

Miami

Box 59

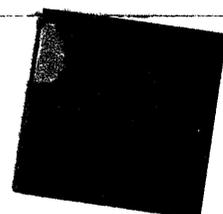
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1980

FOR : LOUIS MARTIN
FROM : AL MCDONALD *AM*
SUBJECT: Rioters

Your memo of August 5 hits a very sympathetic note with me. I believe we should pursue this idea to see how we can bring it to an early proposal for action. I will be glad to assist in keeping this idea moving ahead.

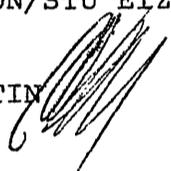


file

*Louis has
seen*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 5, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK WATSON/STU EIZENSTAT

FROM: LOUIS MARTIN 
SUBJECT: RIOTERS

The youth who do the looting and set the fires in the ghetto disturbances seem to be beyond the reach of any programs of government or the private sector. Some of them who want to work cannot find jobs that they can handle and some of them seem to have lost any hope of improving their lot.

No administration has fully explored the possibility of the development of a voluntary national service program which would take the youth out of the ghetto and give them para-military training for peace-time service. I have in mind a Construction Corps or an Engineer Corps which would not require training in the use of arms. The educational component would be mainly vocational and lead to the status of journeyman in many trades.

Such a program could be geared to our Defense needs at home and abroad, building military installations, roads, dams, housing, etc. We spend billions in government construction and projects that could provide work for these para-military youth units. We need some new, more creative approaches to this hard-core youth problem. It is going to get worse each year. I hope we can set up a task force to staff out the possibility of some national service program.

Many thanks.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Washington, D. C. 20425

May 19, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: The Commissioners
Staff Director

I am glad to see that the Justice Department has announced it will seek prosecution of the alleged murderers of Arthur McDuffie in Miami under 241 and 242 for civil rights violations. I am also pleased that the Community Relations unit at Justice is involved. But I believe stronger preventative methods before riots happen need to be instituted. All of the riots of the 1960s, except the King assassination riots, and each earlier urban riot in the twentieth century began over an actual or alleged incident of police brutality. Also when riots happened in one place they rapidly began happening elsewhere. Therefore, I believe when police are accused of assault and murder, Justice should be prepared to announce right after the verdict that they will or will not seek prosecution if the police are acquitted. Also, when police are accused of murder or assault, the Community Relations Service should be in the community conciliating before the verdict and not after.

In the Commission we should carefully monitor such potentially explosive situations and the Justice Department preparation and actions.

If widespread rioting should occur again, it could be even more catastrophic given the recent revival of the Ku Klux Klan and other white hate groups.


Mary F. Berry
Commissioner-designate

Louie - (1) I think you need to know what Justice, the Commission and other civil rights types in the govt are doing to monitor these situations.

(2) Just so you know I know where of I speak I'm giving you a copy of one of my books on the subjects - the later chapters are about the recent period

UNITED STATES
OFFICE OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS
Washington, D.C. 20201

May 27, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR ESTHER PETERSON
FROM : Ben Johnson *BJ*
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Dr. Marvin Dunn of
Miami, Florida

Dr. Marvin Dunn, Vice President of Florida International University and two of his associates* will be meeting with you at 10:30 am on May 28, 1980.

Dr. Dunn is a key member of the Miami black community, who I am told, has first hand knowledge of the conditions that led to the racial conflict in that city. I spoke with Dr. Dunn on May 21, 1980, at which time he agreed to a meeting with you and others, to discuss consumer related problems that may have factored into the disturbance.

In preparation for the meeting, I am enclosing a set of questions you may want to put to Dr. Dunn and his associates. I have also enclosed several newspaper articles related to the disturbance for your review. In addition, I have informed Louis Martin's office and Jack Watson's office of the meeting, and requested that someone be in attendance from both. I will seek confirmation of their attendance today.

* Dr. Marvin Dunn's associates from Florida International University:

Andrea Loring/Researcher
Susan Martin/Researcher

493 87-13

755-88-75



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Checklist Questions

1. What consumer related problems do you feel had an impact on the rising tensions in the Miami Black community? e.g.
 - Are there unfair pricing patterns in low-income neighborhoods?
 - What is the availability of consumer goods.
 - What is the availability of consumer credit.
 - What is the quality of consumer goods
 - What is the availability of services, i.e. street cleaning, trash collection.
 - What is the availability of transportation services.
 - What is the availability of a mechanism for redress of consumer problems.
 - During last years gasoline shortages, was gasoline less available in the low-income areas than in other parts of the city?
2. What consumer problems do you see surfacing, in the aftermath of the rebellion? e.g.
 - Price increases because of a short supply of goods.
 - Repair ripoffs.
 - Escalating insurance premiums and or redlining.
3. What recommendations do you have regarding curtailing the types of problems you described?
4. Would a visit by consumer officials be received by the residents? Would they be willing to discuss their consumer problems with us? Do you think such a visit would be useful?

Black Contacts - Miami

1
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Executive Director
Miami Community Action Agency
305/579-5618 (office)

Dr. Marvin Dunn
Sociologist/Vice President
Florida International University
305/552-2491 (office)
305/854-3372 (home)

Rev. Irvin Elligan
Chairman
Dade County Community Relations Board
305/633-1854 (office)

T.W. Fair
Executive Director
Miami Urban League
305/693-5070

Black Miami's Voices

Deep Undercurrents of Despair, Racial Hatred—and Love

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, May 22—"I saw a couple of honkies lying on the ground on 62nd Street," said Velderie Davis. "Those honkies weren't dead, but it sure looked to me like they were dying," said Davis, 29, who was charged with looting in the wave of violence that swept Miami in the past week.

She laughed.

"I didn't feel nothing for those honkies because I know honkies don't feel nothing for me. I hate them, just like they hate me. I'm glad it happened," she said of the violence that ended with 14 dead and 400 injured.

"We showed them," she said. "We showed them that we can hate, too."

This is a story about people who live in black Miami. It cannot be told without describing race hatred and despair. Black Miami seems to have more than its share of both. But there is occasional relief.

That first evening, last Saturday when all hell was breaking loose, Deborah Love had taken the students in Northwestern High School's math club to the suburban Skylake Mall theater to see "The Long Riders."

"Miss Love," as her students call her, is a 30-year-old white teacher who lives near the city's largest black concentration, Liberty City, Northwestern, in the heart of the riot-torn area, has two Anglo students and seven Hispanics. The

rest are black. The movie was to be a year-end treat, but Love and her math students got to see only half of it.

A black parent, alarmed by the rioting that had erupted, rushed to the theater. The students, Love and another teacher who accompanied the group all went home.

"I wasn't scared, because I didn't really know the extent of what was happening—not until I turned into my neighborhood. There were thousands of people on the street, and a lot of them began throwing rocks at my car," Love said.

She made it to her apartment safely and stayed there throughout the rioting Saturday and Sunday nights and all during the three days

See MIAMI, A12, Col. 2

A 12 THE WASHINGTON POST
Friday, May 23, 1980

Black Miami: Stories Of Hatred and Love

MIAMI, From A1

of law-enforced calm that followed. Black students and their parents kept tabs on Love's safety, and filled her in on events in the street.

Love returned to school today, the first day of classes since the rioting. "I like it here at Northwestern," she said.

"We like her too," a black student told a reporter. "Man, no-way we were going to let something happen to Miss Love."

Eleven days before the rioting began, the Rev. Irvin Elligan Jr., chairman of the Dade County Community Relations Board, gave his mid-year report to the county board of commissioners. It was grim.

"From every angle, every perspective, the community relations board perceives that Dade County is in a state of crisis," the report said in part.

"In our law enforcement agencies, there is police brutality, including murder; there are allegations of police corruption involving alliances with drug dealers and the theft of confiscated money.

"In our school system, there are charges of official corruption at the highest level.

"In our neighborhoods, there are drug-related, gangland-style killings;

joblessness; inflation and juvenile delinquency," the report said.

"Fear and anger are prominently shown among our citizens," the report continued. "Many of them feel they can no longer trust their police, their neighbors, their government officials, nor even the news media.

"The potential for open conflict in Dade County is a clear and present danger," the report warned.

This week Elligan was sitting in his office in Liberty City's new covenant Presbyterian church, where he is pastor. "It's painful to live in a community of people who don't give a damn about being arrested, who have given up all hope," said Elligan.

"It's painful to see the severe, raw hatred on the part of some blacks—people who have the attitude that any other blacks who associate with whites are nothing but a bunch of Uncle Toms and hypocrites.

"But it's even more painful to know that all of this hatred, all of this death and destruction could have been avoided if black people here hadn't been shoved from one ghetto to another, if they hadn't been treated poorly by the police and the banks and the employers, if only people could have been treated fairly from the beginning, if only they had been treated with justice . . ." Elligan said, shaking his head.

Black Miami has the poverty, unem-



Velderie Davis: "I hate them, just like they hate me. I'm glad it happened."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY



Photo by Frank Johnston—The Washington Post

Deborah Love, with some of her students at school in heart of black Miami: "I like it here at Northwestern."

ployment, poor services and despair that mark many black areas across the country. There is also a dearth of leadership that blacks like Elligan said helped contribute to the unrest.

"In Miami, there is no black person with a universally strong position among his or her fellow blacks," Elli-

gan said, echoing the comments of other prominent blacks who requested anonymity on the subject of leadership.

In Miami, there is also something else—a large affluent, politically powerful Hispanic community.

"That means we are third-class citizens in our own country," said Wellington Rolle, a local community activist.

"Can you believe that?" Rolle said, reflecting the sentiment of other blacks on what they call the "Cuban problem." "At least in other cities, blacks are second class. But here, we're not even up to that," he said.

For years, Miami has been the jumping-off point for black Haitians fleeing the poverty and dictatorship of their Caribbean country. And for years, American blacks here have watched with disgust the way in which the Haitians have been treated, in comparison to the treatment afforded the mostly white Cuban refugees.

"The Cubans have been given everything by the government," said James McQueen, a local black attorney. "But the Haitians have been shuttled off to jails and detention centers, denied the right to work, and treated like trash.

"Black people here see that, and they figure that the only reason Haitians get that kind of treatment is because they're black, too. The people know it's not fair," McQueen said.

If the rule is that poverty and perceived or real race discrimination breed the kind of hatred, violence and despair that have hurt this city, then, like all rules, there are exceptions.

Among the students returning to Northwestern High today were Donny Stephens, Angela Campbell, Genevieve Floyd, Derrick Lowery, Keith Carswell and Robert Jones. Four of them live in the riot area; all of them say they have been confronted with racism at one time or another.

All felt the Miami riot was regrettable, but perhaps inevitable.

"But I don't believe we hate anybody," said Jones, editor of the school newspaper, *The Northwestern Happening*. "I suppose the riot did give blacks here some needed recognition, but I like to think that we could have gotten it without the violence," he said.

The student editor, who lives in Liberty City, said he planned—as did his colleagues in the interview—to go on to college "some way, some how."

A Police Officer in Riot-Scarred Miami Who Loves Her Job

By JANE GROSS

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, May 21 — Gwen Boyd, a 25-year-old black police officer, sat on a bench in a quiet downtown neighborhood wearing a 38-caliber Smith & Wesson revolver at her hip and a bulletproof vest under her sweaty uniform. The 3 A.M.-to-3 P.M. shift, guarding a post office that had been broken into the night before, was a bit tame for the adventurous undercover detective who spent the weekend patrolling the riot-torn Liberty City neighborhood.

Since racial violence erupted here last Saturday night, after four former police officers, all of them white, were acquitted in the death by beating of Arthur McDuffie, a black Miami insurance executive, 150 female police officers have been patrolling the streets and staffing the station houses along with some 1,500 men.

In the City of Miami and in Dade County, female police officers routinely do the same jobs as men, including riding alone in patrol cars, and that policy did not change during the weekend of killing, looting, sniping and arson.

Back in Uniform

Officer Boyd, who is married to a homicide detective, joined the force in 1974 and has ridden a solo patrol car in black and Cuban neighborhoods, worked with juvenile offenders in a Hispanic junior high school and, most recently, has been a member of an undercover team that arrested 16 local businessmen who had acted as fences for stolen goods. During Operation Hot Stuff, an antifencing project financed by an \$81,000 Federal grant, Officer Boyd posed as the girlfriend of a marijuana-smoking truck driver and sold stolen appliances, jewelry and the like to the 16 men subsequently arrested.

While the 5-foot 4-inch, 122-pound mother of two enjoys the undercover work, she was invigorated to be back in uniform on the streets of Miami. "I like that kind of stuff," Offi-

'In this world you know such things are going to happen, so let me be the first one to get to the scene.'

Boyd said, "but I couldn't say that in the state of mind he was in. I wanted to say that if I was another welfare recipient I'd be out there like he was."

The next day in a neighborhood of older blacks near the police station and post office, she found the people saddened by the McDuffie verdict but more heartsick at the destruction of their own community. "They just want it to end," she said.

Officer Boyd, who grew up in Jacksonville, originally planned to be a nurse until she decided that biology and chemistry courses at Miami-Dade Community College were "not my cup of tea." While in school, she worked as a private security guard, an assistant manager of a dairy store and a secretary at Coconut Grove Cares, a nonprofit organization that counsels former offenders. One day she saw an advertisement for jobs as police public service aides, and accepted a \$3-an-hour position processing burglary and accident reports and responding unarmed to nonviolent street crime.

In 1974, she completed the six-month police academy

cer Boyd said, flashing a feisty smile. "Not in the sense of wishing it would happen, but as something exciting. In this world you know such things are going to happen, so let me be the first one to get to the scene. Riding around all day with nothing to do doesn't cut it for me."

During the weekend of violence, one of Officer Boyd's colleagues — a black man — told her that he wasn't afraid of his "black brothers and sisters," and she scoffed at him. "A police officer would be telling a lie if he said he wasn't frightened," she said. "I'm not intimidated either, except in a situation like this. This mob is trigger-crazy. They get in a frenzy and don't care if you're white or black, man or woman. They want to kill themselves a cop. Rocks and bottles and bricks don't know no names, no faces, no color, no nothing. My heart was beating fast the whole time I was out there."

Detectives were the last officers called to duty, and Officer Boyd did not report until 3 A.M. Monday, when many buildings still smoldered and sporadic incidents of looting continued throughout the northwest section of the city. Riding with several white male officers, she responded to calls throughout Liberty City and patrolled a rally where Andrew Young, former chief United States representative to the United Nations, addressed a crowd of some 500 blacks. She also urged several young men to remove a six-foot sign that said, "Remember McDuffie" at a burned-out intersection.

Replies to Question

Throughout the day, young blacks asked her opinion of the McDuffie verdict. She told them, in the mildest way, that it surprised and distressed her, but that she didn't condone any form of violence. "They're a lost cause," she said. "Some people you can't reason with."

One black teen-ager in Liberty City asked her why she did not quit the police force if she considered the McDuffie decision unjust. "I wanted to say 'I love my job,'" Officer Boyd said and began her career as an officer known throughout the department for aggressive street work: rushing to calls for assistance from other officers and making as many felony arrests in a solo car as most two-man units. She currently earns \$388 a week.

"I've always had the ability to get along with people," Officer Boyd said. "When I ride by myself; I never have problems. I'm able to calm people down. When I rode with a partner, they tended to be a little aggressive and not too considerate. I never get into fights or hot situations by myself. I've arrested guys where they'll be saying I'm an all-right cop and rapping with me while I'm transporting them to jail."

A Local Celebrity

In the police academy, Officer Boyd found some of the classroom work "downright boring" but excelled in jogging, street fighting and the martial arts. In the 1976 coeducational police olympics, she won the 100-yard dash, the 220, the high jump and the broad jump. She became a local celebrity in 1979 after Operation Hot Stuff, pictured in the local newspapers in a long black wig, lifting the leg of her dungarees to display the gun strapped to her ankle and being described by her commanding officer as an "eagle" and a "hunter."

During six years on the force, Officer Boyd has shot and wounded only one suspected criminal, a man robbing her home in the middle of the night while her daughters were sleeping and her husband was out. She has been injured just once, bitten by a dog while mediating a domestic squabble.

Having dodged her share of rocks and bottles even before last weekend's rioting, Officer Boyd knocks on wood when discussing her good fortune and wears her uncomfortable bulletproof vest without complaint. "I'd rather be hot and sweaty and alive," she said. "I look like a stuffed turkey, but better a stuffed turkey than a stuffed corpse."

Miami's Blacks Have 'Nothing to Lose'



The New York Times/D. Gorton

Dorothy Fields, an archivist and historian in Liberty City section of Miami, with some of the records she was able to save after the area was heavily damaged during the recent rioting.

By NATHANIEL SHEPPARD Jr.

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, May 22 — The three young black youths stood alongside a rundown public housing complex in which they live, angrily debating what had caused the frustrations of blacks to boil over into a bloody racial clash that has left 14 persons dead and nearly \$200 million in destruction since last Saturday.

"It was because of McDuffie," one of the youths said, referring to the acquittal last Saturday of three white policemen in the death by beating of a black insurance executive who had been stopped for a traffic violation. "People just felt there was no justice for the black man." It was too bad about the violence, the youths said.

"Ah, you don't know what you're talking about," said a shirtless youth, his muscles tensed and his fists clenched. "It wasn't just McDuffie. It was payback. Payback for all the stuff Whitey has done to us." Yes, he had participated in the disorder, he said, and had items taken from a nearby store to prove it. He also said he had "seen a whitey burn up in his car. It happened over there," he said, pointing to an adjoining street.

"We ain't got nothing to lose," another youth said, reflecting a deep despair that seems to grip this community where unemployment exceeded 20 percent even before young blacks used torches selectively to set white businesses afire in the area, putting 2,500 to 3,000 more persons out of work.

Anger Over the Cubans

"We can't get a job because they give them to the Cubans who keep coming over here, so the only thing we can do is steal and sell dope — dope them Cubans bring in here," one of the youths said bitterly.

The youths were typical of the rioters that stormed the streets of the city's three black neighborhoods, attacking whites and everything that they considered symbols of white dominance — youths trapped on the underside of America, feeling unable to cope with the present and devoid of dreams of a better future.

An increasing number of young blacks feel they are better off at war with the system. "If Whitey don't care about me, why should I care about Whitey," one of the youths said. It is a sentiment that appears to be gaining dominance over the more moderate attitudes of older blacks here.

Joseph Kershaw, a black state representative whose district includes the black sections of Miami, assessed the situation this way:

"You had a sealed kettle that was heated over a period of time. There was no release valve so when it boiled over the steam went everywhere. It began 15 to 20 years ago with the first big wave of Cubans who displaced blacks from the hotel service jobs they had held for years. Whites also were displaced but they had other avenues."

Blacks Replaced by Cubans

"Black faces used to be all you could see in service jobs at hotels here and on Miami Beach," said Sonny Wright, a black real estate man. "If you go there now you can hardly find a black face. They have been replaced by Cubans."

"The Latin community is being developed and a lot of money is being poured into it by Government agencies," he said, "but the black community is treated like the stepchild."

"Black businesses are unable to get loans from the city's banks so there are few businesses that are black-owned. And a recent study said that if conditions don't change there won't even be any black businesses here in 10 years."

"The black community has made no significant progress here in the past 10 years and may even be regressing," said T. Willard Fair of the Miami Urban League.

'Full Depression' Found

"Whites are feeling a recession but blacks here are feeling a full depression," Mr. Fair said. "Unemployment among black adults is at least 13 percent and among black youth it is between 30 and 35 percent. At the same time, black income levels have remained stagnant for the past five years."

According to the Urban League, the median income for blacks in the three largely black areas of the city — the model cities area, Coconut Grove and Culmer/Overtown — is about \$5,600, barely above the Federal Government's \$5,500 poverty index mark. The median income for whites in Dade County, of which Miami is a part, is put at \$14,000.

Before the Federal urban renewal program — commonly called "Negro removal" by blacks — came to the area in the 1960's, the Overtown area was "the" place to be for a black Miamian. It was the part of downtown Miami where most black businesses were situated and an area rich with black enterprises such as nightclubs, apartment buildings, churches and restaurants.

But urban renewal's highway projects cut up the neighborhood and it quickly underwent an economic turn downward, becoming one of the poorest areas in the city. Nonetheless it is still considered choice land because it is the only area in which the city can expand.

"It all leads to the feeling that the system is working against blacks and for others," said Dewey Knight, the assistant Dade County manager, who is black.

"Add to this the uncertainty that has evolved from continuing cutbacks in social programs from the Great Society days," he said, "and you get a feeling by blacks that nobody gives a damn what happens to us."

Unequal Justice Seen

Though economics is the undergirding issue that has angered blacks, there also is serious discontent here over what many see as a separate standard of justice for blacks and whites.

It was anger over what blacks saw as the disparate treatment of whites accused of crimes against blacks and blacks accused of crimes that sparked the riots.

Frequently cited are four cases. In one, a white highway patrolman who was arrested molesting an 11-year-old black girl was given a probated sentence and ordered to undergo psychiatric treatment.

In another case, police officers on a narcotics raid invaded the house of a black schoolteacher and seriously beat the man and his son. The raid was at the wrong house. A Dade County grand jury found no cause to indict the policemen.

More recently, a young man was shot to death by an off-duty policeman working as a security guard. The policeman said his gun went off accidentally and no criminal charges were brought against him.

Ousters of Black Officials

"At the same time, there has been a pattern of black elected officials being removed from office for alleged wrongdoing," said Mr. Knight, the assistant county manager. He cited the case of a black county commissioner who was suspended and who now faces criminal charges for allegedly running an illegal bingo game and two black former commissioners removed from office after being accused of accepting bribes.

"The bribery charges were subsequently dismissed or dropped," Mr. Knight said, "but only years after the original charges and after the men had lost their jobs."

"But the thing that really left a bitter taste in the mouths of blacks was the gold plumbing caper involving Dr. Johnny

Jones," he said. He was referring to the highly publicized case of a black school superintendent who was convicted of conspiring to use school funds to purchase gold-plated plumbing for his home. The case was particularly controversial because Mr. Jones was the public official respected most by blacks here.

"The grand jury met on a Saturday and indicted him, the school board met on Sunday and suspended him and the trial was shown on television," Mr. Knight said.

"Then came the McDuffie case," he said. "Every black person I talked to before the verdict felt nothing would be done to the white officers that killed him but were holding out for a miracle. It didn't come."

"They didn't do anything to the police that raped the 11-year-old girl or who killed McDuffie but they convicted Johnny Jones even though the plumbing didn't even leave the store," one of the youths at the housing project said.

Skepticism runs high throughout the city's black communities over whether the Federal investigation just begun here will lead to success prosecutions of the white officials blacks have accused of abuse.

Even if it does, some blacks say, it will not lessen the harsh economic problems that many see as that the route of racial tensions here. "It seems that the more things change, the more they stay the same," said Mr. Wright, the real estate man.

Miami's Racial Trouble Points to Gap in City's Leadership

By JON NORDHEIMER

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, May 22 — When it comes to putting on a spectacular New Year's Day football game and parade, the civic leadership in Miami is a juggernaut of talent, efficiency and community-wide pride. The Orange Bowl Committee, with direct links to every power base in Dade County, with 1.6 million citizens of every racial and regional origin, works throughout the year to project the glamorous Miami image around the world on one day.

But when the city erupted in racial violence last weekend, many Miamians said the area's leadership was as hard to find as a pair of seats on the 50-yard line in the Orange Bowl on New Year's afternoon.

There were police chiefs and National Guard commanders in evidence, and silver editorials in the local newspapers, but the leadership never emerged in significant ways from the board rooms and luncheon clubs where this city's major initiatives are taken.

No Prevailing Influence

The trouble is that no one individual or group has enough political or economic power to muster a consensus among either whites or blacks, interviews with longtime residents and community lead-

ers show, and the 600,000 Latins living in Dade County are either too new to democracy or too politically fractious to organize on any issue other than a voluble anti-Castroism.

Part of the problem is attributable to the city's history—or lack of it.

Miami did not really get beyond swampwater isolation until 60 years ago, when the railroad finally pushed down to the tip of the peninsula and Northern visitors, with their wealth and feathered boas, turned Miami Beach into a glamorous winter resort. Blacks from Georgia and Alabama drifted down to do seasonal work in the hotels and mansions, as did economic exiles from the Bahamas, settling in temporary quarters on the mainland across Biscayne Bay, which took on an "other-side-of-the-tracks" penury despite a white gentry in neighborhoods like Coral Gables.

Until the 1960's blacks were not permitted on the Miami Beach side of the bay after dark unless they could produce identification cards showing that they were employed by the hotels.

Leadership Discouraged

The transient character of Miami discouraged development of leadership cadres, among blacks or most whites. Meanwhile, 27 autonomous municipal governments, often quarrelling in a rivalry for tourist dollars, sprang up in op-

position to any monolithic government.

In the 1950's a metropolitan government was formed in an attempt to end duplication of services, but political infighting kept it from really assuming full control, according to those interviewed. The cities continue to exist in mutual suspicion and scorn, and elected mayors of both Miami and metropolitan Dade County are largely ceremonial officers without significant power or patronage.

In blacks' compressed social history in Miami, development was slow because of the seasonal character of most work, and little in the way of economic or political leadership ever developed beyond a few individuals anointed by whites to serve as community spokesmen. In some ways, this history has left the 220,000 blacks in Miami a generation behind the rest of black America in terms of their access to the middle class.

Just as the civil rights movement opened opportunities for blacks to move out of the service industries, the flood of Cuban refugees into Miami, many of them with readily marketable skills, blocked the way for aspiring blacks and even took away a large share of the menial jobs. In Miami, blacks began to feel that they had been made third-class citizens, behind whites and Latins, a development that is increasingly impor-

tant in other cities as Hispanic people compete directly in the job market with blacks.

On Monday, as fires still smoldered and the police and National Guard patrolled the streets of Liberty City, the main black ghetto, the blacks asking for calm were such national figures as Andrew Young, who had flown in from Atlanta, Benjamin L. Hooks, from New York, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson, from Chicago. And whites welcomed their calming presence, since no one in Miami, white or black, had a command of public opinion sufficient to influence the rioters.

As an indication of the problems of local leadership, six rallies were called by various blacks for Monday noon. Only one actually was held, and the speaker did not appear, leaving the fewer than 200 people who did show up muttering angrily in frustration. Meanwhile, rumors of black protest marches, unchallenged by city officials, shut down the banking and commercial district downtown and miles from the main riot area.

Surveying the shambles, both the physical damage and dislocation and the fears that had been raised, Mr. Jackson pleaded with the community not to return things to "normal." It is the normal state of affairs in Miami, he suggested, that had created the hatred and chaos in the first place.

Miami Declared Disaster Area; Some Troops Leave

MIAMI, May 22 (AP) — The Federal Government declared Miami a disaster area today, making it eligible for special recovery assistance. Two thousand weary National Guard troops were sent home, and schools reopened peacefully, although some classrooms were half empty.

The disaster designation by the Small Business Administration means that

owners of damaged businesses, homes and personal property throughout Dade County can get low-interest loans to help rebuild from the fires and looting that erupted late Saturday.

The business agency estimated in Washington that 104 businesses suffered a total of \$100.5 million damage during the two days and two nights when violence was at its height. In addition, it

said, there was a total of \$290,000 in damage to 54 private homes and \$150,000 damage to 75 organizations such as churches and charitable groups.

County officials estimated the financial toll overall at \$200 million, including such factors as lost salaries and tax revenue and a potential drop in tourism.

School Security Increased

Schools reopened with increased security in racially troubled areas. Joe Fernandez, Dade County assistant school superintendent, said there was "not one incident." Attendance ranged from 49 percent to 98 percent, he said.

"A lot of dirty looks," said a white student at a predominantly black school. "A lot of foul language, but what's new about that?"

As calm was reported for the third day, Gov. Bob Graham arrived in the city to tour black neighborhoods torn by violence that killed 14 persons. He also planned to meet with community leaders to discuss rebuilding efforts. Governor Graham said he opposed amnesty for the 1,267 persons arrested.

Meanwhile, four officers were suspended with pay during an investigation of charges that police had smashed windows and spray-painted the words "looter" and "thief" on cars at a shopping center.

Another policeman was suspended, also with pay, in an investigation of charges that an officer bludgeoned a woman suspected of looting in the riot. Both the policeman and the woman are black.

Officers Fired Upon

In the first night after a curfew was lifted over a 52-square-mile area, one incident was reported. Two Dade County officers were fired upon in their patrol car about 3:25 A.M. in the northwest section, leading to a 10-block, high-speed chase for the gunman. The authorities arrested a 21-year-old man on charges of attempted murder and aggravated assault, a police spokesman said.

of a Riot

Miami Blacks, in a City Of Little Industry, Feel Particularly Powerless

Cuban Influx and Perception Of Injustice Only Added To the Explosive Mixture

Contrast With the Gold Coast

By SUSAN HARRIGAN
And CHARLES W. STEVENS

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MIAMI - Slender and goateed, he isn't exactly your typical race rioter. But last Saturday night, the black youth counselor for the city of Miami picked up stones and joined a mob terrorizing whites trapped inside their cars in his ghetto neighborhood. "I get jive from whites on the job, crap from Cubans, and when I come home, I get it from the police," he explains matter-of-factly "I'm convinced this is the only way we can get justice."

His attitude seems typical of the particularly ugly form of racial violence that has engulfed this sweltering city, which is one-third black. (Dade County, where Miami is located is about 15% black.)

This week's three-day bloodletting, which left 15 dead and almost 400 injured, had a lower body count than the biggest 1960s riots in cities like Detroit and Los Angeles. But it was more vicious, in that the violence against people was cold-blooded and calculated once it got under way. Rioters deliberately sought out white victims on the first night of the explosion for a handful of gory executions. They used sticks, knives, bottles, bricks, fire and, in one case, a car that was driven repeatedly over a white man's body.

"I've never seen anything like it," says Marvin Dunn, a black sociologist here. "In the 1960s, people got hurt because they got in the way. But in this riot, people have set out to kill white people with great bodily harm." (After the first night, though, all of the dead were blacks shot by police, who proved themselves equally deadly, or by unknown assailants.)

Selective Burning

Miami's rioters also were more selective than their '60s predecessors in terms of property damage. Contrary to the utterances of public officials here who claimed the blacks were hurting themselves the worst, many rioters carefully picked out white-owned businesses to burn and left black stores and neighborhoods mostly intact. "I've been robbed by blacks in the past," says James Williams Jr., a black store owner. "But we stuck together on a thing like this. They won't burn this place down."

Initial estimates of the firestorm put property damage at about \$100 million, well above the \$44 million cost of the 1965 Watts riot. The history of the 1960s riots, however, shows that initial damage estimates were often on the high side.

Unquestionably, the stark brutality of the uprising was partly a matter of vengeance for the death of Arthur McDuffie, a black insurance executive who was arrested by police here last December and died after having his skull "cracked like an egg," as the Dade County coroner put it. News that an all-white jury in Tampa had acquitted the four white policemen accused of his beating death was the spark for the mayhem.

Hurting Longer

But the rage behind what is being called the McDuffie riot clearly runs deeper. According to blacks in the streets, it is a feeling that the Miami blacks have been hurting more and longer than their counterparts elsewhere in the U.S. The grievances go beyond the nationally typical afflictions of low incomes, joblessness and poor housing.

Largely passed over by the 1960s Civil Rights movement, then shoved by Cuban refugees into third place in the city's economic hierarchy, Miami blacks feel they suffer humiliations that wouldn't happen to a more powerful, united minority grouping. During last fall's Hurricane David, for instance, blacks here complained that shelters and evacuation plans weren't even considered for many black areas.

"The McDuffie case really was a reminder, saying, 'You're nobody, you just don't count,'" says Marcia Saunders, Dade County's black-affairs coordinator. "It was the cap that blew and let out all the pent-up emotions."

Economic Effects

It has also been a chilling reminder to white Miami leaders that if something isn't done to placate the blacks quickly the economic bubble here could begin to deflate. Publicity about the riots threatens the tourist trade and real-estate market—which are largely fueled by foreigners seeking stability—and even the city's bond rating.

"How can I call New York underwriters to reassure them when I still can see three fires from my office window?" asked one local official this week. "I know they're sitting up there looking at our bond statements, seeing what they can find as an excuse to turn them down." Already, one county official says, Dade County's drive to have its general-obligation bonds upgraded to AA from A-plus likely will be delayed several years.

Ironically, Miami's international enriched economy is partly responsible for its present racial trouble. The opulent life style of foreigners and drug traffickers who have bought property here, coupled with a building boom in white sections to accommodate them, has largely passed by most blacks. "You can look at the skyline and see cranes everywhere except over the black community," says George Knox, who is Miami's city attorney and one of its few black officials.

In stark contrast to the affluent white neighborhoods, where royal poinciana trees are in full tomato-colored bloom, many of Miami's black communities are shadeless, grassless places where dilapidated houses

Roots of a Riot: Blacks Of Miami Tend to Feel Particularly Powerless

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and vacant stores compete for space with garbage heaps. The condition of the communities reflects the dearth of a black middle class here, the lack of leadership and the political impotence compared with black neighborhoods in other major cities.

The small number of black city and county officials here has been further whittled by scandals such as the so-called gold-plumbing case, in which Johnny Jones, the black Dade County school superintendent, was accused of misusing school funds. Even though the school official was convicted, many blacks feel that their leaders are being singled out for investigation. Others charge that black political power has been diluted by gerrymandering and repeated disruption of black neighborhoods for redevelopment or expressway construction.

Few Industry Jobs

Another reason for the lack of a strong middle class here is the "rootless" nature of the black community, says Athalie Range, Miami's first black city commissioner. Except for a few Bahamians, blacks didn't arrive here in significant numbers until the 1920s, when Miami's resort boom enticed waves of Alabama and Georgia blacks to work in the new hotels. Since then, blacks have arrived from such disparate areas as New Jersey, Jamaica and Haiti. But the lack of any industrial economy here until

Racism Charge Stings Pioneering Prosecutor

By Donald P. Baker
and George Lardner Jr.

Washington Post Staff Writers

MIAMI, May 22—Just a year ago, Janet Reno, the first woman state's attorney in Florida history, was being hailed as a liberal prosecutor whose political future might soon include the governorship.

Today, as this racially tripartite community cleans up from a riot that some lay at the doorstep of prosecutor Reno, black leaders are demanding her removal from office.

Reno, a 41-year-old Harvard law graduate, is puzzled and angered by the growing accusations that her powerful office has mishandled more than a dozen criminal actions involving blacks, both as defendants and as victims.

Her critics, who include U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, Gov. Bob Graham and Mayor Maurice Ferre, suggest that her staff bungled the prosecution of four white ex-police officers charged with last December's beating death of black insurance salesman Arthur McDuffie.

Their acquittal last Saturday by an all-white jury in Tampa touched off the rioting here that resulted in 14 killings, a policeman's death by heart attack and financial losses estimated by Dade County officials at \$200 million, including property damage, inventory losses, and lost wages and tourist dollars. That would make it the most costly civil disturbance in U.S. history.

The curfew on 52 square miles of northwest Miami was lifted Wednesday night. Dade County schools reopened today without incident, although absenteeism was expected to remain high until after the Memorial Day weekend.

Also today, the federal government declared Miami a disaster area, making it eligible for special recovery assistance, and Gov. Graham said he opposed amnesty for the 1,267 people arrested.

Reverberations from the violence continued today with the suspension of five Miami policemen, four of them for allegedly slashing tires and spray-painting cars thought to have been left behind by looters at a discount store in the riot area.

Homicide detectives, meanwhile, said they suspect that two of the most brutal attacks in the initial rioting Saturday night were committed by the same individuals.

In one of the incidents, two brothers and a women companion, all white, were set upon after a brick crashed through their car window and sent the car swerving into a 75-year-old man and an 11-year-old girl, both black.



JANET RENO

... "this is no-place for politics"

The brothers, still in comas, are in critical condition. One of them, Jeffrey Kulp, 22, had his ears and tongue slashed and, police say, "was run over maybe four or five times" by a car. The little girl lost her left leg and hip and also is in critical condition.

Two hours later, about 60 feet away on the same street, the first persons were killed in what is now being called the McDuffie riot. A 21-year-old man and two 15-year-old boys, all white, were dragged from their car and viciously beaten to death. One of the boys was found with tire marks on his chest.

To suggestions that she helped cause the riot by being racist in the conduct of her office, Janet Reno, who is a member of the NAACP, calmly answers, "There is no basis for it."

One sympathetic black observed that "Janet views her job as that of a

technician. She follows the law and fails to grasp the enormous political implications of her actions."

Reno pleads guilty to that analysis, insisting that "all a prosecutor should do is operate on the evidence and the law. This is no place for politics."

Reno noted that "the outrageous tragedy" of acquitting the four whites came just three months after another all-white jury had convicted Johnny Jones, the black, charismatic former Dade County school superintendent of grand theft.

"It was not an outrage that Dr. Jones was found guilty," Reno said, "but the two verdicts coming so close together was just more than this or any community could take."

Fingering a stack of letters and notes piling up on the desk in her seventh-floor office at the Dade County Courthouse, Reno said the letters and calls "have been overwhelming in support, and not just from rednecks but from a cross-section of community leaders, including blacks."

Reno said she told the governor who has named a commission to look into the complaints, to "review all our files. Investigate. But that won't address the underlying problems of this community, which are jobs, refugees."

One of the cases scheduled to be reviewed by federal prosecutors in the coming weeks involved the molestation of an 11-year-old black girl last year by a white Florida highway patrolman. He was charged with lewd and lascivious conduct, for which he could have received 15 years, after allegedly forcing her to partially disrobe in his patrol car after picking her up as a suspected shoplifter. But the patrolman was allowed to plead no contest and put on probation.

The presiding judge openly accused Reno's office of "hypocritical conduct" for later denying that prosecutors had played any part in proposing probation. The child became withdrawn after the incident. She refused to wash below the waist and began locking herself in the bathroom, and is still undergoing psychiatric treatment.

See RENO A13 Col. 1

Prosecutor Defends Role In Fla. Cases

RENO, From A12

Even more controversial was the killing of a ~~21-year-old~~ black man, Randy Heath, last September, by a white Hialeah police officer who was moonlighting off-duty as a warehouse guard. Hialeah police maintained that Heath had been trying to burglarize the warehouse. The victim's sister, Theresa, said her brother had only been trying to urinate by the building's wall.

After an inquest last November, a circuit judge found probable cause to believe that the officer, Larry Shockley, had committed manslaughter. But Reno's office did not take the case to a grand jury until four months later, after news reports and a civil lawsuit brought to light inconsistencies between the off-duty officer's report and other evidence.

Although one of Reno's assistants also had recommended that manslaughter charges be filed, Reno said the grand jury had found the officer "negligent but not culpable to justify a manslaughter." She said the officers was "heartbroken" about the incident.

Also joining in criticism of Reno was Edward Carhart, who defended one of the ex-policemen in the McDuffie trial. Reno displayed "a total lack of judgment" by charging all of the officers, Carhart said. Reno should have gone after only Officer Alex Marrero, who allegedly struck the deadly blows to McDuffie's head as he lay on the pavement after being pulled off his motorcycle, the defense lawyer said. He indicated that prosecutors could have worried about the others later.

Reno responds that, based on the evidence, "We had to charge all of them."

Reno said two mistakes were made but they were both out of her hands: the transfer of the trial to Tampa and the seating of an all-white jury.

Reno and Carhart were Mutt and Jeff colleagues in the state's attorney's office for several years. Carhart, a small man who limps from boyhood polio, was chief assistant to Reno's predecessor, Richard E. Gerstein, and Reno, an athletic six-footer, was Gerstein's administrative assistant.

When Gerstein resigned for health reasons early in 1978, he recommended Carhart and Reno equally to then-governor Reubin Askew. Although nearly everyone in the legal community, including Reno, thought Carhart was the more logical choice, the governor seized the chance to name the first woman prosecutor in Florida.

Askew's choice was confirmed by Dade County voters in November 1978, when Reno was elected with 74 percent of the vote.

Reno lives with her widowed mother, Jane, and a carpenter craftsman brother, Mark, in the woods southwest of Miami. Her late father, Henry, was a police reporter for the Miami Herald for 43 years. Another brother, Bob, is an economics writer for Newsday in Long Island, N.Y. Her sister, Maggy, is a commissioner of Martin County, north of Miami.

Her mother also was a journalist, retiring from The Miami News seven years ago.

These days, as prosecutor Reno sips beer with her mother at the house her parents build with their own hands, she is tempted to agree with her mother's view, offered after her two daughters were elected to public office, that "I wish they'd both been disco dancers, I do, I do."

"But I can't dance," said daughter Janet Reno.

Louis Martin 5/19/80.

Here are some suggestions to be worked into a policy statement or plan of action,

1. A Federal Grand Jury should be called immediately -- today -- to take up the case of the cops freed in Tampa. The announcement of this action should be pushed by Miami radio, especially the stations beamed to the Black community.
2. The Attorney General and his Assistant for Civil Rights (Drew Days) should be sent to Miami by the President for a first-hand investigation of the riot.
3. The President should also request that the Civil Rights Commission, along with the Community Relations Service and the FBI, examine the issues in the riot.
4. The President should call a meeting in the White House of the heads of the Community Based Organizations in the Black Community. They should be invited to the White House along with the Governor of Florida and the Mayor of Miami.
5. A meeting of big city mayors should be called to discuss the possibility of a long hot summer.
6. A White House Task Force should be organized to deal with critical race relations problems.

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