

The Second Mile 2

The Blue Minority

At one time or another just about everyone has been stopped by a policeman for no apparent reason. It might have been on the highway. You were driving along and suddenly in the rear view mirror a red light appeared.

You pulled over, wondering why, and waited until the officer appeared at your window and asked to see your driver's license. It may have turned out to be as minor as a dead taillight. But the significant thing was that moment of anxiety.

The logic of the anxiety goes something like this. "I am being stopped by a policeman. Policemen stop people when they have done something wrong. Therefore, I must have done something wrong."

This momentary uncertainty highlights our attitude toward the police. We have mixed feelings about them. When there is an emergency, we instinctively call them, regardless of whether the problem is a lost child, a noisy neighbor, or a burglarized home. But because they are the visible representative of authority, we fear them as well. When one approaches us, even though we are not aware of having done anything wrong, we are placed on the defensive.

But did you ever stop to think about the other side of the coin. What about the policeman's attitude toward himself and what he does.

Consider the fact that the police have one of the highest divorce rates among all occupations. Some estimate that as high as 70 percent of police marriages end in divorce. It isn't difficult to account for this high rate. All you need to do is list some

of the aspects of the policeman's life that cause stress.

For one, the policeman is never off duty. He can't leave his job the way the rest of us can. In many jurisdictions he must carry his gun with him 24 hours a day, even when he's out to dinner with his family.

Another cause of stress is the ambiguity of the occupation itself. The police in a sense are asked to be all things to all men. We expect him to be available whenever a crisis situation arises, from domestic quarrels that get out of hand to automobile accidents. We expect him to take care of society's mundane business — traffic control after football games or leading funeral corteges. Nevertheless, many people when asked what a policeman does will answer, "fight crime." Necessarily, there is stress when a disparity exists between what he actually does and what his image says he does.

Tension also grows out of the fact that we have given the policeman so much power with so few strings attached. He is the only one in our society authorized to use force when, in his judgment, it is needed. Yet this is given him without review. He is not accountable to society. When there is a complaint against a policeman, the police themselves review the allegation. In other words, they sit in judgment on their own, a situation which helps to create a closed subgroup within society.

Finally, stress results because we ask the police to enforce two kinds of criminal laws. On the one hand, we expect him to handle situations in which there is a complaining victim, to catch the thief or mugger who has taken our property or assaulted our person. But on the other, he is charged with enforcing laws governing conduct where there is no victim, no one to register a complaint. As a society we have decided that gambling, for example,

is a crime, even though those involved in the activity are doing something they want to do and do not consider themselves victimized. This places the policeman in a difficult position. There is big money in gambling, as there is in the other victimless crimes. If the police are the only ones standing in the way, then it simply is good business sense to try to bribe them. Thus the police have opportunities for corruption far beyond that of the ordinary citizen simply because of the laws we ask them to enforce.

Because they are subject to unique stress factors, the police are set off as an identifiable group having in common unique attitudes and opinions about themselves and their work. They are made a minority, isolated from the rest of society.

And their isolation is reinforced by the fact that it is so easy, for them as for the general public as well, to lose sight of the policeman's humanity. For some the police are the pigs, the agents of oppression who can do no right. For others they are the only line of defense left against chaos, subversion and unamericanism. They can do no wrong. Either way, the man behind the badge is reduced to the occupational role he plays and he is forced to fall back on his peer group for support.

Clearly there are many things for the citizen to think about in the area of law enforcement. He must consider what we expect the police to do and ask himself whether or not some of these functions (traffic, for example) might not better be handled by some other agency. This would have the advantage of allowing the police to spend more time fighting crime. He must consider how we evaluate the police and ask whether or not this is the way it should be. And especially as he performs the task assignments, the citizen needs to investigate for himself the issues defined in this tabloid and make up his own mind about them.

Perspective

The Good Old Days

Victor Strecher

It is customary to think and talk of our cities as being in a state of decline — a state of general deterioration. Symptoms of urban decay most often described are crime in the streets, neighborhood deterioration and the spread of slums through property neglect; the increased incidence of vice violations — prostitution, gambling, and drugs; the displacement of neighborhood populations by in-migrants; juvenile delinquency; political dissent and social polarization; urban peace disturbances and major disorders; and a general lack of respect for the city government, particularly for the police.

The Myth

This view of deteriorating cities is based upon an assumption that cities were formerly good and pleasant dwelling places — that it was safe to walk their streets, that people shared a calm passion for democracy, that morality was in charge, that patriotism was consensual, and that nice people lived in nice cities. Permit a challenge to this gargantuan assumption, and all its minor points as well, using documentation rather than opinion. It is not especially useful to say that crime, immorality, political disagreement, and slums have always been found in our big cities. This is generally known or assumed. What seems to escape most current observers is the degree to which these conditions were present

in the cities of the past. The many reasons for a tendency to minimize past social problems and glamorize earlier times need not be analyzed except to say that fantasy provides a convenient platform for those who wish to express their discontent at growing older without the fulfillment of human perfection or even improvement.

What Was It Really Like?

What, then, were cities like a few generations ago? What was it like to be a policeman in 1900, 1850, 1800? What were the problems, and how were they handled? Probably the only way to gain insight into these matters is to sample the comments of observers. It is our good fortune that a number of competent persons considered it worthwhile to record in some detail the events which filled their days and that some of these observers had a primary interest in police affairs. From these old accounts it is possible to sketch an image of the large American city of a century ago and to use it as a kind of base line from which progress or a change for the worse may be estimated. Because this is not a general historical treatise, the focus will be upon community safety and law enforcement.

1650's. "The Governor issued regulations for the better observance of the Sabbath; interdicting the tapping of beer during the hours of divine service or after ten o'clock at night; brawling and all kinds of offenses . . . (observing) that 'Almost one full fourth part of the City of New Amsterdam have become bawdy houses for the sale of ardent spirits, tobacco, and beer.'"

Philadelphia - 1697. William Penn, sixteen years after designing the city of Philadelphia, expressed his disappointment "That there is no place more overrun with wickedness and sins so very scandalous, openly committed in defiance of law and virtue . . ."

Boston - 1756. "In consequence of numerous evening processions got up by the lower classes, and ending often in bloodshed, a

law was passed to prevent such assemblages."

Boston-1765. "Captain Semmes, of the South Watch, reported that 'Negro Dick came to the watchhouse, and reported rowdies under his window. Watchmen were sent, and met a gang of rowdies, one of which drew a sword. The watch cried murder and fled to the watchhouse, and the rowdies escaped.'"

Philadelphia-1811. "There are fourteen constables, one for each ward; and until the present year, one high constable, who is required to walk the streets daily with his mace in his hand, and examine all vagrants and disorderly persons, and upon refusal to give him an account of their residence and employment, or not giving a satisfactory account, to carry such persons before the mayor or an alderman to be dealt with according to law . . ."

Boston - 1816. "As respects *The Hill*, it consists principally of drunkards, harlots, spendthrifts, and outcasts from the country; in truth Beelzebub holds a court there, and almost every Town in the Commonwealth has a representative. These are great nuisances, but every large town has them . . . in spite of jails and workhouses, and probably will till the millennium."

Boston-1823. "'Shaking down,' by the girls, becomes frequent on *The Hill*. Mayor Quincy inaugurates stringent measures there."

Chicago-1862. ". . . during the year . . . the city was infested with 'bad' men from all over the West . . . There was also a coterie of sluggers here, who were constantly creating disturbances and making trouble for the officers . . . All along the east side of Market Street, from Van Buren to Madison streets, were located dozens of low-down dens and sailors' boarding houses, where broils and murders were of frequent occurrence . . . From these dens came the seemingly endless crowd of bounty-jumpers and desperadoes, who at one time be-

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came so bold in their operations that respectable citizens proposed to organize a vigilance committee for the purpose of clearing the city of these pestiferous and dangerous classes."

Boston-1870. "The Police arrested 183 night-walkers (night of May 7), most of whom were subsequently sent to their friends out of the city."

Chicago-1870's. "The first beating Hubbard ever got was in protecting a woman named Murphy, who lived on Emerald street . . . from her brutal husband. He had pulled the fellow off, and was struggling on the floor with him, when the wife deliberately locked the door, put the key in her pocket, and then, seizing a heavy stove-lifter, began beating the officer over the head. The arrival of the man on the next beat . . . alone saved Hubbard's life."

Chicago-1880. ". . . the toughest district in the city was in the second precinct . . . Within this area there existed the worst elements in the city. Gangs of young hoodlums frequented the corners and held up and beat passing pedestrians 'just for the fun of the thing,' and even made so bold occasionally as to attack a solitary policeman."

Omaha-1892. From the Report of the Chief of Police. ". . . the resident districts of Omaha usually have no police protection, and are left to the mercy of tramps, sneak thieves, burglars, housebreakers, veranda climbers, and other criminals, who, besides our local law breakers, are always well informed as to the localities that have no police protection."

Historical matter taken from George W. Hale, *The Police and Prison Cyclopaedia* (1893); Edward H. Savage, *Police Records and Recollections* (1873); John J. Flinn, *Story of the Chicago Police* (1877), and Augustine Costello, *Our Police Protectors* (1885).

From *The Environment of Law Enforcement* (1971)

Glossary

- basic car plan** . . . Plan whereby the police officers are assigned to patrol in the same neighborhood over a period of months, attend monthly meetings with citizens, etc., as opposed to frequent rotation of assignment.
- Community Service Officer (CSO)** Member of a special unit concerned with police/community relations emphasizing especially social service and preventive action. He is not a commissioned police officer and has no authority.
- constitutional rights (of the accused)** . . . Rights guaranteed by law which govern the procedures a law enforcement officer must follow vis a vis any suspect. For example, the right to counsel, the right to remain silent, etc.
- crisis intervention** Term used to describe police involvement in certain types of situations; domestic quarrels for example.
- detox center** A medical facility for the purpose of detoxifying ("drying out") drunks, drug users, etc. See "drunk tank."
- discretionary powers** . . . Descriptive of the fact that a law officer has various options open to him in responding to a situation — he can arrest, warn, simply talk to, even ignore.
- drunk tank** Part of a jail set aside especially for drunks where they sleep off their condition before appearing in court. See "detox center."
- FBI** The Federal Bureau of Investigation, a branch of the U. S. Department of Justice whose duty is to investigate and bring to trial violators of Federal criminal laws (except violators of currency, tax and postal laws) and crimes committed in two or more states (interstate flight, transportation of stolen goods, etc.).
- jurisdiction** The territorial range of authority; boundaries (e.g., a city limit) within which a law enforcement officer has authority.
- no-knock** Law allowing officers with search warrant to enter premises without identifying themselves, including forcible entry if necessary.
- police chief** The head law enforcement officer in a town or city. An appointive position, by the mayor and/or city council, and subject to removal by them. See "sheriff."
- search warrant** . . . A legal document authorizing a law enforcement officer to search a specified person, premises or dwelling looking for, for example, stolen or contraband articles, suspected criminals, etc.
- security patrolman** An individual employed by a private individual company or organization to patrol an area or neighborhood and who has no legal authority.
- sheriff** The head law enforcement officer in a county whose jurisdiction includes all areas outside of cities and towns. Often elected and when so, is not subject to removal by other officials. See "police chief."
- state patrolman** . . . An officer employed by and operating on the state level, who is normally restricted to traffic control.
- Tac Squad** The Tactical Unit of a police department; a specially trained and equipped unit whose duties focus on riots and civil disorders.

Task Assignments

1. After making arrangements through the chief of police in your area, ride for part of a shift in a patrol car.
2. Visit three large stores, i.e., the Bon Marche, Sears, Pay 'n Save or K Mart. Find out the incidence of shoplifting, the annual dollar value of loss, and how they try to prevent shoplifting.
3. Talk to a member of the vice squad and find out how he goes about identifying and arresting prostitutes.
4. Survey at least five of your neighbors to determine their attitude toward the decriminalization of "victimless" crimes — drug usage (both soft and hard), prostitution, homosexual relations between consenting adults, gambling, etc.
5. Talk to a member of an organized ethnic, labor or political minority group and explore his opinions of law enforcement.
6. Talk with several policemen. Ask each what percentage of his time in an average week is spent in "crime fighting" as opposed to routine and service activities, including report writing. Find out how much of his time is spent in court during an average week.
7. Check with the police garage and inspect a patrol car. Find out what equipment a patrol car normally carries. Determine if different cars are equipped differently.
8. Ask a policeman what equipment he normally carries. Determine if different divisions are equipped differently.
9. Visit the personnel office of your local police department and find out the minimum qualifications for applicants. Are lie detector tests used?
10. Find out the amount and kind of training given a new member of your local police department and your county sheriff's office.
11. Determine the attitude of your police and sheriff's departments toward a civilian review board to hear and evaluate complaints against those agencies.
12. Talk to a member of the John Birch Society and explore his vision of law enforcement.
13. Talk to a member of the American Civil Liberties Union and explore his vision of law enforcement.
14. Find out what possibilities for citizen involvement exist in your neighborhood.

Note: Because of local policy differences throughout the region, some task assignments may not be feasible and/or may require advance clearance or appointments.

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Organizations

- Citizen Radio Watch
Contact the Seattle Police Department at 583-2370
- Seattle Crime Prevention Advisory Commission
Contact the Seattle King County Association of Community Councils at 632-1367
- Seattle Police Department
has several public involvement programs, a *Citizen Ride Program* — ride in a patrol car for 4 hours, a *Volunteer Worker Program* — a student course for credit. Call the Division of Community Relations at 583-2200
- Thurston-Mason Legal Aid Service
Contact 943-7543
- Volunteer Services Coordinator
Counseling, Contact Remann Hall, 5501-6th Avenue, Tacoma, Washington 593-4205

The Blue Minority

Testimony

Cops and Liberals

Seymour Lypset

Many police have consciously come to look upon themselves as an oppressed minority, subject to the same kind of prejudice as other minorities. Thus Chief Parker explained some of the bitterness of the police as stemming from the "shell of minorityism" within which they lived. This view was given eloquent voice in 1965 by the then New York City Police Commissioner, Michael J. Murphy: "The police officer, too, belongs to a minority group — a highly visible minority group, and is also subject to stereotyping and mass attack. Yet he, like every member of every minority, is entitled to be judged as an individual and on the basis of his individual acts, not as a group." Clearly, the police appear to be a deprived group, one which feels deep resentment about the public's lack of appreciation for the risks it takes for the community's safety. These risks are not negligible in the United States. In 1967, for example, one out of every eight policemen was assaulted. This rate is considerably higher than in any other developed democratic country.

Alienation

The belief that police are rejected by the public results, as Wilson argues, in a "sense of alienation from society" which presses the police to develop their own "sub-culture" with norms which can provide them with "a basis for self-respect independent to some degree of civilian attitudes." Given the assumption of the police that they are unappreciated even by the honest middle-class citizenry, they are prone to accept a cynical view of society and its institutions, and social isolation and alienation can lead to political alienation.

The police have faced overt hostility and even contempt from spokesmen for liberal and leftist groups, racial minorities, and intellectuals generally. The only ones who appreciate their contribution to society and the risks they take are the conservatives, and particularly the extreme right. The radical left has almost invariably been hostile, the radical right friendly. It is not surprising therefore that police are more likely to be found in the ranks of the right.

The Policeman's "Working Personality"

Jerome H. Skolnick

A recurrent theme of the sociology of occupations is the effect of a man's work on his outlook on the world. Doctors, janitors, lawyers, and industrial workers develop distinctive ways of perceiving and responding to their environment. Here we shall concentrate on analyzing certain outstanding elements in the police milieu, danger, authority, and efficiency, as they combine to generate distinctive cognitive and behavioral responses in police: a "working personality." Such an analysis does not suggest that all police are alike in "working personality," but that there are distinctive cognitive tenden-

cies in police as an occupational grouping. Some of these may be found in other occupations sharing similar problems. So far as exposure to danger is concerned, the policeman may be likened to the soldier. His problems as an authority bear a certain similarity to those of the schoolteacher, and the pressures he feels to prove himself efficient are not unlike those felt by the industrial worker. The combination of these elements, however, is unique to the policeman. Thus, the police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events. The strength of the lenses may be weaker or stronger depending on certain conditions, but they are ground on a similar axis.

Danger

The process by which this "personality" is developed may be summarized: the policeman's role contains two principal variables, danger and authority, which should be interpreted in the light of a "constant" pressure to appear efficient. The element of danger

seems to make the policeman especially attentive to signs indicating a potential for violence and lawbreaking. As a result, the policeman is generally a "suspicious" person. Furthermore, the character of the policeman's work makes him less desirable as a friend, since norms of friendship implicate others in his work. Accordingly, the element of danger isolates the policeman socially from that segment of the citizenry which he regards as symbolically dangerous and also from the conventional citizenry with whom he identifies.

Authority

The element of authority reinforces the element of danger in isolating the policeman. Typically, the policeman is required to enforce laws representing puritanical morality, such as those prohibiting drunkenness, and also laws regulating the flow of public activity, such as traffic laws. In these situations the policeman directs the citizenry, whose typical response denies recognition of his authority, and stresses his obligation to respond to danger. The kind of man who responds well to danger, however, does not normally subscribe to codes of puritanical morality. As a result, the policeman is unusually liable to the charge of hypocrisy. That the whole civilian world is an audience for the policeman further promotes police isolation and, in consequence, solidarity. Finally, danger undermines the judicious use of authority. Where danger, as in Britain, is relatively less, the judicious application of authority is facilitated. Hence, British police may appear to be somewhat more attached to the rule of law, when, in fact, they may appear so because they face less danger, and they are as a rule better skilled than American police in creating the appearance of conformity to procedural regulations.

Conservatism

Finally, to round out the sketch, policemen are notably conservative, emotionally and politically. If the element of danger in the policeman's role tends to make the policeman suspicious, and therefore emotionally attached to the status quo, a similar consequence may be attributed to the element of authority. The fact that a man is engaged in enforcing a set of rules implies that he also becomes implicated in affirming them. Labor disputes provide the commonest example of

Two New York Policemen

Alvin Nierenberg

Nierenberg came out of the service in 1953. His father had died, and he went to work in a warehouse as a laborer (same work father had done). He was a New York policeman for ten years.

"The majority of men in the police department are conservative thinkers. I think it is obvious that they represent the system. They think like the establishment. A lot of this is for their own self-preservation on the street.

"Cops are not broad enough to look at the over-all scope of the picture. It's hard enough for the average citizen, let alone for the cop, who is always on the defensive. You're damned if you do and damned if you don't.

Harlem

"When I was first on the force, I was sent up to Harlem, and I had never been to Harlem in my life. I'd heard all sorts of things about it as a rookie — how awful it is. I had to go get a guy out of a store who was causing a ruckus in there. I didn't want to arrest him, just get him out of there. He's high and calls me a white bastard. So there you are. If you touch him you've got a potential race riot on your hands, but you've got to do your job too. A Negro cop I knew came along, and I asked him to give me a hand. He could lay his hands on this guy and get him out of the store and no one would touch him. So you realize you're not too effective in certain situations. So next time you may hesitate. Then after a while you think maybe you should have segregation. Let the Negro cops work in Harlem, where they can be effective, and let the white cops work downtown. And the

me, men who could have been good officers, men of decent impulse, men of ideals, but men who were without decent leadership, men who were told in a hundred ways every day go along, forget the law, don't make waves, and shut up.

Going Along

So they did shut up. They did go along. They did learn the unwritten code of the department. They went along and they lost something very precious: they weren't cops any more. They were a long way towards not being men any more.

And all the time I saw the other victims, too, especially the children, children of 14, 15 and 16, wasted by heroin, turned into streetcorner thugs and whores, ready to mug their own mother for the price of a fix.

That was the price of going along. The real price of police corruption, not free meals or broken regulations but broken dreams and dying neighborhoods and a whole generation of children being lost.

That was what I joined the department to stop, so that was why I went to The New York Times, because attention had to be paid, in our last desperate hope that, if the facts were known, someone must respond.

Now it's up to you.

I speak to you now as nothing more and nothing less than a cop, a cop who's lived on this force and who's staying on this force and therefore is a cop who needs your help.

I and my fellow policemen, we didn't appoint you and you don't report to us. But all the same, there are some things as policemen we must have from you.

From *The Washington Post* (1972)



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In the larger context, American politics tends to press the police to support conservative or rightist politics. Liberals and leftists have been more concerned than conservatives with the legal rights of the less powerful and the underprivileged. They have tried to limit the power of the police to deal with suspects and have sought to enlarge the scope of due process. Efforts to enhance the rights of defendants, to guarantee them legal representation, to prevent the authorities from unduly pressuring those taken into police custody, have largely concerned liberals. The American Civil Liberties Union and other comparable groups have fought hard to weaken the discretionary power of the police. To many policemen, the liberals' constant struggle is to make their job more difficult, to increase the physical danger to which they are subject. Many are convinced that dangerous criminals or revolutionists are freely walking the streets because of the efforts of softhearted liberals. To police, who are constantly exposed to the seamy side of life, who view many deviants and lawbreakers as outside the protection of the law, the constant concern for the civil rights of such people makes little sense, unless it reflects moral weakness on the part of the liberals, or more dangerously, is an aspect of a plot to undermine legitimate authority. And the fact that the Supreme Court has sided with the civil-libertarian interpretations of individual rights in recent years on issues concerning police tactics in securing confessions — the use of wiretaps, and the like — constitutes evidence as to how far moral corruption has reached into high places. Reiss's survey of police opinion found that 90 percent of the police interviewed felt that the Supreme Court "has gone too far in making rules favoring and protecting criminal offenders." The liberal world, then, is perceived as an enemy, an enemy which may attack directly in demonstrations or riots, or indirectly through its pressure on the courts.

From *The Atlantic* (March, 1969)

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ORDERS SHIPPED TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES ONLY

From *Law and Order*
March 17, 1972

Support Your Local Police

When a Black Panther, under orders to "kill a cop a day," draws down on a local policeman, he is pointing his rifle not only at the policeman but at you and me. When a corrupt judge releases the criminal and punishes the policeman, it is you and me to whom justice has been denied. When hoodlums are allowed to take over our schools, it is our children who suffer.

Most of us, particularly regular readers of *The Eagle*, are well aware of the war being waged against our local police. But few of us, and fewer of our fellow citizens, are aware of the real target of the criminal and revolutionary elements.

Although it is our local police who are on the receiving end of the bullets and abuse, it is you and me against whom this war is being waged. Our local police stand as a buffer between the forces of revolution and anarchy and the law-abiding citizen. How long can the police hold out without support from you and me?

We often hear the slogan, "Help Preserve Law and Order," and we agree with it wholeheartedly. But there can be no preservation of law and order without an effective local police force. "Support Your Local Police" is not a mere slogan — it is the means, the only means, by which you and I can help our local police defeat the forces of anarchy and revolution.

"Support Your Local Police" means coming to their aid when they are unjustly accused. It means actively opposing those groups who are trying to make our local police ineffective. It means defeating those judges who release criminals. It means keeping politics and the federal government out of our local police department. It means giving enough backing to our local police so they can do their job effectively without fear of political repercussions. It means cooperating in local programs designed to improve police protection.

An alarmed citizenry can give our local police the backing they need to do an effective job. Good intentions are not enough. Not now. Sloganeering is not enough. Action is needed. And that means you. If every reader takes the action outlined elsewhere in this newspaper, "law and order" will once again be the rule in our cities . . . not the exception.

God help us all if you don't!
From *The Eagle*, Yakima, Washington
(November 21, 1968)

Cop Wanted to Kill Blacks

Ron Ridenour

Indio, Calif.: The murder trial of three black community activists in this rural town last week brought forth startling examples of racism and police misconduct.

Patrolman Robert Lund, 25, the Riverside, Calif., cop who linked the principal defendant Gary Lawton to the scene where two officers were killed in April 1971, also admitted that he may have only *imagined* he saw Lawton. Furthermore, Lund conceded under cross-examination last week that the night of the ambush he wanted to "kill a 'nigger' more than anything" in his life.

Lund, a white cop, was hypnotized during a police interview in order to "get things he may have forgotten," said Riverside police chief Fred Ferguson. The chief said that hypnotizing a witness had never been done before but added, "I see this as a very creative way to go back and probe the subconscious of witnesses."

Defense attorney David Epstein said that the procedure is "outrageous. It is never used because suggestions can be easily implanted. In this case it was police interviewers who first suggested to Lund that Lawton was there that night."

Lawton, 33, along with Nehemiah Jackson, 22, and Larrie Gardner, 21, are on trial in judge Warren Slaughter's courtroom. All three black defendants have pled innocent to charges of murdering officers Paul Tiel and Leonard Christiansen the night of April 2, 1971 on the edge of the black community in Riverside.

Lund had said he'd seen Lawton in the park that day. The defense thinks the idea was planted while under hypnosis. In response to the defense question, "Didn't you state you wanted to kill a 'nigger' more than anything in your whole life?" he also told the shocked jury, "At that point in my life, yes."

"I'd be surprised if anyone would give any credibility to Lund after this," Epstein said.
From *The Guardian*
(November 22, 1972)

are necessarily pushed on the side of the defense of property. Their responsibilities thus lead them to see the striking and sometimes angry workers as their enemy and, therefore, to be cool, if not antagonistic, toward the whole conception of labor militancy. If a policeman did not believe in the system of laws he was responsible for enforcing, he would have to go on living in a state of conflicting cognitions, a condition which a number of social psychologists agree is painful.

From *Justice Without Trial* (1966)



Technology

Marching inexorably forward with the sweeping spread of right-wing reaction, the nation's police technology has never before seen such rapid advances. Guns, nerve gases, listening devices, and psychological weapons continually find improvement in the government's laboratories, and now, it is learned, private manufacturers as well have joined the trek into totalitarianism.

According to a report from the National Science Foundation, manufacturers and government agencies are currently experimenting with a variety of new gadgets such as:

- blinking high-intensity lights which interfere with vision and thought processes to disorient crowds or individuals;
- a mobile unit called the "sound curdler" which generates a very painful wave of ultrasonic sound;
- "taser" barbs which can snag a culprit from as far away as five hundred feet. Long wires attached to each taser barb allow the police operators to paralyze their captive with electrical currents;
- guns capable of shooting paint or fluorescent powder for identification purposes;
- barbed-wire ejectors which create coilings, instant barriers;
- foam sprays for making slippery surfaces.

The theory behind most of these implementations has been around for quite a while. For example, W. Grey Walter's "The Living Brain," a 1954 treatise on mental activity, describes the effect of interference certain frequencies of blinking lights have on the human consciousness pattern. And it has long been known that ultrasonic sound can in some circumstances deafen or kill, and can even set combustible objects afire.

Present experiments to control human behavior by means of technological coercion are now being conducted at the U.S. Army's Harry Diamond laboratories in Washington, where upwards of \$200,000 is to be expended in the continuing mobilization for repression.
From *The Match* (November, 1972)

next thing you know, you're thinking conservative. That's wrong, but I can see how it happens to a lot of these guys.

"When whites quarrel with each other, they wind up in court, but nothing has happened. But when Negroes quarrel, they cut each other up, and the courts look the other way in such cases all the time when it's two Negroes. I saw a Negro woman once who had really gotten badly cut up, but she wouldn't press charges against the man because he was still her man. Cops look after a while at this as a whole way of life: Negroes are just different.

"Cops see the filth and realize a lot of the filth they see is caused by the Negroes themselves. And they think they're paying out and the Negroes are taking in and putting nothing out. The cop resents it. He doesn't want his kids to have any part of this or of these people.

From *The Atlantic* (March, 1969)

David Durk

Testimony given to a commission investigating police corruption in New York City.

Being a cop also means serving, helping others. If it's not too corny, to be a cop is to help an old lady walk the street safely, to help a 12 year-old girl reach her next birthday without being gang raped, to help the storekeeper make a living without keeping a shotgun under his cash register, to help a boy grow up without needles in his arm.

And, therefore, to me, being a cop is not just a job but a way to live a life. Some people say that cops live with the worst side of humanity, in the middle of all the lying and cheating, the violence and hate, and I suppose that, in some sense, it's true.

But being a cop also means being engaged with life. It means that our concern for others is not abstract, that we don't just write a letter to *The Times* or give \$10 to the United Fund once a year.

It means that we put something on the line from the moment we hit the street every morning of every day of our lives. In this sense, police corruption is not about money at all. Because there is no amount of money that you can pay a cop to risk his life 365 days a year. Being a cop is a vocation or it is nothing at all.

And that's what I saw being destroyed by the corruption in the New York City Police Department, destroyed for me and for thousands of others like me.

The Rule of Law

We wanted to believe in the rule of law. We wanted to believe in a system or responsibility. But those in high places everywhere, in the police department, in the D.A.'s office, in city hall, were determined not to enforce the law and they turned their heads when law and justice were being sold on every streetcorner.

We wanted to serve others, but the department was a home for the drug dealers and thieves. The force that was supposed to be protecting people was selling poison to their children. And there could be no life, no real life for me or anyone else on the force when, everyday, we had to face the facts of our own terrible corruption.

I saw that happening to men all around



Citizen Review Boards

Norval Morris & Gordon Hawkins

There are a number of reasons why police internal review procedures are an unsatisfactory means for dealing with citizen complaints. The principal one is that no government authority should be a judge in its own cause and that a complainant should have the opportunity to bring his case before an impartial tribunal. The principle involved was expressed by Lord Campbell in 1852: "It is of the last importance that the maxim that no man is to be a judge in his own cause should be held sacred. And that is not to be confined to a cause in which he is a party, but applies to a cause in which he has an interest." The passage in italics is the relevant one here. But it is no less important for the police themselves that every allegation should be properly investigated and cleared up. At present, the President's Crime Commission found, there is widespread and justified dissatisfaction with police internal review procedures. As the deputy chief of the Cincinnati police said with refreshing candor: "The thing that bothers me is that police continue to receive huge numbers of complaints but there are only a few instances where the complaint is upheld. They can't be wrong that much — and we can't be right that much." The deputy chief's disquiet is shared by large numbers of private citizens, although other senior police officers sometimes take a different view. Thus Chief Edward S. Kreins of California recently remarked with pride that "only one fourth of one percent of all complaints of this nature [i.e., police brutality and corruption] are ever shown to be valid." But this evades the critics' point that it may be precisely the absence of independent scrutiny that is the reason for the apparently impressive figure.

Chief Kreins has also objected to independent civilian review boards on the grounds that "review board procedures would deprive officers of such criminal safeguards as the right to confront their accusers, or protection against double jeopardy, of representation by an attorney and the right to remain silent." But there is no reason at all why the rights to confront accusers, to be represented by counsel, and to remain silent should be abrogated. As for double jeopardy, Ben Whitaker says very aptly: "Those who argue that these inquiries would place men in jeopardy twice over forget that members of other professions, such as journalists, doctors, lawyers, and dentists, already face complaints before similar tribunals, sometimes with a layman as chairman." The police cannot expect to have the advantages of professionalization without paying at least some price for it.

From *The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control* (1970)