

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
S; 2004-1891-F; 2008-0421-F

FOIA Number:
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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13811
Folder ID Number: 13811-007

Folder Title:
National Address on Los Angeles Riots 5/1/92 [OA 7573][2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	9	22	6	5



1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Los Angeles Times



March 30, 1992, Monday, Home Edition

SECTION: Metro; Part B; Page 5; Column 2; Op-Ed Desk

LENGTH: 905 words

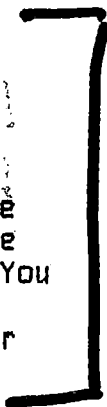
HEADLINE: PERSPECTIVE ON VIOLENCE;
IT'S IN THE NUMBERS, NOT THE STARS;
WILL WRIGHT DID EVERYTHING TO BEAT THE ODDS ON BLACK MALE MORTALITY, BUT IN THE
END, THE GUN CULTURE WON.

BYLINE: By KAREN GRIGSBY BATES, Karen Grigsby Bates is a Los Angeles writer and
frequent contributor to The Times.

BODY:

Sometimes, it's like a jungle out there
It makes me wonder
How I keep from going under . . .
-- Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five

According to Sylvester Monroe, author of the essay "Vital Signs: the Black
Male" in the book, "Songs of My People," the numbers are grim: If you're a
black male between the age of 15 and 25, you are 10 times more likely to be
murdered than your white counterpart. In California, you're three times more
likely to be murdered than to enter the University of California. Your cause
of death, the numbers say, will more than likely be another young black man. You
will also, the numbers opine, be more likely to enter prison than college. Of
the twentysomething African-American male population, nearly one in four is or
has been incarcerated. Numbers.



Wilfred Wright III was on his way to defying the numbers. Handsome, bright
and friendly, Will was also a good athlete. An honors student, he was
college-bound, to the University of LaVerne. Voted most talented, most athletic
and best buddies by his classmates at Dorsey High, Will had everything to live
for. So his friends, family and classmates were stunned when he became a
statistic.

Last Tuesday, Wilfred Wright III became another number: death by gunfire. A
devastatingly common occurrence, according to the numbers. Death again, at the
hand of a young black man. Except the hand of the young black man who shot Will
belonged to his own body, a distinct statistical twist. Police have ruled Will's
death "accidental," the result of a fatal flirtation with Russian roulette. "A
misadventure," a police spokesman mourned.

But maybe it wasn't. Will was a bright kid, everyone said so. And, given the
numbers, which are published with relentless frequency in the media, he had to
have been aware of the odds.

LAUSD
450 N GRAND AVE HI 74
LOS ANGELES 90012

Diana Munatorrey Dir Comm
Public Information Officer
213-625-6766
PAGE 3

Los Angeles Times, March 30, 1992

Fortunately, he had help. Unlike a lot of the young men who become statistical fatalities, Will had two parents who were actively involved in his life, providing guidance, protection and companionship. His relationship with them was good enough that his parents accompanied him to the baseball games at which he excelled.

But those advantages might also have functioned to his detriment. Wilfred Wright was carrying a gun because, he told Dorsey classmates, he had been harassed by gang members and he needed to protect himself. Dorsey students interviewed by The Times concede that a gun isn't so outlandish an idea. "If I could get my hands on a gun, I'd have one, too," a senior told reporters Sandy Banks and Charisse Jones. In his neighborhood, the boy explained, "every time I go home, people chase me and beat me up. You need it to be safe."

involving our students

hard a gun shot

close proximity to school

213-625-6000 MAIN # @ SCHOOL BOARD

parent always on our campus - weapons related incidents

He's not alone. According to statistics released by the Los Angeles Unified School District, guns are not a rarity in our schools: 134 were confiscated between 1987 and 1991 -- and that was in our elementary schools! Numbers for high schools are almost 10 times as great. And those are only the ones that were seized.

SCHOOL POLICE w/ FACILITY - 625-6631
TRANSFERRED TO 213-625-6766 [Public Affairs]

6766 SHELL ERLICK COMMUNICATIONS

BETTY WESLEY MITCHELL

Those numbers say that students are going to school afraid for their physical well-being. Guns, when some kids can get them, are perhaps seen as a way to negotiate what have become academic killing fields. As they proliferate, one wonders how parents are going to handle schools bristling with guns and other armaments. Can you see Mommy now, checking off the daily necessities as her child heads out the door for school?

info filed w/ state

"OK, you've got your lunch, milk money, your book bag -- and oh, Sweetie, don't forget to check the chamber of your .38. I had to show up at school last week because you forgot your bullets!"

I hope it won't get to that -- it had better not. But Gail Wyatt, a professor of medical psychology in UCLA's Department of Psychiatry, is not surprised that African-American kids, especially males, worry about their physical futures.

Identification is really important at that age, Wyatt says, and for urban male adolescents, the choices are slim. "You're a gang member, or . . . what? Often, it's really not very safe to be a non-gang member." Kids who are determined to succeed, Wyatt says, are often treated with hostility by those who feel they have been relegated to society's scrap heap. "The good students are often hassled," Wyatt explains, "they're accused of 'acting white.'" Sadly, the taunters have bought into the notion that excellence comes only in one color.

OR

129 GUNS CONFISCATION
88-91 PAT SPENKER AND
213-625-6766
SAME # FROM OFFICE OF STATE
POLICE WESLEY MITCHELL

Beneath the taunts, though, may lie an anxiety that most of us can't, or don't want to, see. "We really expect a lot of young black males," Wyatt says. Most of us "have no idea the pressure they're under." The normal adolescent hormonal stew, mixed with anxiety about social acceptance and, yes, survival can depress a person. And depression, Wyatt says, "manifests itself in many different ways." Some mope, some clown, some are unusually aggressive. And some play games where the odds of survival are, at best, not good.

That Will Wright killed himself has never been in dispute. Why he killed himself will puzzle the people who loved him for a long, painful time. It's entirely possible that, given the hubris of adolescent malehood, he was just playing around and, tragically, got caught. Or, hunted by a gang member and



Los Angeles Times, March 30, 1992

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213-625-6000 MAIN # @ SCHOOL BOARD

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TRANSFERRED TO 213-625-6766 [PUBLIC AFFAIRS]

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87-91
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confiscated

Guns

124

Guns
Found in
10-15 minutes

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.4
.L55
WHRC

CRIME
LAW
MOB RULE
JUSTICE

A ^{t:}TREASURY OF
Lincoln Quotations

COMPILED AND EDITED BY
FRED KERNER

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC.
Garden City, New York
1965

desirable things which the individuals of a people cannot do for themselves fall into two classes: those which relate to wrongs, and those which have not.

FRAGMENT
JULY 1854 (?)

best-framed and best-administered governments are necessary.

FRAGMENT
JULY 1854 (?)

Government is a combination of the people of a country to attain objects by joint effort.

FRAGMENT
JULY 1854 (?)

If laws were just, there would still be some, though not so many, of government.

FRAGMENT
JULY 1854 (?)

Consent to our ancient faith, the just powers of government derive from the consent of the governed.

SPEECH AT PEORIA, ILLINOIS
OCTOBER 16, 1854

Government is good enough to govern another man without that consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American republicanism.

SPEECH AT PEORIA, ILLINOIS
OCTOBER 16, 1854

What is the general government when there is nothing to govern?

SPEECH AT PEORIA, ILLINOIS
OCTOBER 16, 1854

I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights—that each community, as a state, has a right to do exactly as it pleases with all the concerns within that state that interfere with the rights of no other state, and that the general government, upon principle, has no right to interfere with anything other than that general class of things that does concern the whole.

SPEECH AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JULY 10, 1858

It is no just function of government to prohibit what is not wrong.

NOTES FOR SPEECHES AT COLUMBUS AND CINCINNATI, OHIO
SEPTEMBER 16, 17, 1859

We admit that the U. S. general government is not charged with the duty of redressing or preventing all the wrongs in the world. But that government rightfully may and, subject to the Constitution, ought to redress and prevent all wrongs which are wrongs to the nation itself.

NOTES FOR SPEECHES AT COLUMBUS AND CINCINNATI, OHIO
SEPTEMBER 16, 17, 1859

The republican system of government, which has been adopted so generally on this continent, has proved its adaptation to what is the first purpose of government everywhere—the maintenance of national independence. It is my confident hope and belief that this system will be found, after sufficient trials, to be better adapted everywhere than any other to other great interests of human society—namely, the preservation of peace, order and national prosperity.

REPLY TO DON MARCELINO HURTADO, ENVOY OF GRENADA
JUNE 4, 1861

It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that

they may deem it necessary for the public safety, from time to time, to adopt.

LETTER TO THE WORKINGMEN OF MANCHESTER, ENGLAND
JANUARY 19, 1863

Let the friends of the government first save the government, and then administer it to their own liking.

LETTER TO HENRY W. DAVIS
MARCH 18, 1863

While we must, by all available means, prevent the overthrow of the government, we should avoid planting and cultivating too many thorns in the bosom of society.

LETTER TO EDWIN M. STANTON
MARCH 18, 1864

Government should not act for revenge.

LETTER TO EDWIN M. STANTON
MAY 17, 1864

Grant, Ulysses S.

Grant is a copious worker and fighter, but a very meager writer or telegrapher.

LETTER TO AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE
JULY 27, 1863

The nation's appreciation of what you have done and its reliance upon you for what remains to do in the existing great struggle are now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the nation goes my own hearty personal concurrence.

SPEECH TO ULYSSES S. GRANT
MARCH 9, 1864

I have seen your dispatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. . . . Hold on with a firm grip, and chew and choke as much as possible.

TELEGRAM TO ULYSSES S. GRANT
AUGUST 22, 1862

Greed

After an angry and dangerous controversy, the friends by dividing the bone of contention. The one appropriates her own share, beyond all power to be the possession of it, and then seizes the share of the other. It is as if two starving men had divided their only loaf, and one had hastily swallowed his half and then grabbed the other's half just as he was putting it in his mouth!

SPEECH AT PEORIA, ILLINOIS
OCTOBER 3, 1858

Greeley, Horace

I consider him incapable of corruption or falsehood.

LETTER TO CHARLES SUMNER
JULY 1, 1852

Habeas Corpus

It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and the safety does require the qualified suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Now it is insisted that Congress was authorized to be made. Now it is insisted that Congress is not the Executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which, or who, is to exercise this power, and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed the framers of the instrument

Jury

A jury too frequently have at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor.

LETTER TO ERASTUS CORNING AND OTHERS
JUNE 12, 1863 (?)

Justice

If some men will kill, or beat, or constrain others, or despoil them of property by force, fraud or noncompliance with contracts, it is a common object with peaceful and just men to prevent it.

FRAGMENT
JULY 1854 (?)

Labor

All *carrying*, and incidents of carrying, of articles from the place of their production to a *distant* place for consumption, which articles could be produced of as good quality, in sufficient quantity, and with as little labor at the place of consumption as at the place carried from, is useless labor.

NOTES FOR A TARIFF DISCUSSION
DECEMBER 1847

In the early days of the world, the Almighty said to the first of our race, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"; and since then, if we except the *light* and the *air* of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor.

NOTES FOR A TARIFF DISCUSSION
DECEMBER 1847

To each laborer the whole product of his labor, as possible, is a most worthy object of any government.

NOTES FOR A

The habits of our whole species fall into three classes: *useful* labor, *useless* labor and *idleness*. Of the first is meritorious, and to it all the products of labor belong; but the two latter, while they exist, are heavy taxes on the first, robbing it of a large portion of its just

NOTES FOR A

Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those who have produced them. But it has so happened in this world that *some* have labored and others have enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is not continue.

NOTES FOR A

If at any time all labor should cease, and all property be equally divided among the people, at the end of a few days there could scarcely be one human being left who has not perished by want of subsistence.

NOTES FOR A

Labor is the great source from which nearly all human comforts and necessities are drawn. The laborer, in opinion about the elements of labor in a community, assume that there is a necessary connection between labor and that connection draws within it the fruits of the community. They assume that nobody can be idle; that it excites them to work. They begin next to consider the best way. They say that there are but two

There is, even now, something of an ill omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

Laws

Bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible; still, while they continue in force, . . . they should be religiously observed.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

Let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, nor that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges. . . . In short, let it become the *political religion* of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

Let every man remember that to violate the law on the blood of his father and to tear the children from his arms and his children's liberty.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Let every American, every lover of liberty, to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and to tolerate their violation by others.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

An unconstitutional act is not a law.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD

Judicial decisions are of greater or less authority according to circumstances.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD

Legislation and adjudication must follow, and progress of society.

NOTES OF ARGUMENT

It seems to me very important that the law be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and as small a compass as may consist with the fulfillment of the will of the legislature and the perspective of the people. This, well done, would, I think, greatly facilitate the work of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the law, and would be a lasting benefit to the people.

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SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

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SPEECH AT GALENA, ILLINOIS
JULY 23, 1856

Judicial decisions are of greater or less authority as precedents, according to circumstances.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JUNE 26, 1857

Legislation and adjudication must follow, and conform to, the progress of society.

NOTES OF ARGUMENT IN LAW CASE
JUNE 1858

It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible and be reduced to as small a compass as may consist with the fullness and precision of the will of the legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This, well done, would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws and would be a lasting benefit to the people by placing before

Mob Rule

Whenever the vicious portion of the population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands and burn churches, ravage and rob provision stores, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure and with impunity, depend on it, this Government cannot last.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

The innocent, those who have ever set their faces against violations of law in every shape, alike with the guilty fall victims to the ravages of mob law.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

By the operation of this mobocratic spirit . . . the strongest bulwark of any Government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

When men take it in their heads today to hang gamblers or burn murderers, they should recollect that in the confusion usually attending such transactions they will be as likely to hang or burn someone who is neither a gambler nor a murderer as one who is; and that, acting upon the example they set, the mob of

tomorrow may, and probably will, hang or burn some of them by the very same mistake.

SPEECH TO YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 27, 1838

Modesty

Considering the great degree of modesty which should always attend youth, it is probable that I have already been more presuming than becomes me.

COMMUNICATION TO THE PEOPLE OF
SANGAMON COUNTY, ILLINOIS
MARCH 9, 1832

Sound your own horn, for behold if you sound not your own horn your horn shall not be sounded.

SPEECH AT CLINTON, ILLINOIS
JULY 27, 1858

Gratefully accepting the proffered honor [to inscribe your new legal work to me], I give the leave, begging only that the inscription may be in modest terms, not representing me as a man of great learning or a very extraordinary man in any respect.

LETTER TO WILLIAM D. KELLEY
OCTOBER 13, 1860

Most heartily do I thank you for this magnificent reception, and while I cannot take to myself any share of the compliment thus paid, more than that which pertains to a mere instrument—an accidental instrument, perhaps I should say—of a great cause, I yet must look upon it as a most magnificent reception and, as such, most heartily do I thank you for it.

REPLY TO GOVERNOR OLIVER P. MORTON,
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
FEBRUARY 11, 1861

and obligatory.—*Message to Congress, July 4, 1861.* VI, 323.

See UNION, inviolability of, 12.

Enemies, not, but friends—I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The magic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.—*First inaugural, March 4, 1861.* VI, 185.

2.—Americans, all, we are not enemies but friends. We have sacred ties of affection which, though strained by passion, let us hope can never be broken.—*Indorsement on letter of O. H. Browning, Feb. 17, 1861.* R.T.L.

Enemies, to thwart—Our adversaries think they can gain a point if they force me to openly deny the charge [that he had attended a Know-Nothing Lodge], by which some degree of offense would be given to the Americans. For this reason it must not publicly appear that I am paying any attention to the charge.—*To A. Jonas, July 21, 1860.* VI, 47.

"Entangling Details"—Mr. Miller's system doubtless is well intended, but from what I hear I fear that, if persisted in, it would fall down dead within its own entangling details.—*To Gen. Thomas, Feb. 28, 1864.* X, 24.

Equality, appeal for old faith—Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race, being inferior and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.—*Speech, Chicago, July 10, 1858.* III, 51.

Equality, basic American principle—Nearly 80 years ago we began by declaring that all men were created equal; but now from that beginning we have run down to the other declaration that for some men to enslave others is a "sacred right of self-government."—*Speech, Urbana, Oct. 24, 1854.* Hertz II, 654.

2.—I believe the declaration that "all men are created equal" is the great fundamental principle upon which our free institutions rest. That negro slavery is violative of that principle.—*Notes, Sept. 16, 1858.* IV, 88.

3.—How long is it?—eighty-odd years since on the Fourth of July, for the first time in the history of the

world, a nation, by its representatives assembled, declared, as a self-evident truth, that "all men were created equal."—*Response to serenade, July 7, 1863.* IX, 20.

4.—Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.—*Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863.* IX, 209.

See GOVERNMENT (AMERICAN), based on equal rights.

Equality, beats inequality—Equality in society beats inequality, whether the latter be of the British aristocratic sort or the domestic slavery sort.—*Fragment, July 1, 1854.* II, 184.

Equality, "central idea at beginning"—Public opinion, on any subject, always has a "central idea," from which all its minor thoughts radiate. The "central idea" in our public opinion at the beginning was, and until recently has continued to be, "the equality of men." And although it has always submitted patiently to whatever of inequality there seemed to be as a matter of actual necessity, its constant working has been a steady progress toward the practical equality of all men. The late presidential election was a struggle by one party to discard that "central idea" and to substitute for it the opposite idea that slavery is right in the abstract, the working of which as a "central idea" may be the perpetuity of human slavery and its extension to all countries and colors.—*Speech, Chicago, Dec. 10, 1856.* II, 310.

Equality, Declaration's message to foreign-born—Perhaps half our people . . . are not descendants at all of these men [founders of the government]; they are men who have come from Europe . . . themselves or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equal in all things. If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days of blood, they find they have none; they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are a part of us, but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence, they find that those old men say that "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," and then they feel that the moral sentiment in that day evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and they have a right to claim it as if they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh, of the men who wrote that Declaration, and so they are. That is the electric cord in the Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as

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long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world.—*Speech, Chicago, July 10, 1858.* III, 47.

Equality, doctrine of Declaration explained—I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinction in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with “certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” This they did say, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right; so that enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.—*Speech, Springfield, June 27, 1857.* II, 330.

Repeated at Alton, Oct. 15, 1858. V, 35.

2.—They [authors of the Declaration] meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere.—*Speech, Springfield, June 27, 1857.* II, 331.

3.—In some respects she [colored woman] certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands, without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.—*Speech, Springfield, Dec. 10, 1857.* II, 329.

4.—It is said in one of the admonitions of our Lord, “As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect.” The Savior, I suppose, did not expect that any human creature could be perfect as the Father in Heaven; but He . . . set that up as a standard, and he who did most toward reaching that standard attained the highest degree of moral perfection. So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can.—*Speech, Chicago, July 10, 1858.* Basler, 403.

5.—In relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature. Let us, then, turn this government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution

originally placed it.—*Speech, Chicago, July 10, 1858.* III, 51.

6.—I do not understand the Declaration [of Independence] to mean that all men are created equal in all respects. They [negroes] are not our equal in color; but I suppose that it does mean to declare that all men are equal in some respects; they are equal in their right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Certainly, the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects; still, in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man. In pointing out that more has been given you, you cannot be justified in taking away the little which has been given him. All I ask for the negro is that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy.—*Speech, Springfield, July 17, 1858.* III, 186.

7.—I agree with Judge Douglas that he [the negro] is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.—*Debate, Ottawa, Aug. 21, 1858.* III, 229.

8.—Negroes have natural rights, however, as other men have, although they cannot enjoy them here. . . . But though it [Declaration] does not declare that all men are equal in their attainments or social position, yet no sane man will attempt to deny that the African upon his own soil has all the natural rights that instrument vouchsafes to all mankind.—*Speech, Carlinville, Aug. 31, 1858.* Angle, 191.

9.—Mr. [Henry] Clay says it is true as an abstract principle that all men are created equal, but that we cannot practically apply it in all cases.—*Debate, Alton, Oct 15, 1858.* V, 41.

Equality, Douglas's interpretation of the Declaration

—The founder of the Democratic party declared that all men were created equal. His successor in the leadership [Douglas] has written the word “white” before men, making it read, “all white men are created equal.” Pray, will or may not the Know-Nothings, if they should get into power, add the word “Protestant,” making it read, “all Protestant white men”?—*Speech, Bloomington, May 29, 1856.* Lapsley II, 253.

2.—“They [authors of the Declaration, according to Douglas] were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain.” Why, according to this, not only negroes but white people outside of Great Britain and America were not spoken of in that in-

strument. . . . The French, Germans and other white people of the world are all gone to pot along with the judge's inferior races. I had thought the Declaration promised something better than the condition of British subjects; but no, it only meant that we should be equal to them in their oppressed and unequal condition. According to that, it gave no promise that, having kicked off the king and lords of Great Britain, we should not at once be saddled with a king and lords of our own. I had thought the Declaration contemplated the progressive improvement in the condition of all men everywhere; but no, it merely "was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British crown, and dissolving their connection with the mother country."—And now I appeal to all—to Democrats as well as others—are you really willing that the Declaration shall thus be frittered away?—thus left no more, at most, than an interesting memorial of the dead past?—thus shorn of its vitality and practical value, and left without the germ or even the suggestion of the individual rights of man in it?—*Speech, Springfield, June 27, 1857.* II, 332.

3.—But I suppose you will celebrate [the Fourth], and will even go as far as to read the Declaration. Suppose, after you read it once in the old-fashioned way, you read it once more with Judge Douglas's version. It will then run thus: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all British subjects who were on this continent 81 years ago were created equal to all British subjects born and then residing in Great Britain."—*Speech, Springfield, Dec. 10, 1857.* II, 334.

4.—For the purpose of squaring things with this [Douglas's] idea of "don't care if slavery is voted up or voted down," for sustaining the Dred Scott decision, for holding that the Declaration of Independence did not mean anything at all, we have Judge Douglas giving his exposition of what the Declaration of Independence means, and we have him saying that the people of America are equal to the people of England. According to his construction, you Germans are not connected with it.—*Speech, Chicago, July 10, 1858.* III, 48.

5.—In his construction of the Declaration [of Independence] last year, he [Douglas] said it only meant that Americans in America were equal to Englishmen in England. Then, when I pointed out to him that by that rule he excludes Germans, the Irish, the Portuguese, and all the other people who have come amongst us since the Revolution, he reconstructs his construction. In his last speech he tells us it meant Europeans. I press him a little further, and ask if it meant to include Russians in Asia? . . . I expect ere

long he will introduce another amendment to his definition. He is not at all particular. He is satisfied with anything which does not endanger the nationalization of negro slavery.—*Speech, Springfield, July 17, 1858.* III, 185.

6.—If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it [Declaration], let them come up and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal, except negroes. Let us have it decided whether the Declaration of Independence, in this blessed year of 1858, shall be thus amended.—*Speech, Springfield, July 17, 1858.* III, 185.

7.—Douglas says no man can defend it except on the hypothesis that it referred to British white subjects, and that no other white men are included; that it does not speak alike to the down-trodden of all nations—German, French, Spanish, etc., but simply meant that the English were born equal and endowed by their Creator with certain natural or equal rights, among which were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that it means nobody else.—*Speech, Carlinville, Aug. 31, 1858.* Angle, 191.

8.—Senator Douglas regularly argues against the doctrine of the equality of men; and while he does not draw the conclusion that the superiors ought to enslave the inferiors, he evidently wishes his hearers to draw that conclusion. He shirks the responsibility of pulling the house down, but he digs under it that it may fall of its own weight.—*Notes, Oct. 1, 1858.* IV, 200.

9.—The judge has . . . insisted . . . that it is a slander upon the framers of that instrument [Declaration] to suppose that negroes were meant therein; and he asks you: Is it possible to believe that Mr. Jefferson, who penned the immortal paper, could have supposed himself applying the language of that instrument to the negro race, and yet hold a portion of that race in slavery?—*Debate, Galesburg, Oct. 7, 1858.* IV, 262.

10.—I believe the entire records of the world from the date of the Declaration of Independence up to within three years ago, may be searched in vain for one single affirmation, from one single man, that the negro was not included in the Declaration of Independence; I think I may defy Judge Douglas that he ever said so; that any President ever said so; that any member of Congress ever said so; or that any living man upon the whole earth ever said so, until the necessities of the present policy of the Democratic party in regard to slavery, had to invent that affirmation.—*Debate, Galesburg, Oct. 7, 1858.* IV, 263.

11.—I believe the first man who ever said it [that the Declaration does not include the negro] was Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case, and the next

to him was our friend, Stephen A. Douglas. And now it has become the catchword of the entire party.—*Debate, Alton, Oct. 15, 1858.* V, 37.

12.—I would like to call upon his [Douglas's] friends everywhere, to consider how they come in so short a time to view this matter in a way so entirely different from their former belief; to ask whether they are not being borne along by an irresistible current, whither, they know not.—*Debate, Alton, Oct. 15, 1858.* V, 38.

13.—Five years ago no living man had expressed the opinion that the negro had no share in the Declaration of Independence. . . . Within the space of five years Senator Douglas, in the argument of this question, has got his entire party, so far as I know, without exception, to join in saying that the negro has no share in the Declaration of Independence. . . . This is a vast change in the northern public sentiment upon that question. . . . The tendency of that change is to bring the public mind to the conclusion that when men are spoken of, the negro is not meant; that when negroes are spoken of, brutes alone are contemplated.—*Speech, Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.* V, 201.

14.—Five years ago no living man had placed on record, nor, as I believe, verbally expressed, a denial that negroes have a share in the Declaration of Independence. Two or three years since, Douglas began to deny it; and now every Douglas man in the nation denies it.—*Speeches in Kansas, Dec. 1-5, 1859.* V, 270.

15.—Is there a Democrat, especially one of the Douglas wing, but will declare that the Declaration of Independence has no application to the negro? It would be safe to offer a moderate premium for such a man. . . . Not one of them said it five years ago. I never heard it till I heard it from the lips of Judge Douglas. . . . Not a man of them said it till then—they all say it now. This is a long stride toward establishing the policy of indifference—one more stride, I think, would do it.—*Speech, Hartford, Conn., March 5, 1860.* V, 131.

16.—Do you know any Democrat . . . who declares that he believes that the Declaration of Independence has any application to the negro? Judge Taney declares that it has not, and Judge Douglas even villifies me personally and scolds me roundly for saying the Declaration applies to all men, and that negroes are men.—*Speech, New Haven, Conn., March 6, 1860.* V, 350.

Equality, efforts to overthrow principle—Now on this last Fourth of July, when we have a gigantic rebellion, at the bottom of which is an effort to overthrow

the principle that all men are created equal, we have the surrender of a most powerful position and an army on that very day. And not only so, but in a succession of battles in Pennsylvania, near to us, through three days, so rapidly fought that they might be called one great battle, on the first, second and third of the month of July; and on the fourth the cohorts of those opposed to the declaration that all men are created equal "turned tail" and ran.—*Response to serenade, July 7, 1863.* IX, 21.

Equality, essential to liberty—In what I have done I cannot claim to have acted from any peculiar consideration of the colored people as a separate and distinct class in the community, but from the simple conviction that all the individuals of that class are members of the same community, and, in virtue of their manhood, entitled to every original right enjoyed by any other member. We feel, therefore, that all legal distinction between individuals of the same community founded in any such circumstances as color, origin, and the like, are hostile to the genius of our institutions, and incompatible with the true history of American liberty. Slavery and oppression must cease, or American liberty must perish.—*Speech, Cincinnati, May 6, 1842.* Hertz II, 531.

Equality, Fathers' interpretation of the Declaration—This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty, and wise, and noble, understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures—yes, gentlemen, to all His creatures, to the whole great family of men. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on and degraded and imbruted by its fellows. They grasped not only the whole race of men then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity.—*Speech, Beardstown, Aug. 12, 1858.* Hertz II, 713.

Equality, Free-state principle—The free states carry on their government on the principle of the equality of men.—*Speech, Hartford, Conn., March 5, 1860.* V, 330.

Equality, Jeffersonian Democrats challenged on—Are Jeffersonian Democrats willing to have that gem [equality] taken from the magna carta of human liberty in this shameful way? Or will they maintain that its declaration of equality of natural rights among all men is correct?—*Speech, Carlinville, Aug. 31, 1858.* Angle, 191.

Equality, largest degree of, under American government—See LIBERTY, largest degree of, in America.

Equality, negroes and the Declaration—There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man.—*Debate, Ottawa, Aug. 21, 1858.* III, 229.

Repeated at Quincy, Oct. 13, 1858. IV, 318.

Repeated at Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 16, 1859. V, 143.

2.—Clay and other great men were ever ready to express their abhorrence of slavery; but we of the North dare not use his noble language when he said, to force its [slavery's] perpetuation and extension you must muzzle the cannon that annually proclaims liberty, and repress all tendencies in the human heart to justice and mercy. We can no longer express our admiration for the Declaration of Independence without their petty sneers. And it is true they are fast bringing that sacred instrument into contempt.—*Speech, Carlinville, Aug. 31, 1858.* Angle, 191.

3.—I have said that in their right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as proclaimed in that old Declaration, the inferior races are our equals.—*Debate, Galesburg, Oct. 7, 1858.* IV, 266.

4.—I think the negro is included in the word "men" used in the Declaration of Independence.—*To J. N. Brown, Oct. 18, 1858.* V, 87.

5.—Did you ever, five years ago, hear of anybody in the world saying that the negro had no share in the Declaration of Independence; that it did not mean negroes at all, and when "all men" were spoken of negroes were not included? . . . If you think that now, and did not think it then, the next thing that strikes me to remark is that there has been a change wrought in you, and a very significant change it is, being no less than changing the negro, in your estimation, from the rank of a man to that of a brute.—*Speech, Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 16, 1859.* V, 86.

6.—We think, most of us, that this charter of freedom applies to the slave as well as to ourselves; that the class of arguments put forward to batter down that idea [that it does not apply to slaves] is also calculated to break down the very idea of free government, even for white men, and to undermine the very foundations of free society.—*Speech, New Haven, Conn., March 6, 1860.* V, 344.

7.—Is there a Democrat here who does not deny that the Declaration applies to a negro? Do any of you know of one? . . . I venture to defy the whole party to produce one man that ever uttered the belief that the Declaration did not apply to negroes before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.—*Speech, New Haven, Conn., March 6, 1860.* V, 351.

8.—To us [men of the North] it appears natural to

think of slaves as human beings; that some of the things, at least, stated in the Declaration of Independence apply to them as well as to us.—*Speech, Norwich, Conn., March 9, 1860.* VI, 3.

See EQUALITY, doctrine of the Declaration explained, 3, 6, 7, 8.

See SLAVERY, wrong of.

Equality, recent interpretation of Declaration—See EQUALITY, Douglas's interpretation of the Declaration, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

Equality, sentiment will live again—The human heart is with us; God is with us. We shall again be able not to declare that "all states as states are equal," nor yet that "all citizens as citizens are equal," but to renew the broader, better declaration, including both these and much more, that "all men are created equal."—*Speech, Chicago, Dec. 10, 1856.* II, 311.

Equality, steady progress toward—See EQUALITY, "central idea at beginning."

Equality, who shall judge?—Who shall say, "I am the superior, and you are the inferior?"—*Speech, Springfield, July 17, 1858.* III, 186.

Errors, confessed—I claim not to be more free from errors than others—perhaps scarcely so much.—*Speech, Springfield, July 17, 1858.* III, 169.

2.—I cannot claim that I am entirely free from all error in the opinions I advance.—*Debate, Galesburg, Oct. 7, 1858.* IV, 267.

3.—You must not lay too much stress on the blunder about Mr. Adams; for I made a more mischievous one in the first printed speech of mine on the slavery question—October, 1854. I stated that the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest Territory was made a condition in the Virginia deed of cession, while, in fact, it was not.—*To James O. Putnam, Sept. 13, 1860.* Angle, 254.

4.—I frequently make mistakes myself in the many things I am compelled to do hastily.—*To Gen. Rosecrans, May 20, 1863.* VIII, 279.

5.—In my administration I may have committed some errors. It would indeed be remarkable if I had not.—*Reply to Presbyterian General Assembly, May 30, 1863.* VIII, 287.

Escort, not wanted—On reflection I think it will not do, as a rule, for the adjutant-general to attend me wherever I go; not that I have any objection to his presence, but that it would be an uncompensating encumbrance both to him and me. When it shall

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pendence.—*Speech, Bloomington, May 29, 1856.* Lapsley II, 274.

10.—The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise.—*Speech, Bloomington, May 29, 1856.* Lapsley II, 274.

Missouri Compromise, sacrificed by Genius of Discord—The Genius of Discord himself could scarcely have invented a way of again setting us by the ears but by turning back and destroying the peace measures [relating to slavery] of the past. The counsels of that Genius seem to have prevailed. The Missouri Compromise was repealed; and here we are in the midst of a new slavery agitation, such, I think, as we have never seen before.—*Speech, Peoria, Oct. 16, 1854.* II, 237.

Repeated at Urbana, Oct. 24, 1854. Hertz II, 649.

Missouri Compromise, South should help restore—The South ought to join in doing this. The peace of the nation is as dear to them as to us. In memories of the past and hopes of the future, they share as largely as we. It would be on their part a great act—great in its spirit, and great in its effect. . . . And what sacrifice would they make? They only surrender what they gave up for a consideration long, long ago; what they have not now asked for, struggled or cared for; what has been thrust upon them, not less to their astonishment than to ours.—*Speech, Peoria, Oct. 16, 1854.* II, 241.

Missouri Compromise, Southern triumph—The scheme [compromise], as a whole, was, of course, a Southern triumph. It is idle to contend otherwise, as is now being done by the Nebraskaites; it was shown by the votes and quite as emphatically by the expressions of representative men.—*Speech, Bloomington, May 29, 1856.* Lapsley II, 262.

Missouri Compromise, why disturb?—I ask why he [Douglas] could not have left that compromise alone? We were quiet from the agitation of the slavery question. We were making no fuss about it. All had acquiesced in the compromise measures of 1850. We never had been seriously disturbed by an abolition agitation before that period.—*Debate, Jonesboro, Sept. 15, 1858.* IV, 38.

2.—When he [Douglas] came to form governments for the territories north of the line 36 degrees 30 minutes, why could he not have left that matter stand as it was standing? Was it necessary to the organization of a territory? Not at all.—*Debate, Jonesboro, Sept. 15, 1858.* IV, 38.

Missouri Compromise, Wilmot Proviso and—To argue that we thus [by supporting the Wilmot Pro-

viso] repudiated the Missouri Compromise is no less absurd than it would be to argue that because we have so far foreborne to acquire Cuba, we have thereby, in principle, repudiated our former acquisitions and determined to throw them out of the Union. No less absurd than it would be to say that because I may have refused to build an addition to my house, I thereby have decided to destroy the existing house.—*Speech, Peoria, Oct. 16, 1854.* II, 211.

"Mr. Whiskey"—See SALOON SMASHERS, women, defended.

Mob Law, danger of—When men take it in their heads to hang gamblers or burn murderers, they should recollect that in the confusion usually attending such transactions they will be as likely to hang or burn someone who is neither a gambler nor a murderer as one who is, and that, acting upon the example they set, the mob of tomorrow may, and probably will, hang or burn some of them by the very same mistake. And not only so; the innocent, those who have even set their faces against violations of law in every shape, alike with the guilty fall victims to the ravages of mob law; and thus it goes up, step by step, till all the walls erected for the defence of the person and property of individuals are trodden down and disregarded. But all this, even, is not the full extent of the evil. By such examples, by instances of the perpetrators of such acts going unpunished, the lawless in spirit are encouraged to become lawless in practice; and having been used to no restraint but the dread of punishment, they thus become absolutely unrestrained. Having ever regarded government as their deadliest bane, they make a jubilee of the suspension of its operations, and pray for nothing so much as its total annihilation. While, on the other hand, good men, men who love tranquillity, who desire to abide by the laws and enjoy their benefits, who would gladly spill their blood in defence of their country, seeing their property endangered, their families insulted, and their lives endangered, their persons injured, and seeing nothing in prospect that forebodes a change for the better, become tired of and disgusted with a government that offers them no protection, and are not much averse to a change in which they imagine they have nothing to lose. Thus . . . the strongest bulwark of any government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the people. Whenever this effect shall be produced among us; whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands, and burn churches, ravage and rob provision stores, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang

and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure and with impunity, depend on it, this government cannot last. . . . I know the American people are much attached to their government; I know they would suffer much for its sake; I know they would endure evils long and patiently before they would ever think of exchanging it for another—yet, notwithstanding all this, if the laws be continually despised and disregarded, if their rights to be secure in their persons and property are held by no better tenure than the caprice of a mob, the alienation of the affections from the government is the natural consequence; and to that, sooner or later, it must come.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 40.

Mob Law, dangerously familiar—Such are the effects of mob law, and such are the scenes becoming more and more frequent in this land so lately famed for love of law and order, and the stories of which have even now grown too familiar to attract anything more than idle remark. . . . Its direct consequences are, comparatively speaking, but a small evil, and much of its danger consists in the proneness of our minds to regard its direct as its only consequences.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 39.

***Mob Law, never justified**—There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. In any case that may arise as, for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of the two positions is necessarily true—that is, the thing is right within itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens, or it is wrong, and therefore proper to be prohibited by legal enactments; and in neither case is the interposition of mob law either necessary, justifiable or excusable.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 44.

Mob Law, pervades country—They [mobs] have pervaded the country from New England to Louisiana; they are neither peculiar to the eternal snows of the former nor the burning suns of the latter; they are not the creature of climate, neither are they confined to the slave-holding or the non-slave-holding states. Alike they spring up among the pleasure-hunting masters of southern slaves, and the order-loving citizens of the land of steady habits. Whatever, then, their case may be, it is common to the whole country.—*Speech, Springfield, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 37.

Mobile, capture of—See DEITY, gratitude to, 12.

See FARRAGUT, DAVID G., thanked for victories.

Mobile, expedition against, not favored—I see by a dispatch of yours that you incline quite strongly toward an expedition against Mobile. This would ap-

pear tempting to me also, were it not that, in view of recent events in Mexico, I am greatly impressed with the importance of re-establishing the national authority in western Texas as soon as possible.—*To Gen. Grant, Aug. 9, 1863.* IX, 64.

***Mobocratic Spirit, warning against**—I am opposed to encouraging that lawless and mobocratic spirit . . . which is already abroad in the land; and is spreading with rapid and fearful impetuosity to the ultimate overthrow of every institution, of even moral principle, in which persons and property have hitherto found security.—*Speech, Illinois Legislature, Jan. 27, 1837.* I, 33.

Moderation, best policy—In grave emergencies, moderation is generally safer than radicalism.—*Speech, Bloomington, May 29, 1856.* Lapsley II, 266.

2.—We will grow strong by calmness and moderation.—*Speech, Bloomington, May 29, 1856.* Lapsley II, 267.

3.—Now let us harmonize, my friends, and appeal to the moderation and patriotism of the people.—*Speech, Bloomington, May 29, 1856.* Lapsley II, 268.

4.—The utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid [repossession of lost federal property] to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.—*Proclamation, April 15, 1861.* VI, 247.

5.—I have an imploring appeal in behalf of citizens, who say your Order No. 8 will compel them to go north of Nashville. This is in no sense an order, nor is it even a request that you will do anything which in the least shall be a drawback upon your military operations, but anything you can do consistently with those operations for these suffering people I shall be glad of.—*To Gen. Sherman, May 4, 1864.* X, 93.

Moles, soldiers are not—See MARYLAND, troops must cross.

Monarchy, could be established by bribery—Standing as a unit among yourselves [proslavery men], you can, directly or indirectly, bribe enough of our men to carry the day [admitting Kansas as a slave state] as you could on the open proposition to establish a monarchy. Get hold of some man in the North whose position and ability is such that he can make the support of your measure, whatever it may be, a Democratic party necessity, and the thing is done.—*To Joshua F. Speed, Aug. 24, 1855.* II, 285.

Monarchy, "possible refuge"—Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at [in Confederate documents] as a

Lincoln, Abraham, Pres. U.S., 1809-1865.
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SHAMIR SAYS PALESTINIANS WANT TO TALK

By Marjorie Olster

JERUSALEM, May 1, Reuter - Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said on Friday Palestinians who called this week's peace talks with Israel a waste of time had struck a different tone behind closed doors.

"Inside they spoke differently," Shamir told Reuters during a campaign walkabout through a packed Jerusalem pedestrian mall. "Outside they say to the media they do not agree but they are very interested in continuing talks and that is a good sign."

Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi called the latest round "a waste of time."

The hardline Likud party prime minister, campaigning for re-election on June 23, faces a tough challenge from the more popular Labour party leader Yitzhak Rabin. He hopes to gain support from moderates by styling himself a peacemaker.

Shamir said he was satisfied with the fifth round of talks that ended on Thursday. "There was progress towards more peace, more understanding," he said.

Israel proposed the first municipal elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1976 and offered Palestinians immediate control of their own health services.

Palestinians said the proposals were meaningless ploys meant to make Shamir look good ahead of the elections. They called for elections throughout the territories for a legislature to administer self-rule.

Two opinion polls published in Israeli newspapers on Friday showed Rabin more popular than Shamir among both Israelis and recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union who will vote for the first time.

A poll of 800 immigrants showed 52 per cent backing Rabin compared to 22 per cent for Shamir, with 26 per cent undecided.

Forty-three per cent said they would vote for Labour and 14 per cent supported Likud. A fifth were undecided and the rest supported small parties.

A second poll of 1,000 Israelis showed 53.4 per cent backed Rabin and 31.1 per cent Shamir, with 15.5 per cent undecided.

REUTER MLO HSG TG

Reut09:57 05-01

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BC-BRITAIN-OLYMPIA-CRISIS (NEWS ANALYSIS)
OLYMPIA AND YORK FACES CRITICAL WEEKEND OF TALKS

By Alister Bull

LONDON, May 1, Reuter - Creditors of Olympia and York face a bleak choice this weekend between handing over yet more money to the debt-burdened Canadian property giant or pressing it to seek court bankruptcy protection.

One month after the secretive Reichmann brothers conceded what many bankers had feared -- that their Toronto-based empire was facing a liquidity crisis on both sides of the Atlantic -- the poker game is being played for increasingly high stakes.

O&Y has debts of \$12 billion worldwide after the worst property slump in decades. Creditor banks will face enormous problems if it collapses.

But the banks are also aware they have powerful leverage and can exact a high price from the company in return for their further cooperation.

The 100 banks know their ultimate sanction would be to force the Canadian group into administration.

Administration removes control from management by placing the company under a court appointed official, unlike Chapter 11 in the U.S. bankruptcy code, which leaves managers in place.

"The situation is very grave and it is by no means certain that the shutters won't come down," said one senior source close to the talks which have now been dragging on for two weeks.

Olympia and York won a short breathing space on Friday when its creditors agreed to provide a small weekly allowance amounting to a cash drip-feed for O&Y's huge Canary Wharf office development in London's eastern Docklands.

But exhaustive talks between O&Y and bankers -- who have been asked by O&Y to put in fresh cash and reschedule debts on its multi-billion dollar empire -- have secured a fraction of the money needed.

Time is fast running out.

Sources close to the talks put O&Y's chances of avoiding some form of court bankruptcy protection at little better than 50-50.

Bankers fear that failure to secure a worldwide debt standstill could start a free-for-all dash among O&Y's creditors for the group's assets.

"Administration has moved up the agenda of options. We have to protect our security," said one Canary Wharf lender.

Owned by brothers Paul, Albert and Ralph Reichmann, the empire they founded in the 1950s ran out of cash in March when investors refused to buy a routine issue of commercial paper.

The reason -- a credit downgrade by Canadian rating agency Dominion Bond Rating Service -- crystallised fears among lenders that the group's legendary good fortune had at last turned.

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BC-ISRAEL (SCHEDULED, PICTURE)
SHAMIR SAYS PALESTINIANS WANT TO TALK

By Marjorie Olster

JERUSALEM, May 1, Reuter - Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said on Friday Palestinians who called this week's peace talks with Israel a waste of time had struck a different tone behind closed doors.

"Inside they spoke differently," Shamir told Reuters during a campaign walkabout through a packed Jerusalem pedestrian mall. "Outside they say to the media they do not agree but they are very interested in continuing talks and that is a good sign."

Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi called the latest round "a waste of time."

The hardline Likud party prime minister, campaigning for re-election on June 23, faces a tough challenge from the more popular Labour party leader Yitzhak Rabin. He hopes to gain support from moderates by styling himself a peacemaker.

Excited supporters shouted "Shamir to power" and "Death to the Arabs" as he passed open-air cafes full of people enjoying a sunny day.

The diminutive leader was hidden by a ring of police and security guards a head taller than him but one supporter held up a framed picture of him to let the crowd know he was coming.

Some Shamir supporters attacked a demonstration by Labour party activists and tore down a banner they carried assailing unemployment of 11 per cent, the highest in 20 years. Police broke up the row as Shamir approached.

Shamir said he was satisfied with the fifth round of talks that ended on Thursday. "There was progress towards more peace, more understanding," he said.

Israel proposed the first municipal elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1976 and offered Palestinians immediate control of their own health services.

Palestinians said the proposals were meaningless ploys meant to make Shamir look good ahead of the elections. They called for elections throughout the territories for a legislature to administer self-rule.

The Israeli offer caught Palestinian negotiators between their need to seize on any Israeli concessions and their desire to deny Shamir any credit that could help his election campaign. They did not reject municipal elections.

Two opinion polls published in Israeli newspapers on Friday showed Rabin more popular than Shamir among both Israelis and

recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union who will vote for the first time.

A poll of 800 immigrants showed 52 per cent backing Rabin compared to 22 per cent for Shamir, with 26 per cent undecided.

Forty-three per cent said they would vote for Labour and 14 per cent supported Likud. A fifth were undecided and the rest supported small parties.

A second poll of 1,000 Israelis showed 53.4 per cent backed Rabin and 31.1 per cent Shamir, with 15.5 per cent undecided.

One third of those who voted for Likud in the last election said they now preferred Rabin, a soldier-turned-politician who favours a tough line with Palestinian protests while backing territorial concessions for peace.

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BC-USA-RIOTS 3RDLD

DEATH TOLL CLIMBS TO 31 IN LOS ANGELES RIOTS

By Michael Fitzpatrick

LOS ANGELES, May 1, Reuter - California's governor rushed additional troops to Los Angeles on Friday as racial violence spread to the heart of the Hollywood movie community and other cities across the United States.

The death toll in Los Angeles rose to 31, with more than 1,200 injured, in a two-day frenzy of looting and arson that has left America's second-largest city shrouded in thick, black smoke.

There were more than 3,000 arrests and 1,500 fires set, but city officials said a dusk-to-dawn curfew had quelled the rioting that has swept the city since Wednesday.

The streets were nearly deserted as dawn broke in south central Los Angeles, where the riots erupted on Wednesday after a jury acquitted four white policemen in the beating of black motorist Rodney King.

"The fact is we have a show of force out there and things are quieting down," said Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates.

Violence spread on Thursday and overnight to San Francisco, Atlanta, Seattle and the gambling mecca of Las Vegas, where curfews were imposed to restore order.

In Los Angeles 2,000 rifle-toting National Guardsmen patrolled troubled neighbourhoods, and Governor Pete Wilson, responding to the city's plea for more help, sent 4,000 more on Friday.

The racial violence spread to the heart of Hollywood. Firefighters battled a blaze not far from the famous Mann's Chinese Theatre where footprints and handprints of the film capital's greatest stars are preserved in concrete.

Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley said he may ask the federal

government to send troops to the city if National Guardsmen cannot be mobilised quickly to restore order.

"It is clear now that we need more than 2,000 (National Guard troops) to cover the city of Los Angeles and the other cities within the county," Bradley said.

Samuel Skinner, President George Bush's chief of staff, said early on Friday it was "possible" that Bush would order federal troops into Los Angeles to help curb the rioting.

National Guard forces are under control of the governor, while federal troops, which include the U.S. Army, are under control of the president.

In San Francisco, Mayor Frank Jordan ordered an overnight curfew after bands of youths broke windows and looted a number of downtown stores. Police said 340 people were arrested.

A similar curfew was declared in Atlanta after about 200 club-wielding demonstrators tore through a downtown shopping district.

In Las Vegas, Mayor Jan Jones clamped a curfew on the west side of the city after two police stations were firebombed and one policeman was wounded.

Seattle police reported more than 30 arrests overnight as gangs of up to 200 youths roamed downtown streets, smashing shop windows and overturning cars.

Protests were also reported in Dallas and Madison, Wisconsin.

Bradley, following a helicopter tour of the wrecked neighbourhoods, said, "I must tell you I was so touched, so hurt by what I saw, it is difficult to describe."

Insured damage reached an estimated \$100 million, said Patty Lombard, spokeswoman for the Insurance Information Institute. She said the figure could go higher.

The dead in Los Angeles were mostly male, aged 15 to 45. Two men and a woman died in a traffic crash in Hollywood as they were being chased by police.

The looting and arson began in poor neighbourhoods, but the area affected by the roving mobs of all ages and races grew during the day. Ten people were arrested for looting in exclusive Beverly Hills, police said.

The normally crowded Los Angeles streets and freeways were likely to remain quiet on Friday with most schools, courts and many businesses shut down because of the riots.

All public schools in Los Angeles were ordered closed on Friday. Fires burning near the University of Southern California forced the cancellation of final examinations scheduled for Thursday and Friday.

An extended run of the musical "Phantom of the Opera" was temporarily shut down and sports events were postponed.

President Bush called the riots "outrageous" and appealed for calm. "I urge all Americans to approach the situation with calm, with tolerance and with a respect for the rights of all individuals under the constitution," he said.

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BC-YUGOSLAVIA-COMMUNITY (SCHEDULED, PICTURE)
EC MINISTERS DISCUSS HOW TO END BOSNIAN CONFLICT

By Andres Wolberg-Stok

GUIMARAES, Portugal, May 1, Reuter - European Community foreign ministers met on Friday to discuss how to force Serbia to pull Yugoslav forces out of Bosnia-Herzegovina, hours after an upsurge in violence racked the newly independent state.

Diplomats said the ministers, meeting in a 15th-century palace in the northern town of Guimaraes, were unlikely to decide how to increase pressure on Serbia.

Among theoretical measures were withholding recognition of the new state of Yugoslavia, proclaimed this week by Serbia and its ally Montenegro, and sanctions against Serbia.

The new Yugoslavia wants to assume the mantle, including arms, money, embassies and seats at world bodies, of the Yugoslav federation, torn apart by ethnic warfare since Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia broke away.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina itself, many people were feared dead after a truck bomb demolished a bridge late on Thursday, the third such attack in a day in the republic.

Earlier on Thursday between 15 and 20 people were killed in bomb attacks on two bridges across the Sava river, further north in the former Yugoslav republic.

Radio stations reported fighting in several towns, including an overnight artillery attack on the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

Three people were killed in clashes in the southwestern city of Mostar, Tanjug news agency said.

In Lisbon, sensitive EC-sponsored talks with leaders of Bosnia's Serb, Moslem and Croatian communities fighting over independence resumed on Friday.

The fighting has killed an estimated 300 people and forced 400,000 to flee their homes in the past two months.

The Moslem and Croat communities accused the Serbs on Friday of wrecking the fragile progress made at the Lisbon talks this week by launching ferocious artillery and bomb attacks.

"They just don't want peace. They are burning and destroying everything," Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Siladjic, a Moslem, told Reuters.

Western governments have threatened Serbia with international isolation unless it withdraws from Bosnia, a republic of 4.3 million people which won international recognition last month.

The 12 EC states, which last December pledged to forge a common foreign and security policy, have been unable to avoid fresh splits as Greece supported Serbia and others disagreed on whether the new Yugoslavia should be regarded as the successor state to the old federation.

Greek Prime Minister Constatine Mitsotakis visited Serbia on Thursday.

Mitsotakis was representing Greece as foreign minister in Guimaraes after sacking the previous incumbent, Antonis Samaras.

Samaras had angered some fellow EC foreign ministers with his refusal to accept EC recognition of Macedonia, another of the breakaway Yugoslav republics, arguing that its name implies territorial claims on Greece's own Macedonia region.

The EC ministers were also due to discuss institutional arrangements for their common foreign policy and budget proposals for 1993-97 which have split the Community's rich and poorer states.

On Saturday, they were to travel to the city of Oporto, 50 km (32 miles) from Guimaraes, for the formal signing of a pact embracing the 12 EC states and their seven European Free Trade Association neighbours.

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TELE-FAX COVER SHEET

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OFFICE OF POLICY & COMMUNICATIONS
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Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1992

CR
202-514-2007
TDD 202-514-1888

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- John R. Dunne, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, issued the following statement last night regarding the verdict in Los Angeles:

"Pursuant to our long-standing policy of deferring to local prosecution, the Department of Justice has been monitoring the prosecution of four Los Angeles Police Department Officers in Simi Valley. The Department's Civil Rights Division, in conjunction with the United States Attorney's office for the Central District of California, will now undertake a review of this incident to determine what, if any, action may be taken under federal civil rights laws."

#

92-147



Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1992

AG
202-514-2007
202-514-1888

STATEMENT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM P. BARR

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- I have a brief statement on the situation in Los Angeles.

→ The verdicts yesterday on state charges are not the end of this process. The Department of Justice is responsible for enforcing federal civil rights laws, and we will do so vigorously.

The Department and the FBI have been closely monitoring the Los Angeles case since the incident occurred. As is our established practice in such cases, we deferred action while the state completed its proceedings.

→ We have now moved forward with our own federal investigation of this incident to determine whether there was a violation of the civil rights laws. We began that process last night, immediately after the verdicts were returned.

That investigation will be carried out jointly by the Civil Rights Division and the United States Attorney's office in Los Angeles and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have instructed them to complete this review as quickly as possible.

I have asked Associate Attorney General Wayne Budd to personally oversee the investigation. I have asked the Associate Attorney General to go to Los Angeles to meet with all the Department of Justice components on the scene to ensure the investigation is being pursued as expeditiously as possible; and also to coordinate with Governor Wilson and Mayor Bradley with respect to any further assistance that may be required.

I join the President, local officials and community leaders in calling on all Americans to obey the law.

We take with gravest concern any allegation of police brutality and, as I said, we will pursue this particular allegation aggressively. At the same time, we cannot tolerate public violence and lawlessness. It is imperative that this violence come to an end immediately.

#

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM BARR; FBI DIRECTOR WILLIAM SESSIONS; AND JOHN DUNNE, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, CIVIL RIGHTS DIV.

J-4-1 page# 1

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1992

dest=sjd, fbi, crime, police, ca, civrts, doj, fns13684

data

ATTY GEN. BARR: Good afternoon. I have a brief statement to make about the situation in Los Angeles, and joining me here at the podium is the Director of the FBI Judge Sessions and the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice John Dunne.

It's important for people to understand that the verdicts yesterday on state charges are not the end of the process. The Department of Justice is responsible for enforcing the civil rights laws of the United States and we will do so vigorously. The Department and the FBI have been closely monitoring the Los Angeles case since the incident occurred. As is our established practice in such cases, we deferred action while the state completed its proceedings. We have now moved forward with our own federal complete investigation of this incident to determine whether there has been a violation of federal civil rights statutes.

We began that process last night immediately after the verdicts were returned. That investigation will be carried out jointly by the Los Angeles United States Attorney's Office, the Civil Rights Division, and the FBI. And I've instructed them to complete this review as quickly as possible.

I have asked Associate Attorney General Wayne Budd to personally oversee the investigation. And I have asked the Associate Attorney General to go to Los Angeles today to meet with all the Department of Justice components that are involved on the scene and to ensure that the investigation is being pursued as expeditiously as possible, and also to coordinate Governor Wilson and Mayor Bradley and other local leaders with respect to any further assistance that may be needed.

I join the President, local officials, and community leaders in calling on all Americans to obey the law. We take with gravest concern any allegation of police brutality. And as I said, we will pursue this particular allegation vigorously. At the same time, we cannot tolerate public violence and lawlessness, and it is imperative that this violence come to an end immediately.

I will take your questions.

Q General, with respect to the count on which the jury deadlocked, local officials have indicated they would take at least till May 15th to decide whether to vote for a new trial. Does that mean you're -- you certainly are not going to go forward with anything in the way of a charge prior to May 15th?

ATTY GEN. BARR: No, it does not necessarily mean that. We are now moving forward with our investigation.

Q How long --

Q Do you have any assurances from the LA folks as to how they're going to do on that count?

ATTY GEN. BARR: We don't need any assurances. We are pursuing now a federal criminal investigation.

Q How long --

ATTY GEN. BARR: Yes.

Q -- how long --

ATTY GEN. BARR: Yes.

Q On what grounds would you pursue this case? I understand perhaps a change of venue might be one thing that should be looked at? What constitutes --

ATTY GEN. BARR: No --

Q -- a civil rights violation?

ATTY GEN. BARR: The statutes of particular relevance here are 18 USC 241 and 18 USC 242. 18 USC 241 prohibits a conspiracy to deprive someone of their constitutional rights. Section 242 prohibits deprivation of constitutional rights under color of law, including under color of state law. Those are the two relevant statutes.

Q Could you explain that and how you could prosecute on a civil rights level when they've been here as criminals?

ATTY GEN. BARR: There are two -- there are -- nothing in the state process is binding on us federally. There are two different sovereigns, and so there is no issue of double jeopardy here. What we are looking at is whether there was intentional infliction of excessive force -- which may constitute a violation of the civil rights laws. And so we are not bound by any of the state proceedings in that inquiry.

Yes, sir?

Q Can you give us an estimate as to long it might take to complete your inquiry, and are there additional FBI agents and assistant US attorneys being assigned to this case? You said that the associate attorney general is being sent out there. Is anybody else being sent out there?

ATTY GEN. BARR: I believe that John Dunne last night directed several prosecutors in his division to go out to Los Angeles immediately. I'm not going to predict a specific time frame. This is now an active criminal investigation. We're obviously aware that there is a strong interest that it be pressed forward and concluded as expeditiously as we can, and all resources necessary to achieve that will be devoted to the investigation.

Yes?

Q Didn't the FBI already conduct a preliminary investigation and come up with some conclusions that indicated there might be some difficulties in bringing federal charges?

ATTY. GEN. BARR: I'll let Judge Sessions answer after I do, but there -- you were correct that the FBI did begin a criminal investigation, a review of the case, but we can't discuss what conclusions might have been reached because that is still part of this ongoing criminal investigation.

Judge, do you want to add to that?

JUDGE SESSIONS: That would be correct, Ron. Those investigative results, of course, were delivered to the United States Attorney and to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice by Deputy Attorney General John Dunne, and those matters, of course, are matters for them to consider.

Q Can you tell us when you started that investigation and when you stopped it in deference to the state trial?

ATTY. GEN. BARR: The investigation, of course, was begun immediately. If you'll recall, the video presentation of the tape was shown, I believe, on a Monday evening, and we began first thing Tuesday morning early in the morning hours. That was, of course, pursued diligently to the point where we had conducted and completed our preliminary investigation. At that point it was stopped. And, subject to the oversight of the Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, we will begin again.

Yes?

Q General, is there a Justice Department policy, maybe called the -- (inaudible word) -- policy, that states that you will not prosecute if the facts have already been adjudicated in favor of the defendant in a state court unless you come up with new evidence or something?

ATTY. GEN. BARR: There is no such policy.

Q General, may I just ask you: There is certainly a strong perception amongst many people in the community that white officers accused of brutality towards black victims get off, that there have been a number of cases where this has occurred -- Miami, New Jersey, and now LA. Can you respond to that perception? Can you help us with that? Do you have any figures?

ATTY. GEN. BARR: Since 1983, since October '88, we in the Department of Justice have brought charges against 123 law enforcement officers for police brutality. That includes officers in, I believe, 29 jurisdictions. Our conviction rate is running approximately 75 percent. These are cases usually that did not result in convictions at the state level or where we were dissatisfied with the resolution that was reached at the state level.

Q How many of those followed acquittals?

Q Did they involve civil rights violations? General, did they involve civil rights violations, these cases you're referring to?

ATTY GEN. BARR: Typically, yes.

Q Sir, did they follow acquittals?

Smith

Q Were they across racial lines, in some cases --
(inaudible) --

ATTY GEN. BARR: I can't give you a specific figure on that.
Do you know that?

MR. DUNNE: Some were, some weren't. We don't keep statistics on that because racial animus is not an element of a 241 or 242 violation.

ATTY GEN. BARR: I think that's an important point that that question just raised, which is, there is no requirement of showing racial animus under 241 or 242.

Yes, sir?

Q General, you had a moment ago said that you were looking at the possibility of intentional infliction of excessive force. Is that the crime or the conduct that is encompassed under 241 and 242, that may have occurred here? Or is there any other kind of conduct that might be prosecutable under either one of those jurisdictional statutes?

ATTY GEN. BARR: The -- under 242 the requirement is that the conduct of the defendant must have deprived the victim of some rights secured by the Constitution. And this includes the right not to have excessive or unreasonable force inflicted upon one by an officer of the state without due process. That's what I was referring to.

Yes?

Q What do you think of the verdict? Did the jury do the right thing here?

ATTY GEN. BARR: I'm standing here now in the capacity of the federal prosecutor that has an ongoing investigation of this case, so it would be inappropriate for me at this stage to comment upon that proceeding.

Q General, what is there left to investigate? Are there some facts you believe are not known by now?

ATTY GEN. BARR: Obviously one of the sources of information will be the entire proceedings of the case that's just gone forward. In addition, there may be some additional evidence.

Q But basically you're going to review the transcript of the trial?

ATTY GEN. BARR: That's obviously part of the investigation.

Q General, what is the President's attitude toward this? Did he give you instructions on how to proceed?

ATTY GEN. BARR: The President's obviously very concerned about this. And he asked for me to brief him on our activities and the investigation. While I was with him, he talked to Governor Wilson and Mayor Bradley and offered whatever assistance we could give.

Q Does he have any views on how you should proceed with the investigation?

ATTY GEN. BARR: He wants us to proceed full apace.

Q Has Wayne Budd already left for LA?

ATTY GEN. BARR: Wayne Budd is on his way here and then he will leave for LA.

Q Can you expand more on what his role will be in LA? Mr. Budd's role in --

ATTY GEN. BARR: I just -- I think I just described his role. I want him to meet with all the various components that are there. We have not only the three components involved in the investigation; we also have our community relations service that's been out there and is now very active in the community, trying to stop the violence. And I want him to go out there and meet with them, give me a status report, make sure that all the resources that we need to have there are there, and also to consult with the local leaders to determine if there's any further assistance that we can give.

Q Will the fact that a jury already acquitted weigh in your consideration at all whether to bring a federal indictment?

ATTY GEN. BARR: As I say, double jeopardy is not a concern here.

Q I'm not talking about the legal -- I'm talking about trial strategy and so forth.

ATTY GEN. BARR: I'm not going to speculate about various factors that may come into play in a particular case in judging whether it's appropriate to seek an indictment on. I'm just not going to speculate on that.

Q General, could we go a little bit deeper into the statutes that you've mentioned here? If I'm not mistaken, under the equivalent statutes that apply at the state and local level, that's 1985 and 1989, the court has established that even minimal infliction of injury is prosecutable. Is there case law to the same effect under the federal statute even though Mr. King may not have been substantially injured? Any infliction of even minimal injury, perhaps including psychic injury, would be within the reach of those statutes?

ATTY GEN. BARR: I'm not sure what you're driving at.

Q Well, what I'm saying is, as you know, the court -- the Supreme Court this term ruled that it can be a violation at the state level of the right not to have excessive force used if there's only minimal physical injury and maybe also if there's minimal emotional injury. Is there case law that shows that the same kind of thing is prosecutable under the two federal statutes you have articulated?

ATTY GEN. BARR: Do you know that, John?

MR. DUNNE: Yes.

Yes, there is. (Laughter.) Yes, in fact, there is a case where you don't even have to have any infliction of physical violence at all.

Am'd

Q So, what kind of -- what kind of legal injury has to be suffered under that precedent in order for these statutes to apply?

ATTY GEN. BARR: Well, it's a very interesting line of inquiry, but the bottom line is that this particular person was physically injured, and we believe that the injuries were to a sufficient degree to warrant an investigation under these statutes.

Q What's the current maximum penalty to be received if he's prosecuted and convicted?

ATTY GEN. BARR: Ten years and \$10,000, I believe.

Q General, the Department has internal guidelines for determining whether to go forward in a dual prosecution. Could you describe what standard or what threshold must be met to proceed with the dual prosecution under those guidelines?

★ ATTY GEN. BARR: In these particular cases, the standard is whether or not we believe that the federal interest was adequately vindicated in the state proceedings. I believe that's in the United States Attorneys manual. So it's a judgment as to whether we believe the federal interest, given the facts as we understand them, were vindicated by the state proceeding. If it's not, then we feel free to proceed on a federal track.

Thanks.

Q Thank you very much.

END

Vai Bunting
Bunting Press Office

Distinct - not correct.

③ 5 Central in East LA - ? ← separate

② # fires, deaths, injuries
WFD responded to 31
with 5000
in East LA - ? ← separate

37 deaths & today
CIVIL 5/11
\$550M damage

Looting and Fires Ravage L.A.

23 Dead, 572 Injured; 1,000 Blazes Reported

■ **Unrest:** Troops begin deployment and a dusk-to-dawn curfew is clamped into place in the second day of violence.

By GREG BRAXTON
and JIM NEWTON
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Thousands of looters ransacked stores and set fires Thursday in a chaotic rampage through the Los Angeles area as National Guard troops moved into the streets and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was clamped into force.

The violence showed no signs of abating.

Triggered by Wednesday's acquittals of four Los Angeles police officers in the beating of black motorist Rodney G. King, the second day of mushrooming violence pushed the death toll to 23, while another 572 suffered injuries, 100 of them critical.

In a period of a little more than 24 hours, about 1,000 structural fires were reported in Los Angeles County. It seemed as though, with each passing moment, fresh flames rose from new locations, sending ripples of fear through neighborhoods both close to and miles away from the mayhem.

As dusk approached, Police Commission President Stanley K. Sheinbaum said even the National Guard and the California Highway Patrol will not be enough to quiet unrest, which he said was spreading throughout the city.

"The problem is widening, intensifying," Sheinbaum said. "You have a whole social upheaval."

Unlike the Watts riots of 1965, the violence this time has not been confined to an isolated area. Looters pilfered merchandise from mini-malls and swap meets throughout a combat zone that stretched from near downtown, through South-Central neighborhoods and toward the Westside. At some sites, there was such a crowd on the take that gridlock snarled the parking lots as looters attempted to drive off with their goods.

As they casually carted off everything from guns to diapers, some expressed fury over the King verdicts, but others went about their work in high spirits, seeming to enjoy the anarchy of the moment.

The rioters "chose the opportunity to steal, loot, vandalize and, indeed, to kill," Mayor Tom Bradley said in his second public appeal in less than 12 hours, as he struggled unsuccessfully to bring the city under control. "That, we cannot—and we will not—tolerate."

• By late afternoon, after lengthy delays, hundreds of National Guardsmen started taking up positions in hot spots around the city, including one near Koreatown, where rioters set stores ablaze and looted merchandise—a scene played out countless times in

the greater Los Angeles area. Near the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, where three fires burned heavily and a man was shot at around 5 p.m., guardsmen were taunted as they tried to keep control of the area.

• Police rode shotgun for firefighters who had to dodge sporadic gunfire as they battled about 300 blazes in stores and at least one apartment building. As a pall of smoke fell across the region, much of Los Angeles' daily business ground to a halt. Government offices, courthouses, law firms and schools closed out of precautionary fear.

• As criticism of the Los Angeles Police Department's handling of the crisis mounted, Chief Daryl F. Gates admitted that his troops were overwhelmed in their initial response.

• Flights were being rerouted into the Los Angeles International Airport, causing serious delays or cancellations. "We want to keep them [jets] high enough over the area of the looting to prevent small-arms fire from reaching those airplanes," a federal aviation spokesman said.

The Police Response

As 2,400 National Guardsmen slowly moved into place late Thursday, Gates admitted that his force was not prepared for the eruption after the King verdicts—despite his highly publicized warnings to officers of potential trouble.

"We were simply overwhelmed," Gates said in a news conference. He was dressed in full police uniform with a holster on his hip, and was flanked by Fire Chief Donald Manning.

The two said the rapid escalation and spread of the violence caught authorities off guard.

"For a period of time from midnight to about 3 o'clock, we were getting about three new fires a minute," Manning said. "We had numerous situations where there were attempts to kill firefighters. Here you have a group of people who are out doing their absolute best to protect others' lives, and people are trying to kill them."

"They tried to kill them with axes, they tried to kill them with gunshots. They tried to kill them in a number of ways."

Despite these comments, the National Guard was not immediately deployed after Gov. Pete Wilson authorized its use late Wednesday. Most arrived early Thursday but spent the morning on refresher courses while awaiting the order from Los Angeles authorities to take up positions.

By late afternoon, guardsmen armed with loaded M-16 rifles and riding in armored cars were dispatched to numerous hot spots. Some were stationed at the corner of Martin Luther King Boulevard and Vermont Avenue where rioters had battled over a strip mall most of the day.

"It's scary, absolutely scary," said Staff Sgt. Jack Nix, a 19-year guard veteran who lives in the Bay Area. A military police officer by profession, Nix was standing in front of a graffiti-covered wall with the message "This is for Rodney King."

"When it gets dark," Nix said, "it gets much worse." As he spoke, ashes from half a dozen fires in the immediate area landed on his helmet.

Many of the guardsmen appeared jittery, although a number served in Operation Desert Storm.

"This is a lot different from attacking an Iraqi bunker," Col. Roger Goodrich said. "There you know who the enemy is. Here there are many unknowns. This is citizen soldiers facing citizens."

On the Streets

With thick smoke clouding the air and car horns and burglar alarms blaring, crowds of looters swarmed dozens of stores with seemingly little fear of reprisal. Businesses were sacked along every major thoroughfare running from Koreatown into South-Central Los Angeles, and by midafternoon it spread into Watts, Compton and Westwood.

The looting rapidly became a free-for-all. Entire families unabashedly made off with sacks of food, clothing, tennis shoes and auto parts snatched from dozens of stores.

Police periodically moved in to clear an area, but as soon as the officers were gone, the rush resumed.

Israel Diaz, who works for a glass company, was boarding up his second grocery store of the day at the corner of Slauson Avenue and Avalon Boulevard. Looters continued to run in and out of the market even as he worked.

"There were even little kids running in for their parents," an astonished Diaz said. "'Go on in, run in there and get more,'" men and women told their children, he reported.

In the Crenshaw District, pregnant women took food, and one woman yelled from a car to her 9-year-old daughter to retrieve a box of Pampers for her younger siblings.

Along Washington Boulevard, a crowd of about 200 people raided markets as two raging fires gutted a portion of one city block.

"It's kids, women with children, an exasperated Thomas Gutierrez, 40, said as he guarded his own auto parts store. "We can't call the cops. We can't call anyone. You're on your own. Is there ever going to be an end to this?"

Some residents videotaped the plunder.

"I don't believe in stealing," said a security guard taping people looting a Farmer John's meat freezer, "but it's history, and I want to have a piece of it."

Throughout portions of the city, sidewalks were littered with glass from shattered windows, trash and charred ruins.

Near the bustling intersection of 3rd Street and Vermont Avenue, residents were evacuated from an apartment building shortly before noon after arsonists set it afire.

Yvonne Latchison, 22, was watching television coverage of the unrest when someone ran through the building yelling that it was on fire. She and other residents escaped unharmed.

With the fire eventually contained, the scene at that intersection continued to verge on chaos most of the day, as a crowd of several hundred youths surged into grocery stores and mini-malls, while overwhelmed police looked on helplessly.

A Vons and Thrifty drugstore at the intersection were stormed shortly after noon to a chorus of war whoops and cheers. A trash can went through a window and within minutes a woman emerged with eight bottles of champagne, several cartons of cigarettes and a boom box.

A 31-year-old Altadena man, who emerged with similar booty, said, "This is not just us tearing apart our community. Everybody is pissed off. We have tried to be peaceful, but that didn't work."

Looters also traveled west on Wilshire Boulevard, tearing an iron grill off a jewelry store at Vermont Avenue. Women strolled the streets toting bright green and orange laundry baskets piled high with recently stolen detergent and toilet paper.

At Mariposa Avenue, looters stormed a Big 5 sporting goods store, carrying out armfuls of rifles, baseball caps and coolers. A few children, who could not have been any older than 12, made off with crossbows under their arms.

Another Big 5, where Wilshire meets San Vicente Boulevard at the border of Beverly Hills, was looted even as the store was open and customers milled about. The manager rushed to the front to connect the iron grill, but the mob just pushed past him and began snatching everything in sight.

A City Crippled

By midday on Thursday, Los Angeles was gradually becoming crippled by the spasms of violence, even in areas where disturbances had not been reported.

Criminal proceedings in most county courthouses were suspended, all city schools were closed and scores of private offices shut their doors and sent their employees home early. Trash collection was curtailed, and even the U.S. Postal Service said it would not deliver mail to 14 ZIP codes.

Professional sports teams canceled their games, including an NBA playoff between the Los Angeles Clippers and Utah Jazz.

Shopping centers from Eagle Rock to West L.A. closed early. At the Beverly Center, shoppers began fleeing amid semi-chaos in the parking garage. People honked horns and yelled for drivers to hurry toward the exits. The parking fee was waived and the exit arm lifted to allow people to leave quickly.

Mayor Bradley expanded an overnight curfew to the whole city after Chief Gates warned that rioting had begun "leapfrogging" to communities beyond earlier established boundaries.

"This will have a negative impact on commerce in this city and the lives of those who live here," Bradley said at a news conference Thursday afternoon.

Bradley also said, however, that he expected police to use discretion in enforcing the curfew. "There is no way the police can arrest everybody on the street," he said. "What we're really looking for here is voluntary compliance."

Lines at supermarkets from one end of the city to the other ranged from long to very long as consumers stocked up on their way home Thursday, concerned about when they would be able to buy food again.

"The lines are 20-30 people long, and every register is open," said a manager at the Hughes' market at 11361 National Blvd. in West Los Angeles. "People are buying very large orders—bottled water and things like that. They want to get enough stuff before the curfew."

At USC, final examinations were to begin Thursday but were postponed until at least Monday, officials said. Many frightened students were leaving the campus and adjacent neighborhood for their families' homes.

"Everybody's really nervous. We're getting out of here," said Kacy O'Brien of Newport Beach, as she and fellow members of the Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority were hurriedly packing their cars and departing from the Greek Row on 28th Street.

Meanwhile, Gov. Wilson, his voice among many national leaders shocked and dismayed by the events in Los Angeles, said he would travel to the city to inspect damage.

Saying he was stunned by the acquittals, he said: "There can be no excusing excessive force by a police officer."

And, he added, "There can be no excusing arson, theft, or deadly assault by a citizen. We are not going to tolerate either in California."

The Grief

Many of the burned and looted stores belonged to Korean-born merchants. Tensions between black and Korean communities have been at high pitch for some time, and were inflamed last year when a Korean-born shopkeeper shot and killed a black girl.

As rioters roamed the streets, some said they were avenging 15-year-old Latasha Harlins' death. But if the goal was to punish Korean-Americans, the plan backfired. Victims were people of all ethnic groups, residents of an economically depressed neighborhood that once again suffers the brunt of the destruction.

Carol Clark, the black manager of a Thrifty Pharmacy that was emptied by looters, huddled in the parking lot with her employees, fretting over their future: Can the store be repaired? Do they have a job?

"I cried last night, and I cried this morning when I saw what they had done," she said. "This was just

an opportunity to loot, and people took advantage of it. Why else would they break a glass door to our beer closet, when they could just open the door and get what they wanted?"

Like many residents, she said she believed that the violence has gone beyond rage over Wednesday's verdict.

"This whole area was just sitting on a powder keg," she said, "and the King verdict was the spark."

Carlos Garcia, a resident of the neighborhood around 3rd Street and Vermont Avenue, agreed.

"Right now, they're bringing down the place," he said. "But two days from now, when they're laughing and their mom sends them out to get milk, they're going to think: Where?"

A block away from the First African Methodist Episcopal Church, where black community leaders had held an emotional rally Wednesday night to urge nonviolence, the scene Thursday was one of utter disaster.

Shopkeepers who arrived to find their small retail businesses in embers cried in grief. Others, whose stores were spared from flames, busily tacked up plywood to shore up their broken windows.

Fire consumed a market owned by a Korean family; a butcher shop owned by a Latino man; and one of two buildings of A.N. Abell Auctions, which had been in business since 1916.

Occupants of at least three four-story apartment buildings along Adams Boulevard, most of them Latinos, were burned out of their residences.

Dona Alicia Hernandez, who came to Los Angeles from El Salvador five years ago, sat in shock on a piece of luggage on the sidewalk of Adams Boulevard. Left homeless by a fire, Hernandez, head in hands, surrounded herself with her meager remaining possessions: random shoes, pots and pans, cassette tapes and a large bottle of vegetable oil stored in laundry baskets, two dresser drawers and a Salvation Army plastic shopping bag.

Others whose residences were still standing stared at the remains of laundries and markets and pondered out loud whether they would be able to get by without basic services in their neighborhood. "Now we'll have to go all the way to Boys Market—if it's still there," said Velma Phillips, 37, a nightclub manager.

Outside the remains of the New Don-Re Market on Adams Boulevard, co-owner Bona Lee, 40 sobbed as she peered at the gutted interior of the block-long store. Until Wednesday night, it had housed a grocery, a coin laundry, a butcher shop, a liquor store and a hamburger stand. Thursday morning, all that remained was the front wall, embers and the charred hulks of a long row of washing machines.

"We didn't do anything wrong," said the tearful woman, who came to Los Angeles from Korea two decades ago. "We worked like slaves here."

"Is this justice? What is it? We did nothing, we worked here 365 days a year. What did we do to them? Nothing."

3 of 4

Donald Martin, a 30-year resident who works in an agency that provides housing to low-income people, said the violence is rooted deeply.

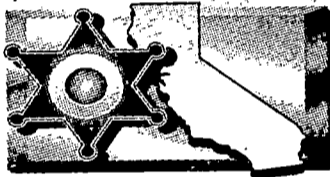
"This is a festering sore that at some point or another has to come to a head, and this is it," he said. "This has probably been festering since 1965."

King Verdict Aftermath

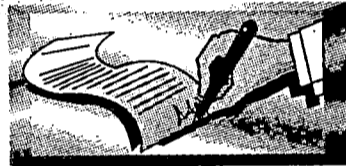
- **Deaths:** 23
- **Injuries:** 572
- **Fires:** 1,084
- **Arrests:** 300
- **National Guard:** About 2,400 troops have been deployed to support local law enforcement, with 2,000 more ready to be put into service.
- **School Closures:** All schools in the Los Angeles Unified School District will be closed today, and all school-related activities will be suspended through Sunday. The superintendent will announce Sunday whether additional closings will be needed.
- **Government Offices:** All county facilities will be closed except sheriff's stations, fire stations and county hospitals. Courts that closed Thursday will remain closed today.
- **Postal service:** Service was disrupted in at least 14 ZIP codes Thursday. Reduced deliveries expected to continue today.

Bringing In the Guard

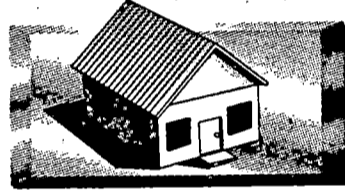
National Guardsmen are used for a variety of tasks—from quelling riots to aiding flood victims. Here is how a mobilization works:



Step 1: Local authorities call state Office of Emergency Services. After determining whether guardsmen are needed, the office notifies the governor.



Step 2: Governor approves use of the troops and issues mobilization order (Gov. Pete Wilson issued such an order at 3 a.m. Thursday).

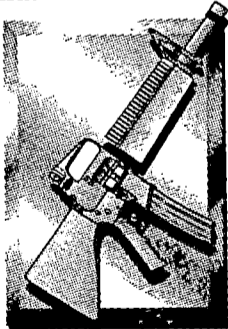


Step 3: State office calls National Guard, which alerts the guardsmen at home to report immediately.

Step 4: The guardsmen report to their local armory and await a call from local authorities on how and where they are needed.

Step 5: Call comes. Guardsmen are deployed by truck, bus or plane to the crisis area. It is up to the local government, in this case Mayor Tom Bradley and Police Chief Daryl F. Gates, to decide how and where the Guard is used.

Gear and Responsibilities



What they bring: In this case, dog tags, gas masks, first-aid kits and M-16 rifles. Some may also bring .45-caliber handguns as well.



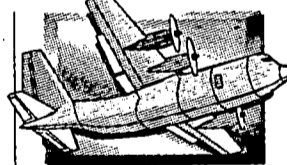
Can they make arrests?

The guardsmen are expected to pair up with police and help with questioning and searches. They are not allowed to make arrests unless emergency decrees allow it. No such arrest powers have been granted.



How are the units chosen?

They are picked according to the specific duty. All guardsmen undergo 16 hours of training in riot tactics. MPs receive more riot-related training. In this case, the units are expected to be heavy with MPs.



By air: The Air National Guard was the first Guard segment to take part in riot assistance. Air Wing 146, based in the Channel Islands, helped fly in California Highway Patrol officers aboard six C-130s beginning Wednesday night.

Source: California National Guard

4064



Los Angeles County curfew area shown by heavy black line.

Curfew areas, include Los Angeles and other cities, shown in white.

In addition, the following cities also have imposed a curfew: Lawndale, Gardena, Hawthorne, Carson and Lomita.

Fires, Beatings, Looting Erupt; Worst Since '65

■ **Riot:** Violence unfolds live on TV. Mayor Bradley declares a local state of emergency.

By MARC LACEY
and SHAWN HUBLER
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

21/120

Rioting mobs ignited fires, beat motorists and looted stores and offices Wednesday night throughout Los Angeles as fears of race-related violence came to pass after the acquittal of four Los Angeles police officers in the beating of Rodney G. King.

Gov. Pete Wilson ordered the National Guard to report for duty as scattered demonstrations evolved into the city's largest riot since Watts erupted in flames in 1965.

In a drama that unfolded on live television, violence erupted first at the intersection of Florence Boulevard and Normandie Avenue in South-Central Los Angeles and radiated to areas throughout the city.

Before the night's end, more than 100 fires raged in the city and sporadic gunfire flared in the streets. Downtown, rioters massed outside Parker Center, hurling rocks and setting fire to a small kiosk. Then they moved onto City Hall and the Los Angeles Times, smashing windows along the way. Others set fires to palm trees lining the Hollywood Freeway. Several people ran onto the freeway.

Violence also erupted at the Lake View Terrace location where King was beaten 14 months ago. Demonstrators there later marched on the Foothill Division headquarters, the home station of the officers accused of beating King. Gunshots were heard in Lake View Terrace at 9:15 p.m.

Mayor Tom Bradley called a local state of emergency shortly before 9 p.m., and Gov. Wilson ordered the National Guard to report for duty minutes later. The RTD shut down bus service.

A spokesman for Martin Luther King Jr. Medical Center said that between 5 p.m. and 10 p.m., the emergency room admitted 22 people with injuries, including five gunshot victims. The spokesman said that the admissions were "a very high number" and that the injuries ranged from minor to critical. Two operating rooms were in use to handle the flow, he said.

The anger over the King verdict simmered through the afternoon then turned ugly as dusk started to fall over the city. At Parker Center, a line of police in riot gear faced off against protesters gathered outside. But when anarchy erupted at Florence and Normandie starting at about 5:30 p.m., police were nowhere to be seen. No signs of law enforcement were evident for hours as mobs dragged motorists from their vehicles and beat them, hurled rocks and bottles at passing cars and looted a nearby liquor store.

Officers responding to the violence retreated after the mob grew larger and angrier.

The lack of response puzzled even the county's chief prosecutor, District Atty. Ira Reiner.

"I would have thought they would have moved in immediately and quickly suppressed it," Reiner said. "The plan is a mystery to me."

TV reporters also expressed disbelief at the scene unfolding live before viewers. "I can't believe the cops are looking at this and not doing something," one anchorwoman declared.

Police initially said they lacked sufficient forces to react to some specific trouble spots.

"We didn't have enough numbers to go in," Cmdr. Robert Gil, a police spokesman, said early in the evening. "You can't go in if you have only four or five officers. You have to have a sufficient number."

At about 7 p.m., as violence escalated, police commanders ordered all off-duty officers to report for duty.

The city's longstanding racial tensions, which many leaders have said were exacerbated by the beating of King, reached their hottest point on the streets after the verdicts. Many of the perpetrators of the attacks were black; some victims were white and Asian.

"I'm glad people are raising hell," said Millie Feldman, a 28-year-old South-Central resident who hurled a bottle at a late model Mercedes-Benz driven by a white woman past Florence and Normandie. "I don't think it's good, but it's got to happen."

"We don't have to put up with this," Feldman added. "This is not the right way, but it's the only way. This is just beginning."

A 20-year-old black resident who gave his name only as E. J. said anger simmered throughout the afternoon. After a crowd gathered at the corner of 71st and Normandie, he said, police arrived at the scene. When patrol cars arrived and officers attempted to make arrests, the crowd got out of control, E. J. said.

"They were shouting, 'Black power,' and then everybody started throwing bottles and rocks at the police cars," E. J. said. "The police brought out their billy clubs or something, I don't know what, but people got real pissed."

After 15 or 20 minutes, he said, "the sergeant or whoever was in charge . . . got on his loudspeaker and started saying, 'It's not worth it, it's not worth it, let's get out of here.'"

"And after that, man, they left. They just left. They shouldn't never have left."

After that, E. J. said, the mob surrounded and rocked cars that carried people "who were light skinned or white . . . There was one guy, a guy in a gray Volvo, who jumped out of his car and started taking pictures. But when the police left, the black people chased him back to his car, and jumped on him and jumped on his Volvo, stole his camera, his briefcase, pulled him out and started jump kicking him in the

head. He just barely got away. If some black guy hadn't helped him, he probably would be dead right now. . . .

"One Caucasian lady was driving down the street in a van with a whole bunch of little kids in the back. I told her, 'Get out the neighborhood, you better get out of here—look at all these people.'"

About 200 people lined the intersection, with many raised fists. Chunks of asphalt and concrete were thrown at cars.

Some yelled, "It's a black thing."

'I don't think it's good, but it's got to happen.'

MILLIE FELDMAN
South-Central resident

Others shouted, "This is for Rodney King."

In gruesome scenes recorded by the TV news helicopters, an 18-wheel truck was stopped, in the intersection, its driver dragged from the cab and beaten by the mob. He lay bleeding and motionless for several minutes. Cars were abandoned nearby, their windshields smashed and fenders battered.

Two cars were smashed in the intersection. A brown Ford Wrangler came to a stop when the driver—who appeared to be an Asian male in his 30s or 40s—was hit by a rock thrown through the front windshield. When he got out of the vehicle, he was smashed in the face with a bottle, leaving him bloodied and dazed.

A few people braved the mob to assist victims.

Meanwhile, looters declared open season on Tom's Liquor and Deli at the corner of Florence Boulevard and Normandie Avenue.

"They started looting, coming out with bottles and cases, anything they could grab," E. J. said.

Between 7 p.m. and 9:35 p.m., Los Angeles city fire units responded to 100 structure fires "and 99% of them are down south," said Public Information Officer Bob Collis. On a normal night, Collis said, there are only about two to three structure fires reported an hour city wide.

"They're coming in about one a minute . . . and I think it's going to go on like that all night," said Collis. Among the scenes fire units responded to were City Hall, where senior fire officials gathered to map strategy for dealing with the rash of blazes.

Collis said that all available captains and battalion chiefs were called in to manage the fire fights and units from around the city were being redeployed to South Los Angeles.

Some units from the Los Angeles County Fire Department joined the effort, but as of 9:50 p.m. there had not been a general call up of all available LAFD personnel, Collis said.

Verdicts in Beating Case Produce Anger

120/122
By RICHARD W. STEVENSON
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, April 29 — The acquittals today of four police officers in the beating of Rodney King stunned and angered many in a city that had come to regard the videotape of the incident as incontrovertible evidence of brutality, racism and a police force out of control.

From the streets of south central Los Angeles to City Hall, residents and officials here said they had expected convictions on at least some charges. And after more than a year of rancorous efforts to overhaul the management of the Los Angeles Police Department and replace its chief, Daryl F. Gates, the verdicts were seen by some community leaders as a serious setback for race relations.

In a news conference two hours after the verdicts were read, Mayor Tom Bradley, speaking in uncharacteristically passionate terms, said: "The jury's verdict will never blind us to what we saw on that videotape. The men who beat Rodney King do not deserve to wear the uniform of the L.A.P.D."

"We will not respond to this senseless jury's verdict with senseless anger," Mayor Bradley, a former police officer, continued. "We will summon all the best in ourselves to make L.A. a safe, fair and just city."

The verdicts evoked particular anger in the city's black neighborhoods, where emotions about the legal system have been running high since a local judge sentenced a Korean-American shopkeeper, Soon Ja Du, to probation late last year after she was convicted of voluntary manslaughter for killing Latasha Harlins, a 15-year-old unarmed black girl, after a struggle in her store.

"It just goes to show that prejudice is still around," said Tameka Washington, a 17-year-old high school senior, as she waited for a bus this afternoon. "What more evidence do you need? The videotape was even there."

City officials and black civic leaders urged calm, and there were no reports of disturbances immediately after the reading of the verdicts.

"I urge people who have strong feelings not to give vent to those feelings," said Ira Reiner, the Los Angeles County District Attorney, whose office prosecuted the case against the four officers.

"There were four officers on trial, not an entire department," Mr. Reiner said. "We think they used excessive and unreasonable force. We disagree with the jury, but are obliged to accept the integrity of that verdict. It's a time for sober reflection, not recrimination."

Some black officials said they would use the verdict to try to develop a more politically potent voice for minorities in Los Angeles. A number of city council members said the verdict might help rally support for a proposed amendment to the city charter that will be put to voters in June. The amendment would remove the police chief's position from the civil service rolls, making it easier to remove a chief from the job, and would give additional power to the Police Commission.

"The voice of this community will be heard," said Mark Ridley-Thomas, one of three black members of the 15-member Los Angeles City Council. "We cannot stand idly by and pretend this did not happen."

Willie L. Williams, who has been named to succeed Chief Gates, said he could not comment on the verdict. "There are obviously two camps operating out of Los Angeles, one that believes the police officers are guilty, one that they are totally innocent," he said through a spokesman. "And whether we like it or not, we have to accept the judicial process. It is a fair process. We have to accept it and move forward and do what we can to prevent an incident like this from ever happening again."

Mr. Williams, who is now the Police Commissioner in Philadelphia, added: "How it affects my role as police commissioner in Los Angeles is that it is going to make it a little more challenging. It will place additional pressures on me and the department to convince

the community that the Police Department is a fair institution and is service oriented. There are internal investigations and other litigation that is yet to be completed."

When the beating of Mr. King came to light, police departments across the country felt the sting of criticism, and many of them pledged to review their procedures. Suzanne Trazoff, deputy commissioner of information for the New York City Police Department, said, "Since this incident we, with other police agencies, have gone through a period of extensive self-examination."

Ms. Trazoff said Police Commissioner Lee P. Brown was on his way back from a conference in South Africa and was unavailable for comment.

Joe R. Hicks, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Greater Los Angeles, called the verdict "horrendous" and said, "Police officers will now feel freed up to thump some heads and to kick some butts, to do whatever they feel like doing to keep people in line."

Los Angeles Policemen Acquitted in Taped Beating

By SETH MYDANS
Special to The New York Times

120/122
SIMI VALLEY, Calif., April 29 — Four Los Angeles police officers were acquitted of assault today in the videotaped beating of a black motorist, touching off a storm of anger in the city.

After hearing seven weeks of detailed testimony and studying the 81-second amateur videotape of the beating, the jury concluded that the policemen had not broken any laws when they clubbed and kicked the mostly phone motorist, Rodney G. King.

They remained deadlocked on one of the 11 charges, and the prosecution said it might seek a new trial on that charge, which affected only one of the defendants.

The beating on March 3, 1991, with its kicks and its 56 swings of the baton, was captured on 81 seconds of amateur videotape. Shown over and over on television, it immediately became the most visible police use of force in this country's history and put the issue of police brutality on the national agenda.

Immediately after the verdict, an unusually impassioned Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles appeared on television to appeal for calm in a city where the videotape has come to symbolize complaints about police brutality, racism and the violence of the streets.

Community leaders expressed outrage that what had seemed on the videotape to be a clear-cut instance of police brutality had gone unpunished. The absence of blacks on the jury, picked from mostly white Ventura County near Los Angeles after a change of venue to avoid pre-trial publicity, was used to enforce their allegations of racism.

The prosecutor, Deputy District Attorney Terry White, said the verdict "sends out a message that whatever you saw on that tape was reasonable conduct."

The jurors said it had taken them only one day to reach their acquittals on the main charges against Sergeant Stacey C. Koon, 41 years old; Officers Laurence M. Powell, 29, and Theodore J. Briseno, 39; and former Officer Timothy E. Wind, 31. The three officers have been suspended since the beating; Mr. Wind, a rookie without tenure, was dismissed from the department.

The charges included assault with a deadly weapon, excessive use of force as a police officer, filing a false report and acting as an accessory after the fact.

Jurors said they were deadlocked on a charge against Officer Powell of use of excessive force as a police officer. Mr. White said his office would seek a new trial on that charge, but prosecutors later said they would reassess their plans. A hearing was set for May 15.

The jurors refused to be interviewed by reporters, issuing a brief statement that gave no indication of the basis on which they reached their verdicts.

The defendants sat motionless and expressionless, as they have throughout most of the trial, as a court officer read out 10 separate verdicts of not guilty. Then they rose and embraced their lawyers.

In an indication of the mood here, loud arguments broke out between

Blacks Raising Charge of Racism as Storm of Anger Results

white and black spectators outside the courthouse in this Los Angeles suburb. "What race are you?" shouted a black man.

A white man shouted back, "I'm an American!"

The black man yelled in reply, "We're not judged as Americans!" Stones were thrown at Officer Powell as he left the courthouse, said Sgt. Dick Southwick of the Ventura County Sheriff's Department.

The jury's verdict flew in the face of the verdict of public opinion, which over the past year has condemned the videotaped beating as police brutality in its rawest form.

President Bush said the videotape sickened him, and police departments in other cities played it for their officers as a cautionary lesson. But many civil rights groups and black community leaders said that Mr. King's beating was unusual only in that it had been captured on videotape.

The tape became a symbol of what many critics see as a chasm between police officers and the communities they protect, of racial bias in law enforcement and of the bunker mentality of some police departments.

As a result of the publicity, United States Attorney General Dick Thornburgh ordered a review of police-brutality complaints around the nation. An independent commission headed by Warren M. Christopher, a Deputy Secretary of State in the Carter Administration, recommended broad changes in the Los Angeles Police Department.

Under intense pressure, Chief Daryl F. Gates announced he would resign his tenured position, and although he has continued to hold onto office, his replacement, Willie L. Williams, the Philadelphia Police Commissioner, was announced this month.

The videotape was the central piece of evidence at the trial. As defense lawyers sought explanations for this or that baton swing or kick, the prosecutor, Mr. White, urged jurors simply to watch the tape and to believe their eyes.

The defense brought experts in police procedures to testify about the propriety of the actions shown on the tape, arguing that Mr. King was making potentially threatening movements as he rolled on the ground under the blows.

"If reasonable police minds could differ over the propriety of the use of force on March 3, 1991, then I suggest to you there is no proof beyond a reasonable doubt" that the beating was a criminal assault, argued Michael P. Stone, the lawyer for Officer Powell.

Mr. White, who presented his own expert to testify that the beating was unjustified, countered that at some point each juror would find himself saying, "Enough is enough."

"Once you decide reasonable force ends, you have assault," Mr. White said. "You have a violation and assault with a deadly weapon."

In their closing arguments, the lawyers focused on an issue at the heart of the controversy over the Los Angeles Police Department, what Mr. Christopher described as its "siege mentality."

Addressing the jury, 10 of whose members were white, 1 Asian and 1 Hispanic, defense lawyers referred repeatedly to the "thin blue line," to the role of a police force in protecting society from "the likes of Rodney King."

"This unpleasant incident is what we have police for," said Paul dePasquale, the lawyer for Mr. Wind. "The circumstances here were consistent with the job the man was hired to do. He was part of the line between society and chaos."

The videotape was shown repeatedly during the trial at slow, super-slow and normal speeds, with the roar of a police helicopter, the muffled shouts of the police and the occasional crack of a baton blow filling the courtroom.

In what seemed an effort to desensitize the jury to the violence, defense lawyers sometimes paced back and forth swinging a heavy metal police baton. They displayed large color photographs of the battered and swollen face of Mr. King and pointed to the locations of his fractures on a lighted model of a skull.

Mr. King did not appear as a witness. His lawyer, Steven Lerman, said Mr. King has been confused and frightened since the beating and has problems with short-term memory.

Sergeant Koon, a 14-year veteran, is not shown on the tape hitting Mr. King but was being held responsible for the actions of the men under his command. He faced a maximum sentence of four years, eight months on charges of assault with a deadly weapon, using excessive force as a police officer, filing a false report and being an accessory after the fact.

He testified that Mr. King's erratic and uncooperative behavior after the traffic stop made it necessary to use force. "Sometimes police work is brutal. That's just a fact of life," he said on the witness stand.

Officer Powell is shown on the tape delivering most of the baton blows and was described by prosecutors as making racial slurs and laughing about the beating. He faced seven years and eight months on charges of assault, using excessive force as a police officer and filing a false report. He was also the subject of two special allegations of causing great bodily injury.

"You don't see an example of uncontrolled police brutality," said Mr. Stone, Officer Powell's lawyer. "It's not there. You see a controlled application of baton strikes for the very obvious reason of getting this man into custody."

Mr. Wind, the rookie who was in training with Officer Powell, is shown delivering about 15 baton blows and several kicks. He faced a possible total of seven years on the same charges as Officer Powell, except for the charge of filing a false report.

Officer Briseno faced a four-year sentence on charges of assault and of using excessive force as a police officer, based on a single kick to the back of the neck or head of Mr. King as he lay on the ground. He is also shown on the videotape trying at one point to block Officer Powell's baton, and he contended that his kick was an effort to get Mr. King to lie still so the beating would stop.

Verdicts Spark Protests, Violence Across California

■ **Reaction:** Most rallies are peaceful. But there are fires in Riverside County, angry rampages in the Bay Area and a temporary shutdown of the Bay Bridge.

By JENIFER WARREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

21/120/122

Outrage over the verdicts in the Rodney G. King case rumbled to California's most distant corners Thursday as protesters temporarily shut down the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, set destructive arson fires in Riverside County and went on a looting binge that led to arrests and at least one injury in Berkeley.

Most rallies across California were peaceful, involving students and community members who felt a need to vent frustration, denounce the Los Angeles police force and commiserate over the stunning acquittals. But in some areas tempers flared and gatherings turned violent.

In response, some jittery residents began arming themselves Thursday. Gun dealers from Orange County to San Francisco reported a surge in business. Salesmen speculated that customers were fearful.

Outside Los Angeles, the largest and angriest protests Thursday raged in the Bay Area. Rampages in Berkeley, San Jose and San Francisco led to at least 75 arrests, and about 400 marchers snarled the evening commute when they forced police to close some lanes on the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge for several hours.

In San Jose, police made eight arrests after 100 people staged an early morning protest march from the campus of San Jose State University. The marchers tipped over three university police motorcycles, threw rocks and bottles at officers, and then headed downtown, where they robbed a bystander, pelted motorists with debris and shattered the windows of 10 businesses.

In San Francisco, officials briefly closed Interstate 280 after protesters spilled onto the freeway from the campus of San Francisco State University. Later, several hundred people milled around 19th Avenue, a major thoroughfare near the campus, forcing closure of the street. Police made 65 arrests.

Closer to Los Angeles, authorities in Peris—a semirural city of 30,000 in southwestern Riverside County—blamed several arsons on King-related rioting. In the most serious episode, fire destroyed the Cat Ballou, a popular, country-Western nightclub. There were no injuries, but owners estimated their

losses at \$1.6 million.

In San Diego, more than 200 high school students marched almost four miles to a neighboring school, where they joined about 100 other students in a rally to protest the King verdicts.

Elsewhere in California, indignation mostly was confined to university campuses.

At UC Berkeley, about 1,700 students united in an angry rally that featured impromptu speeches and chants of "Hey, hey, ho, ho, LAPD Got to Go." The protesters marched around campus and through the streets of Berkeley. Some joined other protesters outside the Berkeley Police Department, and a few demonstrators hurled bricks through the building's windows.

By late afternoon, about 300 Berkeley students and community members had marched to the toll plaza on the Bay Bridge. Authorities were forced to close all westbound traffic lanes as the marchers filled the lanes. Westbound commuters were slowed to a crawl.

At UC Irvine, about 500 students of all ethnic backgrounds demonstrated their unhappiness with the verdict, marching in a long, snaking line through campus and along nearby streets in the community, chanting, "No Justice! No Peace!" and "Guilty! Guilty! Guilty!" and shaking their fists in the air.

A Divided Los Angeles Rages Across the Abyss

■ **City:** To rebuild, we must find the will to narrow the gap between haves and have-nots.

By TIM RUTTEN *21/20/92*

Images. Scenes that flicker like tongues of flame: of reasoned indignation and unthinking rage; of wanton destruction and numbing fear.

And among them all—culled from the streets and the television and the newspaper—one picture that deserves to be remembered: the Rev. Cecil P. Murray, pastor of Los Angeles' First AME Church, his chin up and his cheeks bright with tears.

As a columnist for The Times, I have spent some of my most instructive hours in "Chip" Murray's quiet study at First AME. It wasn't hard to imagine his thoughts—anger over the injustice that most African-Americans see in the acquittal of Rodney King's accused assailants; frustration that his pleas for a nonviolent response have been so widely ignored.

But it is on precisely that response—one which recognizes both dimensions of our current civic crisis—that we can begin to rebuild this city's future.

It is a melancholy fact that Los Angeles has been for many years the most segregated of America's big cities. But over the past 12 years, economic and political forces have pushed Angelenos further and further apart.

Today, more than ever before, we are two cities. One is overwhelmingly white and relatively well educated. Its residents have benefited disproportionately from federal tax and spending policies and from their ability to find jobs in the so-called sunrise industries. The other Los Angeles is populated by poor—and poorly educated—blacks, Latinos and recent Asian immigrants. They have suffered disproportionately from federal policies and economic restructuring.

When they can find a job, it usually is in Los Angeles' fastest-growing occupational category: "salesperson." Its average entry wage is \$4.75 an hour. In this "other" Los Angeles, even a high-school diploma is no guarantee of a decent standard of living. Between 1973 and 1986, the average yearly income of African-American high school graduates declined 44%; Latino earnings fell 35% during that period. During that same period, many of the city's poorest neighborhoods have been ravaged by unprecedented increases in drug addiction and violent crime. While the vast majority of poor Angelenos, like all poor Americans, are law-abiding, 80% of all criminal defendants in the city's urban courts now are indigent.

The distance between these two Los

Angeles' was never more clear than in the angry questions posed about the conduct of the city's leaders when the violence began Wednesday night.

On the one hand were those—many of them opponents of Charter Amendment F—who alleged that Mayor Tom Bradley's denunciation of the verdict in the King case virtually invited urban disorder. On the other hand there were those—particularly in the black community—who angrily attacked what they consider the mayor's passivity.

On the one hand were people—mainly white—who charged that the Los Angeles Police Department's tentative response to Wednesday's first incidents of violence was caused by months of political interference from City Hall. On the other hand there were people—many of them black—who speculated that LAPD Chief Daryl F. Gates deliberately slowed his officers' deployment in areas where criticism of his stewardship has been most intense.

Finally, you could see the gap between our two cities in what might be called the battle of dehumanizing epithets. One year ago, the officers accused of assaulting King were routinely referred to as "savages" and "thugs." By Wednesday, those same nouns were being used to describe the young people running riot through the streets.

Two cities being pushed further and further apart. Two peoples shouting two sets of angry, anxious questions into the empty abyss that divides them.

Can a city divided not only by the facts of life, but also by the very questions people ask about them find a common ground? The answer, as the response of thoughtful leaders like Chip Murray suggests, is yes, if people are willing to see each other whole. And, perhaps more important, if they are willing to refrain from using these tragic events as the excuse for further division.

The last time we spoke about the divided city in which we live, Murray had this to say:

"Ours is not a failure of resources; ours is a failure of will. American know-how is fabled. We can do anything we have the will to do. If we have visionary leadership, we can muster the will to solve these problems. There are not enough police in America, there are not enough dollars in America to do that if the will is lacking. Americans right now are almost equally divided in their feelings about race.

There is much to be done, but justice is within our grasp. Now, if our leaders will stop feeding us to each other, and show us that we can work with each other, we'll be all right."

Tim Rutten is a columnist for The Times' View section.

The Social Contract Hangs by a Thread



We cede our impulse for vengeance for the state's promise of justice; now it seems we've been betrayed.

By REX JULIAN BEABER

2/1/20/22

The Rodney King verdict and its tumultuous aftermath provide a frightening lesson on the tenuous nature of our social order. A night of violence teaches us that when the perception of a just society is replaced with a sense that our system of justice is capricious and possibly prejudiced, social order is replaced by chaos.

At some unknown point in the evolution from beast to man, we voluntarily surrendered our right to individual justice. The social contract that holds the fabric of modern civilizations together is weaved from a simple bargain. Man gave up his right to individual vengeance, left his spears at the doorstep of civilization, and, in return, the state promised to create a rule of law, a system of justice, which would fairly and systematically vindicate public and private wrongs.

When man relinquished the right to personal vengeance, he gave up a great deal. Psychologically, the state's efforts at justice can never provide the impulsive satisfaction of hearing your victimizer plea for mercy at your own hands. However, in return, the state gives us two great gifts. First, the state lends each of us its awesome power so that even the weak may have revenge. Second, the state imposes order and reason on the process of social vengeance, hopefully ensuring that the innocent will not be slaughtered by the blind passion that energizes personal vengeance.

In large measure, the public debate over the death penalty reflects a struggle to find a correct balance between the desire for bestial revenge and the need for an objective and rational system of punishment.

The lesson from the violent aftermath of the King verdict is that when the perception of justice diminishes in the eyes of a significant cultural subgroup, they will, at least temporarily, withdraw from the social contract and return to the speedy and

passionate form of justice that empowers the frustrated and disenfranchised. The true victim of the King verdict was the public perception of justice—many have lost faith that our criminal and civil justice system can right wrongs.

The erosion of confidence in the legal system is felt in every part of our society. The law and

lawyers have created a maze of cabalistic procedures, tricks and games that looks more like witchcraft than justice.

The King verdict was the product of a legal trick and a subtle psychological manipulation. The legal trick was simple—changing the venue of the trial from multicultural Los Angeles to pristine Simi Valley. He who controls who judges controls the judgment.

The psychological manipulation rested on the simple rule of desensitization. No matter how horrific a visual scene, no matter how obvious the injustice, repeated exposure, over and over again, saps the natural emotional impact and undermines our latent sense of justice.

It is the principle of desensitization that allows soldiers to kill and surgeons to cure. Repeated exposure silences our gut sense of repugnance and justice, and most important, allows the verbal magic of lawyers' arguments and the hypnotic influence of pseudo-experts to triumph over the wisdom of our immediate emotional response.

Surprisingly, the manipulations and tricks in the King case were trivial compared with what goes on every day in our court houses. As a result, we have become so thirsty for simple justice that we celebrate when just one killer is put to death.

Businessmen in the corporate sector are now searching for a way out of hiring an army of lawyers to resolve civil disputes. Supreme Court nominations are attended by the cacophony of full political campaigns. The growing perception that our court system is incapable of producing a speedy, affordable and fair resolution of human conflict threatens a cherished social contract.

Today the price of this perception is an eruption of violence; tomorrow it will be social retreat and depression.

Rex Julian Beaber is a psychologist and trial attorney practicing in Los Angeles.

Crisis Shows LAPD Is Ill-Prepared for Riots

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■ **Response:** But the rapidly unfolding violence might have overwhelmed any police department.

By DAVID FREED
and TED ROHRLICH
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

21/120/122

Where were the police?

That was the question that many in Los Angeles, including members of the city's Police Department, were asking Thursday in the aftermath of televised beatings, burning and looting that raged for hours in South-Central Los Angeles before officers made any attempt to stop it.

Even Chief Daryl F. Gates, who insisted beforehand that the LAPD was ready for "any emergency situation," conceded that his officers were overwhelmed by how quickly the crisis developed and were "much too slow" to respond.

"I asked the same question: Where were the police?" Gates told

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reporters. "We moved in with substantial numbers but not with the numbers needed to handle the situation."

Gates speculated, however, that had LAPD officers not retreated when rioting first flared, they might have incited even greater violence.

But as the lame-duck chief scrambled to defend his actions, the crisis demonstrated just how ill-prepared the Police Department was in coping with the first hours of the worst urban turmoil in Los Angeles since the 1965 Watts riots.

Indeed, nearly 2,000 National Guard members were activated by Gov. Pete Wilson on Wednesday evening, with nearly all in place at armories by 8 a.m. Thursday and ready to hit the streets, according to Guard officials. However, none were deployed until late afternoon, LAPD field commanders said.

Wilson said that police commanders apparently were slow to decide how to best use the troops. Delays were also encountered, he said, as guardsmen obtained necessary equipment, including ammunition.

Police commanders countered that they had a plan to use the guardsmen to help secure a perimeter around the worst riot areas, a move they said would free more police officers to arrest looters and arsonists.

The Guard troops also were expected to be stationed around the city to secure stores after police chased off looters.

It was commonplace Thursday to see looters return to stores after being dispersed by police, who were forced to leave after a short time to answer other calls.

Unlike other large police departments that have learned to take substantial precautions when facing similar situations, the LAPD waited until after verdicts in the

Rodney G. King beating trial were announced at 3:15 p.m. Wednesday before fully mobilizing.

By then, the majority of the force's more than 1,000 detectives—who normally get off work about 2:30 p.m.—had gone home and needed to be recalled to reinforce beleaguered patrol officers.

At 6:30 p.m., as angry demonstrators began gathering outside police headquarters and TV stations began to air scenes of violence near Florence and Normandie avenues, Gates declared that his officers were dealing with the situation "calmly, maturely, professionally."

He then drove to a Brentwood reception and fund-raiser for the campaign against Charter Amendment F, a police reform ballot measure.

On Thursday, Gates said his presence at the event did not hinder the LAPD's response to the mounting crisis in South-Central Los Angeles because "not a great deal had broken out at that time." He said he remained at the event for "a very, very short period"—about 20 minutes. Gates returned to the city's Emergency Response Center between 8:30 p.m. and 9 p.m.

By that time, television viewers around the country had been watching small mobs drag motorists from their vehicles and beat them near Florence and Normandie avenues without any attempt by police to stop the violence or rescue the victims.

Even when it became clear that the LAPD apparently could not muster the manpower to put down the unfolding unrest, officers made no apparent attempts to barricade streets or otherwise keep unsuspecting motorists out of harm's way.

"It is absolutely inexcusable for the Police Department not to have cordoned off major streets and reroute traffic," said one LAPD detective, Zvonko (Bill) Pavelic. "They took no action to defuse the situation and stop citizens from becoming victims."

Others in Los Angeles accused Gates of purposely delaying the deployment of officers in the first critical hours of the crisis.

"It's his revenge against the people who are trying to put him out of office," said Craig Freis, a candidate for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

However, two of Gates' harshest critics on the Police Commission, President Stanley K. Sheinbaum and Vice President Jesse Brewer, said Thursday that the chief had handled the situation as well as possible.

"He's doing the best he can," said Brewer, a former LAPD assistant chief.

Sheinbaum said the department had prepared for possible unrest,

but the rioting exposed how thin the 7,900-officer LAPD has become. He stressed that Gates "doesn't have the resources to do what needs to be done."

Nonetheless, Sheinbaum said the initial deployment of officers Wednesday night will be investigated, particularly the "critical question" of why police did not respond to the first scenes of violence captured by television cameras.

Police Chief-designate Willie L. Williams also appeared to come to Gates' defense, saying that putting more police officers on the street before the King verdicts might have "aggravated the situation."

"Based on the history of this country," Williams said on NBC's "Today Show," "massive police presence has usually not helped in the early stages."

But authorities in Miami—one of the few other major U.S. cities where widespread rioting has occurred in the last decade—disputed Williams' assertion, insisting that quick, forceful police action is the only way to quell a major disturbance.

In 1982 and 1989, Miami officers went on trial for the controversial slayings of ethnic minorities in that city. Days before each verdict was announced, police began restricting access to and from potentially troublesome neighborhoods, put all officers on 12-hour shifts and canceled vacations. Half of the department's detectives, meanwhile, donned uniforms and hit the streets to help out.

In each case, according to department spokesman David Magnusson, there was little trouble after the verdicts were announced.

Miami's Metro-Dade Police Department, meanwhile, creates temporary "mobile field forces" to deal with such incidents. More than 400 riot-equipped officers can be organized and deployed within one hour of any emergency.

"We try to get in there as quickly as we can and stop it from spreading," said Lt. Angel Nieves of Metro-Dade's Tactical Operations Section. "If you don't do anything, it gets bigger and bigger to the point where you're not going to have enough officers to control it."

Cmdr. Ronald Banks, who was in charge of the 550 LAPD officers assigned to the riot area Thursday, said Miami's strategy of mobilizing in anticipation of a controversial verdict would be impractical in Los Angeles. He said authorities here had no certain knowledge that rioting would occur.

Miami [has] more of a history," Banks said. "We had 1965."

The cost of deploying the entire Police Department beforehand, Banks said, would have been prohibitive and possibly wasteful,

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since there probably would have been no rioting had the officers accused of beating King been found guilty.

In addition, Banks said, Los Angeles' size argues against an advance mobilization.

"Had we known [the trouble] was going to occur in South-Central Los Angeles first . . . that's very easy," he said. "But there's a tremendous difference in the demographics of Los Angeles as compared to Miami."

In Miami, Banks said, "they pretty well know where it's going to start. Even if you targeted South-Central Los Angeles, it's expansive enough not to know where you were going to put up your command post."

The first officers to arrive at the scene at Florence and Normandie set a tone for the LAPD's early response to the riot—retreat.

"Our units that responded initially were assaulted," Banks said. "Windows were broken out of their police cars. Several received minor injuries. They were basically overwhelmed. They did as their training dictated because they were outnumbered. They retreated.

"We were not going to go back

and be taken hostage or incur more injuries until we had sufficient personnel," Banks said.

Yet while the LAPD has since been fully mobilized, the violence still remains out of control.

"We don't have enough people," Banks said grimly.

Staff writers Rich Connell, Cheryl Brownstein-Santiago, Amy Pyle and Daniel M. Weintraub contributed to this story.

Opportunists, Criminals Are Blamed for Riots

By VICTOR MERINA
and MARC LACEY
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

21/120/122

As Los Angeles firefighters and police spent a weary day and night battling arson blazes and looters, stunned residents and business owners grappled with the question of who is torching and pillaging their communities. The answer seemed to be: both criminals and opportunists.

The rampage, which began Wednesday within hours of the acquittal of four white police officers in the beating of Rodney G. King, continued Thursday with scenes reminiscent of a war zone—smoke billowing from dozens of fires, looters hustling out of stores with merchandise, and gunfire echoing through the streets periodically.

But amid the pall, there also was a carnival atmosphere among some participants and onlookers who raced to stricken neighborhoods to watch, join the looting or record events with video cameras. And there was the bizarre picture of gleeful teen-agers and families, as if on a weekend outing, ignoring outnumbered police and loading up on looted goods.

Although young black men made up many of the rioters and looters, Latinos, Anglos and Asians also took part. Some were as young as 7; others were in their 60s. Mothers brought their children. Gang members were clearly evident, but entire families also took part.

"You had 7- and 8-year-olds all the way up to 60-year-olds—it's not just gang members," said Dorothy, a woman who watched the rioting in the Crenshaw area. "You had everyday citizens. . . . I thought about participating myself."

At intersection after intersection, cars crept along jammed streets in stricken areas and motorists leaned out of windows and flashed "black power" signs and shouted greetings to each other. Many honked their horns and shouted slogans vilifying police.

In some South Los Angeles neighborhoods, looters could be seen carting away armloads of stolen merchandise while others made multiple trips from their homes using shopping carts to carry the heavy items. Motorists backed up their cars to a store to load, and then drove away.

At one auto parts store, flocks of young men could be seen carrying boxes out of the front door while police entered the back way. And as the store was looted, skateboarders and bicyclists whizzed by on the sidewalk. If the police arrived, looters merely waited until they had left and then continued.

At a pawnshop on Jefferson Street just west of Arlington Avenue, men and some boys as

young as 9 were carting off weapons and guns by late evening. Although some apparent gang members were milling around the store, many of the looters seemed to be motorists who just stopped their cars to get in on the action.

Two teen-agers—arrested for allegedly shooting at police officers but later released—were being held near 3rd Street and Vermont Avenue. At their sides were two large duffel bags, each stuffed full of clothes stolen from a nearby store. When asked why he was looting, one of the youths said: "Just for fun, you know."

At John's Market in the Slauson area, people flocked to the store after several youngsters broke into it. A young mother with three children sent in her 9-year-old daughter to get some diapers for her baby.

A 43-year-old man who had already purchased groceries earlier said he had come back because the merchandise was now free. "I'm getting some food to put on the table," he said.

In some places, entire families participated in the looting.

"I'm really not like this," said Karen, a 24-year-old mother who sat in her car at a mini-mall on Crenshaw Boulevard as her daughter and two nieces filled the back seat with video movies and beauty-care supplies stolen from a nearby store.

She laughed when she heard gunfire and sirens in the distance. "Everybody else is grabbing and taking what they can take," she said. "Why not me? This ain't stealing. Ain't nobody in the store. It's free now."

As the injury toll rose and property damages escalated, many watching the spectacle on television or in person expressed anger at those responsible for the maelstrom that charred their neighborhoods and ruined businesses from Koreatown to South Los Angeles.

"Blacks did it to themselves this time," said Ron Marshall, 42, an African-American who owns a business in the Slauson area. "They shot themselves in the foot."

"It's crazy out here now," said another onlooker as he watched. "It's really out of control. I mean, I'm Hispanic and we're killing our own. It's ridiculous, man."

Much of the rage and destruction had started innocently enough late Wednesday as vocal—yet peaceful—demonstrators gathered throughout the city after the verdict. But in a matter of hours, the mood had turned ugly.

In the Civic Center, hundreds of angry protesters marched through the mostly non-residential area hurling rocks and bottles and shattering windows at police headquarters, courthouses and newspaper offices. Chanting demonstrators burned several automobiles—including a police car outside City Hall—and torched restaurants and businesses before dispersing.

In South Los Angeles, businesses and homes were set afire. Smaller blazes broke out in the city's Fairfax and Westwood sections and in mostly white communities in the San Fernando Valley.

Outside the Los Angeles Police Department's Foothill Division in Pacoima, where a crowd of 200 to 300 people had gathered, youths threw rocks and bottles at officers and set fire to two dumpsters in back of a hamburger stand across from the police station. One teen-ager fired several rounds from a gun into the air—scattering the crowd and prompting police in riot gear to advance across the street.

Elsewhere, angry crowds began attacking motorists.

Louise Robertson, 30, said she saw groups of people attacking cars in a largely black portion of South Los Angeles and watched as an Asian woman was hit in the head with a brick thrown through her windshield. "Anyone whose skin was light got hit," Robertson said.

Other motorists were dragged from their cars and beaten by the hostile crowd.

"People started throwing bottles through the windows and the next thing I knew someone threw me out of the truck and started beating me," said Larry Tarvin, a Bellflower truck driver, who suffered severe cuts and bruises until he was rescued by an unidentified black man.

Many have blamed the violence on gang members, but some officials say a wide spectrum of people took part.

Steve Valdivia, executive director of Community Youth Gang Services, estimated that only 30% of the rioters and looters were members of gangs. "This was a spontaneous explosion of anger," he said. "If there were a lot of gang members, you'd have seen a lot more shooting."

Jim Galipeau, a veteran deputy probation officer in his department's gang unit, said there was a strong gang presence on the streets but discounted any notion that the activity was organized. "This is just people who are greedy and immoral and opportunistic," he said. "They don't give a [expletive] about Rodney King."

Though some of those who smashed windows and set fires said they were acting in response to the King case, others said they were expressing outrage over what they see as a general pattern of racism typified by the acquittals.

Some Korean merchants, who have clashed with black customers in the past, saw their businesses burned. But most black-owned businesses—despite some efforts by owners to identify themselves that way—were not spared.

Lola Davis, whose husband owns a Firestone tire dealership in South

COLUMN ONE

An Area Burns and Grieves

■ Life has been hard in South-Central Los Angeles for years. But now, as self-inflicted wounds mount, residents fear for the future. 21/120/122

By JONATHAN PETERSON
and HECTOR TOBAR
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

In a smoky parking lot in South-Central Los Angeles, Ruby Galude, 55, stared in disbelief at the wreckage of her local grocery store. "I'm a diabetic. This is where I get all my juices and foods," she said, peering at shards of glass and soaked debris. "What am I going to do now?"

A few miles away, Paul C. Hudson arrived at his family-run savings and loan, a community fixture since 1947 in a neighborhood that has a grave shortage of banks. On Wednesday night it burned down. "Just the exterior wall was left standing," he said.

Anthony Wright and his wife, Jaye, meanwhile, sat in lawn chairs, as radio news blared from their pickup truck. Just a few blocks away, hundreds of people were on a looting rampage on Vermont Avenue.

Hard times fuel the fury, said Jaye Wright, a teacher's aide. "It's not a recession for minority communities. It's a depression."

Long before this week's spasm of destruction, daily life in parts of South-Central Los Angeles was grueling in ways much different from elsewhere in the city. In ordinary, mundane ways—from a shortage of grocery stores and credit at normal interest rates to a scarcity of jobs and the more publicized ills of crime and drugs—it was harder to get through a typical day.

The rising toll in human life, torched businesses and destroyed property added insult to an already dangerous, frustrating existence.

On Thursday, some residents spoke in determined voices about getting on with the job of rebuilding their community.

"We have an obligation to reopen," said Hudson, president of Broadway Federal Savings & Loan, a green, two-story structure on 45th Street that survived the Watts riots but not this week's mayhem.

But there were other voices as well—voices of profound disappointment in this country, angry accusations that years of economic

injustice and neglect set the stage for violence. And behind the veil of smoke and chaos, a pessimism also seemed to rise—a pessimism that tomorrow might not be better than today, after all.

Baciliso Merino, a short, muscular construction worker, said that life in the city has turned out far worse than he ever dreamed when he brought his family to South Los Angeles from central Mexico a year ago. Wednesday night, he had to climb to the roof of his yellow stucco home to hose down embers that were landing from nearby fires.

But even in normal times, he worries about drive-by shootings and other crime. The unsettling roar of police helicopters is common background noise; police routinely close off streets in pursuit of drug dealers, leaving law-abiding residents marooned in the neighborhood.

America has turned out like "a golden cage," he said, quoting a Mexican song, as black ribbons of smoke rose to the north, south and east of his home near Slauson. "You expect to find so much wealth, but instead you find a prison."

In part, the deprivation is in everyday commercial life, where people often have to pay higher prices with fewer choices, where residents who want to cash checks sometimes wait in endless lines more reminiscent of Moscow than Los Angeles.

Since the days of the Watts riots, most major supermarket chains have cut back their stores in South Los Angeles. Other retailers are wary of settling there altogether. On Thursday, Thrifty Drug—which lost four outlets during the 1965 Watts riots—reported that it has lost three stores this week, shut down 11, and may not rebuild those that are destroyed.

Dazed residents worried that life in the worst neighborhoods will become even more thankless, with the help of self-inflicted wounds. People "won't have anywhere to eat. They won't have anywhere to buy gas. They won't have anywhere to buy groceries," said Jacquie Wade, who had ventured into a strife-torn neighborhood to see if her church was still standing. It was.

The frustrations are also a product of limited jobs. Famous manufacturers, such as General Motors, Goodyear, Firestone and Bethlehem Steel, all used to provide South-Central residents the chance for a living wage and upward mobility—including those without education.

By the 1980s, most such jobs vanished, a result of declining U.S. competitiveness. In the ashes, residents were forced into a lower-wage economy of light industry, welding shops, furniture makers, garment factories, fast-food restaurants and other employers.

But even those are taking a pounding in this week's violence, with a further loss to the community.

"You're talking about janitorial-maintenance companies, clothing stores, restaurants, cleaners," said Gene Hale, chairman of the African-American Chamber of Commerce. "You can go across the board—these are little shopping centers, with businesses nailed together. One fire will get them all."

Much of the new business re-

flects profound population change, which has brought new tensions: As recently as 10 years ago, most of the population was African-American; since then, an influx of Korean-American merchants and Latino residents has turned South-Central Los Angeles into a melting pot.

But the black residents have long complained that some of their newer neighbors, who often own small shops, do not treat them with respect.

"It's sad," said Moddie V. Wilson III, who posted hastily scribbled signs on the front windows of his hardware store at Crenshaw and 43rd Place, saying "Black-Owned Business," to ward off potential looters.

"Black people are disenfranchised in this community. We don't have many stores, but some had started to come back. Now I don't know. It's gotten beyond Rodney King. Rodney King was just the straw that broke the camel's back."

One looter, casually walking along Western Avenue with a brand-new stereo speaker, voiced the outrage of many black residents toward some of the immigrant merchants: "These businesses [we] burned down don't care about us," he said. He further cited the case of Latasha Harlins, the 15-year-old high school student who was shot to death by a Korean storekeeper. The storekeeper, convicted of voluntary manslaughter, was placed on probation. "They just charge high prices and take our money. Now we are taking some back."

Property seemed to have special symbolism to the street vandals. While residents raised their fists at police cars and cried, "No justice! No peace!" it was retailers, factories and other enterprises that received the brunt of a rage that some residents and community experts say stems from a painful economic isolation.

Carl Dickerson, president of the Black Business Assn. of Los Angeles, spoke of the perceived analogy between injustice in the courthouse and injustice in the job market.

The outpouring of rage, he maintained, comes in part because many people associate the verdict in the King case with "economic injustice" in their own lives.

"Reacting to this miscarriage of justice . . . prompts people to conclude that the system has also treated them unfairly," Dickerson said. "They should have jobs and opportunities, but they don't. The recession has resulted in a reduction of jobs, mergers have led to job loss, the aerospace industry is losing jobs and there is a flight of industry from California."

With fewer than 35 major supermarkets and 20 banks and thrifts serving a 35-square-mile area of more than half a million people, South-Central has grown a world apart from the traditional wheels of commerce as businesses have fled.

Today, in some sections of South-Central, the nearest full-service grocery stores are often at least two bus rides away and neighborhood mom-and-pop stores sometimes charge as much as 30% more than bigger retailers.

Meanwhile, there are so few banks and thrifts that residents routinely stand in lines for hours to make a deposit or cash a check. In fact, financial institutions are so

1 of 2

2 of 2

scarce, that in some areas of South-Central armored trucks rumble to job sites on paydays to cash checks for workers.

"I don't think black people really want to put anybody out of business," said Patsy Brown, a well-known Crenshaw-area businesswoman who kept her Papa's Grocery store on Vernon and Van Ness open all day Thursday amid the raging fires and looting in nearby blocks.

"But they are angry that they have no choice [of merchants] in their community. People have supported me not because I'm black, but because I give good service to them. A lot of these other stores can't make that claim, Brown said.

Near a corner mini-mall on Figueroa Street, two young men discussed the eerie drama unfolding before their eyes, as the remnants of a store, now unrecognizable, smoldered. Firefighters continued to put out the embers.

Alex Zendejas, 18, said he expected damaged or looted businesses to be reopened. However, he expressed some regret about certain short-term economic losses resulting from the disturbances.

"Maybe people should have taken their protest to some other neighborhoods," he said.

His friend, Sadi Dukes, 17, agreed. "I'd rather see this happening in Pasadena or Simi Valley," he said. "I don't think people should mess up their own neighborhood."

Many of the looters, Zendejas added, "have nothing to lose and

something to gain."

Other witnesses were outraged, and drew a clear connection between the destruction and the future of their neighborhoods. For example, William Small talked with other neighborhood residents as looters hauled goods from Car Sound, a car stereo retailer on Vermont near 25th Street.

"These looters may not realize it, but this is criminal activity," Small said. "If they're caught and put in jail, they will understand just how criminal this is."

Small said many business owners with riot-related losses have no insurance and will not reopen their enterprises.

"People will have to leave the area just to shop," he said. "I don't have a car. That means I'll have to take a bus to get what I need."

Amid the destruction, some business leaders vowed to rebuild the community, and there were countless acts of heroism and decency. But on the day that South-Central continued to burn, the lasting image was far more dark and bewildering.

At the corner of 43rd Place and Crenshaw, more than a dozen laughing and animated patrons packed the tiny Crenshaw Cafe's outdoor tables, sipping coffee and dining on a hearty breakfast of pancakes and eggs. Across the street a ferocious fire was blazing, sending a trail of destruction through a manicure shop and the Muslim Community Center.

Times staff writers Steven Braun, Paul Feldman, Jube Shiver, George White and Patrick Lee contributed to this story.

Comment

ON CALIFORNIA

The Challenge of Holding the City Together

2/1/20/122

BY BILL BOYARSKY

As incomprehensible as the verdict was, it's history and Los Angeles must live with it.

Live with the judgment of white suburbanites on a Ventura County jury who can return to their neighborhoods while L.A.'s leaders and residents try to hold their city together.

Thanks, Simi Valley, thanks for your judgment in the Rodney King beating case.

So now, as incoming Police Chief Willie L. Williams said, "the real challenge is for the people of Los Angeles . . . to go on from there."

Much of the responsibility will fall on L.A.'s creaking political system and its politicians, already overwhelmed with racial and economic class divisions. The verdict will no doubt exacerbate these tensions.

To the African-American community, it comes as confirmation of a growing feeling of political and economic powerlessness and exploitation felt by the poorest and the affluent.

I saw evidence of that Sunday at the First African Methodist Episcopal Church, where the Rev. Cecil L. (Chip) Murray ministers to a congregation that includes some of L.A.'s most influential black citizens. The congregants applauded and nodded in agreement when he talked about powerlessness:

"We take \$100 on Friday night, with our eyes wide open, and give it to a hotel where we don't even work. We take \$150 shopping for a family of four with our eyes wide open and we give it to where there is not one of us on the board of directors. We drink 60% of the Scotch whiskey in this country, and we don't own one distillery. All we own is some bad breath and some red eyes from drinking it."

In that sense, economic conditions have not improved much since the Watts insurrection.

The political results of the city's changing demographics add to the African-Americans' sense of powerlessness. Once solidly African-American, South Los Angeles is now heavily Latino. African-Americans fear loss of political power when new City Council districts are being drawn to reflect the city's fast-growing Latino and Asian-American populations.

And, with no star African-American political performer waiting in the wings, blacks are all but certain to lose the mayor's office when Tom Bradley leaves—although he has said nothing about his intentions.

Black leaders fear that this will result in policy changes harmful to their community.

The council and future mayors will also have to allocate resources to Latinos, founders of the city who are reclaiming the power denied them more than a century ago. The Asian-Americans, California's fastest-growing minority, also want a share.

At this point, an Anglo reader might ask: "What about us?"

A good question. Actually, even though Anglos are now a minority in a city of minorities, they have more clout than any other group. That's because the electorate—as opposed to the total population—is predominantly Anglo. This Anglo voter domination raises a troubling issue.

Political control is shifting to the fast-growing predominantly white suburbs. This is happening in Los Angeles County as well as in other metropolitan regions of California.

This means that the inner city will have less voice in the state Legislature and in the state's congressional delegation.

In other words, the people who freed the four cops in the Rodney King case will speak for urban L.A.

Thinking about this Tuesday night, with angry crowds outside police headquarters in Parker Center, it's hard to be optimistic. Arson fires brought back memories of the bleak days of Watts.

Despite all this, the city's political structure has the potential to hold things together, much more than it did in 1965.

It's easy to forget, in the tension and gloom of the moment, that city government has responded to the Rodney King beating, fairly quickly for a bunch of politicians.

The Christopher Commission plumbed the depths of the Police Department. And soon the city will have a new police chief.

If you think of that through the gloom and smoke, you might even be hopeful, you might even believe that L.A. can hold itself together.

KING CASE AFTERMATH: A CITY IN CRISIS

Violence Erupts in Atlanta as Other Cities Brace for Trouble

By DAVID TREADWELL
TIMES STAFF WRITER 21/120/122

NEW YORK—Hundreds of black youths went on a rampage through downtown Atlanta on Thursday, while in cities elsewhere officials and police braced for possible violence as the verdicts in the Rodney G. King beating case appeared to touch a raw nerve around the country.

In Madison, Wis., the windshields of 34 parked police cars were shattered and a note at the scene read, "Justice for King." In New York City, black and white students at a Catholic school in Queens walked out of their classes chanting "Rodney, Rodney, Rodney." In Providence, R.I., and Seattle, city officials and black community leaders appealed for calm as public anger mounted.

Municipal authorities prepared for the worst in the face of what many described as already volatile racial conditions in their communities.

In Washington, D.C., all police officers' leaves were canceled and units put on alert in anticipation of trouble.

"Everybody's on pins and needles in my ward right now," said H.R. Crawford, a city councilman who represents a heavily black ward encompassing parts of northeast and southeast Washington. "Anything could set it off. We're working double time to prevent any tragedies here."

New York City's police operations and community affairs network also were put on alert. "You can never be too prepared," said Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch, recalling last summer's outbreak of racial violence in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. "We want to be ahead of the curve instead of behind it."

In Chicago, police Supt. Matt Rodriguez said the department's command operations and community assessment centers were evaluating all reports of "unusual incidents or conditions" in efforts to defuse potentially volatile situations.

John Dineed, president of Chicago's biggest police union, added: "There's supposed to be a heat wave tomorrow. Hopefully, it won't [spark violence], but the officers are alert to the fact that anything could . . . even a traffic ticket."

In Seattle, where police efforts

to contain gang violence in the inner-city Central District have led to friction between residents and police in recent weeks, Norm Rice, the black mayor of a city that is 90% non-black, called the King verdicts "shocking" and said that he and other civic leaders were taking steps to prevent a clash that could touch off violence.

"You don't know what can set it off," added the Rev. Samuel McKinney, pastor of Seattle's Mt. Zion Baptist Church. "Unrest can catch on like a conflagration. I hope it doesn't."

Protests and rallies, almost all peaceful, were held in cities around the country to denounce the King verdicts.

In Atlanta, more than 400 people gathered at a nonviolent rally in front of the white marble crypt of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. They carried signs reading "L.A. Has No Justice," "Put Justice in the Justice System," "King Verdict Was a Wakeup Call—Stop the Killing" and "Live as Brothers or Perish as Fools."

"If Dr. King were here today, I'm almost certain that he would have been on the first thing smoking out of Atlanta on his way to L.A.," said King's daughter Bernice, an Atlanta attorney and minister. "God has created us, and if nothing else we owe it to God Almighty to do something about this tragic situation" in Los Angeles.

Not long after the peaceful rally at King's tomb, however, hundreds of black youths poured into downtown from the direction of predominantly black Atlanta University and went on a rampage.

Chanting "Rodney King, Rodney King," one group of about 70 rioters attacked Macy's department store on downtown Peachtree Street, smashing two big display windows and overturning racks of merchandise and displays of shoes and jewelry. The store was forced to close early and employees were sent home.

Another group marched on the state Capitol, hurling rocks and bottles at buildings and cars. A woman was beaten and kicked on the steps of a state office building. State police in riot gear closed down the gold-domed Capitol.

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson spent the afternoon trying to calm the rampaging protesters. He spoke through a bullhorn from the steps of City Hall, which is near the

Capitol, and then moved into the crowds, trying to persuade them to break up and move on.

Afterward, Jackson traveled to the Atlanta University complex to urge calm. He later told a local television reporter that he saw in the students there a "real feeling of hopelessness" and "a level of frustration and anger" that he had not seen in a long time.

About 100 people were arrested and at least 17 admitted to a downtown municipal hospital with injuries from the rioting, authorities in Atlanta said.

In contrast to Atlanta, Miami remained calm well into the evening. "No incidents, not a single one," said Miami police spokesman Angelo Bitsis.

Bitsis added, however, that Miami police—who have perhaps more riot experience in the past 11 years than any other urban police force in the nation—are not taking chances. "We do have some people standing by," he said. "We're monitoring the situation, and we'll be able to respond quickly."

A peaceful protest against the King verdict on the steps of Cleveland's City Hall nearly erupted into violence when a 31-year-old white man drove by in a van with a Nazi flag and a Confederate battle flag flying from it.

Demonstrators chased after the vehicle but failed to catch it. However, an off-duty policeman followed the van to the man's home and arrested him.

Civil rights leaders across the country were vigorous in denouncing the King verdicts.

"We are here to express our outrage, our indignation at the appalling decision rendered yesterday in California," Joseph P. Fowlkes Jr., president of the Providence, R.I. NAACP chapter, told reporters at a news conference.

Tom Jenkins, president of the Denver Urban League chapter, said of the jury decision in the King case: "It is a good indication . . . that justice is not blind. Justice is peeping out from underneath that blindfold to see who justice is being applied to, and it is being applied differently to poor people and people of color than it is to others."

Although he anticipated no immediate violent reaction among blacks in Denver to the King verdicts, he said that they will fester in their minds. "And on one of these hot summer nights, when a cop pulls up and says the wrong thing to the wrong African-American young male who happens to have an Uzi right beside him in the car, it's goodbye Denver policeman," he said. "There is no question, the seeds are there."

Gary Peter Klahr, a Phoenix attorney who was the first private citizen to sit on the Phoenix Police Department's advisory committee on the use of force, was among many civic leaders throughout the nation who called on the U.S. Justice Department to seek an immediate federal indictment of the four Los Angeles police officers involved in the King trial.

"The grand jury should start meeting tomorrow," he said, adding that he did not expect the violence in Los Angeles and Atlan-

Bush Asks Justice Dept. to Step Up Probe

■ **Government:** The President will meet with black leaders today. Some lawmakers call for hearings on expanding the Civil Rights Act.

By JACK NELSON
TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

6/20/22

WASHINGTON—President Bush, stunned by the Los Angeles racial violence and concerned that it will spread to other cities, Thursday expressed frustration at the acquittals in the Rodney King beating case but denounced the riots as "purely criminal" and called for the re-establishment of law and order.

At the same time, he directed the Justice Department to step up an investigation to determine whether to prosecute the officers in federal court for violating King's civil rights.

And the President, in telephone calls to Mayor Tom Bradley and California Gov. Pete Wilson, offered federal aid to help repair the riot damage, although White House officials said Bradley and Wilson told Bush it is too early to know what will be needed.

Describing the violence, fires and looting in Los Angeles as "mob brutality" and "wanton destruction," the President said: "We simply cannot condone violence as a way of changing the system."

He spoke to a group of broadcasters and later attended a \$1,000-a-plate fund-raiser for his reelection campaign in Columbus, Ohio, after a trip from Washington that was postponed for several hours because of developments in Los Angeles.

Bush aides announced that he was scheduling a White House meeting for today with black community and government leaders to discuss a course of federal action.

Although Bush could dispatch federal troops to Los Angeles to help control rioting and prevent looting, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said that "at this point there has been no consideration" of such a move.

Meanwhile, Arthur Fletcher, chairman of the U.S. Commissions on Civil Rights, underscored the urgency of the racial situation not only in Los Angeles but also in other parts of the country, saying that commission files are filled with reports warning that other cities also are "tinder boxes" that

could explode into violence.

The reports have been filed by the commission's state advisory committees, Fletcher disclosed in an interview. Fletcher, a black who will attend today's meeting with Bush, said the Los Angeles riots sprang from "a cancer of racism that's been eating away at the nation's moral fiber and infiltrating and infecting practically every major institution in government, education, health—and the judicial system, the cornerstone of our democracy."

Fears that the violence could spread also were voiced by many members of Congress and civil rights leaders who expressed outrage at the outcome of the trial and demanded that the Justice Department prosecute the four police officers involved in the King case for civil rights violations.

Several lawmakers said they will organize congressional hearings to examine the possibility of expanding the Civil Rights Act to address questions of police brutality more specifically.

California Rep. Don Edwards (D-San Jose), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on civil rights, said he plans hearings on police brutality for next week, and Senate Judiciary Committee member Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) said the Civil Rights Act should be amended to incorporate specific statutes against police brutality.

Congressional Black Caucus members said they will discuss the King case next week with Willie L. Williams, the newly appointed Los Angeles police chief.

Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson and Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles) urged Atty. Gen. William P. Barr to move quickly to bring federal charges against the policemen implicated in the beating.

After meeting with Barr and other officials, Waters, whose district includes the area of the worst rioting, said: "We let them know that we think the situation not only in Los Angeles but across the nation is extremely volatile and we want them to make the decision with all due haste."

Jackson, declaring that justice must be done to protect the credibility of the judicial process, ac-

cused Bush of failing to exercise leadership and said his "kinship" with Police Chief Daryl Gates "throughout all of this shows his disregard for justice and fairness."

The White House said Thursday night that black leaders invited to today's meeting with Bush include Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP; Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women; John Jacob, head of the National Urban League; Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Rev. E. V. Hill, pastor of a church in the Watts section of Los Angeles, and Coretta Scott King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, the slain civil rights leader.

Fletcher and another Administration black official—Constance B. Newman, director of the Office of Personnel Management—will also attend.

Atty. Gen. Barr, stressing the seriousness with which the Justice Department is conducting the civil rights investigation in the King case, spoke at a press conference Thursday flanked by FBI Director William S. Sessions and John R. Dunne, assistant attorney general for civil rights.

"It's important for people to understand that the verdicts yesterday on state charges are not the end of the process," Barr said. "The Department of Justice is responsible for enforcing the civil rights laws of the United States and it will do so vigorously."

The Justice Department could seek indictments against not only the four officers but also 17 others who stood by and did nothing while King was beaten, according to a key federal law enforcement official.

Barr dispatched Associate Atty. Gen. Wayne Budd, a black and the department's third-ranking official, to Los Angeles to head the investigation into the King case.

Barr himself has been scheduled to travel to California on Sunday for a visit that would include a speech before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. However, there were reports Thursday that because of the sensitivity of the case and the situation in Los Angeles he would postpone the trip.

Meanwhile, sources said the federal government, clearly caught by surprise when the riots broke out, lacked adequate intelligence about the Los Angeles situation because the Ronald Reagan Administration

had gutted the Civil Rights Commission and downgraded the Justice Department's Community Relations Service.

Fletcher said that he met with Bradley about the L.A. racial situation after the King beating but that the Reagan Administration had so "decimated" the commission that there were not enough resources to develop adequate intelligence about the situation.

Other sources said the Community Relations Service, which Reagan also downgraded, has been ineffective in monitoring the nation's racial problems.

Grace Flores Hughes, director of the service, declined to be interviewed, but Ron Tomalis, a spokesman, said the service was "assessing the situation" in L.A.

The President is scheduled to travel to Los Angeles next Thursday, and White House officials said there has been no indication that he might postpone that trip.

Instead, Bush appeared to be hopeful that by using his presidential pulpit, he might be able to help restore calm and order in the area.

Times staff writers Douglas Jehl contributed to this article from Columbus, Ohio, and Ronald J. Ostrow and Michael Ross contributed from Washington.

Bush, Rivals Call for End to Violence

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

6/120/122

WASHINGTON—Televised scenes of Los Angeles burning confronted national leaders Thursday once more with the nation's rawest wound: racial division.

President Bush issued statements appealing for calm and condemning violence, with only scant mention of the verdict. And although he delayed his departure from Washington to issue a televised message appealing for calm, he stuck to his schedule for a speech and a political fund-raiser in Ohio on Thursday.

"We simply cannot condone violence as a way of changing the system," Bush said in his speech.

"Mob brutality, the total loss of respect for human life was sickeningly sad," Bush said, adding that he would "make no apology for the rule of law or the requirement to live by it."

"I call on every American to show restraint and to respect people's rights and property," Bush said later to applause at the \$1,000 a plate fund-raising dinner.

In response to questions about why the President avoided direct comment on the verdict, a senior Bush aide insisted the President really had been surprised by the outcome but believed that he could not say so publicly for fear of "stirring up emotions."

Although Bush condemned bigotry and briefly remarked on sharing the "frustration and anguish" about the verdict, his chief spokesman carefully insisted that Bush's remarks should not be interpreted as criticism of the jury's decision.

Bill Clinton, Bush's probable Democratic opponent, began the day sharply criticizing the King verdict but saying little about the rioting.

By day's end, he was continuing to criticize the jury's decision, saying "most of us who have seen the film don't understand the verdict," but in increasingly strong language, he denounced the street violence.

"The verdict in the King case is not an excuse," he said in a speech in Birmingham, Ala. "The abandonment of the poor in our cities cannot be avenged" by "savage behavior" and "lawless vandals."

Clinton appealed to the people of Los Angeles "no matter how angry you are" to "stop the violence and stop it now" and asked his audience to pray for peace in the city and for an end to "the evil and hatred that has gripped the souls of people."

Former Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. cut short a campaign day in Nebraska to fly to Los Angeles, where he tried to focus attention on social problems. "People are desperate for jobs, and there are no career ladders for many," Brown told reporters.

The rioting, he said, is "irrational on the part of those people, but it was also irrational on the part of the jury" to acquit the four police officers accused of beating King.

Ross Perot, the potential independent candidate, issued a statement from his headquarters in Dallas saying he was "disappointed" by the verdict and calling the rioting "a tragedy because it further divides and weakens our country."

Only conservative Republican Patrick J. Buchanan seemed to find the day's events easy to respond to. The verdict "was decided in a fair trial by a conscientious jury," Buchanan said as he campaigned in North Carolina. The rioting, he added, was "inexcusable and indefensible."

Times staff writers Douglas Jehl in Columbus, Ohio, Ronald Brownstein in Birmingham, Ala., William Eaton in North Carolina, Robert L. Jackson in Los Angeles, and Robert Shogan in New Orleans contributed to this story.

Angry, Bewildered, Confused King Asks 'Why? Why? Why?'

By RICHARD A. SERRANO
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Stunned, speechless and shaking, Rodney G. King retreated late in the afternoon to the solitude of his bedroom.

On the television screen, the four Los Angeles police officers accused of beating him had just been found not guilty. They were hugging and smiling in the courtroom. But King, the 26-year-old Altadena motorist whose life took a dramatic turn on a midnight drive in the San Fernando Valley 14 months ago, locked himself inside his bedroom.

The lights were turned off; the television was down low. Through the doorjamb, his occasional screams could be heard. "Why? Why? Why?" he groaned. "Why are they beating me again?"

As night came, and rioters and looters spread mayhem on city streets, King still refused to come out of the bedroom, according to recollections Thursday from relatives, friends and members of King's growing legal entourage.

By 10 p.m., a psychiatrist was called in. The therapist administered an antidepressant drug and tried to coax King out of his sinking state.

King has repeatedly declined to be interviewed since his beating, and he maintained that silence Thursday. But the doctor who spent four hours with him Wednesday night and finally emerged from the small room with him gave this assessment:

King feels as though he is being pulled apart by forces he can no longer control.

He is extremely angry that he was never called to the witness stand during the officers' trial in Simi Valley to tell his version of how the officers beat and shot him with an electric stun gun at the end of a high-speed car pursuit.

He is confused and bewildered about the rioting sparked by Wednesday's verdicts and during which his name frequently is chanted. But he is afraid to speak out publicly against the ugliness, fearful that his words might be misinterpreted and only further ignite the protests.

He is upset that his personal life has been forever changed. And he is dismayed that for the past year he has lived incognito, moving from apartment to apartment around Southern California, rarely able to attend a movie or a sporting event.

King sold the rights for his story to movie producers, but his contract fee was small. He relies on the generosity of relatives who contribute to a fund administered by his attorney.

Even his massive federal civil rights lawsuit against the city, once considered a sure win because of the videotape of his beating, could be in jeopardy, if the verdicts

in the criminal trial are an indication of what lies ahead.

"He's upset, and he's angry, and he's very disappointed," said Angela King, his aunt and one of his closest family members, who sat through almost every day of the three-month trial. "He's got enough headaches and heartaches for any one man to bear."

"Right now, the guy's completely unglued," said his attorney, Steve Lerman. "I got a client who's on the edge of his seat. He's trying desperately to hold onto his sanity."

Said a third confidante, who was with King on Wednesday night as news of the verdicts continued to wash over his emotions: "He's got so many people pulling at him in so many directions he doesn't know what to expect next."

Life was not always like this.

Three months before the beating, King had been released from prison and returned to his wife and family. He took a job working at Dodger Stadium. He renewed old acquaintances, two of whom rode with him shortly after midnight on March 3, 1991, on a trip intended to take them to Hansen Dam. They never made it.

Instead, King was tracked speeding on Interstate 210. He was chased by police to a Lake View Terrace neighborhood, where an amateur cameraman caught on film the images of King rolling on the ground under a flurry of police baton blows and kicks.

If King had been called to testify in the trial, his relatives and friends say, he would have told the 12 jurors—none of them black—that not only did the officers beat and kick him, but they hurled racial epithets at him, a charge he made during a talk with prosecutors last year.

He would have testified that he was trying to get up off the ground and flee, to get out from under the 56 baton swings directed at him, that he was not combative or resisting arrest, as three of the officers said in court.

But prosecutors made a decision not to bring King into the courtroom. After the verdicts, Deputy Dist. Atty. Terry White said he did not want to switch the focus of the trial from the defendants to King.

Defense attorneys also were reluctant to put King on the stand, concerned that he would come off as a sympathetic victim. He almost got his chance in the trial's waning weeks when Paul DePasquale, who represented Officer Timothy E. Wind, decided to call him. But several subpoenas went unserved because defense investigators were unable to locate King.

In the months after the beating, King was moved to new locations around the city. Concerned that he was unsafe in his Altadena home, he was given new quarters, supported by his relatives and money from his attorney, Lerman.

He kept his 7-year-old car with the 85,000 miles on it, but also has been provided newer model vehicles, asking for a different one when he tired of the color.

Most of his days before the trial were spent watching television, particularly the Discovery Channel and shows about animals. But once the trial started, he became fixed on the screen, watching the proceedings live each day.

During the prosecution's case, as they brought in witnesses and evidence indicating that King was struck unnecessarily in the head, he began to relax. He began to feel enough peace and inner strength to finally stop smoking.

But then the defense attorneys took their turn before the jury, and three of the accused officers took the stand to defend themselves. Believing in his heart that they were lying, King began feeling low, concerned that without his testimony to refute the officers, the jurors would side with them.

Lerman, trying to bolster his client's spirits, took him out to dinner one night at a Benihana restaurant in West Los Angeles.

"He was kind of nervous because he'd never been to one of these restaurants before," Lerman said.

Later, as he was being driven home, he decided he wanted a pizza, so they picked up a carry-out. A large man, muscular and well-built, he ate the whole thing. He seemed to be feeling better.

And then, Wednesday afternoon.

Wearing shorts—his injured right leg still wrapped in an athletic support brace—King watched the verdicts unfold on television. Stunned as they were read, he instinctively reached for a pack of Marlboro Lights.

"He wasn't talking in clear sentences," said one friend. "He wasn't coherent. He wasn't talking in full sentences."

"It suddenly was like he had no idea who he was or what time it was or where he was. He would start to make sense, and then 10 seconds later he couldn't even tell you what room he was in. Then he went in the bedroom."

Thursday morning, he called his aunt. They talked about how the King family was besieged by requests for him to speak out publicly against the rioting, but also about how he can't bring himself to do so.

"He's upset and he's angry and he can't understand why people are out there running in the streets," she said. "But you can't use his name as the excuse for all that's happening in the city now. And you can't use his name as the salvation."

Jurors Rattled by Aftermath, Defend Verdicts

21/120/122

By PAUL LIEBERMAN
and STUART SILVERSTEIN
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Some of the jurors fled their homes, fearful for their lives. Others retreated behind locked doors and struggled to comprehend the violent aftermath of their verdicts.

At least two, shaken to the edge of tears, wondered whether they could possibly be responsible for the rioting and fires that were spreading through Los Angeles.

"I've gotten some calls saying that I'll have to live with this for the rest of my life," said one juror, who was among the last holdouts—pushing for at least one guilty verdict against at least one of the four officers in the Rodney G. King beating trial that consumed them for two months.

"Personally, it's been a little hell," he said. "I would not want to do this again."

Thursday, indeed, was a shattering day for many of the 12 people who just hours before had left a Simi Valley courthouse, thanked by the judge for their service after they acquitted the four Los Angeles police officers charged in the celebrated videotaped beating. Then sheriff's deputies whisked them out of the courthouse and, for a brief moment, it seemed like a game, almost, with all the maneuvering to avoid the mobs of reporters.

Next came feelings of relief and liberation, culminating in the cathartic hugging of fellow jurors, their newfound family—first in the hotel where they had been sequestered, and finally in the parking lot of the Thousand Oaks sheriff's station.

But by the time they returned home—some in Simi Valley, others as far off as Oxnard and Ventura—the first hints of fire and looting were darkening their TVs, and political and legal analysts were second-guessing their seven days of deliberations, many attributing the acquittals to pro-police bias of the jury, and to racism.

"This is the worst experience of my life," said one male juror. "I don't know what's in the hearts of the others. But I know in my heart I'm not a racist."

Like others who agreed to discuss the case, he asked that his

name not be used for fear of retaliation against him and his family. At least two left their homes Thursday, including a panelist from Santa Paula, whose family was in tears, according to a neighbor. "They were in fear for their lives," the neighbor said.

The jurors had been thrown together in the highly sensitive case after a state appeals court ordered the trial moved from Los Angeles County because of "extensive and pervasive" media coverage and intense political fallout. They were the survivors of a painstaking, monthlong process of jury selection in which 248 other Ventura County residents were eliminated.

Six men and six women, they ranged in age from 38 to 65, and represented many corners of society—a cable splicer, a bank clerk, a retired real estate broker, a phone company technician, a computer analyst, a housekeeper, a retired naval aviator, a park ranger, a college groundskeeper, program manager, retired mental health worker and nurse. But the fact most often pointed out is that none of the jurors are black.

At the end of deliberations, they agreed that none of them would talk to reporters, and the only statements in court—by the 65-year-old forewoman—suggested that the panelists had been almost immediately united on all their verdicts. She said the panel spent the vast majority of time debating the one charge on which they could never agree—ending up deadlocked 8 to 4 in favor of acquitting Officer Laurence M. Powell of an assault charge.

But four jurors who have since discussed the case with The Times said the panel was more divided than it initially appeared.

One juror said that he and others pushed to the end for a guilty verdict on the assault charge against Powell, who was caught on videotape delivering the most baton blows against King.

"It was highly charged. I broke down crying. Several other people did too," the juror said. "Delibera-

tions on that count took a day and a half. It was very thorough. There were a lot of discussions back and forth. The majority said not guilty, and I [initially] was undecided, and there were those—more than one—who felt there was guilt."

But this juror eventually joined the rest in voting to acquit Powell of the most serious charge against him: assault with a deadly weapon.

"By Sunday midday, everyone but myself had agreed on not guilty, and I felt that was a point where I could not convince myself of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt—which is the key phrase in my mind. . . . My feeling was that there was guilt but I couldn't prove it to myself beyond a reasonable doubt."

He was distraught to hear critics later say the jury had whitewashed what had seemed to be an open-and-shut case.

"The law is set up in such a way in our country that sometimes guilty men go free to ensure that innocent men are not locked up unjustly," the juror said. "Some of the people protesting, making comments about the jury, have to realize if they were arrested they would want that same consideration."

As he watched the fires spread Thursday, he said: "I can't believe all of this is a reaction to what we did."

Another juror—looking exhausted and bleary-eyed, smoking a morning cigarette—would not even discuss what had happened.

"I need some time alone with my family to think about what happened," he said. ". . . I need to be alone."

Some resolutely stood by their actions.

One woman juror even speculated that the scene on the streets would have been much the same even if the panel had convicted the officers. "It looks to me," she told Cable News Network, "as though the people that are involved with all the beatings and the killings and the marauding, I believe they would be incited to riot had we voted the policemen guilty."

Voices

21/1/92

"We didn't anticipate it blowing up this quickly. Looting has gone on and we have not done much about it."

Daryl F. Gates,
Los Angeles police chief

"We should burn down their neighborhoods, not ours. We're going to take it to Hollywood and Beverly Hills."

A black resident, shouting through a megaphone in the midst of the rioting

"This is everybody's worst nightmare. We've seen some of the most brutal stuff I've ever seen."

Ira Reiner,
Los Angeles district attorney

"The court system has worked and what's needed now is calm and respect for law."

President Bush

"I'm angry, shocked, devastated. . . . There is no justice here."

Angela King,
Rodney King's aunt

"It may be that 12 white jurors are not going to convict four white cops for beating a black man. . . . I think Mr. King right now is in a state of shock,"

Steve Lerman, King's lawyer, who heard the verdict read in the courtroom in Simi Valley, 60 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

"If I was a black male, I'd be scared to death."

Patricia Lafrance, who lives in the Watts section of Los Angeles.

"I feel that this is being done by blacks who don't understand the system. I knew what the verdict would be when they moved the trial to an all-white county. The system can do whatever they want to a black."

Lawrence Hardge, 27, near 54th and Arlington

"In the midst of this grave civil unrest, I ask the prayers of Your Holiness. Recalling your pastoral visit among us nearly five years ago, I now ask you to keep the City of Angels very much in your prayers during these days."

Cardinal Roger M. Mahony, in a message sent to the Pope

"There is this deeper, larger problem of the feeling of neglect and abandonment that millions of Americans have and has now broken into the open in Los Angeles."

Bill Clinton, candidate for the Democratic nomination for President

"No matter the anger over the verdict in the Rodney King case, it was decided in a fair trial by a conscientious jury."

Patrick Buchanan, candidate for the Republican nomination for President

"Why tear down something you own? We all have to make a living here. I just don't understand it."

Miles Taylor, 49, a black man who has lived in South-Central Los Angeles since 1965, the year of the Watts riots.

"While we think this verdict is a great miscarriage of justice, we certainly don't condone the violence. It's wrong. . . . I watched in horror [the beatings of motorists on Wednesday]. . . . The last 24 hours have been a real low point in my life. At this point, I'm not proud to be an American. I'm sickened. . . . He [Gates] should resign immediately. It would go a long way toward de-emotionalizing the situation."

George Jackson, 33, co-producer of "New Jack City" and a Los Angeles resident for 10 years.

The Jury Was Never Meant to Be Rational

L.A. TIMES: 05/01/92

■ **Bias:** In America, which witness you believe has a lot to do with what walk of life you come from.

By JEROME H. SKOLNICK 120/122

As Los Angeles smolders in the wake of the acquittal of the officers who beat Rodney King, people everywhere are astonished, asking, how could the King jurors have acquitted the police officers?

The answer, in part, is that the jury is not an entirely rational fact-finding institution, and was never meant to be. Judges are perfectly capable of hearing evidence and deciding guilt or innocence. Historically, juries were conceived as a check on judges who were perceived to be so close to the authorities that ordinary folks would be treated unfairly in the courtroom. The independence of juries is so valued that they are allowed to nullify the evidence and fail to convict, when it is perfectly clear, as in the King trial, that the defendants are guilty.

The problem is that those who sit on juries are supposed to be representative of the community where the crime occurred. But tragically, when venue is shifted, that does not necessarily happen.

The verdict showed us how divided we are as a nation. America is, culturally speaking, two countries. One is urban, cosmopolitan and multicultural. It suffers disproportionately from crime, poverty and homelessness. The other is suburban, relatively prosperous, and most important, unicultural. Like Simi Valley, and the King trial jury, it is predominantly white and middle-class.

If one observes residents of the second America, one notices a distinct likeness between their appearance and those of the Los Angeles cops who were on trial in the Ventura County town. So the defendants charged with assaulting King committed their crimes in the first America, but they were tried in the second. Had they been tried in Los Angeles or San Francisco, Chicago or New York or Houston, they would not have been acquitted.

In the first America, even among a public earlier nurtured on "Dragnet," or later on its raunchier and more realistic successors, like "Hill Street Blues," viewers had not come to expect anything like the beating of Rodney King. Shocked by what they saw, many asked themselves: Is this what cops are really like? Like police corruption, with which it has much in common, police brutality in the first America shakes the confidence of the public in the police.

Let me illustrate this with a true story. A friend was called to serve on a New York City jury. Eight jurors were black or Latino, four were white. The defendant was a young African-American accused of a mugging. He had assaulted a woman and had run away with her pocketbook. A white police officer witnessed the assault, chased down and subdued the offender and testified in court. There was one other witness, an older woman, who also saw the

mugging and recited her testimony with a Chinese accent.

The police officer was a straightforward and articulate witness and his testimony could not be shaken by the able defense attorney. By contrast, the Chinese woman stammered out what she had to say. The defense attorney asked her if she was excited when she witnessed the event. She answered affirmatively.

The day before, the jurors had seen on television news the videotaped beating of Rodney King. They suspected that the cops who administered the beating would lie about it. Some of the jurors had disbelieved cops before. Nothing they had seen on the videotaped beating generated much confidence in the validity of police testimony, whether in Manhattan or Los Angeles. Consequently, they did not believe the New York cop.

Most of these jurors of the first America, however, credited the woman's testimony despite her acknowledgement that she had been hysterical, and voted to convict the mugger. Had the woman not seen the mugging, and had she not corroborated the policeman's testimony, the mugger would have walked out of the courtroom, free to find other victims.

It's not that jurors in the first America are less susceptible to bias than those in the second—it's just that they nullify different kinds of evidence. They tend not to believe cops.

In the second America, viewers have other biases, racial biases. They saw Rodney King and they thought he got what he deserved. So they did not perceive police brutality in the videotaped beating. Overzealousness, perhaps, but not brutality. When some of the officers testified that King, who suffered multiple injuries and bone fractures after repeated blows, displayed "superhuman strength" and resisted arrest when he first got out of the car, the jurors doubtless believed the officers, even though four were assaulting King and 15 were watching.

Sgt. Stacey Koon testified that King had not responded to a torrential number of blows, leading Koon to fear that he would have to shoot or choke King. Koon explained that King was

"buffed out," that is, muscular and black, a sure sign that King was an ex-con. Koon decided to go with the option of serious injury and severe pain. This was when he instructed his officers to do and, Koon told the jury, they did exactly as they were told and exactly as they had been trained.

The jury believed him despite testimony to the contrary by an LAPD captain that the officers violated their training. The jury understood that the defendants were cops, not criminals, and that Rodney King, an ex-con, was a criminal. They voted accordingly.

Should we eliminate the institution of the jury? That's not the answer. But we need to be sure that when a crime occurs in the first America, jurors are representative of that venue, not the second.

Jerome H. Skolnick is the co-author of a casebook on criminal justice and a professor of law at Boalt Hall, University of California.



KIRK MCKOY / Los Angeles Times

Vermont and Manchester,
Wednesday night

It's the Fire Every Time, and We Do Nothing

■ **Violence:** The King verdict is the immediate cause, but the hopelessness of an economic dead end is the foundation.

120/122
By MELVIN L. OLIVER

The Rodney King trial verdict unleashed a rage and anger that still resonates through every person in our black community. But that rage and anger saw two very different expressions Wednesday night. The black middle and working classes chose to vent their anger in an organized, nonviolent and traditional manner, with institutional backing and the voices of political and religious leaders. But others chose as their instrument of protest a violence of an ugly and unproductive kind.

If we are to believe the TV commentators and pundits, the perpetrators of violence represent an aberrant group of "savages" who were lying in wait for just the right opportunity to plunder and loot. Such an explanation relieves all of us of our complicity in the making of the conditions that bred this tragic situation.

Rather than savages, these people are the throwaway, the unredeemable and the superfluous, who we as a society have nurtured during 20 years of social and economic neglect.

While celebrating the success of the black middle class, America has failed to address the issues facing the growing group of African-Americans who have been left out of the gains of the civil-rights movement.

This group has depended, more or less, on conventional black leadership to resolve the economic and social neglect that befall them on an everyday basis. But in Los Angeles as elsewhere, this leadership has failed them one too many times: A black mayor is powerless to stop the economic disinvestment that has lost thousands of jobs for South-Central blacks; black political power cannot ensure that the killer of Latasha Harlins receives just punishment; and—the straw that broke the camel's back—the Rodney King verdict harkens back to Mississippi justice, even to its delivery by a jury with no blacks.

Any faith that this group of young and hopeless people had in their leadership has evaporated in a frenzy of violence and arson that no black middle-class leader could have stopped. The behavior was savage indeed, but the context was rational. Why follow a political leadership that cannot deliver? With no faith in traditional political protest, many South-Central residents called on their only collective memory of extralegal protest—the 1965 Watts riot. The models of behavior that this group chose to follow went back not to a Dr. Martin Luther King of nonviolence but a Malcolm X of "freedom by any means necessary."

The precursor to this violence was another savage act, the police beating of King, which the jury in its acquittal legitimized.

We can begin to remedy a corrupt police apparatus through a vote for Charter Amendment F on June 2. But how do we remedy the savagery that is the social dynamite now exploding in the black community? We cannot do it by seeing it as an aberration or the act of only a tiny group of extremists. We must address the economic marginalization of so many in the black community that has bred hopelessness and despair in the young and driven so many to an underground economy of gangs and drugs. If we do not do this, then we run the prospect of continually having, in the words of James Baldwin, "a fire next time."

Melvin L. Oliver is associate director of the Center for the Study of Urban Poverty and an associate professor of sociology at UCLA.

View of Model Multiethnic City Vanishes in Smoke

■ **Relations:** Disturbances bare a simmering racial anger that community efforts never fully quelled.

By STEPHEN BRAUN
and ASHLEY DUNN 21/20/22
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Like a bandage stripped off an open wound, the civil unrest sweeping through South Los Angeles in the last two days has exposed and intensified the painful strains of racial anger and ethnocentrism that have long simmered between the city's myriad ethnic communities.

The popular notion advanced by Mayor Tom Bradley and other civic leaders in recent years that Los Angeles was transforming itself into a harmonious, multiethnic model city appeared to waft away amid the acrid smoke billowing over the city's ghettos.

Each new graphic televised image—looters rampaging through ruined stores, police officers and National Guard soldiers advancing to retake city streets by force, dazed Anglo and Latino passersby beaten by angry black assailants, frightened Korean-Americans guarding their shuttered ghetto markets with guns—threatened to reinforce the long-held fears and prejudices gnawing at the city's populace, worried community leaders and race relations experts said Thursday.

"My fear is that all that we've worked toward could be lost if people let their basest instincts take over," said John Mack, president of the Los Angeles Urban League. "I worry about the reactions we will get from the white community. Just because there are irresponsible black people out there exploiting this situation is no reason to assume that all black people are looting and burning.

"In the same way," he added, "it would be dangerous for the black community to assume that the actions of a few white officers stand for the beliefs of the entire white community. Now is not the time for generalizing."

But even as Mack spoke, after a round of meetings Thursday with anxious civic leaders, his fears seemed to be coming true. Across South Los Angeles, blacks, whites, Latinos and Asians met in scores of violent confrontations city residents will not soon forget. And inside untold numbers of homes and offices, Angelenos took in the numbing scenes of violence and reacted instinctively with words of anger and fear.

A white Simi Valley doctor said the riots gave credence to the officers' defense that their lives are threatened every day and that they saw King as another deadly threat.

"I had felt they were guilty of excessive force from watching the video," he said. "But I feel more empathetic to the officers after this. . . . I hope the jury did the right thing. Yesterday, I would have found them guilty. Today I probably wouldn't."

Sitting forlornly in his ransacked car audio store in the 1700 block of Vermont Avenue in South Los Angeles, Eddie Rho, 36, the Korean-American co-owner, surmised that the anonymous looters who plundered his business were black. The store was targeted, he said, because of the expensive stereo equipment he sold, but he also wondered if it was because he is Korean.

"They knew we were Koreans here," said Rho, who expects that relations between blacks and Koreans will now "be tougher. From now on I can try to be close to them, but they won't be close to us."

His assumption that the looters were African-American was belied by the multiracial composition of rioters that swept through many parts of the city. Latinos and blacks both took part in Thursday's looting sprees. And black activist Michael Zinzun, who led Wednesday's protest at Los Angeles police headquarters, blamed much of the violence that followed the rally on Anglo punk-rockers, radicals and college students.

At the corner of a devastated stretch of Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard and Western Avenue, where a mini-mall was raked by flames, a car stopped in the middle of the street and disgorged a group of young black women, who performed a taunting dance a few feet away from six shotgun-wielding police officers facing off with a crowd of angry residents.

After stalling traffic for 10 minutes, the dancers piled back into their car. As they drove off, they shrieked at the officers, "White devils! White devils!"

Much of the anger underlying the tensions between the city's ethnic groups could be found any place that different racial groups are thrown together, said Michael Preston, an associate professor of political science at USC who has studied race and politics in Southern California.

But those currents are stirred more by the fact that several of the city's most visible groups—blacks, Latinos, Asians, working-class and poor Anglos—are all jockeying for position in the scramble to win a limited number of jobs, dwellings and economic opportunity.

"At the elite level in Los Angeles, you'll see a surprising degree of cooperation between Asians, blacks, Jews, Hispanics," Preston said. "But below those levels, you have clear tensions because the pie is shrunken. Everyone wants a piece and resents it when another group of people have something they don't. And unfortunately, blacks always seem to be the last ones who get to the plate."

Preston and other race relations experts say that tensions in the aftermath of the King beating were inflamed by gaps in perception between racial groups.

"In general, blacks perceive much more discrimination than whites perceive," Preston. "When

it came to reforming the Police Department, for example, the perception among whites has seemed to be that because the reforms have started, blacks ought to be happy because the element of racism is being extricated. But many blacks see changes in the Police Department as only the tip of the iceberg, that it's only a part of a broader issue."

And in the wake of the first full day of riots, said another race relations expert who declined to be named, there appears to be a schism in how blacks, on the one hand, and whites and a lesser number of Asians and Latinos, may be perceiving the city's current crisis.

"Whites, for the most part, will look at these scary scenes on television and conclude that the greatest concern right now is

quelling the unrest, staving off black people that they see as threats to their welfare," the observer said.

"But even though a lot of blacks are equally frightened," he added, "that concern is matched by their anger and their dismay over the failure of the judicial system. With that kind of gap over the most basic issue confronting us—what we need to solve right away—I worry that we'll come away from these last few days permanently divided."

The boiling rhetoric of black-against-white and white-against-black, evoking riots that swept Watts, Detroit and other American cities in the 1960s, resurfaced Thursday as if it had never left.

"Justice is supposed to be blind, but in this case, justice is black and white," said Frank Holoman, own-

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er of the Blvd. Cafe on West Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. "This is a message that will go all around the world. If you're a black man or black woman in L.A., don't expect justice."

And at a coffeehouse in South Pasadena, a black man pitched a table through a plate glass window, screaming, "The party's over!" Terrified white patrons covered behind ice cream freezers and under tables while the man smashed mirrors, neon signs, the espresso maker and the counter, said Colette Richards, the shop's 28-year-old owner.

Afterward, the shaken owner could only conclude that the shop was attacked because it is a night-spot popular among affluent white customers.

"We were the perfect target," Richards said. "They hit us because there are all these people outside, and a majority of them white people."

Some Los Angeles civic leaders and community activists suggested bluntly Wednesday that the city's frayed political coalitions can only survive after the riots if leaders are able to broaden their membership and toughen their dialogue.

Local leaders said that will require powerbrokers to attract and empower new leaders from the city's most disadvantaged communities who have not had a voice in the city's political process. And it will require leaders to listen more closely to their hard-edged complaints and back up their promises with action.

"There's a lot of anger, particularly in the underclass," said Bill Hayling, founder of 100 Black Men, one of the city's most influential minority leadership factions. "A lot of people have been left out of the system. Because they were left out, this boiled over. As leaders, we have to heal. It's doable. But it will take an awful lot of effort."

A dispirited John Mack said that some powerful figures in the city's power structure simply "did not listen" when black leaders urged them early last year to back their demands for systemic change in the Police Department following the King beating.

"We've expressed the anger,"

Mack said. "But people haven't listened. People with the power to bring about meaningful change have sometimes gone through the motions. Many segments of leadership are culpable."

Richard Riordan, an attorney and businessman who plays a central role in city affairs—and who pledged Thursday to help riot-torn businesses rebuild—defends the city's leadership. In Riordan's view, the "process worked."

"In the Christopher Commission, we had the best minds in the city—Republican, Democrat, blacks, whites, all different colors—work together on solutions to the major problems facing us," Riordan said.

But at the same time, even Riordan has acknowledged his frustration recently in trying to persuade the city's corporate powers to donate funds to the effort to pass a charter amendment to enact reforms within the LAPD.

Yet even as the drab commercial strips of South Los Angeles burned to cinders Wednesday night, some angry black residents were clearly giving up—not only on Los Angeles' Establishment, but on their own as well.

Midway through the rally for civil order at the First AME Church in South Central Los Angeles, Mayor Tom Bradley's call for peace was interrupted by catcalls.

"What are you going to do? What are you going to do?" one woman yelled again and again.

"Sit down!" another woman shouted.

A few minutes later, a young black woman pushed her way to the podium, stepping ahead of the clergy and elected officials who had been invited to speak. When the crowd began chanting, "Let her speak!" rally organizers briefly gave her the floor.

"We can't rely on these people up here to act," she cried out, pointing behind her at the assembled community leaders and politicians, among them City Councilman Michael Woo and State Sen. Diane Watson.

"I believe they have our best interests at heart, but we cannot rely upon them," she said sternly. "You know what you need to do."

Dannemeyer Blasts King, Backs Officers

30/120/122

From a Times Staff Writer

Rep. William E. Dannemeyer (R-Fullerton) on Thursday came out in support of the four officers acquitted in the beating of motorist Rodney King, saying that "one could only conclude that the force used was justified."

Dannemeyer, a U.S. Senate candidate, released a statement criticizing King, "who resisted and had to be subdued in order to be arrested."

"I was impressed by the trial juror who said that if you looked only at the initially shown videotape, one would tend to vote to convict the officers of excessive force," said Dannemeyer. "However, if you heard the testimony regarding what happened before the footage shown on television, one could only conclude that the force used was justified."

Dannemeyer said the beating and turmoil that followed the verdict had its roots in a moral breakdown of society.

"When America removed voluntary prayer from public schools in 1962, we said to the next generation, everyone has rights, duties are no longer binding on any of us," the congressman said. "Children raised in this environment are sometimes inclined to do what Rodney King did, as determined by the jury. 'No one will tell me what to do, ever.'"

ta to spread elsewhere, "but it might if Bush doesn't show some leadership."

In Memphis, Tenn., Brodie Clayton, 40, asked rhetorically: "What do I tell my kid now? How can I tell my kid to respect the law and he sees something like this? When I saw that video, I said the world is getting ready to wake up. This stuff has been happening for as long as I can remember."

But, he added, referring to the verdict: "This has just brought it out that ain't nothing going to change."

Matt Foreman, executive director of the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, contended that, besides reinforcing the "complete cynicism" that minorities have in the justice system, the rioting by blacks in places such as Los Angeles and Atlanta would bolster the notion among many majority Americans that "some people deserve to be beaten."

"The whole thing is extremely painful," Foreman said. "It's going to embolden those police officers who choose to act out their hostilities in a violent way. It gives them a clear signal that this kind of behavior is tolerated."

But Doug Elder, president of the Houston Police Officer's Assn., spoke for many law enforcement officers when he said that he supported the verdict because he supports the judicial system.

"I have spent my entire law enforcement career supporting this system," he said. "There is more than one side to a story. Obviously, the people that were on that jury had more information than those of us who just saw small parts of the tape on television."

Lt. Charles Peckat, a white officer with the North Little Rock, Ark., Police Department, said: "We're trained to look at the whole picture, not just part of it. There are at least 12 people who got to see the whole picture."

Contributing to this story were Times staff writers John Balzar in Seattle, John J. Goldman in New York, Ron Harris in Los Angeles, Richard E. Meyer in Little Rock, Ark., and Marilyn Yaquinto in Washington D.C.; researchers Doug Conner in Seattle, Lianne Hart in Houston, Ann Rovin in Denver, Edith Stanley in Atlanta, Tracy Shryer in Chicago and Anna Virtue in Miami and special correspondents Mike Clary in Miami and Laura Laughlin in Phoenix.

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Los Angeles, said the couple was watching the news Wednesday night when they saw pictures of their business going up in flames.

"I'm very angry. I'm mad at all of this," she said Thursday as she sifted through the rubble. "It was a struggle for us to sacrifice. It took 10 years to build this store, and now it's all gone."

Meanwhile, an assistant manager at the store, Steve Anderson, said he had just signed papers to purchase a house only hours before the fire destroyed the company—and his job.

"It just didn't need to happen," he said. "It's a catastrophe."

In a mini-mall at Crenshaw and Stocker Street, a youth minister from Compton was trying to persuade people to cease looting and go home. But no one apparently was paying attention.

"This is not unity," said David Scott, 22, a member of the House of Prayer Church in Compton. "This is destroying. This is like getting angry and setting your own house on fire. I'm praying for these people."

A Long Night of Anger, Anarchy

■ **Riots:** Looters leave a trail of destroyed dreams. Some Good Samaritans brave violent mobs and jittery police to aid the injured.

21/20/22

By CHARISSE JONES
and MARC LACEY
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Carlos Mejai was one of the lucky ones. He had a large bandage taped to his head and dried blood smudged on his face, but he was leaving the hospital alive.

Mejai was driving near Manchester Boulevard and Western Avenue on his way to pick up his cousin at work when a mob converged on his car Wednesday night.

"Five came from one side, and five came from the other," he said outside the hospital, still dazed hours later. "They asked me if I was white and then they started throwing bricks at the car."

One of the bricks came crashing through the windshield, striking Mejai, 18, in the head. Gushing blood nearly blinded him but he kept driving, not knowing what else to do.

"I thought if I stopped, they would kill me," he gasped.

For Los Angeles, it was only the beginning. The worst outbreak of violence in 27 years was to follow, a seemingly capricious demonstration of anger, frustration, folly and anarchy consuming neighborhoods from South-Central Los Angeles to the San Fernando Valley.

The rioters, looters and marauders left a horrific trail of human suffering, destroying lifelong dreams and instilling a paralyzing fear in a city that some thought had grown numb to random violence.

"It reminds me of the Watts riots, but here you got it in the west, you got it in the north, you got it in the east," said Norma King, a retired nurse from South-Central, out late Wednesday night. "I'm upset with the verdict, but this is incredible," said King, whose brother was wounded by police during the street violence of 1965.

The rebellion, which entered its second day, painted a murky, surrealistic picture of Los Angeles—one not always easy to grasp, but one with real victims, heroes and villains.

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"I don't know where to turn, what I can do," Al Ray, 57, said of a system that acquitted four white police officers accused of beating a black man. "All I do is try to stay out of trouble."

But that didn't make sense to L. Griffith, 29. He didn't take part in the violence—he even tried to put out the fires blazing through businesses near his home—but he understood the rage that ignited them.

"Sir, how would you feel if you were driving home and they pulled you over for nothing? . . . That happens to me all the time."

The older man looked at the younger. "That done happened to me," the older one said. "That done happened to me several times. I've gotten to the point, I don't go out that much at night anymore. And that's one of the reasons."

But he said, "I just don't feel there's anything I can do about it."

He seemed almost paralyzed by his pain. "I'm past anger," Ray said. "I'm hurt and I'm angry. I don't know which one outweighs the other."

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Near the corner of Florence and Normandie avenues, J.T. felt helpless as looters picked his South-Central neighborhood clean.

"Stop it! Stop it!" he yelled. "You're all ruining my block!"

J.T., 18 years old and dressed in shorts and a T-shirt, watched as the mob grazed on a liquor store, an auto body shop and then the corner gas station.

"Look at that fool," he muttered, pointing at a man setting a small pickup truck on fire. Then it was just too much. J.T. took off for home, grabbed some water and drenched the flames.

"These fools are just going to burn it again," he said, defeated. He was right. Half an hour later, a pack of youths circled the unattended truck, setting it afire.

An hour later, Eugene stood defiantly at the same corner, rocks flying across the street. He acknowledged taking a few beers from the liquor store, even trying to break into the gas station safe earlier that night. He wasn't afraid—not even after invading rival gang turf.

The everyday rules of gang warfare had been summarily suspended. Crips and Bloods had joined ranks, all in the name of ransacking the community.

"Ain't no reason to be afraid," 21-year-old Eugene scoffed. "Everybody's together. I see Hoovers and 8 Trey Gangsters, even Bloods. There's nothing to be afraid of when everybody's together. There ain't anybody scared of nothin' out here."

As police approached the devastated intersection, Eugene stood his ground. "We ain't afraid of them," he blasted. "We got guns just like them."

When the police stopped, they met outright hostility.

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The man needed help. He desperately needed help.

Any other day, these Good Samaritans would have been hailed as heroes. Not tonight. Los Angeles was at war with itself. The city was ablaze. No one felt safe and it was impossible to know friend from foe.

"Stop there . . . or I'll kill you!" shouted an officer posted outside the station as he pulled a revolver on the couple.

The Cadillac screeched to a halt. Moments passed. The man and woman sat motionless, not knowing what to do. Only when the jittery officer realized who was inside did the tension subside.

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On Vermont Avenue near Jefferson Boulevard, the president of the Beverly Hills-Hollywood branch of the NAACP stood and cried as she watched a neighborhood market burn.

The tears, Sandra Evers-Manley said, were for her community. "We've got a crisis in our city and right now there seems not to be a solution. There's a lot of frustration."

"I understand it," she said. "I've been in the middle of it. We've gotten hate letters over the last four weeks, saying Rodney King got what he deserved. We've got people calling up saying what do I tell my children?"

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Evers-Manley walked off to check on an elderly neighbor, and 69-year-old Earle Renaux walked up. People call him "Godfather." He stood, wearing a Carolina Gamecocks hat, eating peanut M&Ms, and watched the Sorbonne market burn.

"I'm taking my kids out of the area," said Renaux, the father of two teen-age sons. "Next school year, they'll be gone. We're going up north out of Los Angeles."

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Because "I go to the bus stop to pick up my wife. They ask me for I.D. I say, we're not in South Africa."

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teen-age girls waited patiently behind a band of men prying open an iron security gate. Dashing through the streets with armloads of merchandise, young children were looters. So were senior citizens. But the actual break-ins were left to the young men.

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The gate finally gave way. The men burst into the store. The girls followed close behind.

"Quick!" one man yelled.

Not far away, two men carted a washing machine out of an appliance store, loading it into the back of a pickup truck. A woman and two children ran from a furniture store, an oversized playpen in tow. Half a dozen people picked out clothes covered in plastic wrapping

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A gray van pulled up to the emergency entrance of Daniel Freeman Memorial Hospital in Inglewood. Several people—frantic, panicked—climbed out, begging for help. A man had been run over at Florence and Western avenues. They had him inside the van.

"All these cars were swerving around the street, trying to keep out of all this glass," said one passenger in the van. "All he was

trying to do was cross the street, and this car hit him."

The injured man, his neck bloodied, was placed on a stretcher. He said his leg hurt.

"It's all because of these white [obscenity!]" a woman in the van screamed. A hospital security guard knelt by her side, comforting her.

Inside, dozens of people filled the hospital lobby, seeking medical attention or waiting for friends and loved ones. A ceiling-mounted television broadcast live reports about still more violence.

"It's all in Jesus' hands now," one woman told another weeping on her shoulder. "There's nothing you can do."

Times staff writers Greg Braxton, Dean E. Murphy and Eric Young contributed to this story.

CNN

Editor's Note: I have seen a report on citizens helping firefighters with hoses.

Ann McDermott reports from Los Angeles: ...

Tony Clark reports from Los Angeles: ...In many cases, business owners and friends tried to do what they could to put the fires out, but often there was too little water and too little left to save....

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

Beaten Driver a Searing Image of Mob Cruelty

By LAURIE BECKLUND
and STEPHANIE CHAVEZ
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

At every watershed through time, it seems a face emerges to transfix a moment in history. In Vietnam, a naked girl fled napalm. In Tian An Men Square, a single student stared down a line of Chinese tanks. In Los Angeles last year, Rodney G. King lay prone and beaten.

Now, a white cement truck driver beaten nearly into oblivion in South-Central Los Angeles has become the face on the flip side of the Rodney King coin, the unofficial black-on-white response to the official white-on-black beating.

His name is Reginald Oliver Denny. He is 36. He is alive because four strangers—four black strangers from the very crowd that had beaten him nearly to death—emerged to drive his unwieldy 18-wheeler out of pandemonium to safety.

The rescuers were two women and two men: a young nutrition consultant, a laid-off data control worker, an unemployed aerospace worker and a still-unidentified young man in black whose fellow rescuers first feared was a gang-

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Continued from A1

banger coming to finish Denny off.

"Those people didn't even know him and risked their lives to aid him," said Don Kelley, 28, Denny's roommate. "If no one had helped him, he would be dead."

The rescue came almost too late—as long as 20 to 30 minutes after the beating. At least two of the rescuers found themselves lured to the scene by the power of television pictures, broadcast live from near the intersection of Normandie and Florence avenues.

"We were watching TV at home," said T.J. Murphy, 30, the aerospace engineer. "'Somebody's got to get that guy out of there,' we said to each other."

They assumed police would help the man, but got in their car to drive over for a look at the brewing neighborhood confrontation.

When they arrived, the police were nowhere to be seen at the site, where a television cameraman, shooting from a helicopter, had captured that image of Denny being beaten by angry thugs.

Instead, the gravely injured man—his face awash in blood and his eyes swollen shut—had somehow managed to get back behind the wheel and was now trying to make his getaway an inch at a time.

Braving hostile onlookers, stalled cars and general chaos, Murphy and his friend joined two others who eventually helped deliver Denny to the door of the Daniel Freeman Memorial Hospital emergency room. Just as the big rig drove up to the door, Denny went into convulsions and started spitting up blood.

"One more minute, just one more minute, and he would have been dead," one of his rescuers said a paramedic told him at the door.

The incident started a couple of hours after a white jury acquitted four Los Angeles police officers of beating King. Denny, a \$16.70-an-hour driver, had been dispatched from an Azusa quarry at 5:39 p.m. just as news of the acquittal was getting out.

His job was routine: to deliver 27 tons of sand to an Inglewood cement mixing plant. His red cab

pulled two loaded bins. He took the usual route, San Bernardino Freeway west, south on the Harbor, off at Florence.

About 6:30 p.m. the rig trundled to the intersection where the first violence had erupted—bottle and rock throwing, overturned trash cans. As Denny slowed in the midst of the melee, the rig was surrounded by about five black men.

As thousands watched at home on their television sets, one rioter yanked open the truck door and pulled Denny from his cab. At least two others beat his head and kicked him, knocking him to the asphalt. After kicking him, one man raised up his hands and waved to the watching crowd. Denny tried to move, turning on his side. Another man then bashed Denny's skull with a fire extinguisher from the truck.

As he lay on the ground, another man walked up and for about eight seconds rifled through his pockets, sprinting away with Denny's wallet.

By the time T.J. Murphy, 30, arrived with his friend Tee Barnett, 28, the pair saw no choice but to intervene. "It was just like Rodney King," Murphy said. "They beat, beat and beat him."

A young nutrition consultant on her way home from work had already jumped into the fray. As the injured Denny tried desperately to drive his rig out of the war zone, she hoisted herself onto the side of the truck and was shouting steering instructions to Denny, whose eyes were swollen shut. To the right, she would yell, now to the left.

As the truck inched forward, a black clad young man—who Murphy initially thought was a gang member—jumped in the driver's seat of the truck. The consultant climbed inside the cab to console the injured man, and Murphy took over the job of guiding the new driver, who was unable to see through the shattered windshield.

"You're going make it," the consultant kept telling Denny, even as she had to hold him upright. "You're going to be OK."

As the black-clad driver tried



'It was just like Rodney King. They beat, beat and beat him.'

—
T.J. MURPHY

Rescuer of Reginald Denny, above, with daughter Ashley

desperately to speed up the awkward, heavy rig, Barnett drove in front of the truck, putting on her hazard lights to try to clear the way.

Eventually, the truck sped up to 40 m.p.h and inched toward 50. After a trip that seemed to take hours, the rig screeched into the driveway at Daniel Freeman hospital.

Twenty miles away in Covina, Jerry Cole, Denny's next-door neighbor and friend, was riveted to

the television, watching the mayhem in Los Angeles streets. And then he noticed the long blond hair, the red cab and a pair of familiar black boots.

"My heart sank to my stomach. It was Reggie," Cole said.

Denny's roommate was horrified by the same televised scene.

"I couldn't believe what I was seeing," said roommate Don Kelley, 28. "He was just lying there. No one was helping. We got two baseball bats and said 'Let's go get

him.'"

Shelly Montez, 29, Denny's former wife, found out about the incident from her mother, who also had recognized Denny on TV. At one point she heard a news report of a death at Daniel Freeman hospital.

"I can't tell you what I felt like to have to make that call to the hospital," said Montez, of Santa Clarita. "I never felt so overwhelmed with emotion."

Montez kept their daughter Ashley from the television, telling her only that "daddy happened to be in the middle of big fight and people took their anger out on him."

Denny underwent three hours of emergency brain surgery about midnight to remove two blood clots. By daybreak he had stabilized, Montez said. He was in critical but stable condition Thursday afternoon.

"We got the most wonderful news this morning," she said Thursday. "He can squeeze his hands and wiggle his feet. He nodded 'no' when a nurse asked him if he was in pain."

When Denny's neighbor and roommate reached the hospital, they could barely recognize their friend. Cole said Denny's head was swollen like a "big round ball of water." His fingers and arms were crusted with blood. His eyes were swollen shut, a respirator tube jammed down his throat.

"I told him everything was going to be OK. We care about him, we love him," Kelley said. He believed that Denny heard him and saw a tear that rolled from his right eye.

In the end, Denny's friends and rescuers reached out to find each other—his rescuers in hopes of finding out how Denny had fared, and his family in hopes of thanking them.

"We found out that both Denny and I had 8-year-old daughters," said Barnett on Thursday.

"Black boys playing with white boys—that's what Dr. King talked about. Working together. Playing together. But his dream doesn't stand a chance, does it? Not until people learn to get along. Evidently, we're not living the same dream."

Los Angeles Times

A Long Night of Anger, Anarchy

■ **Riots:** Looters leave a trail of destroyed dreams. **Some Good Samaritans** brave violent mobs and jittery police to aid the injured.

By CHARISSE JONES
and MARC LACEY
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Carlos Mejai was one of the lucky ones. He had a large bandage taped to his head and dried blood smudged on his face, but he was leaving the hospital alive.

Mejai was driving near Manchester Boulevard and Western Avenue on his way to pick up his cousin at work when a mob converged on his car Wednesday night.

"Five came from one side, and
Please see NIGHT, A5

Continued from A1

five came from the other," he said outside the hospital, still dazed hours later. "They asked me if I was white and then they started throwing bricks at the car."

One of the bricks came crashing through the windshield, striking Mejai, 18, in the head. Gushing blood nearly blinded him but he kept driving, not knowing what else to do.

"I thought if I stopped, they would kill me," he gasped.

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The rebellion, which entered its second day, painted a murky, surrealistic picture of Los Angeles—one not always easy to grasp, but one with real victims, heroes and villains.

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"I don't know where to turn, what I can do," Al Ray, 57, said of a system that acquitted four white police officers accused of beating a black man. "All I do is try to stay



MIKE MEADOWS / Los Angeles Times

A resident of South Central Los Angeles attempts to fight a fire at 79th Street and Normandie Avenue using only a garden hose.

But that didn't make sense to L. Griffith, 29. He didn't take part in the violence—he even tried to put out the fires blazing through businesses near his home—but he understood the rage that ignited them.

"Sir, how would you feel if you were driving home and they pulled you over for nothing? . . . That happens to me all the time."

The older man looked at the younger. "That done happened to me," the older one said. "That done happened to me several times. I've gotten to the point, I don't go out that much at night anymore. And that's one of the reasons."

But he said, "I just don't feel there's anything I can do about it."

He seemed almost paralyzed by his pain. "I'm past anger," Ray said. "I'm hurt and I'm angry. I don't know which one outweighs the other."

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more

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The tears, Sandra Evers-Manley said, were for her community. "We've got a crisis in our city and right now there seems not to be a solution. There's a lot of frustration."

"I understand it," she said. "I've been in the middle of it. We've gotten hate letters over the last four weeks, saying Rodney King got what he deserved. We've got people calling up saying what do I tell my children?"

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Lino Romero tries to spray water on a fire at 47th Street and Central.

teen-age girls waited patiently behind a band of men prying open an iron security gate. Dashing through the streets with armloads of merchandise, young children were looters. So were senior citizens. But the actual break-ins were left to the young men.

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Times staff writers Greg Braxton, Dean E. Murphy and Eric Young contributed to this story.

21/20/22

Stop the Violence, Start the Renewal

The King verdict spawns unwarranted violence, but also acts of courage and leadership that show the way to a better future

Los Angeles is a great city, and we must not allow it to self-destruct.

The highly questionable—and undeniably volatile—jury verdict that found four local police officers not guilty in the world-renowned videotaped police beating of Rodney King has created a war zone of violence, burning and looting that is outrageous, unacceptable and morally wrong. Worse yet, the widespread violence is defeatist.

Let there be no doubt, the American system of justice misfired horribly in Simi Valley Wednesday. But that is not the last word.

A huge and infinitely valuable police reform movement is under way, with a new police chief—Willie L. Williams—coming in and the June 2 vote on all-important Charter Amendment F in the offing. Some voices can be heard in Los Angeles denigrating the reform movement and the hopes represented by new leadership, but make no mistake—before long a new day in Los Angeles policing will arrive that will usher in a far better era and atmosphere for both community and police.

What's more, a separate and purposeful federal investigation into the beating case is under way. President Bush not only confirmed that fact Thursday—it's being headed by Wayne Budd, former U.S. attorney in Boston—but emphasized that its work was now being accelerated. That point was underscored later in the day by U.S. Atty. Gen. William P. Barr.

Those expressions of concern and involvement were helpful and timely. After all, the use of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's civil rights unit to probe violations of the civil rights laws after local authorities were unable or unwilling to do the right thing is scarcely unprecedented. In the 1960s the procedure was invoked often and well in the prosecution of crimes against blacks in states like Mississippi and Alabama, where white juries or white prosecutors would not act in the interests of justice. And the reputation of this FBI unit is not to be underestimated: It is known for being thorough and impartial and serious about its work.

POSITIVE AFFIRMATIONS

To overcome the trauma, sadness and horror of these past two days, this city will also require the commitment and help of all Angelenos who care about their community, who deplore any and all justifications for taking the law into unwarranted hands and who are dedicated to the process of ending the violence and rebuilding the city. This group constitutes the vast majority of our citizens, and many of them have been abundantly in evidence since the strife began.

Heroic firemen—working without rest, beyond their normal shifts and

all too often in the face of thrown bottles, hurled insults and even gunfire—have confronted fierce fire after fire with courage and determination.

Police officers often reached for, and found, their professional best to put duty above emotion and help ease tensions and calm nerves.

And so many good Samaritans—from all walks of life—have helped the city cope with this hooligan's holiday by extending a hand, providing a lift home (or to the hospital) or helping out in ways above and beyond a citizen's normal call of duty. Some even put themselves in danger to save strangers.

Perhaps in no area of the city was the crusade of dogged good Samaritanism more in evidence than at some of the churches in the very neighborhoods most impacted by the destruction.

Consider the honest, decent, hard-working people who live there, now held hostage by fear and violence. Consider the sales clerks and floor managers of the Thrifty stores now burned to the ground. What did they do to deserve this?

But admire the pastoral efforts of many of the city's churchmen, including the Rev. Cecil P. (Chip) Murray of the First AME Church in the Mid-City area. From an all-night vigil to bring the neighborhood together to organizing teams of young men to go out into the streets and try to reduce tensions, Murray and other church leaders in those areas have offered the city a clinic in good citizenship.

Without them we would have been the poorer not only in leadership but in spirituality.

NEGATIVE ERUPTIONS

These sunbursts of citizenship contrasted starkly with the vile ugliness of all the looters, arsonists and plain thugs who assaulted innocent passersby.

Whatever the probity of, and justification for, the outrage that erupted after the verdict in Simi Valley, the consequent orgy of destruction was without reason, integrity or honesty.

It was little more than base thuggery when it was not mere petty pilferage. Consider that for more than two decades—in the aftermath of the Watts riots—people have been trying to figure out how to get more services to the inner city, more investment, more development. But in the last two days all that seemed to have been for naught.

Yes, there is a difference between looting and protesting. There is a difference between criminality and political activity. There is a difference between cowardice and citizenship.

It's true that people who feel burned by the system might think of wanting to burn something down in an atavistic act of revenge.

And it's true that when people play by the system and then get the short end of the deal, the anger deepens and grows into an emo-

tion that can develop into a self-destructive force.

The Simi Valley verdict—and the woefully inadequate sentence meted out to the killer of 15-year-old Latasha Harlins, shot by a Korean grocer—just added to the growing sense that African-Americans do not get a fair shake in the American criminal justice system.

Indeed, the distance that America still must travel to elevate the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection to all citizens, regardless of such things as skin color, is vast, even after all these decades of effort.

But rightful anger is no justification for violence. Think, in that context, of Gandhi—or for that matter of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

THE CITY'S FUTURE

The need now is to rise above the evil and unreason that now stalk too many streets of Los Angeles. The imperative now is to ask all Angelenos to renew their commitment to the very idea of this extraordinary metropolis.

Thursday there was some evidence of the city coming together.

Regardless of what preceded that morning's news conference with the mayor and the chief of police—whatever slips each might arguably have made, whatever questionable comment here or there—it was a reassuring moment. Mayor Tom Bradley spoke with an assurance and determination that reminded some people of the Bradley of old. Chief Daryl F. Gates joined the mayor at the press conference and seemed more interested in calming fears than roiling emotions.

Together the two of them seemed to be saying that the city must now come together. That is the message all must hear now.

This is no time for finger-pointing or recriminations, no time to assess blame.

President Bush as well as state and local authorities must also work together to help the city work its way out of this dark moment. This is now not simply a Los Angeles matter, or even a California matter; it is an international incident.

In the eyes of the world, America is on trial as much as this city. The world will insist that if America can save Kuwait from foreign occupation, help save Russia from economic collapse and propose a grand new world order, it can turn its attention to its cities and now, especially, to Los Angeles.

This is the agenda America must organize and deal with after the last L.A. looter is arrested, the last fire is put out and the last wisp of smoke clears.

and a few stores were looted. At the University of California in San Diego about 500 students gathered for a day-long protest and burned three effigies of police officers. In Ventura, 55 miles west of Los Angeles, malls were closed because of concern that violence might spread.

The 2,000 National Guard troops ordered out by Wilson at Bradley's request were deployed in armored personnel carriers to help police in the heart of the riot area. Asked if 2,000 troops would be sufficient, Bradley

refused to protect firefighters, who were targets of gunfire and rock-throwing, before sending police squads into south-central Los Angeles.

The First African Methodist Episcopal Church, the city's oldest black church, was a safe haven in the war zone. Its pastor, the Rev. Cecil Murray, had tried to head off the violence with an impassioned sermon Sunday urging residents to "cool it" if the officers were acquitted.

Today, as apartment houses smoldered on one side and looters roamed on the other, the

de Mayo (May 3) holiday, scheduled Sunday at Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, was postponed until May 24.

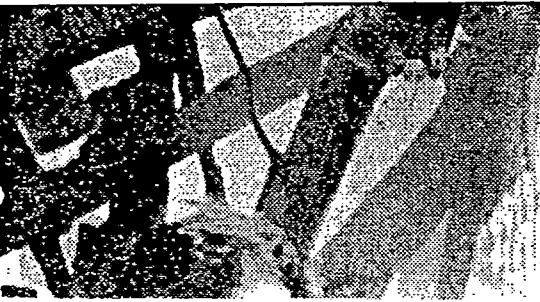
Late into the night, fires continued to burn.

Staff writers Ruben Castaneda, Al Kamen, Gary Lee, Carlos Sanchez and Avis Thomas-Lester and special correspondent Kevin E. Cullinane in Los Angeles and staff writer Don Phillips in Atlanta contributed to this report.



PHOTOS BY DAVINA SMITH—THE WASHINGTON POST

ough a window during the looting of a supermarket elow, Mike Kwon stands with a neighbor, holding the rned-out pet shop—a soft-shelled turtle. Asian-owned al of the destruction.



White Driver Pulled From Mob 4 Black Strangers Guide Man in 18-Wheeler to Safety

Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES, April 30—Thousands watched live on television as a white truck driver, Reginald Denny, was beaten nearly into oblivion shortly after a jury virtually exonerated four white police officers of beating motorist Rodney G. King.

Denny, 36, is alive because four black strangers—two women and two men—emerged to drive his 18-wheeler out of pandemonium to safety.

At least two of the rescuers found themselves lured to the scene by the television pictures that were being broadcast from a helicopter.

One assailant yanked open the truck door and pulled Denny from his cab. At least two others beat his head and kicked him, knocking him to the asphalt. After kicking him, one man raised up his hands and waved to the watching crowd. Denny tried to move, turning on his side. Another man then bashed Denny's skull with a fire extinguisher from the truck.

As he lay on the ground, another man walked up and for about eight seconds rifled through his pockets, sprinting away with Denny's wallet.

"We were watching TV at home," said T.J. Murphy, 30, an aerospace engineer. "Somebody's got to get that guy out of there," Murphy said he and his friend Tee Barnett said to each other.

When they arrived in their car, the police they thought would be there were nowhere to be seen. Instead, the gravely injured man,

his face awash in blood and his eyes swollen shut, had somehow managed to get back behind the wheel and was now trying to make his getaway an inch at a time.

Braving hostile onlookers, Murphy and Barnett joined two others who eventually helped deliver Denny to the door of a hospital's emergency room. Just as the big rig drove up to the door, Denny went into convulsions and started spitting up blood.

"One more minute, just one more minute, and he would have been dead," one of his rescuers said a paramedic told him at the door.

A young nutrition consultant on her way home from work had already jumped into the fray. She had hoisted herself onto the side of the truck and was shouting steering instructions to Denny, whose eyes were swollen shut.

As the truck inched forward, a black-clad young man—who Murphy initially thought was a gang member—jumped onto the driver's seat of the truck. The nutrition consultant climbed inside the cab to console the injured man, and Murphy took over the job of guiding the new driver, who was unable to see through the shattered windshield.

As the black-clad driver tried desperately to speed up the awkward, heavy rig, Barnett drove in front of the truck, putting on her hazard lights to try to clear the way.

Eventually, the truck sped up to 40 mph and inched toward 50. After a trip that seemed to take hours, the rig screeched into the driveway at Daniel Freeman Hospital.

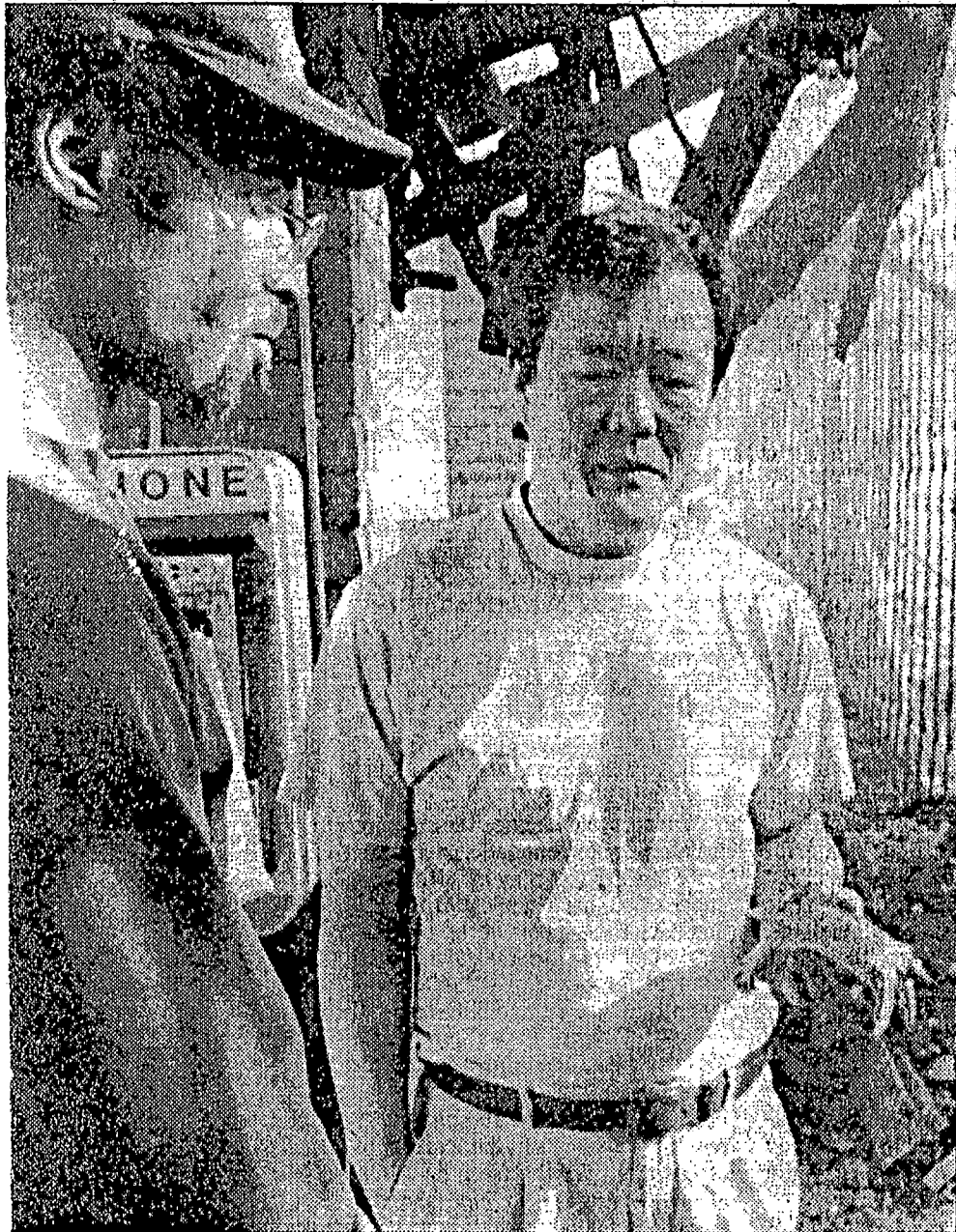
L.A. Residents Take Risks To Rescue Victims of Riot

SAMARITANS, From A1

his family and stayed with him until police

"I was afraid I was going to get hit," said Henry, 41. "I didn't feel secure. At least I was moving. He was helpless."

... above, prepares to hurl a can through a window during the looting of a supermarket in central Los Angeles yesterday. Below, Mike Kwon stands with a neighbor, holding the only thing he was able to save from his burned-out pet shop—a soft-shelled turtle. Asian-owned businesses were the targets of a great deal of the destruction.



When they arrived in their car, the police they thought would be there were nowhere to be seen. Instead, the gravely injured man,

seemed to take hours, the rig screeched into the driveway at Daniel Freeman Hospital.

L.A. Residents Take Risks To Rescue Victims of Riot

SAMARITANS, From A1

his family, and stayed with him until police arrived about 20 minutes later.

Amid the thick smoke of chaos, the anger and the violence that the King verdict touched off, there were individual acts of decency and valor such as Henry's, the kind of actions that the moniker "City of Angels" conjures up.

In other instances, people came to the aid of victims who had been pulled from their cars and savagely beaten, pulling them to safety. Others, including Henry and his wife, Barbara, warned people—including reporters—not to go to the corner of Florence and Normandie because they ran the risk of being beaten or worse.

The Henrys allowed a Washington Post reporter (who had already absorbed a punch to the face from a Crip gang member) to stay on their porch to observe the mayhem on the street below, even though they ran the risk of drawing unpleasant attention from some of those who were attacking any non-blacks and some blacks who happened to pass by.

After police finally arrived and put the victim, Raul Aguilar, on a stretcher and took him away, Henry spoke of the victim's attackers in anger and disgust.

"They were so . . . bad. Where are they now?" Henry said. "All those guys who were so bad are gone."

Though he was in his own neighborhood, Henry said he felt far from safe when he went out to help Aguilar.

"I was afraid I was going to get hit," said Henry, 41. "I didn't feel secure. At least I was moving. He was helpless."

The young man who helped Henry pull Aguilar off the street, who gave his name only as Jerome, said he diverted some of the attackers by pointing them to an abandoned motorcycle and urging them to take that instead of what was left of Aguilar.

The Henrys' son, Jacques, watched the

"This is going to be with him the rest of his life."

—Barbara Henry, speaking of her 10-year-old son watching the violence

bloody drama play out through his 10-year-old eyes.

Fear showed in his eyes with each beating, with each pelting of a car with rocks and bottles. At one point, the boy began crying as his mother tried to reassure him.

"This is going to be with him the rest of his life," Barbara Henry said. "He doesn't understand. This is killing him. He doesn't understand this hate."

At the same time, Henry said she was having a difficult time explaining to her son the reasons for the hate and the anger.

"I told my son that things were going to be better for him, to use the system," she said.

Referring to the King verdict, she added, "Now what do I tell him?"

the driver raised his arm. Fatum and his friends started to duck. But then they realized that the outstretched arm was not the street, but anyone's bottles of cognac he found Wednesday night in the debris of a looted liquor store. "I got

ing guns, and as the nighttime curfew and See VOICES, A32, Col. 1

■ *Aftermath of verdict: other stories in a section*

Compassion Amid Chaos

Residents Take Risks to Save Riot Victims

By Ruben Castaneda
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, April 30—Not more than 100 feet away from the safety of his front porch on Florence Avenue, James Henry watched a horrific scene unfold.

Five young black men swarmed on a Hispanic man whose van had broken down in the worst place and at the worst time anyone could imagine—Florence Avenue near Normandie Street about 3½ hours after the Rodney King verdict Wednesday night.

The five men punched and kicked the man mercilessly, then gleefully bounced away, flashing gang hand signals as they walked.

One man came back to rifle the victim's pockets and punch him in

the face one more time before walking away.

The attackers were only about 40 feet away from the victim, who was lying in the street, when several cars careened by, one running over the man's legs.

That was too much for Henry. Though the attackers were still nearby, though numerous menacing young men grasping bottles and large rocks were running amok, though police were nowhere to be seen, the solidly built Henry, who is also black, calmly left the security of his porch and took to the street to assist the man.

With the help of another man, Henry pulled the victim to the relative safety of the sidewalk, got him a blanket, got the phone number of

See SAMARITANS, A32, Col. 4



BY DAYNA SMITH—THE WASHINGTON POST

Moon Kang, right, is consoled by daughter Jennifer after their store was looted.

Case Casts

D.C. Area Ponders

By Sue Anne Pressley
Washington Post Staff Writer

It may have happened on the posite end of the country, but tance did not diminish the an outrage and even depression n Washington area residents felt terday about the verdict in the ney King case. On down streets, during car-pool ride: offices and classrooms and s ban homes, everyone seemed talking about the case—not ju a news event in California but reason to raise fundamental tions about race relations and inal justice in this country.

At the University of Maryla College Park, about 100 stu yesterday burned an effigy o Angeles Police Chief Daryl F. C

Navy Harassment Probe Stymied

Aviators Refuse to Help Identify Culprits at Tailhook Party

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

Despite overwhelming evidence of sexual assaults and misconduct at a convention of Navy and Marine aviators in Las Vegas last September, Navy investigators have been stymied in their attempts to identify the culprits because of "closing ranks and obfuscation" on the part of most who attended, Navy officials said yesterday.

A report on the seven-month probe by the

The Navy and Marine Corps, which considered the convention a "professional development seminar" and allowed aviators to attend on Navy time, provided free transportation to Las Vegas on board military aircraft for 1,700 of the event's estimated 5,000 participants. The event is sponsored by the Tailhook Association, a private group named for the hook used by carrier-based planes to snag the cable that allows them to land.

Although Navy investigators interviewed more than 1,500 Navy and Marine officers who attended the convention, Navy officials

INSIDE

O'Hare Auto Accident

■ A car driven by an 87-year-old man careened out of control yesterday and jumped a curb at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport, killing a 10-year-old third-grader and injuring 74 other pupils and adults, four critically.

NATION, Page A3

South African Sentence

■ A South African judge yesterday sentenced a senior white police officer to death for masterminding the 1988 massacre of 11 people mistakenly identified as anti-apartheid activists aligned with the ANC.

Campaign Overl

Senate Sends Measure to B

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate approved and sent to President Bush yesterday a bill to overhaul Congress's much criticized system of campaign financing but, like the House, failed to produce enough votes to override an expected veto.

It was the first time in a decade of effort that legislation to limit campaign spending has passed both houses, and Democratic leaders vowed to continue pushing for enactment of the bill despite the likely partisan deadlock.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1992

Journalists Face Attacks and Injury in Trying to Cover Riots

By KATHERINE BISHOP

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, April 30

Throughout the night and into today, reporters, photographers and camera crews struggled to cover the story of the Los Angeles riots close-up without endangering their own lives. Members of various news organizations were shot at, beaten and chased by mobs, limiting their ability to gather the words and pictures that broaden the story beyond distant shots of burning buildings taken from helicopters far above the streets.

Two cameramen with KCBS television in Los Angeles were attacked and injured during the night and a bullet hole was found in one of their vans. Lisa DeLuca, a spokeswoman for the station, said, "We're telling our people to cover an event and get right out of there."

Television sometimes benefited from the fact that many looters were

**Reporting while
being shot at and
chased by mobs.**

unconcerned that they were being filmed. "People don't care," Ms. DeLuca said. "They're smiling for the cameras while they loot the store. It's incredible."

Threatened With a Knife

But if rioters were posing for television cameras, they were beating and threatening still photographers with weapons, stealing their cameras and demanding that the photographers give up their film.

Jim Wilson, a staff photographer for The New York Times, said a man with a knife threatened to slit his throat if he took any pictures at an electronics

store that was being looted. A spokesman for The Associated Press said Craig Fuji, a staff photographer, was sent to a hospital with a concussion but did not know what him or who stole his cameras.

Bart Bartholomew, a freelance photographer working for The New York Times, said he was able to shoot one roll of film as the police retreated from a mob armed with clubs and rocks chanting "Cops gonna die tonight" before being attacked by people demanding his film. Hit in the face with a two-by-four and in the head with a brick, Mr. Bartholomew said he was saved from greater injury because the bullet-proof vest he was wearing deflected punches to his kidneys. One civilian on the street helped him get to his car, and he was able to drive off.

"I was just lucky to get out," he said. "When I think about it today, this wave of emotion washes over me and I start crying and have to take a couple of deep breaths."

Even those not out reporting the story were affected by it. The Los Angeles Times building in the heart of downtown Los Angeles was attacked on four separate occasions during the night and all the windows on the ground floor were broken. At one point, two copy messengers armed with fire extinguishers held off looters trying to steal television sets from the building.



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

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TO:

JENNIFER

FROM:

BRUCE WILMOT

News Summary
OEOB 412
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voice (202) 456-2950
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COMMENTS:

FOR R. KING RESEARCH
L.A.

CNN

Greg Lamont reports from Los Angeles: ...Firefighters have been shot as well. Even so, some say that overall, the people have been helpful.

(Firefighter #1: "There's a lot of support. There's more support than there is negative towards us. It's just the negative is easily seen.")

Well, then, let's get that word across. -- you want to expand on that?

(Firefighter #2: "...There are a lot of people out there helping, giving us water, their last can of soda that they've been saving. And it's a lot of good people out there. And non-violence is what they want. Just a few guys that are bad and want to flex their muscle at this time, and that's what we're seeing. But on the whole, I think everyone's trying to do their best to do what the law enforcement agencies asking them to do -- and, if they can, lend a hand.")

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RIOTS IN L.A.  **OUTRAGE AFTER THE VERDICT**FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1992
THE MIAMI HERALD **11A**

Outrage leads to an act of heroism, too

Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES — Barely 100 feet from the safety of his front porch, James Henry watched a horrific scene unfold.

Five young black men swarmed on a lone Hispanic man whose van had broken down at the worst time anyone could imagine — about 3½ hours after the Rodney King verdict.

The five men punched and kicked the man, then bounced away, flashing gang hand signals as they walked. One man returned to rifle the victim's pockets and punch him in the face one more time.

The attackers were only about 40 feet from the victim, who was lying in the street, when several cars careened by, one running over the man's legs.

That was too much for Henry. Though the attackers were nearby, though menacing young men grasping bottles and rocks were running amok, though police were nowhere to be seen, Henry, 41, who also is black, left his porch.

With the help of another man, Henry pulled the victim to the sidewalk, got him a blanket, got the phone number of his family and stayed with him until police arrived about 20 minutes later.

May 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN

FROM: JAG

SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ACTION ON L.A. SITUATION

Spoke to M.K. Material on what we will do was considered too sensitive (by Barr) to be directly sent to us -- it was faxed to Skinner and now Dave is getting it directly from him. She did read me over the phone what we have done up to this point. As follows:

- o Immediately following the case, Dept. of Justice resumed investigation into the Los Angeles case.
- o The night of the verdict, the Community Relations Service (CRS) -- a justice team of 10 conciliators -- went to L.A.
- o Thursday, associate A.G. Wayne Budd (overseeing investigation) sent to L.A. with a lawyer from his own staff and 5 federal civil rights division prosecutors.

Val Bunting - press sec. Mayor Bradley's office [213-485-3311]
approximately or
about 4,000
[almost]

(DDDMAF)
May 1, 1992
Draft Three
LA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ON CIVIL DISORDER IN LOS ANGELES
MAY 1, 1992
9:00 PM

Tonight, my heart goes out to those who have felt betrayed by a system of justice that seemed to have gone wrong -- and to those who have suffered since from the angry reaction of a frustrated and misguided mob.

*Weds. 29, 1992
April*
Two days ago, in a highly controversial court case, a verdict was handed down by a California jury. To Americans of all races who were shocked by the verdict, let me say this. I spoke this morning to many leaders of the civil rights community. They saw the video of Rodney King being beaten by the police, as did the rest of us. *March 3, 1991 - 29 April 1992* For fourteen months, they waited. Patiently. Hopefully. They waited for the system to work. When the verdict came in, they felt betrayed.

Viewed from outside the trial, it was hard to understand how the verdict could possibly square with the video. Those civil rights leaders with whom I met were stunned. So was I. So was Barbara. So were my kids. But those shocked and angered by this outcome must understand: our system of justice provides for the peaceful, orderly means of addressing this frustration. But we must respect the process of law whether or not we agree with the

outcome. There is a difference between frustration with the law and direct assaults upon it.

There are two very different issues at hand. One is the question of whether the actions of the police violated Rodney King's federal civil rights. So let me tell you what actions we are taking on the federal level to ensure that justice is served.

✓ 29 Apr 1, 1992
The verdict Wednesday was not the end of the process.

JAG ✓ Within one hour of the verdict, I directed the Justice Department to move into high gear on its own independent criminal investigation into the case.

JAG On Thursday, at my direction, Associate Attorney General Wayne Budd was immediately dispatched to Los Angeles with five federal civil rights division prosecutors. Our Justice Department has often demonstrated its ability to investigate fully a matter like this. In the last _____ the Justice Department has successfully prosecuted _____ of police violence cases. I'm confident that in this case, the Department of Justice will act as it should. R. Porter

JAG Federal grand jury action is underway today in Los Angeles. Subpoenas have been issued. Evidence is being reviewed.

The federal effort in this case will be swift -- and it will be fair. It will not be driven by mob violence, but by respect for due process and the rule of law.

We owe it to all Americans who put their faith in the law to see that justice is served. But as we move forward on this or any other case, we must remember the fundamental tenet of our

legal system: every American is entitled to protection of his or her rights.

Beyond the question of civil rights, there is a second fundamental issue: the urgent need to restore order. What followed Wednesday's jury verdict in the city of Los Angeles was

a tragic series of events: ^{just under 4,000 → Pres. Sec.} 1,500 fires, staggering property damage, ^{235 injuries from} thousands of injuries, and the senseless deaths of over ^{37 CNN} thirty people., ^{8 today. CNN.}

In the city 235 reported to... hundreds of injuries LA County-wide #900

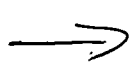
An innocent truck driver, chosen at random, was pulled out of his cab in broad daylight. He was punched, kicked -- beaten to the point of unconsciousness, robbed, and left to bleed in the street. The brutality we saw on our television sets was as sickening as it was terrifying.

What is going on now in Los Angeles is not about civil rights. It is not about the great cause of equality that all Americans must uphold. It is not a message of protest. It is now the barbarism of a mob -- pure and simple.

31 fatalities in City of LA

What is going on in L.A. must and will stop. Order will be restored to the streets of Los Angeles.

In a civilized society, there can be no excuse -- no excuse -- for the murder, arson, theft, and vandalism that have terrorized the law-abiding citizens of ^{South-Central} East Los Angeles. *moving west and north*



The wanton destruction of life and property is not a legitimate expression of outrage with injustice -- it is itself injustice. And no rationalization, no matter how heart-felt, no matter how eloquent, can make it otherwise. In the wake of the

Space ←

Pres. Sec.

first night's violence, I spoke directly with California ^{Governor} Pete Wilson, and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley -- to assess the situation, and to offer assistance. ←

MMN [Right now, there are [1400] National Guardsmen on duty in the City of Los Angeles. Another [1200] stand ready to provide immediate support.

Today, to supplement this effort to restore order, I've taken several additional actions. First, I have ordered the Justice Department to dispatch 1000 Federal riot-trained law enforcement officials to help restore order in Los Angeles -- beginning tonight. These officials include FBI SWAT teams, special riot control units of the U.S. Marshal Service, the Border Patrol, and other federal law enforcement agencies.

Second, another 1000 Federal Law Enforcement officials are on stand by alert should they be needed.

Third, I have authorized 3000 members of the 7th Infantry, and 1500 Marines to stand by at El Toro Air Station, California, available for duty this evening. And in the event these troops are sent in, I am prepared to Federalize the National Guard.

Television has become a medium that often brings us together. But its vivid display of Rodney King's beating shocked us. Its sudden rendering of the jury's verdict tore us apart. And the America it has shown us on our screens these last 48 hours has appalled us. None of this is what we wish to think of as American. It is as if we were looking in a mirror that

distorted our better selves and turned us ugly. We cannot let that happen. We cannot do that to ourselves.

We have seen images in the last 48 hours that we will never forget. Some were horrifying almost beyond belief. But there were other acts -- small, but significant acts in all this ugliness that give us hope: People who have spent each night not in the streets, but in the churches of east ^{South Central} Los Angeles -- praying that man's gentler instincts be revealed in the hearts of people driven by hate. There were the citizens who showed great personal responsibility -- who ignored the mob -- who at great personal danger, helped the victims of violence -- regardless of race.

Among the many stories I've seen and heard about these past few days, one sticks in my mind. The story of one savagely beaten white truck driver -- alive tonight because four strangers, four black strangers, came to his aid. Two were men who had been watching television and saw the beating as it was happening, and came out into the street to help. Another was a woman on her way home from work -- the fourth, a young man whose name we may never know. Together, those four people braved the mob and drove that truck driver to the hospital. He is alive today -- only because they stepped in to help.

It is for every one of them that we must rebuild the community of Los Angeles -- for these four people and the others like them who in the midst of this nightmare acted with simple human decency.

We must understand that no one in Los Angeles or any other city has rendered a verdict on America. If we are to remain the most vibrant and hopeful nation on earth we must allow our diversity to bind us together, not drive us apart. This must be the rallying cry of good and decent people.

For their sake, for all our sakes: We must build a future where in every city across this country, empty rage gives way to hope -- where poverty and despair give way to opportunity. We must keep on working to create a climate of understanding and tolerance. We must not tolerate racism, bigotry, anti-semitism, and hate of any kind, anytime, anywhere.

This weekend, I ask all Americans to lend their hearts, their voices, and their prayers to the healing of hatred. As President I took an oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution -- an oath that requires every President to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility. That duty is foremost in my mind tonight.

Let me say to the people saddened by the spectacle of the past few days -- to the good people of East Los Angeles, caught at the center of this senseless suffering: The violence will end. Justice will be served. Hope will return.

Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.

#

May 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE
DAN

FROM: JAG

SUBJECT: TV INTERVIEWS WITH GOOD SAMARITANS

Culled from the tube: two interviews with two samaritans (black) who aided two victims of mob violence.

CBS This Morning, Paula Zahn

Bennie Newton, an African-American pastor, arrived home Wednesday night and watched with horror the violence on the evening news. He and other preachers had been trying to come up with answers. Bennie decided to become one. "I felt I had to go down to do what I could," he recalled, "and I'm glad I did."

He walked downtown into the heart of the violence, "a street storm," he called it. He saw a man being beaten by a crowd of about 20. He moved to defend the man, saying, "Please stop, let's bring some sense into this." They pushed him aside, and were it not for his collar, would have probably beaten him too.

The beating continued, culminating when someone picked up a speaker and threw it down on the victim's head. At this point, the Reverend covered the man's body with his own -- shielding it from the mob. When he got a chance, he dragged the man to a gutted van and hid him there. Then he went to get his own car, and drove him to the hospital. Later, when he saw the reaction of the victim's family, he said "my heart was crying." The man, Mr. Lopez, is in stable condition.

Today Show, Bryant Gumbel

Greg Alan-Williams, an African-American actor and writer, was driving by a violent intersection and saw a mob of angry men swarming over a stalled car. The crowd was smashing and crawling through the windows of the vehicle, beating its driver in the face with beer bottles, and dragging him out of the car.

Our hero (sigh) got a hold of the man and started pulling him across the street. The bleeding man could hardly stand, but Williams told him: "You have to walk or you're going to die." They struggled through the jeering crowd, trying to find safety. Williams pulled him along the street, seeking shelter -- but no one would take them in, no one would help (shades of the Seven Stations). Finally, another good samaritan offered his van, and they took the man to the hospital.

Mr. Williams said that he and his family stand ready to help heal the victim and his family.

May 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE
DAN

FROM: JAG

SUBJECT: GOOD SAMARITAN ACCOUNTS IN PRINT

- 1) "It was late when the elderly black couple pulled up to the 77th Street police station in a white Cadillac. Slumped in the back seat was a Latino man with a gunshot wound in the head...Any other day, these Good Samaritans would have been hailed as heroes. Not tonight. Los Angeles was at war with itself...No one felt safe and it was impossible to know friend from foe."

"'Stop there...or I'll kill you!' shouted an officer posted outside the station as he pulled a revolver on the couple. The Cadillac screeched to a halt. Moments passed. The man and the woman sat motionless, not knowing what to do. Only when the jittery officer realized who was inside did the tension subside."

--L.A. Times, 5-1-92

- 2) "Not more than 100 feet away from the safety of his front porch on Florence Avenue, James Henry watched a horrific scene unfold. Five young black men swarmed on a Hispanic man whose van had broken down...[they] punched and kicked the man mercilessly, then gleefully bounced away, flashing gang hand signals...The attackers were only about 40 feet away from the victim, who was lying in the street, when several cars careened by, one running over the man's legs."

"That was too much for Henry...'I was was afraid I was going to get hit. I didn't feel secure. At least I was moving. He was helpless.'...With the help of another man, Henry pulled the victim to the relative safety of the sidewalk, got him a blanket, got the phone number of his family, and stayed with him until police arrived about 20 minutes later."

--Washington Post, 5-1-92.

- 3) **CNN and print: reports of citizens helping firefighters with hoses, people helping to put out fires with their garden hoses.

- 4) "His name is Reginald Oliver Denny...He is alive because four strangers -- four black strangers from the very crowd that had beaten him nearly to death -- emerged to drive his unweildy 18-wheeler out of pandemonium to safety."

"The rescuers were two women and two men: a young nutrition consultant, a laid-off data control worker, an unemployed aerospace worker, and a stil-unidentified young man in black whose fellow rescuers first feared was a ganbanger coming to finish Denny off."

*No hope deeper
under the surface,
+ Murphy.*

"The rescue came almost too late -- as long as 20 to 30 minutes after the beating... 'We were watching TV at home,' said T.J. Murphy, 'Somebody's got to get that guy out of there,' we said to each other."

[somehow Denny had managed to drag himself back into the truck and drive the vehicle, but he was gravely wounded and his eyes were swollen shut] "A young nutrition consultant on her way home from work..hoisted herself onto the side of the truck and was shouting steering instructions to Denny." [the other three good samaritans joined the effort, and they managed to get him to the hospital -- one more minute and he would have been dead.]

[Tee Barnett, who drove the truck to the hospital]:
"We found out that both Denny and I had 8-year old daughters..Black boys playing with white boys -- that's what Dr. King talked about. Working together. Playing together. But his dream doesn't seem to stand a chance, does it? Not until people learn to get along. Evidently, we're not living the same dream."

--L.A. Times, 5-1-92

?

14
M. Glass

May 1, 1992

President Bush,

My name is Hope Elliott. I am a female. I think the same thing as the jury in the Rodney King case. I think the police were right.

I am 5 years old. I hope

you have a good time with your dogs. I hope you have a good time at your office. I hope you have a good time with your friends.

Thanks,
HOPE

Hope Elliott
1702 Northwood Ct.
Longview, TX 75605
903-297-3856

essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last _____. I have repeated often what he said to me that day. He said, "The most important problem facing our cities is the deterioration of the family."

Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was _____. Now it is _____. The chances that a black male will die a violent death by the time he reaches 25 was one out of ____ in 1960. Now it is one out of _____. [In 1960 the high school graduation rate was ____ in Los Angeles. Now it is _____.] In Chicago, more guns were confiscated in the Chicago school system than in _____. And the chances of alcohol or drug abuse by pre-teens now are one in _____.

Many of these and other sobering statistics are clearly influenced by the absence of values that come from strong families. And these kind of statistics are most severe in our nations urban areas. The summary fact is that time is running out on the cities of America.

I'm not a social scientist. Never pretended to be. I look at things from a more uncomplicated point of view. As a father with kids -- now with grandkids. As a volunteer -- a little league coach or a doorknocker for the United Negro College Fund. As someone who spent half his life in a business trying to build a future for his family. As someone who spent the other half of

lost generation?

cause

1990

*Determining fact:
not level of fed aid --
whether a child has a father +
mother in his home...*

Try State D. Ed

1960:

23,500 : 1990-91 :
 11,250 ♂
 12,250 ♀
 dropout rate: 14.86%
 grades 10-12

budget crunch ^{not} reports not up-to-date

College Counseling 625-5608
 Dr. Charles Espalin [ess pak-leen]

x6766

Shell Erick

Office of Communications

Unified
 LA School District
 213-625-6000

essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last _____. I have repeated often what he said to me that day. He said, "The most important problem facing our cities is the deterioration of the family."

Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was _____. Now it is _____. The chances that a black male will die a violent death by the time he reaches 25 was one out of ____ in 1960. Now it is one out of _____. In 1960 the high school graduation rate was ____ in Los Angeles. Now it is _____. In Chicago, more guns were confiscated in the Chicago school system than in _____. And the chances of alcohol or drug abuse by pre-teens now are one in _____.

Many of these and other sobering statistics are clearly influenced by the absence of values that come from strong families. And these kind of statistics are most severe in our nations urban areas. The summary fact is that time is running out on the cities of America.

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lost generation?

*Determining factor:
not level of fed aid --
whether a child has a father +
mother in his home...*

916-657-3011

Jim Fulton - Demographics Office

Program Evaluation

Dr. ^{Richard} Dias (916) 657-3934

1984-85 → furthest back

To Carol

Date _____ Time 3:20

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M. Bob Kominsky

of Census Bureau

Phone (301) 763-1154

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	PLEASE CALL		
CALLED TO SEE YOU	WILL CALL AGAIN		
WANTS TO SEE YOU	URGENT		

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message _____

Bobby
Operator



23-021 CARBONLESS

Int'l
Natl'l Center for Educ. Statistics
Melinda Kitchell
202-401-1008



essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last Jan 16 National League of Cities. I have repeated often what he said to me that day. He said, "The most important problem facing our cities is the deterioration of the family."

Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5.3. Now it is 27.1. The chances that a black male will die a violent death by the time he reaches 25 was one out of 183 in 1960. Now it is one out of 183. In 1960 the high school graduation rate was 183 in Los Angeles. Now it is 183. In Chicago, 183 more guns were confiscated in the Chicago school system than in 183. And the chances of alcohol or drug abuse by pre-teens now are one in 183.

Many of these and other sobering statistics are clearly influenced by the absence of values that come from strong families. And these kind of statistics are most severe in our nations urban areas. The summary fact is that time is running out on the cities of America.

I'm not a social scientist. Never pretended to be. I look at things from a more uncomplicated point of view. As a father with kids -- now with grandkids. As a volunteer -- a little league coach or a doorknocker for the United Negro College Fund. As someone who spent half his life in a business trying to build a future for his family. As someone who spent the other half of

1970 10.7
1980 18.4
1989 27.1

Determining fact:
not level of fed aid --
whether a child has a father + mother in his home...

807M Schedule

Gilbert Crouse 245-1764

Chiff Lovick 245-7470

Bob Drug Abuse Policy 245-2641
Dr. Navello 245-6467

lost generation

1301 443-6480
NIDA Charles Shuster

Jim Heising 202 443-3783
PA - 8956

201 443-8956

Carol

(301) 436-8500
436-8500

Delma Taffie (301) 436-8954

Homicide leading cause of for
young blacks ^{age} 15-24
(male + female).

213
625
6000

For all U.S. The prob that a young baby 1989
will be murdered

white female baby 1 out 496
High for civilized country.

white male 1 out 285

Black F 1 out 117

Black M 1 out 27

In inner cities, is higher.

Bill Roper ^{Director} proposed
CDC is a high priority

↳ Nation. Center for Injury Prevention + Control

essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last ^{January} ~~that day~~. I have repeated often what ^{Mayor Bradley and every other mayor} he said to me that day. ~~He said,~~ "The most important problem facing our cities is the ^{deterioration} ~~deterioration~~ of the family."

Jan 16

1970: 10.7%

1980: 18.4%

Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5.3 Now it is 27.1 ⁽¹⁹⁸⁹⁾ -- greater than 5 times that of 1960.

The chances that a black male will die a violent death by the time he reaches 25 was one out of ___ in 1960. Now it is one out of ___. In 1960 the high school graduation rate was ___ in Los Angeles. Now it is ___.

see attached

In Chicago, ¹⁸³ more guns were confiscated in the Chicago school system ^{last year} than in _____. We took 183 guns; we only gave 25 National Merit Scholarships. And the chances of alcohol or drug abuse by pre-teens now are one in _____.

Many of these and other sobering statistics are clearly influenced by the absence of values that come from strong families. And these kind of statistics are most severe in our nations urban areas. The summary fact is that time is running out on the cities of America.

lost generation?

I'm not a social scientist. Never pretended to be. I look at things from a more uncomplicated point of view. As a father with kids -- now with grandkids. As a volunteer -- a little league coach or a doorknocker for the United Negro College Fund. As someone who spent half his life in a business trying to build a future for his family. As someone who spent the other half of

70% of 8th graders have used alcohol
10% of " " have use marijuana

The chances that an 8th grader has ever used alcohol is 20%, there is a 1 in 10 chance that he or she has used marijuana.

Determining factor: not level of fed aid -- whether a child has a father + mother in his home...

From Dr. Mark Rosenberg at the Centers for Disease Control:

Homicide is the leading cause of death for young blacks age 15 -
324. (This includes both males and females.)

The probability that a young baby will be murdered in their
lifetime is as follows:

WFB 1 out of 496

WMB 1 out of 205

BFB 1 out of 117

BMB 1 out of 27

Los Angeles Unified School District

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES: 450 NORTH GRAND AVENUE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

MAILING ADDRESS: BOX 3307, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90051

TELEPHONE: (213) 625-6766

FAX: (213) 625-6380 or (213) 626-2470

WILLIAM R. ANTON
Superintendent of Schools

DIANA MUÑATONES
Director
Office of Communications

This material is being FAXed from the Office of Communications
of the Los Angeles Unified School District

Date 5-7-92 To George Raimanis FAX # _____

Organization White House Research

Pages to follow 7 (If all pages are not received or if transmission is unclear,

please call PATRICK SPENCER at (213) 625-6766 or _____.)

Additional notes:

ADD 5 MORE TO PREVIOUS TOTAL TO MAKE
129 SEIZURES between 87-88 &
90-91 school years

$9 \left[87-88 \right]$
 $4 \ 17$

34 88-89

15] ~~89-90~~ 89-90
26

~~16~~] 90-91
16

129

3 9
17
34
15
26
12
16
129

California State Department of Education
Form DSCR 45

County Code		District Code			
1	9	6	4	7	3
Refer to California Public School Directory for code numbers.					

Standard School Crime Reporting Form

For Reporting Number of Incidents of Crime and Violence on School Grounds or in School Programs and Activities

Return completed form to:
California State Department of Education
Office of School Climate
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento, CA 95814-4786

1987-88

First half

School District Summary

Pursuant to Penal Code Section 628
(See the reverse side of this page for instructions and definitions.)

School district	Reporting period (Check one)					District enrollment				Total dollar loss to district by type of crime
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> July 1 - December 31 1987 <input type="checkbox"/> January 1 - June 30					(Report the total district enrollment as of CBEDS' Information Day during the third week in October.) 590,287				
	Number of incidents, by location					Number of offenders, by student status		Number of incidents, by time of occurrence		
Crime classification, by victim, type, or weapon involved	Report data in the appropriate column in accordance with your school's designation established by governing board resolution					Student (Person enrolled in the school reporting the crime)	Nonstudent (Person not enrolled in the school reporting the crime)	Daytime (From 1 hour before to 1 hour after board-approved school day)	Other time (Evenings, weekends, holidays)	
	Elementary school	Middle/intermediate/junior high school	High school	Other (Adult school, special education facility, ROP/ROC, etc.)	Total number of incidents					
1. Assault/attack/menace										
a. Against students	22	77	96	12	207	115	92	201	6	
b. Against employees	17	30	50	10	107	61	46	91	16	
c. Against others (Identify.)	4		3		7	1	6	3	4	
2. Assault/attack with a deadly weapon										
a. Against students	11	42	49	4	106	43	63	99	7	
b. Against employees	7	14	15	7	43	15	28	35	8	
c. Against others (Identify.)		5	8	1	14	3	11	7	7	
3. Homicide (Dead Body)			1*	1**	2		2	2		
4. Sex offenses										
a. Misdemeanors (e.g., indecent exposure, obscene phone call)	16	25	19	2	62	5	57	56	6	
b. Felonies (e.g., rape, sodomy, child molestation)	34	28	22	6	90	12	78	79	11	
5. Robbery	12	60	31	8	111	34	77	95	16	
6. Extortion	1		1		2	2		2		
7. Substance/chemical/electrical abuse (Possession, use, or sale)	22	51	103	16	192	135	57	154	38	
8. Possession of weapons										
a. Gun	9	34	63	9	115	40	75	92	23	
b. Knife	13	104	80	5	202	132	70	187	15	
c. Bomb/explosives/firecrackers		3			3	2	1	3		
d. Other (Identify.)	19	63	54	9	135	60	75	115	20	
9. Property crimes										
a. Arson	13	9	15	3	40	2	38	13	27	61,656
b. Burglary (breaking and entering with intent to steal)	602	199	190	100	1091	36	1055	169	922	714,399
c. Theft from students/unlawful taking of property)		5	52	1	58	19	39	55	3	11,844
d. Theft from school	139	82	119	101	441	19	422	310	131	104,155
e. Vandalism	1529	635	647	225	3037	68	2969	2841	196	1,346,711
f. Other (Identify.) Personal Property	83	165	267	68	583	36	547	464	119	198,524
g. Theft from employees	37	34	18	8	97	8	89	85	12	23,161
10. Other (Identify.)										
a. Child abuse/Batt.	2	1			3		3	2	1	
b. Trespass/Distr. Peace	24	57	72	9	162	18	144	128	34	
c. Misc.	30	54	74	23	181	37	144	149	32	
d. Bomb Threat	3	8	17	1	29	2	27	28	1	

Explanatory comments

Lost Property	106	53	68	52	279	8	271	113	166	300,017
---------------	-----	----	----	----	-----	---	-----	-----	-----	---------

*Victim, student, was off campus during lunch break when he was fatally assaulted while at a city park
3/4 of a mile from campus.

** Victim of ADW expired on campus - non-school related

Certification: I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the data contained in this form are true, accurate, and complete.

Signature of district superintendent or designee:

Herbert G. Graham

Date: 1-25-88

Contact person:

A. Goldhammer

Telephone:

213, 625-6631

Distribution: Return original to the State Department of Education. Retain copy for district files.

Standard School Crime Reporting Form

For Reporting Number of Incidents of Crime and Violence on School Grounds or in School Programs and Activities

County Code		District Code				
1	9	6	4	7	3	3

Refer to California Public School Directory for code numbers.

School District Summary

Pursuant to Penal Code Section 628
(See the reverse side of this page for instructions and definitions.)

1987-88

Second half

Return completed form to:

California State Department of Education
Office of School Climate
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento, CA 95814-4788

School district	Reporting period (Check one.) July 1—December 31 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> January 1—June 30 1988					District enrollment (Report the total district enrollment as of CBEDS' information day during the third week in October.)				
	Number of incidents, by location Report data in the appropriate column in accordance with your school's designation established by governing board resolution					Number of offenders, by student status		Number of incidents, by time of occurrence		Total dollar loss to district, by type of crime
	Elementary school	Middle/intermediate/junior high school	High school	Other (Adult school, special education facility, ROP/ROC, etc.)	Total number of incidents	Student (Person enrolled in the school reporting the crime)	Nonstudent (Person not enrolled in the school reporting the crime)	Daytime (From 1 hour before to 1 hour after board-approved school day)	Other time (Evenings, weekends, holidays)	
Crime classification, by victim, type, or weapon involved										
1. Assault/attack/menace										
a. Against students	59	162	113	20	354	200	154	339	15	
b. Against employees	52	69	54	18	193	132	61	181	12	
c. Against others (Identify.)	4	2	2	2	10	4	6	8	2	
2. Assault/attack with a deadly weapon										
a. Against students	30	76	51	9	166	83	83	155	11	
b. Against employees	7	16	6	2	31	19	12	27	4	
c. Against others (Identify.)	2	5	4	1	12	2	10	10	2	
3. Homicide	1*	0	1**	0	2	0	2	1	1	
4. Sex offenses										
a. Misdemeanors (e.g., indecent exposure, obscene phone call)	33	49	35	4	121	11	110	111	10	
b. Felonies (e.g., rape, sodomy, child molestation)	64	38	35	7	144	36	108	129	15	
5. Robbery	24	88	50	4	166	56	110	147	19	
6. Extortion	3	2	0	1	6	6	0	6	0	
7. Substance/chemical/alcohol abuse (Possession, use, or sale)	26	88	93	16	223	158	65	190	33	
8. Possession of weapons										
a. Gun	17	50	60	13	140	44	96	119	21	
b. Knives	30	145	90	11	276	206	70	257	19	
c. Bomb/explosives/firearms	0	16	4	0	20	19	1	20	0	
d. Other (Identify.)	35	89	50	11	185	117	68	163	22	
9. Property crimes										
a. Arson	27	18	21	2	68	13	55	33	35	805,685
b. Burglary (breaching and entering with intent to steal)	749	311	246	82	1388	75	1313	177	1211	666,482
c. Theft from students (unlawful taking of property)	7	13	58	5	83	19	64	78	5	18,781
d. Theft from school	229	123	190	99	641	41	600	472	169	147,831
e. Vandalism	2734	1266	1168	479	5587	170	5417	5278	309	2,707,547
f. Other (Identify.)										
Personal Property	161	337	411	95	1004	61	943	836	168	313,954
Thrift fr. employee	55	32	23	13	123	9	114	103	20	31,494
10. Other (Identify.)										
a. Child Abuse/Batt	3	1	0	0	4	0	4	3	1	
b. Tres/Distr. Peace	35	95	79	15	224	42	182	184	40	
c. Misc.	54	99	79	40	271	75	196	221	50	
d. Bomb Threat	10	38	37	5	90	0	90	89	1	
Explanatory comments										
Lost Property	155	53	102	49	359	14	345	146	213	246,001

*Victim Junior High Student - On elementary school campus - intoxicated - climbed fence and fell (accidental death)

**Gang related shooting in front of high school. Adult victim across street, on private property, fatally wounded.

Certification: I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the data contained in this form are true, accurate, and complete.

Signature of district superintendent or designee: *Herbert G. Graham* Date: *7/29/88*

Contact person:

ANN GULAMIN

Telephone: *218, 625-6324*

Distribution: Return original to the State Department of Education. Retain copy for district files.

SCHOOL CRIME REPORTING

DATE: 03/12/90

DISTRICT TOTALS
JULY 1, 1988 - JUNE 30, 1989

ELEM. ENROLLMENT: 330,372
J. H. ENROLLMENT: 123,355
H. S. ENROLLMENT: 132,517
OTHER ENROLLMENT: 6,637
TOTAL ENROLLMENT: 592,881

DISTRICT NAME: LOS ANGELES UNIFIED

CODE: 1964733

Crime classification	Number of incidents, by location					Offenders by student status		No. of incidents by occurrence		Total dollar loss to District by crime
	Elementary	Junior high	High school	Other	Total	Student	Non-student	Day time	Other time	
1. Assault/attack/ menace										
a. Against students	54	229	194	24	501	276	225	481	20	
b. Against employees	101	139	87	30	367	239	128	340	27	
c. Against others	11	8	3	2	25	9	16	23	2	
Totals	166	377	294	56	893	524	369	844	49	
2. Assault/attack/ weapon										
a. Against students	37	113	117	11	278	123	155	262	16	
b. Against employees	12	38	29	9	88	24	64	71	17	
c. Against others	6	5	17	4	32	5	27	25	7	
Totals	55	156	163	24	398	152	246	358	40	
3. Homicide	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	
4. Sex offenses										
a. Misdemeanors	107	72	44	3	226	6	220	213	13	
b. Felonies	21	37	31	8	97	32	65	81	16	
Totals	128	109	75	11	323	38	285	294	29	
5. Robbery	42	135	87	24	268	72	196	226	42	
6. Extortion	2	3	2	0	7	6	1	7	0	
7. Substance abuse	43	115	149	33	340	233	107	285	55	
8. Possession of weapons										
a. Gun	34	105	116	19	274	105	169	234	40	
b. Knife	40	253	148	13	455	324	131	434	21	
c. Explosives	0	7	8	0	15	11	4	15	0	
d. Other	54	143	116	15	328	171	157	304	24	
Totals	128	508	388	47	1,072	611	461	987	85	
9. Property crimes										
a. Arson	50	39	31	9	129	17	112	41	88	\$ 1,058,591
b. Burglary	1,418	578	411	198	2,603	144	2,459	950	2,253	\$ 2,435,402
c. Theft from students	4	47	92	13	156	57	99	142	14	\$ **
d. Theft from school	319	258	265	196	1,038	50	988	709	329	\$ 261,205
e. Vandalism	3,045	1,307	1,154	592	6,098	250	5,848	5,470	628	\$ 3,352,508
Totals	4,836	2,227	1,953	1,008	10,024	518	9,506	6,712	3,312	\$ 7,117,706
										13,327

**Theft from students is not a loss to schools; therefore, dollar loss data is not included.

d Bomb threats	3	13	26	2	44	0	44	
12. PROPERTY OFFENSES								
a Arson	13	14	11	7	45	9	36	173,688
b Burglary	501	194	191	82	968	41	927	693,008
c Theft of school property	90	59	104	70	323	24	294	114,667
d Theft of student property	2	60	82	13	157	22	135	
e Theft of employee property	78	44	53	32	207	8	199	54,436
f Vandalism of school property	123	109	147	40	419	82	337	1,644,152
g Vandalism of student property	2	0	17	7	26	0	26	
h Vandalism of employee property	199	185	172	60	616	9	606	
13. Loitering trespassing								
	19	48	103	21	191	48	143	
14. Other miscellaneous criminal activity								
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Certification: I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the data contained in this form are true, accurate, and complete. *per discussion with Dr. Peter Kneidler, will be submitted in approx. 1 month

Name of contact person:

WESLEY C. MITCHELL,
Chief of Police

Telephone:

213 625 - 6211

Signature of district superintendent or designee:

[Handwritten Signature] Date: 1/29/90

Distribution: Return to the Indiana State Department of Education, Retain Yellow Copy to State Dept.

Standard School Crime Reporting Form

For Reporting Number of Incidents of Crime on School Grounds

District Name LOS ANGELES

District Enrollment 805,866 (per October CBEDS data)

Reporting Period (Check one.) July 1—December 31

January 1—June 30

Fiscal year 1989-1990

School District Summary (DSCR-89)

Pursuant to Penal Code sections 628, 628.1, and 628.2 and Education Code section 14044 (See reverse side of this form for instructions and descriptions.)

Please return completed form to: California State Department of Education
School Climate and Student Support Services Unit
P.O. Box 944272
Sacramento, CA 94244-2720

County Code 19 District Code 64733
Refer to California Public School Directory for code numbers.

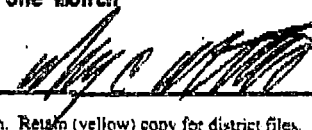
Second Half

Crime Descriptions	Number of incidents, by location					Number of offenders (if known), by characteristics		Dollar loss to district	
	Report data in the appropriate column in accordance with your schools' designation established by governing board resolution.								
	Elementary school	Middle/intermediate/junior high school	High school	Adult school, special education facility, ROP/ROC, etc.	Total number of incidents	Student (Person enrolled in reporting school)	Nonstudent (Person not enrolled in reporting school)		
1. Assault									
a. Against students	3	3	6	2	14	4	10		
b. Against certificated employees	20	31	21	6	78	43	35		
c. Against classified employees	3	2	6	-	11	4	7		
d. Against security/peace officers	-	3	6	9	4	5	9		
e. Against others	-	-	-	-	0	-	-		
2. Battery									
a. Against students	36	169	152	12	369	216	153		
b. Against certificated employees	16	75	29	6	126	104	22		
c. Against classified employees	9	6	7	2	24	10	14		
d. Against security/peace officers	-	6	10	2	18	9	10		
e. Against others	4	2	2	-	8	4	4		
3. Assault with a deadly weapon									
a. Against students	19	99	100	11	229	107	122		
b. Against certificated employees	4	3	5	1	13	9	4		
c. Against classified employees	5	6	4	8	23	3	20		
d. Against security/peace officers	-	5	6	-	11	1	10		
e. Against others	4	1	3	-	8	-	8		
4. Unlawful fighting	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
5. Homicide	-	-	-	-	0	-	-		
6. Sex offenses									
a. Misdemeanors (e.g., indecent exposure, sexual battery)	85	76	58	14	234	29	204		
b. Felony (e.g., rape, sodomy, child molestation)	1	5	5	-	11	5	6		
7. Robbery	17	94	80	10	201	49	152		
8. Extortion	-	4	-	-	4	4	-		
9. Chemical substances offenses									
a. Marijuana	4	39	61	5	109	92	17		
b. Alcohol	9	13	8	3	33	13	20		
c. Other drugs	2	5	3	4	14	5	9		
d. Paraphernalia	1	4	1	-	6	3	3		
10. Possession of weapons									
a. Guns	25	79	76	19	200	64	136		
b. Guns (replicas)	3	4	2	-	9	3	6		
c. Knives	19	163	96	13	291	229	62		
d. Knives (replicas)	-	1	-	-	1	1	-		
e. Other weapons	30	99	100	11	240	125	115		
f. Other weapons (replicas)	-	-	-	-	0	-	-		
11. Destructive devices									
a. Bombs	-	-	-	-	0	-	-		
b. Explosives	-	-	-	-	0	-	-		
c. Fireworks	-	9	8	1	18	18	-		
d. Bomb threats	11	22	22	-	55	-	-		

d. Some totals	11	32	32	1	76	-	76	
12. Property crimes:								
a. Arson	29	29	19	2	70	20	50	302,728
b. Burglary	538	247	230	110	1125	66	1059	682,178
c. Theft of school property	95	82	162	84	423	31	392	160,051
d. Theft of student property	7	45	169	20	241	35	206	
e. Theft of employee property	113	91	79	61	344	15	329	
f. Vandalism of school property	166	136	197	54	553	162	391	2,283,756
g. Vandalism of student property	-	2	33	3	38	8	30	
h. Vandalism of employee property	338	341	380	105	1164	18	1146	
13. Loitering/trespassing	22	79	98	19	218	31	187	
14. Other miscellaneous criminal activity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

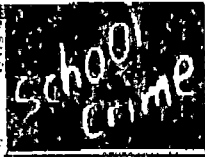
Certification: I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the data contained in this form are true, accurate, and complete. *per discussion with Dr. Pete Kneedler, will be submitted in approx. one month

Name of contact person:
WESLEY C. MITCHELL
 Chief of Police

Signature of district superintendent or designee:  Date: July 30, 1990

Telephone:
 (213) 625 - 6211

Distribution: Return (pink) original to State Department of Education. Retain (yellow) copy for district files.



1990-91 Semi-Annual District Crime Report Summary

Reporting Period (Check one):

July 1 - December 31, 1990.....**February 1, 1991**

January 1 - June 30, 1991.....**August 1, 1991**

Please return completed form to:

First Half

District Name LOS ANGELES

District Code 1 9 6 4 7 5 3

per California Public School Directory

District Enrollment 777,333

per October CBEDS data

Questions?
☎ (916) 322-6352
☎ (916) 323-0565

California Department of Education
School Crime Reporting Program
School Climate and Student Support 1990-91
Services Unit
P.O. Box 944272
Sacramento, CA 94427-2720

Crime Descriptions	Number of incidents, by location Report data in the appropriate column in accordance with your school's designation established by governing board resolution.					Number of offenders (if known), by characteristics		Dollar loss to district
	Elementary school	Middle/intermediate/junior high school	High school	District office, transportation, adult school, special education facility, ROP/ROC, etc.	Total number of incidents	Student (Person enrolled in reporting school)	Nonstudent (Person not enrolled in reporting school)	
1. Assault								
a. Against students	1	2	3	0	6	8	3	
b. Against certificated employees	7	13	5	1	26	17	10	
c. Against classified employees	4	3	3	2	12	3	6	
d. Against school/peace officers	0	3	5	0	8	6	4	
e. Against others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2. Battery								
a. Against students	30	114	142	10	296	241	152	
b. Against certificated employees	16	32	14	1	62	46	23	
c. Against classified employees	4	1	3	1	11	1	4	
d. Against school/peace officers	0	2	17	0	19	17	10	
e. Against others	2	1	1	2	6	5	5	
3. Assault with a deadly weapon								
a. Against students	17	61	72	5	155	93	113	
b. Against certificated employees	0	5	4	0	9	4	5	
c. Against classified employees	3	1	2	2	8	5	5	
d. Against school/peace officers	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	
e. Against others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4. Unlawful fighting								
5. Homicide*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
6. Sex offenses								
a. Rape (e.g., incest, exposure of sexual history)	33	39	69	9	155	27	138	
b. Felony (e.g., rape, sodomy, child molestation)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
7. Robbery	13	107	89	8	217	61	127	
8. Extortion	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	
9. Chemical substances offenses								
a. Marijuana	8	8	39	2	57	52	17	
b. Alcohol	2	1	5	1	9	5	4	
c. Other drugs	3	8	9	2	22	9	17	
d. Paraphernalia	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	
10. Possession of weapons								
a. Guns	12	63	61	7	143	64	108	
b. Guns (replicas)	1	1	2	0	4	2	2	
c. Knives	13	99	103	4	219	193	77	
d. Knives (replicas)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
e. Other weapons	19	71	73	9	172	129	93	
11. Destructive devices								
a. Bombs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
b. Explosives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
c. Fireworks	0	1	3	0	4	5	0	
d. Bomb threats	8	19	24	1	51	0	51	
12. Property crimes								
a. Arson	12	9	15	7	43	5	43	110,864
b. Burglary	468	182	172	85	907	105	996	540,663
c. Theft of actual property	93	48	166	84	391	36	367	181,127
d. Theft of motor property	3	28	144	11	186	30	162	
e. Theft of money and securities	119	50	64	60	293	11	292	
f. Violation of school property	155	93	129	46	403	119	340	1,942,177

	127	72	127	60	603	114	581
Vandalism of student property	1	1	18	7	22	3	20
Vandalism of employee property	232	222	211	82	747	13	738
13. Loitering/trespassing	48	53	90	5	163	8	215
14. Other miscellaneous criminal activity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

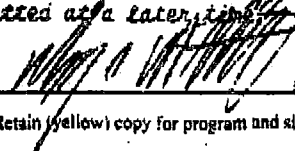
* Describe the circumstances on any homicides on a separate sheet of paper and attach it to this report.

Certification: I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the data contained in this form are true, accurate, and complete. **will be submitted at a later time**

Name of contact person:

Wesley C. Mitchell, Chief of Police

Signature of administrator in charge or designee:

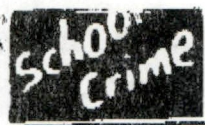


Date: 1/31/91

Telephone:
(213) 625 - 6211

Distribution: Return (pink) original to County Office of Education. Retain (yellow) copy for program and site files.

SCRPO1



District Crime Report Summary

January 1 - June 30, 1991
 Second Half

District Name LOS ANGELES
 District Code 1 8 6 4 7 1 3
 District Enrollment 777,333

Questions?
 ☎ (415) 223-6340
 ☎ (415) 223-6365

California Department of Education
 School Crime Reporting Program
 School Climate and Student Support Services Unit
 P.O. Box 944272
 Sacramento, CA 944272-2720

Crime Descriptions	Number of incidents, by location					Number of offenders (if known), by characteristics		Dollars in District
	Elementary school	Middle/intermediate/ junior high school	High school	District office, transportation, adult school, special education facility, ROP/RXC, etc.	Total number of incidents	Student (Person enrolled in reporting school)	Nonstudent (Person not enrolled in reporting school)	
1. Assault								
a. Against students	1	5	5	0	11	11	5	
b. Against certificated employees	7	15	10	0	32	17	16	
c. Against classified employees	1	1	2	1	5	1	4	
d. Against security/peace officers	0	1	3	0	4	2	2	
e. Against others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2. Batters								
a. Against students	52	163	107	8	330	279	165	
b. Against certificated employees	11	53	22	2	88	70	70	
c. Against classified employees	5	7	12	0	24	13	13	
d. Against security/peace officers	1	3	10	2	16	6	12	
e. Against others	0	2	4	2	8	2	7	
3. Assault with a deadly weapon								
a. Against students	18	98	99	6	221	159	130	
b. Against certificated employees	3	11	6	0	20	11	8	
c. Against classified employees	3	8	7	4	17	1	11	
d. Against security/peace officers	0	1	4	1	6	0	6	
e. Against others	1	4	13	0	18	9	16	
4. Unlawful fighting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5. Homicide*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
6. Sex offenses								
a. Misdemeanor (e.g., indecent exposure, sexual battery)	104	73	50	5	232	19	222	
b. Felony (e.g., rape, sodomy, child molestation)	3	4	2	0	9	9	3	
7. Robbery	26	129	85	18	258	88	214	
8. Extortion	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
9. Chemical substances offenses								
a. Marijuana	7	53	68	6	134	135	22	
b. Alcohol	0	2	6	1	9	7	3	
c. Other drugs	6	3	9	0	18	10	14	
d. Paraphernalia	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	
10. Possession of weapons								
a. Guns	16	74	79	7	176	85	126	
b. Guns (replicas)	1	6	6	1	14	11	10	
c. Knives	30	181	109	9	329	265	103	
d. Knives (replicas)	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
e. Other weapons	26	119	92	10	247	188	125	
11. Destructive devices								
a. Bombs	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	
b. Explosives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
c. Fireworks	0	4	3	0	7	7	1	
d. Bomb threats	17	32	64	3	116	0	115	
12. Property crimes								
a. Arson	16	25	24	3	68	16	57	228,133
b. Burglary	675	271	247	66	1259	177	1396	893,761
c. Theft of school property	140	88	153	8	389	64	421	202,023
d. Theft of student property	18	60	197	17	272	53	233	
e. Theft of employee property	127	77	108	55	367	35	344	
f. Vandalism of school property	312	215	224	63	814	247	479	2,581,573
g. Vandalism of student property	2	3	24	8	37	5	34	
h. Vandalism of employee property	346	215	357	79	1127	15	1117	

h. Vandalism of employee property	390	393	391	17	320		
13. Littering/trespassing	7	48	60	8	123	12	147
14. Other miscellaneous criminal activity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Describe the circumstances on any homicides on a separate sheet of paper and attach it to this report. *Revised August 26, 1991*

Certification: I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the data contained in this form are true, accurate, and complete. *will be submitted at a later date.*

Name of contact person:
Chief Wesley C. Mitchell
 Telephone:
 (213) 625-6211

Signature of administrator in charge or designee: *[Signature]* Date: *7/29/91*

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