purpose of agitating, and in some cases have persuaded our black youth to cause trouble."

Next, Emery blasted the press for presenting a "slanted version of what happened" at Breese.

Emery claimed the six blacks were arrested only after they had left Breese and were marching on E. Washington Ave. and not at Breese as had been reported.

Emery flatly denied his policemen were racist or had made "intemperate use of language towards black youngsters," though he admitted, "Everyone is biased about certain subjects."

Other police officers also denied they were racist towards blacks. They cited how in April, 1968, when three blacks were being beaten up by about 30 whites, they "forcefully intervened" to save the black youths.

In April, 1969, the EOC issued a report on its conclusions drawn from the hearings:

"THE MISTRUST and hostility which black youth feel toward the police clearly contributed to the violence..."

"Similar feelings on the part of some police officers towards black youths clearly influenced their behavior and judgment in dealing with the situation."

The report concluded the police had "overreacted" to the actual threat.

Besides the recommendations listed earlier, the EOC called for a "significant number" of blacks to be hired by the police department, which at that time had never hired any.

Many blacks question the commission's ability to alleviate the problems of blacks since it's a creature of the city. Alderman Joseph Thompson, Ward 2, charges that the EOC "is not representing the needs of the black community."

Thompson, the second black alderman, feels the commission should become more "militant" in representing blacks, but that it isn't because the EOC works in "the existing system." Thompson says the EOC needs greater funding and a larger staff, but that if it became too activist, he feels the

"Madison police are far superior to those in the hinterlands. You couldn't replace them with anybody better."
—Testimony by
a Madison psychologist,
Sept., 1968

everyone was that this wasn't the first time whites and blacks had fought at school dances.

BUT TO THE black community, an account of what happened made it evident to them that the police had directed their actions toward the blacks, leaving the whites alone, even though of about 500 persons attending the dance, no more than 50 were blacks.

The chief cause of the blacks' consternation was that, while six blacks were arrested, no whites were arrested, even



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a day in a life...

Ed. Note: Reynold Abrahams was the Chief Deputy Sheriff of Dane County. He wrote this article for The Cardinal in March before his sudden death on April 1. He had been in the department since 1942.

Ye Gods, what next! The editor of a campus paper dropped by to ask a favor. When he left I was in the soup. I promised to write an article for his paper (?). I was lucky I could pick my own subject.

Why tell these kids their ideology doesn't suit me. After all I'm 60 years old. They are yet to see 20 years of age. Whoops, so I just admitted a generation gap. O.K., so I will admit it. Lets talk about that gap of 40 years a minute. My 40 years are in so I can't waste time on it. The 40 years of the future are important, even to a pig.

Why not take your convictions, mold into the acceptable institutions of the establishment and work, work hard as hell to get the blood flowing, not in the streets, but into the state, county, and city governments.

I read an article in Reader's Digest, it makes sense. Entitled "Elections in Plain English." It does away with long and expensive campaigns. It makes them brief, economical and fair. I for one deplore the rat-race caused by our elections. The millions of dollars spent could be put to better use in the Country. Convince or elect people who will listen. Success won't come in one election or one presentation but stand by your convictions and maybe three voices this year will be 9 voices next year. In 40 years you could have a change. Eighteen-year-olds can vote in 1971, so you have a change already in your favor. Then you can say to your children, I was in the generation that accomplished that. So they call you a square, mine do too! But then I guess I'm away from my intended story. Back on the track, old boy.

The editor did imply that he would like to know our thoughts during a riot (mass population activities to cops). I'm on the administration level, therefore, I am in on the planning. First we have a budget so it is important to know that something is going to really happen. This is easy this year. I am visited by clean cut kids, dirty kids, bearded kids and whiskered kids. They tell us the campus feeling. They all start out the same. I am a liberal but I don't condone violence, so I'm telling you what is going to happen, if you will respect my confidence. I never will break it without his permission. On reliable information we plan manpower, times,

procedures, events, type of uniform. Then I worry about things like: have I done everything possible to make it a safe mission for the men. Have I given them the necessary equipment to protect themselves and on and on and on.

The men are briefed and told to protect themselves at all times. The decision is theirs about using weapons. They have never drawn one yet.

Then off to campus. If there is a confrontation it is determined in the first hour or so. Some lunatic throws a rock or rushes a squad of men. People get hurt but the

hospital stoned with a two pound brick thrown by a lunatic? Sometimes I have gone to the home to get them. Taint easy kids. Funny thing, most of the men say, "Don't tell my family, I don't want to worry them." Then I'm proud to be one of them. They come into my office in pain and say, "What can I do to help?" Then I'm proud to be one of them.

Then things stop for a while. I guess it's feeding time on campus. You collect your thoughts a little. You wonder what your wife had for supper. If all the kids got through their day. Then all hell breaks



University Medics never help a Pig. I'm glad they don't, they should stick to their throat swabs. A relative got hurt demonstrating during Welfare, they diagnosed his injury as a ruptured spleen. He will need surgery at once. His folks insisted he be transferred to Madison General Hospital. His injury was treated and he was released. Two days later he was back on the picket line. Man! Surgery, or was the medic talking for the benefit of the people around him. Wouldn't it be more humane to let a regular ambulance take him to a doctor or hospital of their own choice. Police or fire drivers are trained too, they don't really care if the victim is white or black, clean or dirty. Their objective is to get him aid.

I worry, a policeman gets hurt. I meet him at the hospital, I determine his injuries. Do I call his wife and tell her he is in the

loose. The supper hour must be at an end. Back to the worrying and wondering, will it go all night? Should I get relief for the men? Are they too tired to keep their composure? I check with the squad leaders. They are okay. They have only been out there 12 hours. They don't want a warm supper. They like cold snacks. Their humor is okay yet, so I quit worrying about their composure.

Man, 2 a.m., only 16 hours on the line. The signal to call is off for the night sounds good. Call in tomorrow, determined and on and on the meetings go. You go in the squad room, the men become quiet. You tell them call in at 10:00 a.m. tomorrow, go home and sleep. The 50 and 60 year olds go straight home to bed, 40 to 30 year olds go home and make love to calm their nerves, the 30 to 21 year olds have a beer party. It's all in a day's work to all of them.

we have families, too...

By DAVID W. McCANN

Ed. Note: David McCann is a Dane County Deputy Sheriff involved in the public relations program. He handles many of the department's speaking engagements.

I sat down recently and recalled how unprepared and disorganized we were for the Dow Chemical riot, and also of the permanent injury inflicted on a city police officer. Then I get damn mad to think that educated people being led by some radical morons inflicted this injury on this officer, because he was doing his thing, protecting their lives, their property and their rights according to the Constitution of the United States of America. Also, I think of the personal torment that this mob has caused his police officer's family, because he was doing his job. That's right kids, we all have families, and we are human, we all have sons and daughters and a wife who do worry about our well-being during these riots. And when I think of the hell they have to go through during these riots worrying about our safety, I think they deserve special praise.

Our families all realize that we have a job to do, and that we are sent to these disturbances to maintain order and to protect the rights of all persons according to laws. The unfortunate thing is that we as police officers are always between the rioters and the establishment they're attacking because laws are being broken.

LET ME ALSO say that, I am proud to be associated with the people involved in law enforcement because of their great concern for each other. I only wish that all the people of this great country of ours had this concern for each other, and also each other's property and personal being

regardless of the position they hold.

If you wish to change things, fine, but what right do you have to cause injury or destroy property or disrupt others from doing what they want, such as attending classes.

Many laws have been changed through the proper procedure, and this is the route to take. Believe me, kids, we don't want to be on this campus of ours, yours, mine, and the citizens of this state under riot situations. But, we will again and again and again until these people who think they can take the law into

"No group is ever going to defeat law enforcement in this country . . ."

their own hands realize they can't. No group is ever going to defeat law enforcement in this country, because this country can only survive for respect for laws and law and order.

We, as police officers, will always enforce the law and our objectives will be to restore and maintain order and to protect the rights of all persons according to law. Kids, I hope you do respect these rights, as we respect yours, and we defend yours. And, in the future, let's help each other working for the great future for our kids and yours.

Civil Rights and the Police

By RENAULT ROBINSON

Ed. Note: Renault Robinson is the Executive Director of the Chicago-based Afro-American Patrolmen's League.

One of the most important influences on law enforcement in the past two decades has been the Civil Rights movement and succeeding legislation.

Prior to 1954, the role of the police in all of the south and most of the north was to "keep the black man in his place". This was due to the laws that were on the books of all southern states and, though not all the books in Northern states, the "Southern" form of law enforcement prevailed. Laws that legally established segregation, laws in southern states that assigned an inferior status to all black citizens solely because of their color, were enforced by local police as part of their normal duties. For all the years prior to 1954, police officially enforced the popularly sanctioned second class status of all blacks.

Since blacks were classed as inferior, not on the basis of conduct or any objective criteria, but simply because of their race, police across the country did not even

distinguish between the law-abiding blacks and the lawless blacks because to the police it was unnecessary as long as they were black.

This has inevitably created deep rooted hostility between black people and the police and this is still true today. The black citizens still see the police officer as the enforcer of the white man's law which is today, still keeping black people enslaved economically and segregated physically.

HOWEVER, BECAUSE of the Civil Rights revolution of the '60's, attitudes long accepted are being openly challenged; hostilities long repressed are being overtly expressed. The traditional role of the police is being challenged because the civil rights movement has decreased blacks tolerance of indignities inflicted by the police. There is a greater demand by blacks for equal law enforcement.

Obviously, the role of the police under these circumstances is crucial and difficult.

Let's examine the role of the police as it is being effected by the civil rights movement.

Is the role changing for the better adjusting because of the changing circumstances or is it resisting and fighting desperately to maintain as much of the old status quo as possible?

The police have been required to uphold unconstitutional racial restrictions, by many local governments, even if they defy the Federal Supreme Court rulings. Example: Desegregation of schools, public facilities, etc.

Illegal violence by the police is employed against civil rights demonstrators and this violence goes unpunished and in fact is encouraged by police supervisory personnel who either fail to stop and punish or who actively participate in this violence themselves.

We must remember - violence breeds violence.

(continued on page 16)

How do you rate as an independent thinker?

Answer Yes or No.

1. All your friends have decided to wear short shorts. You really don't like the look. Do you follow the gang?

Yes No

2. You've just met a marvelous, interesting guy who's shorter than you. Would you be embarrassed to go out with him?

Yes No

3. You've been invited to dinner again by a group of nice but uninteresting people. Do you feel obliged to accept?

Yes No

4. All the charts say you're 10 pounds overweight. You feel fine and your clothes look well. Do you diet anyway?

Yes No

5. You appreciate all kinds of music. Except opera. Do you think you should listen anyway because it's "the thing to do"?

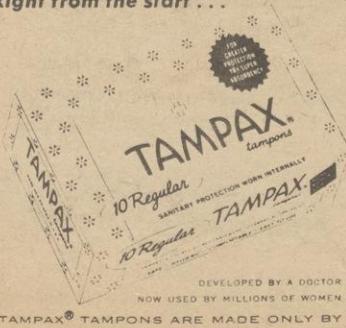
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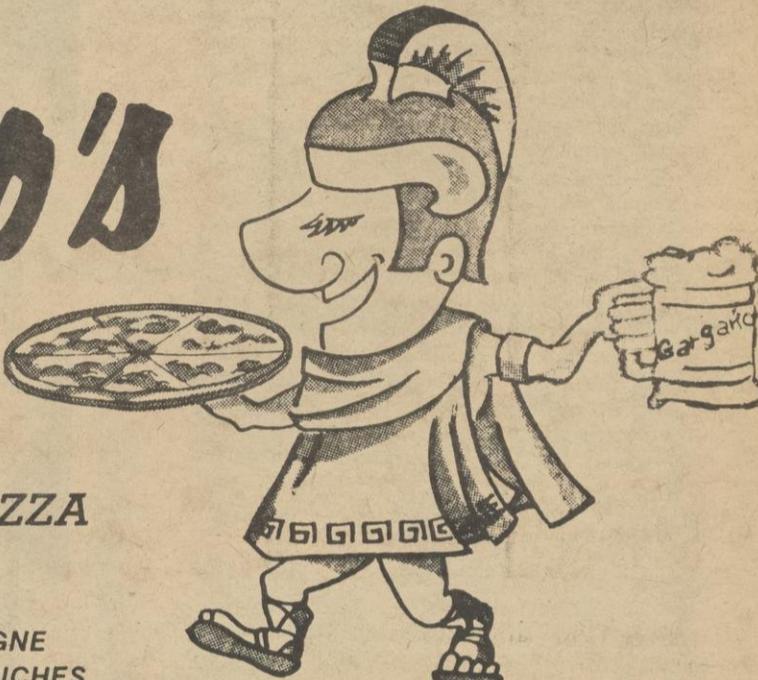
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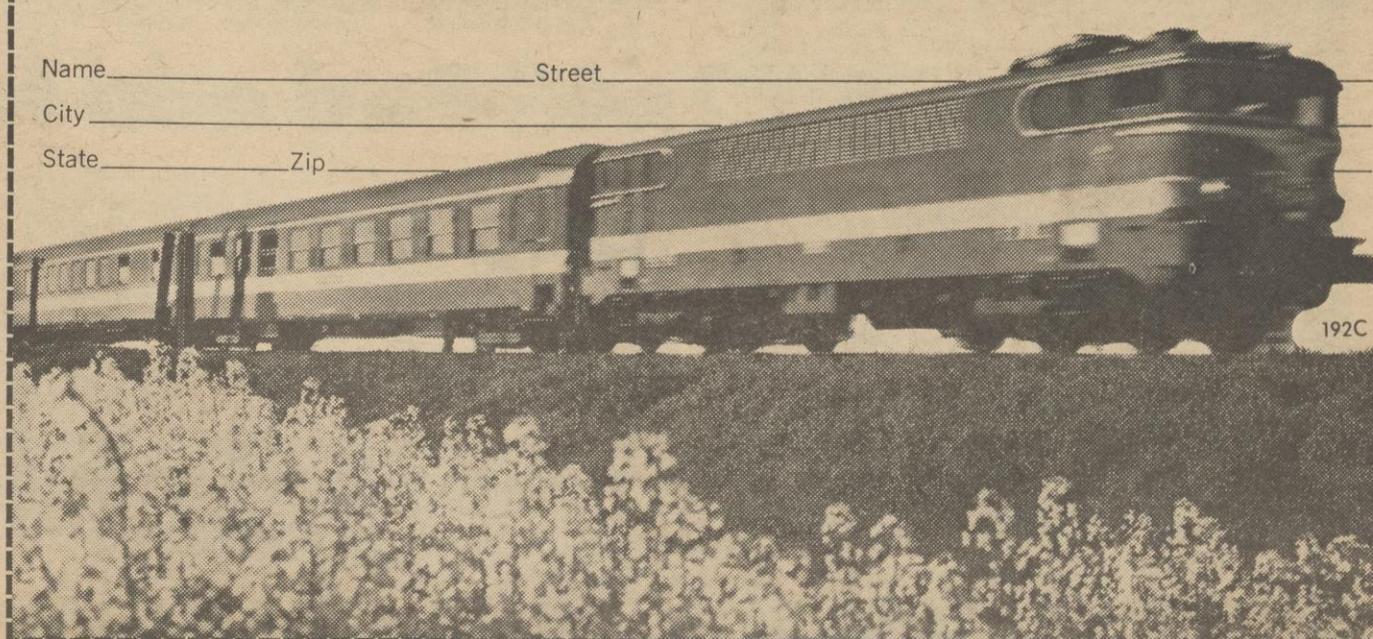
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By R.A. PERRY

Ed. Note: Richard Perry is the Fine Arts Editor of The Daily Cardinal.

The first cops I met in a semi-personal encounter were those men in blue who came to buy their blues from my father. Selling uniform shirts cheaply to most of the suburban police, my father, and by extension, his good friends, had no worries about speeding and parking tickets for many years. The second group of cops I came to know on a first name basis were the men who dragged into the emergency room of the city hospital in which I worked the victims of auto accidents, muggings, and cheap wine. Though a number of greasy-haired, over-ebullient youths ("racks" we called them in those days) emerged from the police vans with split skulls that obviously did not come from falling on the sandy beaches where the police patrolled, the Florence Nightingale cops were as gentle and solicitous as the local rare stamp dealer. One assumed at that time these men accepted under the table gratuities in no different a fashion than d.j.'s took payola, secretaries swiped pens, and my father fixed parking tickets.

Today, ten years later, these cops are no longer mere y typical petty thieves like the rest of us, but, suddenly made to bear the burden of a schizophrenic society searching for a cohesive anarchy, cops are considered "fascist pigs," and brutal tools of the Satanic power structure. There have been many excellent studies recently of the American police officer, and almost all have revealed the insufficient training, the racial animosity, and the bourgeoisie deification of security of the average cop. Donald Bouma's book *Kids and Cops* does not extend the findings or suggestions for improvement of other more major reference tomes, but it does lucidly and succinctly reveal the not too surprising fact that secondary school children no longer think of the flat-foot as a friend and furthermore, the paranoid police feel they are more hated than they really are.

BOUMA, A SOCIOLOGIST at Western Michigan University, questioned some 10,000 students in ten Michigan cities and over 300 police officers in three cities; his present study represents the results of such surveys in three Michigan cities: Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Muskegon Heights. Happily enough at least for the purposes of Bouma's study, Grand Rapids had a five day "race riot" in 1967 that helped polarize citizen-police feelings.

Before presenting his findings, however, Bouma first presents some findings of other researcher's surveys

police sociology

New attitudes 'burdens' face today's police

Donald Bouma, Kids and Cops
Eerdmans Publishing Co., \$2.95



following the terrible Detroit riots. The main point learned from interviewing Detroit police was that white cops and black cops disagreed on the causes and effects of the riot, especially the latter. Only 15 per cent of the white officers but 47 per cent of the black officers thought long-range effects would be positive; this fact perhaps does not surprise. One figure, however, which does reveal shockingly the depth of the "police problem," emerged from police perceptions of how Negroes are treated. 80 per cent of the black officers polled felt black kids were treated unfairly in their schooling; the percentage of sympathetic white officers was zero.

For all of the sociological rigamarole in which Bouma involves himself as a good academic the results of his surveys in three Michigan cities are easily summarized. As students grow older, they become less sympathetic to police, the most noticeable shift in feeling taking place between 7th and 9th grade. Students from families of higher income brackets place greater faith and trust in police than do students from poorer families. Positive attitudes toward police quickly changed when students had first-hand contact with police in a disciplinary situation. Black students feel markedly less positive toward police, with only 3 per cent willing to consider the potentiality of the job, against 8 per cent of the white population. Parochial school students have consistently more positive attitudes toward police and are more willing to cooperate with police than are public school students. Finally, a dismal testimony to the American high school, a greater percentage of students opted for the fairness of police over the fairness of school personnel.

BOUMA FURTHERMORE found that despite the above profile of student attitudes, police considered themselves more maligned by inner-city youth than statistics actually indicated. In accordance with this paranoia, police testified that city disturbances were more the fault of communists and "agitators" than of inherent urban conditions.

Although Bouma rightfully commiserates with the terribly awkward position police must occupy as professionals and as human beings, he perhaps is simplistically over-optimistic about the future political state: "The problem of police brutality remains a difficult one. Bogged down by problems of definition and judgement, the actual situation defies accurate assessment . . . With experience and especially with improved training programs to increase the professionalism of the police, it is not unrealistic to expect a diminution of the problem."

Many would answer that professionalism will only produce more efficient repression unless there is a revolution in global morality.

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police

(continued from page 1)

not as servants or protectors of society but as a persecuted minority within that society.

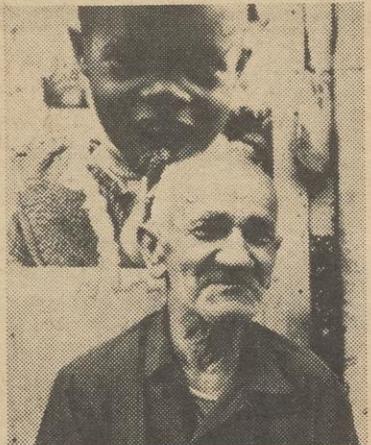
Even worse, on the administrative level, departments cannot attract quality applicants because of lack of funds. And in the absence of any realistic qualifications for applicants, police departments are becoming, as Sidney H. Cates of the New Orleans police puts it, "havens for individuals whose intellectual shortcomings and psychological defects would, under better circumstances, disqualify them from service."

Police officers are, in both short and long runs, only able to perform as well as the policies which guide them. They are human also, and their seemingly collective economic situation and political position cannot help but guide them in interpreting policy.

"If you start a cop on \$10,000 a year, then he'll have something to lose."

As a result, we must face the probability that the police may well always look down on students. As one cop told me, "we think students are gullible... in ten years they will probably think along the same lines as we do..."

In the meantime, while the police wait for ten years to see what happens, police departments across the country will undoubtedly have to "control" more militant constituencies. In a very short span of time, it is entirely possible that the cry for "law and order" will not come after a crisis—or even before one—in fact it may not even come at all because by that time it will have become impossible.



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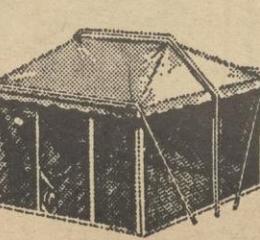
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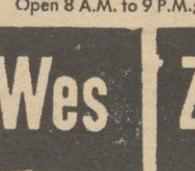


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summer session

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summer session



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I am curious

(continued from page 3)

YOUNG PEOPLE point out we are, in too many ways, a violent country. We have never viewed violence as a monopoly of the state. Rather, we too often have viewed it as a logical solution to apply when all other solutions fail. Although we are not quite as violent as other contemporary societies, during the last decade we have experienced an almost uninterrupted level of domestic violence. It has apparently reached the point where we are willing to tolerate it, if not excuse it as an unavoidable side-effect of a stress society. It is ironic that eons ago man crept from his cave and overcame his fear of his environment. At this point in time it appears that the violence of our world is causing him to "retreat to his cave." If you think this point purely theoretical, I would suggest you visit the nearest "total security" apartment complex, "total security" retirement community, or a "total security" vacation spa.

It could be a fair statement to characterize ours as a criminal society. We condemn it, we lament it, but like the weather, we do little more than talk about it. Our legislators use it as emotional grist for their election mills, but do little more. They're either waving their hands or sitting on them, but nothing really happens. It might also be safe to suggest that politicians don't really appreciate the inter-relationship of education, housing, jobs, health and poverty to crime. The Safe Streets and Crime Bill offered the greatest hope of the 20th century in unifying efforts against crime. It's partisan emasculation, however, left it measurably less effective than it was destined to be. It is to the discredit of the past and current Congress that they insist on "legislation without appropriation." If one wished to question the awareness of Congress, he need only to look at the situation in the District of Columbia, which is the only city where the federal government has direct responsibility for combating crime. While rates for serious crime in the nation have increased 11 per cent, in the District of Columbia it has jumped 29 per cent. On the day the present Congress adjourned, Washington D.C. had 80 robberies in 24 hours.

IN ALL FAIRNESS, however, we might suggest that Congress may be following suit to the American public who last year spent 12 billion dollars on alcohol, 8 billion dollars on tobacco, and less than 4 billion on the total administration of justice! Perhaps Pogo was right when he said, "We have met the enemy—and he is us!"

Being reasonable people, I'm sure we can all agree that we have explored our world, and we have exploited our world, but we have yet to make it a safe one. In our urgent search for security we may overlook the important messages given us by concerned young adults. I know there is a strong tendency to "tune them out," but I would earnestly suggest you don't tune out the truth surrounding the realities to which they have addressed themselves. In our lifetime there have been rivers of blood and years of darkness. There has been a tendency to let democracy slowly slip away. It is a bitter lesson to discover that once any part is lost it becomes agonizingly difficult to regain. We can get it back—we can make it work as it was intended to work if we end the fragmentation and polarization that is destroying us. As Dr. King once said, "We must learn to live together as brothers, or die together as fools."

These facts, submitted to a candid world, suggest it must be done. The challenge, dear friends, is yours. Can you do it? Can you really do it? I am curious—blue . . .

black and white issue

(continued from page 7)

THE QUESTION posed, however, is whether community relation programs are enough to end black-police tension. Three alternatives are proposed by some. Madison could use the existing Police and Fire Commission, implement a civilian review agency over the police department, or divide up the police department into three autonomous agencies, each one made up of and serving the black community, student community, and the remainder of the city.

The idea of a three body police force finds little support in Madison, though Berkeley, Calif. will vote tomorrow whether to try such a proposal. EOC's Burdulis calls for "integration" instead of "separation." Neither Aldermen Parks nor Thompson show much enthusiasm for the idea.

More support is evident for a civilian review agency. "Today, if any time," flatly states Thompson, asked when and if such an agency should be established.

A civilian review agency operated for less than half a year in New York City in 1966. Massive police opposition resulted in a referendum on the issue being held in November, 1966 when, with 70% of the vote, opponents of the agency voted it out of existence.

Police and Fire Commission

The question of a civilian review agency is intertwined with Madison's Police and Fire Commission. In Madison, the view is, if you support one, you oppose the other.

A review agency, as practiced briefly in New York City, has the power to investigate complaints brought by citizens against the police. No binding decisions could be made, only recommendations to the chief of police.

In Wisconsin, a Police and Fire Commission is empowered by State Statute 62.13 "to organize and supervise the fire and police departments and to prescribe rules and regulations for their control and management."

The commission, in addition, has the power of hiring and firing, promoting and demoting, as well

as suspension, of policemen.

CHARGES OF ALLEGED police misconduct by citizens can be brought to the Police and Fire Commission for action. Thus, theoretically, the commission has the powers of a civilian review agency.

"It exceeds the power of a civilian review agency," counters Inspector Thomas, referring to Madison's Police and Fire Commission. Thomas notes there is tension "only with a few blacks" and denies the charge of police racism.

However, Melvin Greenberg, a local attorney, calls bringing complaints to the commission "a waste of time." Greenberg feels there should be a civilian review

state against him.

A fourth commissioner, Stuart Becker, has in the past expressed a desire to be mayor, and in 1969 he decided not to run for that post but supported the present mayor, William Dyke. Several weeks later, Becker was named by Dyke to the commission.

The fifth commissioner and president of the commission is Mrs. Alex Miller, who was once a member of the Madison home office of Sen. William Proxmire and who was also in the 1960's chairman of the CDDane County Democratic Party.

Dyke appointed only Becker and Swenson. Thus, with this background, the charge is often raised as to how such persons can

"We have been faced with some black agitators who have just come to Madison for the specific purpose of agitating, and in some cases have persuaded our black youth to cause trouble."

—Police Chief Wilbur Emery

agency, "but not one where members are appointed by the mayor."

The Madison Police and Fire Commission is composed of five members, appointed by the mayor who serve five year terms. The issue of whether the commission can properly judge blacks' complaints might be determined from analyzing the members of the commission.

ALL OF THE five current commissioners have been or are active in city politics. Two of them, Ellsworth Swenson and Thomas Stephens, were formerly aldermen on the city council during the 1960's. Another commissioner, Richard Lent, was once a deputy district attorney in Dane County, and has been involved in income tax delinquent suits brought by the

possibly be the servants of blacks and other grieved citizens.

Miller does not see a "need" for a civilian review agency and says the current Police and Fire Commission is a "personnel board" doing the "hiring and firing."

"HELL NO, NEVER will be," bluntly states Thompson, when asked if the commission could ever become a civilian review agency. "The community should control the police."

An attempt to check how the Police and Fire Commission dealt with citizen complaints, whether it was a "waste of time" as Greenberg maintains, met with a flat refusal by Miller, on the advice of City Attorney Edwin Conrad. The files are kept locked, explained

(Continued on Page 19)

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The Police,

By MICHAEL WALTER

Ed. Note: Michael Walter is the City Editor of the Appleton Post-Crescent. This personal account appeared in that paper late last May, after he took a short leave from his newspaper duties to serve Madison riot duty as a member of the Wisconsin National Guard.

The black man to whom Walter refers in his article is Don Johnson, a reporter for the Chicago bureau of Newsweek magazine.

The only good that came from the rioting in Chicago two summers ago is that eventually the peace was restored. The University of Wisconsin campus in Madison has not been so blessed. Three times in the past one and a half years student disorders have warranted the calling of National Guardsmen to the city.

For the present semester, it appears that the troubles have abated, but they will return, for while Chicago became quiet when the Democratic National Convention ended, the stimulus which has ignited outbursts in Madison has never left and probably never will.

I SPENT A WEEK with the National Guard in Madison this month (May 1970). I was not there as a journalist, but as a Guardsman. Although my Army job classification lists me as a medic, I spent most of my "downtown" Madison time assigned to a riot-control squad. I witnessed a considerable number of confrontations of law enforcers and students. And I came to realize that the main issue there was not how to stop a riot but how to prevent one from starting. How to stop one is easy: You just hit someone over the head harder than he hits you. How to prevent one, in Madison's case, is not quite so easy: you must stop the people who are doing the rioting—namely, the students and the police—from coming into contact.

Just as the Walker Commission labeled Chicago's outburst a "police riot," so I call Madison's continuing student-police clashes largely the result of a police mentality that simply won't bend. It seems that when a Madison cop—whether he be of the Dane County Sheriff Department or the Madison Police Department—thinks of a student, he sees red. When he confronts a student, he sees more red. And when the student appears to be anything other than an all-obeying nebbish, he hits him with a club or throws some tear gas.

This judgment doubtless is too harsh on the overburdened Madison police, partly because it unjustly convicts everyone in the police and sheriff departments and partly because it fails to concede that many students indeed goad police into violence—with rocks, bottles and four-letter words. In addition, my "research" was

orders as well as could be expected.

THERE ARE EXAMPLES:

—On Thursday night, I was with a mobile "strike squad" that headed into trouble spots to quiet things down. After midnight there were reports of vehicles being stoned in the Mifflin-Bassett area, a hippie hangout and long a pain to police. While I was there, some two dozen rounds of riot gas were fired by grenade launcher into a one-block area. Then, a squad of police walked the length of the block, throwing baseball-size gas grenades through windows on every house in the block. I read in the paper the next day that a grocery store's stocks were ruined



and the place left unusable for five days.

The night before, I was stationed at the social science building next to Bascom Hall. It was a quiet night, although we arrested one student who refused to stop his anti-war, anti-Nixon tirade. After the arrest, the youth continued to talk—to us and to a black man, with a notebook and gas mask, who said he was a reporter.

Within half an hour, a squad of five city policemen had gathered around the man. I do not know what they talked about. Suddenly, one cop poked his club into the black man's stomach, felling him. Two others dragged him feet first, face down across the concrete terrace and down three steps. This I saw. What I did not see and what followed, other Guardsmen told me later, was a beating to the man's

"... when a Madison cop ... thinks of a student, he sees red."

limited to one week of merely following police around and keeping my eyes open. (The Walker Commission, headed by noted Chicago attorney Daniel Walker and appointed by the President of the United States, had access to many volumes of testimony received from any scores of people.) But only once did I have contact with a policeman in Madison who thought as I do that brute force is not the panacea for all that ails the UW campus. The rest is memory of bad things that happened—all involving Madison or Dane County law enforcers and none involving National Guardsmen, whom I discovered carried out the letter and intent of their

body, arms and legs, administered by police clubs.

THE MAN VOWED to be back later that night with an attorney to take dispositions from the Guardsmen. He never returned. In defense of the police, perhaps the man was a known radical. But there is no defense for a beating—provoked or otherwise—such as this man sustained.

—I was told three or four times during our duty in Madison that if I ever needed to strike a student with my rifle butt, police would say they never saw it. "Male student fell down and broke jaw," was a standard, mock police radio broadcast echoed by Guardsmen throughout our stay there. I never

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as told by a Guardsman

saw a Guardsman strike a student, but police saw to it that we wouldn't have to answer for it if we did.

Police took animal pleasure in harassing students. Within 15 minutes late Friday afternoon, when the area outside the commerce building, also next to Bascom Hall, was mostly clear to students, police stopped two student photographers, each taking photos of Guardsmen. They contemptuously asked the students for their ID cards and contemptuously told them that they were not welcome in the area. One good-natured student was told that if he didn't vacate the premises immediately, the officer would find some action for him to photograph—namely one bloody student photographer.

I BELIEVE THAT violence must be halted and all reasonable means must be used to restore peace in such disorders. What I am condemning are not the force and methods used by police in quelling this particular disturbance, but the

history of such force and methods which by themselves breed further disturbances.

All Guardsmen who saw downtown or campus duty in Madison were the targets of a leaflet campaign conducted by

any of us; that their quarrel was with the police (as well as with the Nixon administration); that students would make no attempts to injure any of us, and that Guardsmen should use restraint when helping police maintain the

against us. The real cause of the UW confrontations—regardless of Cambodia, regardless of Kent State, regardless of Agnew—is a mutual hatred of student activists and police. Police don't like the students and the students don't like

"How to stop one (a riot) is easy: you hit someone over the head harder than he hits you. How to prevent one, in Madison's case, is not quite so easy . . ."

students, protesters and non-protesters alike. The leaflets informed us that students understood that we didn't like the war any better than they (otherwise we wouldn't have "dodged" the draft by joining the Guard); that they had no personal grudges against

peace.

As the one "good" policeman who I met in my six days in Madison told me, the students are against the establishment. This is true, but it is not the whole story by far, for Guardsmen also represent the establishment and no one was

police.

It all began somewhere, but it likely will take someone more educated than I in human behavior to pinpoint the reason. At any rate, I don't look for much peace on the UW campus in the near future.

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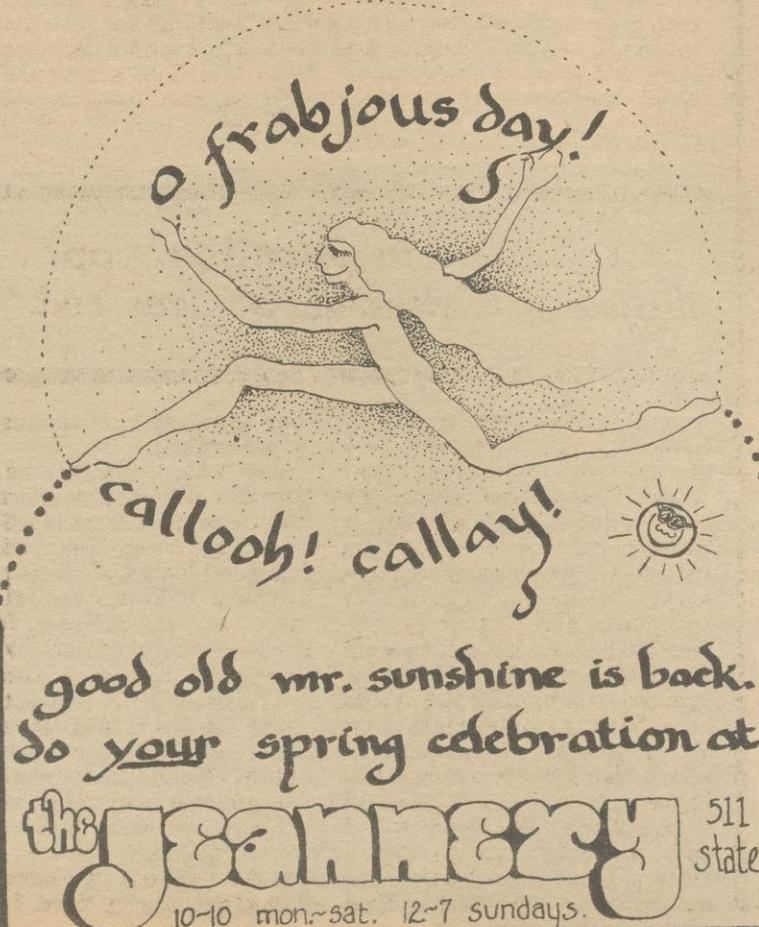
Dates

for

President / Vice President
and Senate Positions

Poll location hearings will
be held tomorrow 2:30 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

April 28 & 29





(continued from page 9)

A STUDY THAT was based on field observations by thirty six observers who accompanied police officers for a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1966 found that

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Robinson: The

38% of the police officers had expressed "extreme prejudice", 34% "considerable prejudice." Thus 74% of these policemen are prejudiced against black Americans (intense and bitter hatred). These views were not solicited by the observers, but merely recorded when voluntarily expressed by white police officers. (Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice 1966, Donald J. Black and Albert J. Reiss Jr.)

The 1961 Report on Justice by the U.S. Civil Rights Commissions, concluded that "police brutality is a serious problem in the United States."

The problem has become even more acute with the emergence of increased black militancy in the civil rights movement. Police prejudice impairs the capacity of the police to engage in impartial crowd control. The normal behavior that typifies the relationship between the police and the blacks is magnified in protest situations, the results of which become a riot between the police and black people.

When black people combine their efforts to dramatize their grievances in a fashion that will attract attention, they are resorting to protest. Blacks resort to the protest when they feel that no other method of redress is open to them, or other methods are failing.

Police treat black protesters as criminals and this is a throw back from the "southern style" policing that characterized the treatment of blacks before major civil rights legislation of the '60's. "Keep the nigger down and in his place".

WHY THE POLICE HAVE become increasingly angry and hostile towards blacks and student protesters and why do they always react violently when confronting such persons?

In most protest situations police actions are guided by their own social and political views which traditionally tend to be anti-black and politically right of center.

This leaves the police with little tolerance for a protest which is symbolic of some type of change from the status quo which police are sworn to protect. The importance of this is that the police are the only group in our society

entrusted with the legitimate right to use force even to the point of taking a human life; a decision based only on the individual police officers interpretation of the circumstances. Therefore unnecessary police violence during protest demonstrations only inflames and a cycle of greater and greater violence is set in motion between the police and the protestors.

Not only does the illegal violence by police cause an immediate escalation in a protest situation, but also sets the tone for future demonstrations and gives justifiable reasons to protestors to attack the police. Example: the dogs which "Bull" Connor used in Birmingham, Ala., the shots fired at Kent; the police violence that occurred in Washington, Chicago, Arkansas, Watts, Detroit, etc. have more to do with nationwide hostility against police than the "alleged good" the police did in stopping or repressing the incidents.

When an illegal violence is employed against civil rights demonstrations anywhere, it influences animosity against police officers everywhere.

The unneutral actions of the police on behalf of the white community has direct influence in turning initial incidents or demonstrations by blacks into full scale riots.

Modern law enforcement depends on its public image as well as its ability. A par-excellence crime-fighting machine must appear "People positive" to really be effective in this country today.

BEFORE 1960 this statement did not have any real meaning to any police department in the country. However, the new impetus on social problems have caused the police to attempt to recast and humanize their image in the eyes of the public. This has been necessary because of the true role the police play in the management of social violence and the repression of political dissent in this country.

There is an intensive campaign to alter the improve public attitudes toward the police all across the country especially in the large urban centers. The Madison Avenue-type public relation campaigns are called "community relations" or "human relations" when incorporated into the police

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black cop speaks out

structure.

In any discussion concerning the police and the community, we find that official police policies and procedures that relate specifically to the community relations mean public relations. Moreover, in most departments the primary purpose of community relations is to sell the police image to the public and this requires the public to accept the department as it is.

The major impetus in any successful public relations program must emanate from the head of the police department. He must represent a positive image to the public, people, and political powers, because he is the man held responsible for the police performance.

A PROFESSIONAL policeman who is also a publicist usually is the ideal candidate for the job. However, any head of a police department can usually perform the task. The success depends upon the extent of the necessary rhetorical trickery his constituents demand.

Public relations and community relations have different objectives. Public relations programs are usually designed to create a better image of police in the minds of the public and usually attempts to make the public accept the police as it is, by justifying present police policies. Consequently, emphasis on public relations will often lead the police to mistake the true nature of the problem with the community as being merely a failure to communicate the correct police image to the public. Note: I said "correct" and not "true." The correct image is usually not true.

The official police community relations program is essentially two public relation campaigns. One is directed to the large white middle class and the larger white upper lower class who demand law

police unions

(continued on page 4)

responsible for the rising crime rate. The board was overwhelmingly defeated (by a 3-1 margin) and the PBA enjoyed a stunning victory.

Since then, the PBA has been a force to be reckoned with and perhaps the most powerful advocate of law and order in New York.

"State laws . . . positively scowl at the thought of facing a police union across the negotiation table."

The process has been repeated across the country, wherever black-white tensions exist and wherever the police are accused of brutality and racism. In Philadelphia, Police Chief R. Frank Rizzo, who puts forth a diamond hard, law and order line and who has made somewhat of a reputation for himself as this nation's number one Black Panther hater, finds himself to be the toast of the city and is well on his way to becoming mayor. As the most vociferous proponent of unleashed police power in the large, racially torn cities, the police unions often find themselves in positions of leadership for those who see the police as the last bulwark against the vicious and frightening chaos of the inner cities.

and order from the police department. The other is directed at the black man.

The success of the campaigns depend on the efforts of the police and the desires of the white constituents. Generally, a program that satisfies the white people must demonstrate that the police department is prepared for all "contingencies" that might affect white people or white owned property. In simple terms today a police department must also be "riot ready" to satisfy whites. Thus, you have massive re-arming of police across the country and a massive re-training program in riot control. In an effort to improve general law enforcement, computers and sophisticated crime-fighting gadgetry are being put into use by police departments. Technology always impresses the white community and tends to instill confidence in the police department.

ON PAPER, THE community relations programs are flawless because they ideally represent the police in a light acceptable to all

MODIFICATION OF police procedures on the street, in the station, and in court, stronger internal discipline over officers, greatly enlarged and strengthened police-community relations units, improved procedures for handling citizen complaints, better screening to eliminate candidates for the police force who are biased, and many other measures deeply affecting police work will be necessary.

The impetus for change must rest with the police mainly because they are organized and disciplined and because they are public servants sworn to protect every part of the community.

In most police departments changes in police-community relations only come under extreme public pressure.

Police have traditionally held to the view that they are not sociologists or social workers but enforcers of law and order. However, when we examine the duties required of the police we find that they are in more cases than not required to act as social

"They should recruit blacks for middle administrative and upper echelon positions."

—Alderman Eugene Parks

people. However, in reality the blacks who come into contact with the police regularly every day are not impressed by police-community relations.

If we speak of genuine police-community relations we are saying that legitimate grievances relating to the police must be confronted frankly by the police administration and the community if real improvement between police and community is sought.

Of course, very few top police administrators personally believe in true police-community relations because it has been forced on them, so they have to go along with it, by giving lip service and speeches.

However, there is no meaningful action by the police at any time that will develop trust in the police by the black people in the black community.

Unless the legitimate grievances relating to the police are confronted by the police administration frankly and effectively, improvement of police-community relations will be impossible.

workers and make decisions as would a sociologist, decisions based on human response.

A MAJOR FAULT in police-community relations programs is the approach of "talking out problems" in the ghetto without any action—along with the making of police policy for the ghetto without citizen support or help. Another no-no is the lack of response by the police to the community (community influence or control).

Moreover, community relations programs cannot be effective if responsibility is split between various police units. A police-community relations unit is essential. However, the mere existence of a unit does not guarantee it will be in any way effective.

Community relations units usually have no degree of influence in police planning and possess no prestige within the police department.

Blacks see the community relations programs as nothing but window dressing and a trick used to fool or placate the black public.

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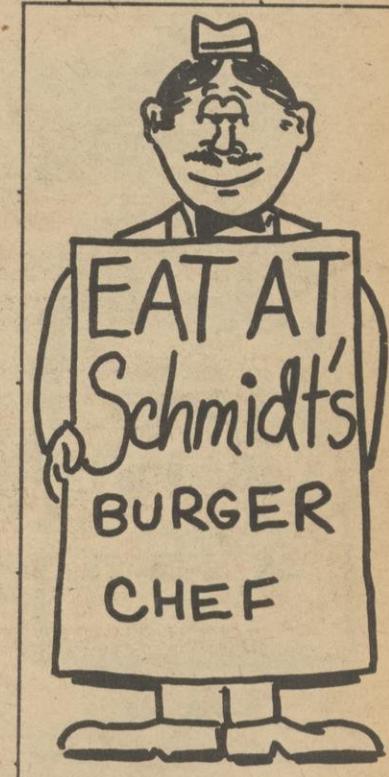
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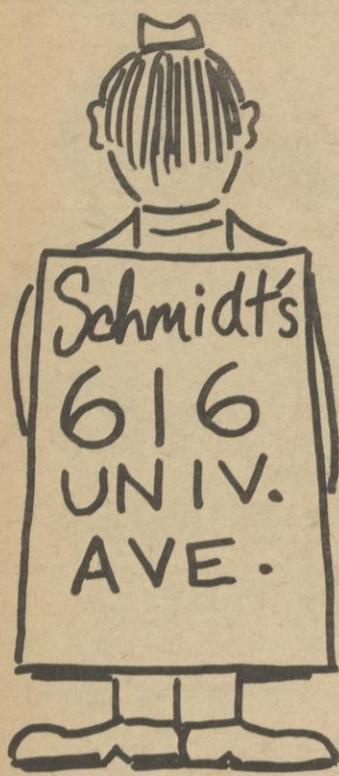
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ALONG THE WAY



Police 'Training programs:'

(continued from page 15)

To achieve maximum benefits, meetings are held on neutral grounds and rules for protection for the group members are agreed upon. Furthermore, both "groups" agree that there would be no exploitation of the experience politically or for gains for each group in the public's eye. As one program stated "it was agreed that short of physical violence anything could be stated or discussed in the sessions without endangering the participants in order to accomplish the objectives". Hopefully, these sessions lead to a less emotionally charged communication and some mutually beneficial planning to handle tensions.

In the group discussion method, the group membership would consist only of police. The leadership, to be most effective, would be shared by an experienced group leader and a member of the minority group most visible in the community. The aims of such groups would be to identify major areas of conflict between the two groups. The content would focus on how to work realistically toward

conflict resolutions by exposing misconceptions, stereotypes and irrational attitudes. Feelings are stirred but are more controlled than in the sensitivity groups through the leaders' activities. The leader uses the group processes to permit the flow of communication between the two groups. Often, this is the first time that words and ideas and feelings have ever been exchanged on a peer level, a formative experience for both the police and the community resident.

This type of training program must be viewed only as an introduction to more exposure and training. Unfortunately, they usually are introduced after a riot or an incident that exposes the malignancy in the community. Therefore, by the time the training program is over, the planning for further sessions or intervention has a very low priority.

A MAJOR NUMBER of training programs for police have dealt with helping the police understand families. Clinicians first starting to work with police are surprised to learn that the majority of police calls are about fights in the home. The need to understand family life

and how to handle the "hot" situations they find themselves in are constant requests laid at the feet of the mental health consultant by the police. There is no time for an hour of exploration in the quiet of a private office. Rather, the policeman finds himself between an enraged husband with a knife and a fearful wife, surrounded by three crying children.

Seminars in crises intervention

example to help the police understand differences in style, relationships, communication in different ethno-class groups. The usual negative attitudes towards "welfare families" can be explored and hopefully corrected through such training seminars. The mental health consultant can bring other case material from middle and upper ethno-class groups who evidence the same

"Most of the time, these programs are 'forced upon' the patrolman or his sergeant who are bewildered by the negative public view of them and their work."

attempt to look at these problems and provide the policeman with some mechanisms to cope with these situations. There is no attempt to make him a therapist. On the contrary, the techniques of a therapist would be totally useless and inadequate. Therefore, the training concentrates on "live incidents" to sift out ways and means to alleviate the crises without loss of limb or life. Comittantly, the mental health consultant uses the one case

aggressive behavior but for different etiological reasons.

The mental health professional involved in such training programs must be sensitive to the realities of the workings within the police system and to the tasks the ordinary policeman on the beat faces. A one-way communication within the seminar can only fall upon deaf ears and lead to zero change. One method of orienting mental health professionals is to have them assigned to patrol cars,

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Do they help?

foot patrol, night shifts, and managing the station desk. Following such experiences, the mental health consultant "knows more" about what his group members are discussing.

ANOTHER FOCUS in police training programs has been to help police understand what mental illness is all about. On many occasions, police are called upon to deal with psychotics under extremely difficult circumstances. In helping policemen understand some of the inner workings of mental illness, they feel more comfortable about being able to handle such emergency situations as potential suicides, escaped mental patients, etc. The unknown always creates anxiety; exposure leads to a more benign intervention. Thus, the seminars on mental illness also deal with interpersonal transactions which can be utilized by the police with non-psychotics. One policeman reported back to a seminar how he "learned" how to talk to some adolescents differently which led to a non-arrest and satisfaction to all parties.

Some training programs use the emergency room at a local hospital to expose the police to a core learning experience, i.e. mental illness, stress on families, prejudice, etc. The police have an opportunity to hear how patients

are interviewed, treated, and disposed of without consideration of the dignity of the individual who is ill. Discussion groups following the experience attempt to bring all of this out. In addition, the police come to realize that the so-called experts are sometimes just as frustrated as they are because of the lack of resources in the community to meet the needs of people. Often the policeman may be left to find shelter for a family of four children because the mother has been hospitalized, as all social agencies are closed after five.

A result of one training program was the establishment of a task force to revamp existing community resources with active representation by police. One concrete result was a twenty-four hour information and referral resource center manned by volunteers from the community to help the police in "after 5" emergencies.

The success or failure of training programs will depend on the leader's perception of his role as well as how the training is conceived by the police officials. It is not a panacea for all of society's ills and it cannot be expected to provide a magical solution to the problems of the police. However, it can provide a method of interfering with the malevolent processes present between the police and many sectors within the community.

community relations

(continued from page 13)
Miller, because the results of a citizen complaint end up in the file of the policeman charged and are not open to the public.

Becker claims only "two or three" complaints have been filed this past year. But whatever happened to the disposition of those complaints remains unknown.

Meanwhile, Alderman Parks proposes that a black person be placed on the Police and Fire

Commission. Parks indicated that such an attempt will be made this month when Miller's term expires.

But the nagging question remains: Will community relation programs, black citizens on the Police and Fire Commission, or black policemen be enough? Or will true harmony come between blacks and the Madison Police Department only after, as Parks believes, a "change of attitude by everyone" occurs?

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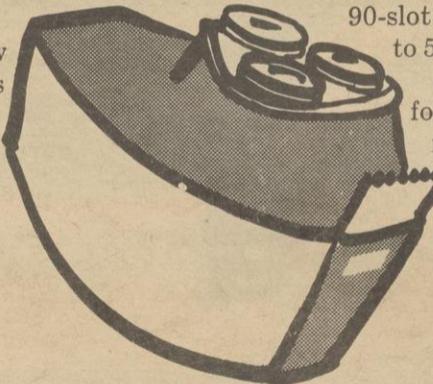
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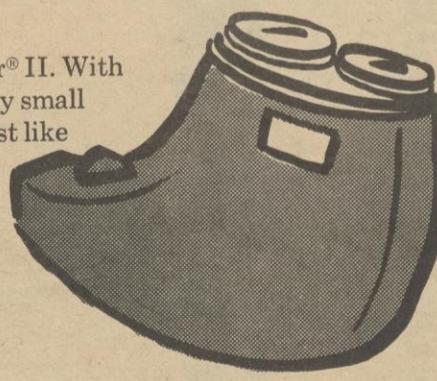
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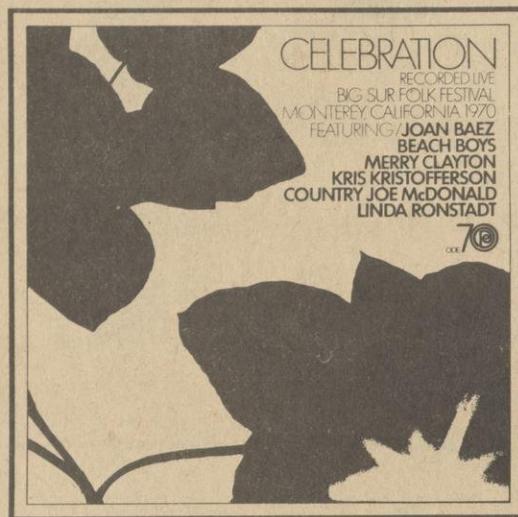
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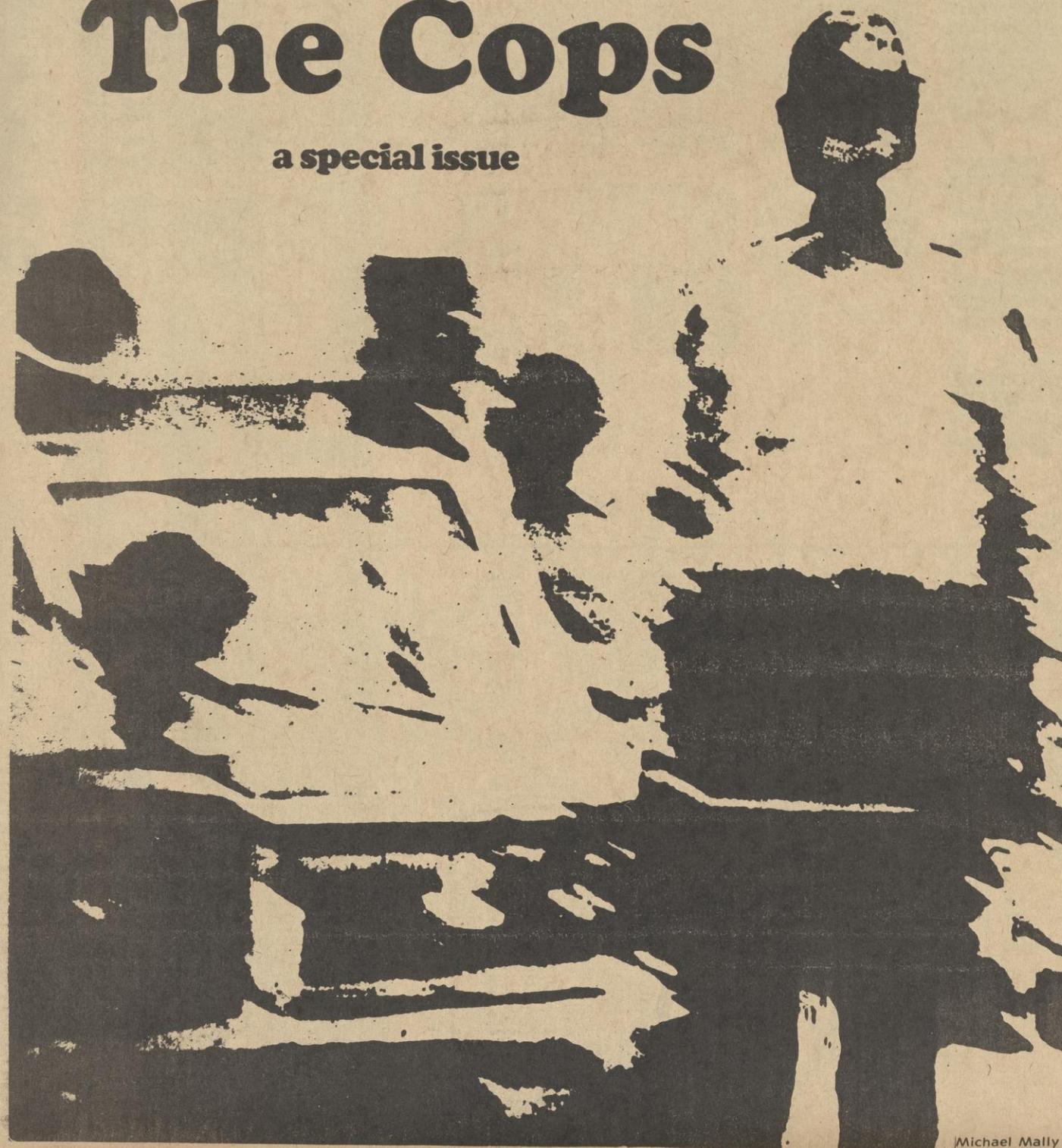
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MONDAY

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Michael Mally