



FYI

FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, JULY 16, AFTER 7:55 P.M.

Here is the complete transcript of "Let's Find Out"  
broadcast on WCBS RADIO, Sunday, July 16, 7:10 - 7:55 P.M.

GUEST: DR. KENNETH CLARK, PRESIDENT, METROPOLITAN APPLIED RESEARCH  
CENTER

Moderator: Ed Joyce, Director, WCBS Radio News

Co-Interviewers: Martin Gansberg, New York Times  
Donald Singleton, New York Daily News

Dr. Clark said:

---he thinks it is a mistake for the Congress of Racial  
Equality to remove the multi-racial membership clause from its  
constitution. (Page 2)

---"I suspect that some attempts to control riots have  
really contributed to their spreading." (Page 6)

---urban disturbances seem almost suicidal..prisoners  
of the ghetto seem to choose looting and burning as a method of  
telling us they want ghettos destroyed. (Page 14)

MODERATOR ED JOYCE: Dr. Clark, it seems an irony to some that the conference on black power will be held in Newark, New Jersey this week, which has been the scene of such violent episodes. Is there any possibility in your mind that black power has become not just a symptom of riots but perhaps, at least in part, a cause?

DR. KENNETH CLARK: No, I don't think that the term "black power" can be considered a cause of riots. I think it's probably a consequence of the same thing that causes riots; namely, the persistence of racial discrimination, segregation, and the resistance to any meaningful change in race relations in America.

JOYCE: With Martin Gansberg of the New York Times and Donald Singleton of the New York Daily News, we'll continue this question and others after we've paused briefly for this.

Now, with another question for Dr. Kenneth Clark, here is Martin Gansberg of the New York Times.

REPORTER MARTIN GANSBERG: Dr. Clark, since 1961, it appears to me, the civil rights movement has gone the full circle. The movement was organized to fight segregation and we were integration in which the white man would give the Negro his equal share of jobs, education, housing and so forth. Now, it appears to me, the civil rights organizations have gotten back to segregation in which they want no part of the white man. How do you explain this?

CLARK: Well, Mr. Gansberg, I don't agree that the civil rights movement as a whole has gone back to segregation. I think there are some elements of Negro people who believe that the Negro

will not be given justice in America through integration, and they believe that the thing for them to do is to emphasize their rights as Negroes and to accept separation or segregation, and make this a positive thing. But I don't think this reflects the entire civil rights movement at all. Certainly, the NAACP is as much concerned with integration now as it has been for the past fifty years; the Urban League, many of the civil rights organizations. I think Martin Luther King is struggling as hard, if not harder, now for a truly integrated America as he ever has.

GANSBERG: And yet, the Congress of Racial Equality, which is the second largest civil rights organization in the country, recently came out with a program showing that it didn't want the white man in leadership positions in its organization.

CLARK: I haven't talked to Floyd McKissick, the executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality. All I know of what's happened in England a few weeks ago is what I read in the papers and that seemed to me sort of fragmentary. I read and have seen editorials that have condemned the Congress of Racial Equality for removing its multiracial clause from its constitution. I don't know how this was done, nor why it was done. If you ask my personal opinion, I think it was a mistake.

GANSBERG: What do you think the white man's role is in civil rights now?

CLARK: I think the white man's role in civil rights should be whatever it -- is what it should have been all along; namely, to

be as concerned with seeing that America is actually the democracy which it has promised that it is, and which it says to the rest of the world that it is, and if I were a white person, I would assume this responsibility without regard to what some Negroes say my role should be. I would not have a Negro or Negro group tell me that I can't fight for justice, and I think those whites who say that they will not be a part of the civil rights struggle because there are Negro nationalists, they probably don't understand the nature of the civil rights struggle.

GANSBERG: Recently, in this city, the Negro Teachers Association, which represents a small portion of the city teachers, said that it felt now that only Negroes could really teach Negro students. Do you agree with that?

CLARK: No, I don't. I can't agree with that. I've been involved in fighting against racially segregated schools from the early 1950's and I see no reason to change my basic point of view that segregated schools, organization of any institution -- educational institution -- on the basis of race is to me contrary to the purpose of education. Education is to free human beings of these types of superstitions.

REPORTER DONALD SINGLETON: Dr. Clark, earlier you said that the terms -- the term "black power" was inevitable, and it was, in fact, a part of the same thing that caused riots. Given the same conditions that we know exist and the amount of segregation that does exist, are these riots such as the ones we've had this week, or this past week, in Newark -- are they inevitable? Or is there some

way we could sublimate the feelings of these -- the people who are forced to live in these ghettos so that it doesn't have to erupt into violence? What can we as a society do?

CLARK: I think those of us who are seriously concerned about these urban problems can do one thing: namely, to see that we put our best brains at the business of trying to solve these problems; trying to see that human beings get better schools than they now have. Our schools are woefully and criminally inefficient and inferior. See that we have houses throughout the city that are worthy of human habitation. See that a man has the kind of job which will make it possible for him to support his family with self-respect, and see that no human being can, with any justification, feel that life is not worth the candle; that he has nothing to lose and, therefore, can defy death at the drop of a hat. And anything short of that, I think, would be a gimmick.

SINGLETON: And anything -- anything that we might try to do then in the next two weeks, for example, would have to be a gimmick thing. For example---

CLARK: Well, you have to start. But I think you can start gimmicks or you can start serious programs directed toward goals of social justice. But what I'm not sure of is whether our society really is committed to starting the serious type of human and material renewal which we will have to engage in in our society in order to prevent riots. I think this is the only basic prevention of riots.

JOYCE: Dr. Clark, many who would agree with you might also

add that in the case of a riot, it is important for the authority figures, or the people in authority -- the governors, the mayors, and in some cases, the President of the United States -- to react quickly and sternly and in no-nonsense fashion. Governor Hughes last week in some respects did that. When asked at one time if the Guard would have orders to shoot, he indicated yes, if they are shot at. As a psychologist, do you see this as a proper, as a sensible reaction, from those in authority?

CLARK: Sure. As a psychologist, and a human being, it seems to me that it is absolutely sensible that when you have an outbreak, you try to contain it and keep it from being destructive, or, for example, if you were dealing with a fire, the immediate thing to do is to try to put out that fire. The--- We know from dealing with fire that it is even more important to try to prevent fire, but once a fire breaks out, you don't go around arguing about fire prevention; you try to put that fire out. However, it seems to me that any intelligent fire department would not try to put out a fire by putting on more combustibles. You don't go in pouring oil or gasoline on a fire and say that you are trying to put it out. Now, if the governmental officials believe that they can deal with ghetto eruptions by going in there and demonstrating stupid brutality where police go in and unnecessarily provoke greater anger in the -- under the guise of trying to put down this riot, then I think it's like pouring gasoline on a fire.

JOYCE: Is it not inevitable that in putting down any kind

of insurrection, inevitably certain resentments will be aroused and those who are rioting are going to resent the efforts of those who are trying to stop the riot?

CLARK: I think there's some truth to that, but I think there's also truth to the fact that maybe some of the methods which have been used in some of these "riots" -- and I don't know how many of them really justify that term, "riot" -- I suppose many do -- but there may be need to give more study to the techniques, the ways in which one contained them, the ways in which one handles them. I suspect, and I do not have the facts on this, but I suspect that some of the attempts to control the riots have really contributed to their spreading.

JOYCE: Could you give us an example of what you're referring to? -- how you think this would be possible?

CLARK: Well, for example, I think that taking a whole battalion of police with riot guns and white pith helmet, and all of whom are white, into a ghetto where the disturbance is probably no greater than, say, twenty or thirty Negro adolescents being obstreperous, obnoxious, might very well incite a situation in which hundreds or more than that individuals become involved, you see. I think that what is involved here is for the governmental officials, and particularly the police, to assess accurately the amount of force or police power that is required to control the situation and to try desperately not to use any greater amount of force than that which is required. Because I believe that when that happens, it tends to

make the conflagration spread rather than to contain it.

JOYCE: Well, once the disturbance -- let's use that word instead of riots -- spreads beyond a hundred or two hundred people, isn't the degree of force that should properly be used---

CLARK: Then the---

JOYCE: ---by the police department really a difficult thing to gauge?

CLARK: It is a difficult thing to gauge and once this happens, the city, the community, is in trouble, there's no question about this. I am trying to suggest that maybe we ought to look at ways of containing the trouble rather than contributing to it under the guise of law enforcement. I agreed with the first part of your question that it is the responsibility of political and police officials to contain disturbances of these sorts.

GANSBERG: Earlier you mentioned several irritants that had to be coped with to avoid this sort of thing. You mentioned job training, quality education and decent housing. I know in the past you've referred to things like good transportation. You referred to balanced taxation, medical assistance. I would like to hear what you mean by good transportation as a counter-balance to the irritant that leads to these disturbances.

CLARK: Well, a number of people, not only I, have pointed out in the Watts situation that that was a very important ingredient for the intensity and the duration of the Watts riots -- and I think in this case you could call it a riot, or people in Watts

call it a rebellion -- that the inadequacy of transportation, the fact that the Watts ghetto was -- could almost be consider a compound with minimum transportation between Watts and the rest of that sprawling Los Angeles -- I was going to say desert, but municipality -- many students, social scientists, at the University of California, UCLA, pointed out that transportation difficulties played a very critical role---

GANSBERG: For that particular area.

CLARK: For that particular area.

GANSBERG: But that isn't true of the other areas in which we have had disturbances of late.

CLARK: I think each of these disturbance areas -- first, each has in common with others a number of things, but each has some things that are---

GANSBERG: Well, do you see---

CLARK: ---unique to a particular setting or a particular city.

GANSBERG: Do you see outside influence, for example? Let me point something out. I was in Newark about 2½ weeks ago and I did see outsiders at Board of Education meetings -- people who did not live in Newark at Board of Education meetings, and at the hearing on the medical college which both broke out, of course, in active disturbances right in the city chamber rooms. I saw outsiders wielding their influence to stir up trouble.

CLARK: Could you be specific? How do you know they were

outsiders?

GANSBERG: For example, I recognized Queen Mother, who was active -- lives in New York City and was active at the Board of Education disturbance last---

CLARK: IS 201.

GANSBERG: ---December. That's correct. And I also know that this man who calls himself Colonel something-or-other who comes from Washington and has with him an entourage, and there were several others who do not live in Newark and who participated in these things and did stir up arguments and disturbances prior to what happened last week. Now, how does this happen? How do these people happen to move around and be on the scene when these riots break out?

CLARK: Well, I don't know that they're on the scene when the riots break out and my own personal opinion is that a riot does not happen in a particular city because outsiders come in and agitate. I don't think a riot can happen in a particular city unless there are ingredients in that city---

GANSBERG: I'll grant that, but---

CLARK: ---that are---

GANSBERG: But doesn't it take a certain type of individual to stir up these people? The ingredients are there, but doesn't it take a certain type of leadership or a certain type of malice---

CLARK: No, I think the thing that is stirring up the people who riot -- and not all people in ghettos riot, but those

people who riot are stirred up by their own grievances, their own sense of frustration, their own feelings that they have nothing to lose. And, usually, the riot is triggered not by an outside agitator saying, "Come on, boys, now let's go riot," but by some act. It sometimes could be trivial, sometimes could reflect panic on the part of a representative of law enforcement, or something that triggers a whole host of horrors that have been part of the lives of these people. I think it would be too simple to say that outside agitators account for the riots.

GANSBERG: Well, I happen to feel that a statement that you have made that the anti-poverty programs are ineffective -- that these things don't help avoid disturbances. I think that this sort of statement places the blame also in the wrong area.

CLARK: Well, I just don't think that you can go around looking for the cause of riots. I mean unless you want to look at the total situation and see what America has permitted to happen in the ghettos of its major cities. And this takes a lot of time to understand, but I think we better start trying to understand it.

JOYCE: Our guest is Dr. Kenneth Clark. He's president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. We'll have another question for him in just a moment.

Now, with another question for Dr. Kenneth Clark, here is Donald Singleton of the New York Daily News.

SINGLETON: Dr. Clark, to get away from riots for the moment, recently in the city here a plan has been proposed which would de-

centralize the city schools, at least to the extent that some administrative functions would be taken over by community leaders rather than by those directly appointed or elected in the city on a citywide basis. How much power, or how much -- yes, how much power should accrue to these people on these local community councils?

CLARK: Well, I think the first thing is that the plan has not yet been proposed. I mean there are a number of plans that are kicking around in terms of decentralizing the administrative monstrosity that is the Board of Education of the City of New York. As you know, the past legislature, the New York State Legislature, required the mayor to come up with a plan for decentralization as a basis for state aid and in that legislation there is the hidden factor that this should be tied to improved quality in education in the schools. Now, in reference to how much power people in the community should have in terms of their schools, it seems to me that the answer is to be found in what some people consider a good model, namely the power that the parents in suburban schools have. Suburban parents are very much involved in what goes on in their schools. The superintendent of schools, the principal, the teachers, are very sensitive and responsive to the needs of suburban parents for their children to get high quality education. It seems to me that if we come up with a good plan of decentralization in New York City, it will mean that the parents in the various communities that comprise this tremendous city will have the same type of direct involvement in what goes on in their schools that the parents in Great

Neck appear to have; that the personnel in those schools will feel the same sense of responsibility and accountability to these parents and community agencies and leaders that suburban school personnel seem to feel in terms of how they function.

SINGLETON: You see, I'm a suburban parent myself, and I feel that the administration of my school system is, in fact, responsive to my wishes.

CLARK: Because that administration respects you.

SINGLETON: And also because I pay that administration's salary in the form of real estate taxes. But I feel that we have a different situation, at least somewhat different, in the city here where, especially in an area like Harlem, almost no one is a landowner -- almost no resident is a landowner---

CLARK: But everyone pays taxes.

SINGLETON: Of course they do. Of course they do. However, in the city, the way the tax structure is set up, things are taxed -- taxes are levied on a citywide basis. Very--- Parts of them -- small parts of them are on a borough basis, but New York City is a -- is a fiscal reality as a whole, and, therefore, it would seem less than responsible to give a lot of power to -- to me it would seem less than responsible to give a lot of power to a group of parents in one area. Let's take Harlem because IS 201 in Harlem is the school that has been in the center of many of these discussions. The question is, do these people have the same commitment to Harlem that I have to my suburb?

CLARK: Well, I think the burden of proof would have to be on you to answer that negatively. It would seem to me that these people have the same commitment to their children and to the future of their children that you have to your children and their future. And these people pay a very high proportion of their low income in various forms of taxes, hidden taxes, etc. One estimate is that people with income of three to four thousand dollars per year pay as much as 30-35% of that income in various types of hidden and overt taxes, sales taxes, for example. So you can't put the issue of their right to be involved in determining what happens in the schools in their community on the basis of the fact that they are not responsible, or that they don't pay taxes. They are responsible, and if they're not, they will have to learn how to be responsible because the future of their children is at stake, and this is what I think the issue is all about.

JOYCE: Dr. Clark, I'd like to turn to you in your role as a psychologist once again. Governor Hughes expressed dismay last week at the fact that many of the looters in Newark went about their business in a festive, holiday manner. How would you explain that?

CLARK: Bravado, defiance, a sense of, oh, what the hell, I have nothing to lose and if I can gain a little trinket or something--- This is one of the things that disturbed me in my direct observation of the Harlem riot a few years ago: that there was a weird, carnival air among the young people who were actually participating in that riot; that it seemed as if they were trying to

get at least some excitement out of life; trying to get some sense of their power to do something. The horror, of course, is that the excitement, or the sense of worth, could be gotten only destructively; that our society had so arranged itself and arranged the status of these kids so that the only way they could seem to really get some thrill out of living was by destruction. This, I think, is a responsibility which must be laid clearly and absolutely at the doorstep of privileged people such as yourselves. You know, you have permitted a group of human beings to believe that the only meaning that can give them significance in life, the only thing is to destroy something, or to take something, and they're telling you that these things are meaningless to them, in a sense.

JOYCE: How would you explain as well the fact that to a very real extent this has been self-destruction, neighborhood destruction?

CLARK: That's---

JOYCE: With rare exception has this destruction moved outside the immediate---

CLARK: That's a---

JOYCE: ---Negro neighborhood.

CLARK: ---fascinating fact and persistent fact of the present theories of urban disturbances: that in a sense they seem almost suicidal. They are contained within the ghettos themselves. In fact, as a psychologist, I would suggest the hypothesis that in some unconscious, or maybe not so unconscious, incoherent, way the

the rioting people are saying, we want this destroyed. See? They're saying, you know, it's the only way that we'll get change. For example, it is interesting that in Europe you didn't get changes in your cities until after World War II when they were bombed out, and you can go to Europe now and you look at these cities, and they make American cities look archaic. Well, now I'm really going overboard as a psychologist. Probably the prisoners of our ghettos are telling us that they want the ghetto destroyed; that they see nothing to be gained by preserving it. I repeat this is a horror, but this is a horror which you cannot expect the victims to cure for you. You people with power and with privilege must either cure it or destroy these people.

GANSBERG: And yet, the civil rights leaders seem to be sitting down now and talking over ways of overcoming these problems themselves. For example, recently in the meeting up there at Suffern, which you were the spokesman for, Dr. Clark, in which the civil rights leaders, who most people thought could not get together because of differing opinions and different types of organizations, have gotten together and seem to have set common goals to fight the very things we're talking about now.

CLARK: Yes, and I think that sooner or later white America will have to understand that it cannot keep putting this burden on the civil rights leaders; that it's not just their burden; that you have more at stake in making this a just society than the civil rights leaders, and these men, I think, are extraordinary men.

They're extraordinary, competent, socially-concerned and sensitive men, but America has too long asked them to do a job which the total society should be mobilized to do.

GANSBERG: In view of this, don't you think it's rather strange -- and we're back to where we were earlier -- that certain types of civil rights organizations would block the white man from helping?

CLARK: Well, I don't agree with that! If I were white, I wouldn't let any civil rights organization or anyone else tell me---

GANSBERG: No, but you're asking the white man---

CLARK: ---that I can't fight for---

GANSBERG: ---to do it voluntarily where the Negro is rejecting it.

CLARK: No, I am trying to say to you that the issue is no longer to be understood in terms of black and white. The issue must be understood in terms of America -- American cities, the stability of the American system. And if you want me to add international implications, I will -- that, you know, America seems to me to be in a very precarious position talking about democracy and justice for the South Vietnamese when it has sporadic rebellions of the victims of injustice in Newark. And so I think that maybe one of the things -- and I would like to suggest to my friends who are civil rights leaders that maybe one of the things they should shout to America is, look, we can't do this alone. You can't shift, with all the other burdens we have -- you can't shift the burden of saving your cities --

all right, I'll say our cities -- just on our shoulders. This is your problem, too.

JOYCE: We'll return for another question for Dr. Kenneth Clark in just a moment.

Now, with another question for Dr. Kenneth Clark, here's Donald Singleton of the New York Daily News.

SINGLETON: Dr. Clark, a moment ago you said that you believe the civil rights leaders are intelligent, socially-sensitive and responsible. Would a person like Stokely Carmichael fit that definition?

CLARK: Stokely Carmichael is a young man in his middle 20's, and he has received the designation of the status of the civil rights leader from the press, radio and television, and I do not think that you who have created Mr. Carmichael can blame what you resent in him on mature human beings any more than I can blame Mario Savio on John D. Rockefeller.

SINGLETON: Well, you've shut off partly anyway Stokely Carmichael as---

CLARK: By the way, I just think that Stokely Carmichael is a very fine young man, personally. Any time I've ever talked with him, he seems to be one of the most sensitive and responsive young persons, including my son, that I have talked with. I do see a different person when he's before a television camera, however. But I---

SINGLETON: That's the person I've seen. That's the person I've seen.

CLARK: Yes. Well, that's the person you've created, too.

SINGLETON: Well, you know, I can't take too much responsibility for creating---

CLARK: Well, I said it as a representative---

SINGLETON: Of course.

CLARK: ---of the press.

SINGLETON: Of course.

CLARK: The media, who must have its angles and must have the dramatic and hostile figures to peddle.

SINGLETON: I think the press did a fairly good job in the early days of SNCC---

CLARK: Unquestionably.

SINGLETON: ---of SNCC when it did a great deal of good in Mississippi and Alabama, so that if it is the same organization, and, in fact, Stokely Carmichael, whether we created him or not, has been chosen to head SNCC and he is now in a position to---

CLARK: He's no longer the head of SNCC.

SINGLETON: Oh, I'm sorry---

CLARK: He hasn't been the head of SNCC for the last six or eight weeks.

SINGLETON: Leadership positions in these organizations, and certainly as a spokesman for it---

CLARK: Young people will choose their own leaders and they often will not use qualities and characteristics which older people think are desirable.

SINGLETON: I see.

CLARK: And this is not only true in race, it's true in the suburbs, it's true in a lot of areas. Young people are not going to share your concept of how they should behave or how they should dress, or what type of music they should listen to, or how they should express their bitterness and anger at the continued injustices in America, and SNCC, to me, is playing this role of telling you how the thinking young Negroes today actually feel, and to use their words, they're telling us as it is, or as they think it is, and you don't like it and they don't care that you don't like it.

JOYCE: Dr. Clark, you said quite eloquently a few moments ago that affluent America must understand the problems of the ghettos---

CLARK: And do something about it.

JOYCE: It must cure it or destroy these people, was the phrase you used. Is there a possibility that neither will be done; that white America will, in effect, turn the ghettos over to the Negroes, say, all right, control your schools, run your own communities, and what will develop will be a series of urban American Bantu Stans.

CLARK: There is that possibility, and it seems to me to be an increasing danger. And I think that the riots seem to be an antidote to this kind of stagnant, apathetic death, which it will actually be. Because whenever you have this kind of an incensement, you have, actually, not just figuratively, concentration camps, you

see. You might not have the barbed wire, but you have all the psychological ingredients of concentration camps, and I think the riots are saying, we want out.

JOYCE: Well, to go back to the term---

CLARK: Or the rioters are saying that.

JOYCE: ---"black power" and to men like Floyd McKissick and Stokely Carmichael, are they in a very real sense serving to create these Bantu Stans with the cries for black control---

CLARK: No. And I certainly---

JOYCE: ---white exclusion?

CLARK: ---would not categorize or lump Floyd McKissick and Stokely Carmichael. They're entirely different personalities, entirely different styles, and I think they share certain perspectives but I do not think that it is accurate to say that Floyd McKissick is intending, or deliberately seeking to create incensed ghettos or Bantu Stans. No, Floyd McKissick believes as much in justice, in humanity, as any one of us around this table.

JOYCE: And in multi-raciality?

CLARK: Well, what I know of him, he certainly does. I visited his office a few days ago and he has a multi-racial staff, and it didn't seem to me just token. I think that it seemed to me more genuinely more multi-racial than some of the business and media companies that I have visited.

GANSBERG: We've gotten your reaction, Dr. Clark, to a great many subjects of nationwide interest and so forth, and I'm

curious what you're doing now. You're heading the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, and what's the goal of this center, and what are you going to accomplish?

CLARK: Well, the goal of the center is to try to determine whether it's possible to use human intelligence, whether it comes in---

GANSBERG: That's a big order.

CLARK: Human intelligence in black or white skins to address themselves to the basic problems of our cities and to try to come up with rational and intelligent solutions to these problems. MARC, or Metropolitan Applied Research Center, is trying to see whether the method which many believe Rand -- the Rand Corporation in California -- used so successfully in dealing with difficult and complex problems of defense, space and missiles, can be used for this survival problem; namely, the viability and stability of our cities. We will work with Rand. We will work with other -- what the press call "think tanks" and see if we can bring them into or get help from them in dealing with long-standing problems of our cities.

GANSBERG: Where have you drawn your staff, sir?

CLARK: Oh, it's a problem. We're drawing our staff from universities. We're trying to steal some from government. We're stealing some from foundations. We want highly competent, well-trained people who bring in addition to their competence and top-level training, commitment to social justice concern. We do not want highly intelligent detached people. We want highly intelligent

concerned people and who will work in the interests of underprivileged people, who will use their intelligence for the benefit of underprivileged people as if they were working for themselves.

GANSBERG: Does this mean that you still take a leave from City College or will you be returning to the faculty?

CLARK: Part-time. I will be teaching one seminar course on the graduate level and try to involve my graduate students in the work with MARC. See if we can give them a Ph.D. for social sensitivity if they put it in intelligent and systematic terms.

GANSBERG: And will you also be meeting again at the summit level with the civil rights leaders? Do you know if another meeting is scheduled?

CLARK: You know, I'm fascinated with that use of the term "summit." These are men who have the responsibility of heading these organizations and who asked me to arrange a meeting where we could sit down and talk about mutual problems and difficulties and see if we could arrive at some understanding and---

GANSBERG: What is a typical mutual problem?

CLARK: Well, one of them--- Well, you've discussed a number of them here today. Black power is one and the meaning and implications of black power for the civil rights movement. That---

GANSBERG: And we can use the word "problem" with this when you people discuss it?

CLARK: What do you mean, "you people?"

GANSBERG: Well, when the summit leaders -- when the civil rights leaders meet this way and discuss black power, do they dis-

cuss it as a problem?

CLARK: Yes, it has been discussed as a problem. It's been discussed as a problem and the implications of this as a slogan and what are the problematic implications of it? Sure, it would be silly of me to deny that intelligent leaders responsible for organizations would not be concerned about this. They are concerned, and they're trying to put it in perspective.

GANSBERG: What are some of the other issues that are still hanging?

CLARK: Well, for one, urban eruptions and what can be done about them, and what is required. Another issue is the picture of the civil rights movement as presented by the press and certain inevitable distortions. For example, the press understandably seems more interested in conflict than in harmony. Well, what can be done about that? You see?

SINGLETON: Dr. Clark, twice during the evening I've noted you've used the word "rebellion." It would seem to me that some of the activities like the one last week in Newark was more of an insurrection. Can you---

CLARK: How do you see the difference?

SINGLETON: Well, a rebellion seems to have some intelligent guiding force, or it would seem to me to have some intelligent guiding force, whereas an insurrection is where everybody throws up his hands, grabs a gun and says, "I've had enough of this and now is the time I'm going to blow a few heads off." That seems to be the difference to me.

CLARK: I disagree with you. I don't think that guns have been prominent in urban eruptions at all.

SINGLETON: Thirty-three dead in Watts and several in Newark---

CLARK: You've had thirty-three Negroes dead. Your memory is somewhat different from mine. The chief weapons of the victims and the rebels in the ghetto have been rocks and molitov cocktails---

SINGLETON: Right.

CLARK: ---and I don't know how common they are, but you get the impression from reading about these things that they are as common as the rocks. I, personally, don't believe that's true.

SINGLETON: You don't believe, then, that there have been guns from both -- on both sides of the streets in these incidents?

CLARK: I don't believe that they have been equal, no, and I hope that they don't---

SINGLETON: Well, let's hope not.

CLARK: ---ever become so.

JOYCE: It's your feeling that the role of the gun in the riot or urban rebellion has not represented a significant factor?

CLARK: Not on the side of the victims of the ghetto. Certainly, the guns have played a very important role in controlling the riots, but in the hands of police and militia.

SINGLETON: The State has always used guns in the

hands---

CLARK: Of course.

SINGLETON: ---of its Army and its police.

CLARK: But I wanted to get back to your point, rebellion.

JOYCE: Briefly, if you will, Doctor. We're running out of time.

CLARK: We use the word "rebellion" to talk about our youth. We say that they're rebelling and I don't think that that's planned and intelligent. They are just sick and tired of our hypocrisy.

JOYCE: And on that provocative note which we could explore, I'm sure, for another fifty minutes, may I thank you for being our guest.

CLARK: And thank you for inviting me.

Our "Let's Find Out" guest was Dr. Kenneth Clark, President of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. Joining me in questioning Dr. Clark were Martin Gansberg of the New York Times, and Donald Singleton of the New York Daily News.

The program was produced by Louis Freizer.

This is Ed Joyce inviting you to be with us next Sunday at this same time for another edition of "Let's Find Out."

---