Arthur Crowns, Prof. of Sociology at Memphis State Univ., 1968

SS122.mp3

David Yellin- This is side 1, this is side 1 May 13th 1968. Dr Harry Ostrich's office in the speech and drama department with an interview with Dr. Arthur Crowns a sociology department of Memphis state university, side 1.

(Tape Break)

David Yellin- The way usually a good way to start is how did a nice girl like you get into some thing like this?

Arthur Crowns- I am a prostitute. (Laughs)

Arthur Crowns- You know it is right nobody just starts out as a kid I want to be a firemen or I want to be an expert on crime, how did you come about doing this?

Arthur Crowns- You mean get into law enforcement education?

David Yellin- Yes.

Arthur Crowns- Well it is kind of a long story.

David Yellin- Well that is what we are here for.

Arthur Crowns- You have enough tape?

David Yellin- We have a long time and…

Arthur Crowns- Well my education was interrupted with world war 2 and at that time I was getting a degree in education, mathematics major and after serving for the duration plus 6 months I came back and completed my education at Student's Point State college which is now, they now call it the university of Wisconsin at Steven's Point state university. Then from there I went down to the law school at the university of (muffled) and got my degree my JD in 1950 and practiced law in Wisconsin Rapids for the next 8 years. During this time I ran for the state legislature and got elected, served on the public welfare committee and the state affairs committee while I was in the legislature 55-58 and this led me into a conflict between the law and the juvenile court, the juvenile court philosophy. Dr. Miles was in the head of the school social worker is the applied school of corrections at the university of Wisconsin and I took some evening division courses, or evening courses and finally led to my masters degree in social work. I completed my master's degree in 58. This was in the time when McCarthy had a poor sense of timing he died, and the state of Wisconsin as you know is liberal (muffled) and bigger cities are quite progressive or they are socialistic at best they are very liberal republican or democrat. I was on a quasi-district and a proxy had been running against our candidates for some time and each time we would beat him as far as the govertorial race. (muffled) 3 or 4 candidate. Thompson was one that was governor a the time and this led to a summer run off and (muffled) got us put into the door and put into Congress which opened the dikes as far as the democrats are concerned.

Well in the following campaign in the fall when I had run for re-election I had came up short on both because (muffled) was in, they swept the whole state with the exception of Zimmerman secretary of state and all the quasi districts went so this meant I was without a job, wasn't a very good one anyhow so I had to make a decision to going back to practicing law full time with my father and brother or going after an advanced degree in corrections. Which we decided my wife and I decided to go after…

David Yellin- How did you come to corrections just by your…

Arthur Crowns- No we were, the committee I was on the state affairs was re-evaluating the juvenile law In Wisconsin and they had the intern committee that made the report other committee I was on. This was very confusing because as a classical lawyer I didn't understand the new technique the inquisitorial type of system. And it kind of bugged me in a way. So unfortunately, after a committee hearing I made the statement where does mayor's lawyer get this type of information. And I happened to say it this to Dr. Miles who said well we will help you out just come over to campus and we will let you take 3 of our classes. Well anyhow I decided to go after the advanced degree and we couldn't find a school right away that fit what I wanted so I took a position with the state of Wisconsin in mental health. In a social work degree in Southern Wisconsin working with the retarded group and a family with retarded children. We then found out about Florida State. I went to Florida State and got my advanced degree there while at Florida State I met Chuck Newton and….

David Yellin- Florida State they have a…

Arthur Crowns- They have a law enforcement program, but I was in corrections, I was interest4ed in corrections and in juvenile court work, especially with kids. Dr. Newton and I got acquainted at Florida State and I went with the faculty in Florida, Florida State I should say and headed up one of the training units of the juvenile court down in Tampa. Chuck came over here as the head of the department and when he wanted to go into law enforcement, the law enforcement field is so new it is pretty difficult to find a person specifically qualified in law enforcement. I came the closest so he invited me to head up his division over here, which I did.

David Yellin- And he is head of the department of Sociology.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah.

David Yellin- And you came here?

Arthur Crowns- It would be 3 years ago. 3 years ago this April.

David Yellin- 65. And what is your job or what was your…

Arthur Crowns- It was 64 I believe it would be.

Unknown Male Interviewer- This is your 4th year coming up right?

Arthur Crowns- Yeah.

David Yellin- What is your job at Memphis state, what was it and what is it as it changed.

Arthur Crowns- Basically I was responsible, I was hired and responsible for setting up a law enforcement program at all levels. The certificate the associative arts, the bachelor's degree, and the master's. I carry an unofficial title of director of the law enforcement division. Now we really do not have a recognized major yet.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Do you offer and associate arts degree?

Arthur Crowns- Law enforcement.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Which means what it is a two year?

Arthur Crowns- Two year, two year degree. It is actually the basic studies minus the foreign languages.

David Yellin- Now who would take such a course, where would they go if they took it other than teach it.

Arthur Crowns- Well you see law enforcement being in a state of change it primarily does two things. Of course one is it recruits people for the law enforcement field, this would be the college(muffled). There is no interest in law enforcement and then he comes in and he finds our course and becomes interested in it and then goes into law enforcement as a profession, either a the federal level or at the local level. The other is to improve the status (muffled) of each law enforcement personnel presently involved. And we started out to improve the image but we will have to make the transitional step to an on-campus program.

David Yellin- Improving the image would be dealing with them and how they…now just get back to the first. What does a graduate get into in law enforcement? Do they become police officers, FBI, or are they?

Arthur Crowns- Well it depends upon the education they have. If they have the associate degree which is the preferred degree at the present time as far as law enforcement is concerned. Most departments would hire a man with two years of college associative art. He has the junior college programs develop here, social programs become more important. Today we in law enforcement are just a high school degree, or a diploma and the federal government and the international chiefs of police want to raise this status to require at least two years of college. The (muffled) commission has 3 levels of interest. The neighborhood worker which is less than high school, the high school for the police officer, the masters police officer would preferably have 4 years of college.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Now in addition to training students here which is a fundamental purpose of a new program you have also taught at the Armor center is that right?

Arthur Crowns- Yes we have, we split our law enforcement course we offer them her and on campus. See I hold my pastoral right as an associate professor in the department of sociology. And I teach sociology course plus the law enforcement which are listed as sociology course but in time we hope they are listed as law enforcement.

Unknown Male Interviewer- What kind of person comes to the Armor center? What (muffled) first people come to campus….

Arthur Crowns- The great majority of the students at Armor center tend to be police officers, either with Memphis department police department or with the Sheriff's department and of course we pick up a few of the outlying districts.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Now are they working for a degree or are they just continuing education?

Arthur Crowns- What it is, it is part of the adult special program.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Is that the police department?

Arthur Crowns- Well it is Memphis state sponsored the adult special program and we pick up quite a few adult special students. This is this group that come in after they are over 21 years of age without having past interest in this. They take 18 hours and we get a lot of these people down at the Armor Station. There are serious students who are working on their degree. OI would say probably oh it is hard just to place any names but I can tell you the numbers. There are a number of students that will take course from me from the campus and then come down to Armor station because it fits their program at night and you have a number of students there. You have a number of people working towards degrees that have 4 or 5 7 years out of the way already.

David Yellin- Are these college credit course down at Armor station?

Arthur Crowns- Yes.

David Yellin- So in essence it seems to me that what the law enforcement agencies are doing are getting to require or a request or would like to have college graduates involved ion their work.

Arthur Crowns- Well people on the outside would like this. The people on the inside you still have your resistance in other words what you have got here is you have got a group in transition. You see control of the police is vested with the more powerful political organization in the area. The police are basically a tool of power and have been and they are used and the person who hires the police expects him to enforce the laws of that group. If you think towards campus police of course the rules are here on campus. And expected to do that, so they actually (muffled) organization.

David Yellin- Usually appointed by the mayor in the city.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah they are under the executive branch.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Art have you noticed in the past, well how long have you been involved with the Armor program a couple years , 3 years now.

Arthur Crowns- Since it has been here.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Have you noticed a more concerted effort on the part of their superiors as to the men who take the course to begin to request more to being to build the program more, in other words more support for the program on that kind of level or is it about he same as it has always been?

Arthur Crowns- You see there has been a change and director Holloman took director Armor's spot. Now the men of the top have always pushed our program they wanted a program. (muffled) yeah chief McDonald. But where we pick up resistance is there is a vested interest in the old guard if I ca find the old guard. These are meant that come in without a college degree, they are not interested in college but they are interested in holding a position. This is the bread and butter group. And they view the college group, or the college cop as a threat. Now what we are in that transitional state.

David Yellin- The college trained?

Arthur Crowns- Yeah. We are in this transitional stage where we are picking up opposition from the vested interest group but it will only be a question of time where they director who is supporting us terrifically. Other cities have gone to incentive pay, a hiring policies, recruit college men you will take college men in preference to those without the degree. I think that as I was going to say we are in a transitional period here. Law enforcement can't stay as a tool of politics, I mean in the big urban society who controls politics becomes either a political machine or it is basically controlled by kind of charismatic television appeal tot eh world.

David Yellin- Perhaps we might save that aspect of it as to the future of what you think, the way you think law enforcement should be applied.

Arthur Crowns- Well you see this also applies to why education.

David Yellin- Uh huh.

Arthur Crowns- See if we are going to move off form underneath the political organization then either control is vest with the people which is exemplified by the civilian review board concept but this breaks down as how do you appoint a civilian review board without being politics. Or the, another alternative which a group such as myself support is professionalization of the police. Where the police will become an organization licensed and self disciplined like the doctors and the lawyer.

Arthur Crowns- But responsible to whom?

Arthur Crowns- To themselves. And then tot eh community indirectly.

David Yellin- Now that is kind of fascinating.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah well this is the same way with the doctor and the lawyer.

David Yellin- I see there are certain criteria which they must…

Arthur Crowns- Yeah and then you go through the legislature controls as far as giving the authority but they respect their position in society by self discipline.

David Yellin- I would still like to come back to that when I know a little because I think that is kind of fascinating I didn't know that was involved. Well now to be specific now, do you have any relationship with the Memphis police as such in relation, in connection to what they do and how they do it?

Arthur Crowns- Oh yes I have special permission from the chief of police which of course we will have to renew with chief Lux. But I can ride with any of their units and take part in any of their activities as a participant, a participant observer.

Unknown Male Interviewer- Have you done this?

Arthur Crowns- Yes I did this all last summer and in the process of doing it again this summer.

Unknown Male Interviewer- On a regular basis hours or?

Arthur Crowns- I pick and choose, depending upon my work load and so forth. I spend on the average of one or two nights a week with them to watch them on their complaints such as police brutality and things of this nature,. In other words I am a kind of a neutral I am not connected and the only person I work for is the university and I am a researcher interested in finding out knowledge and why and to understand them better and not having been a police officer of course this gives me a chance to see a problem from a different perspective.

David Yellin- Were you involved in any way with training the m=police in Memphis for riots and so on?

Arthur Crowns- Here not directly, while Dr. Newton and I do guest lecture down at the Memphis police academy we don't take into any, we are not formally involved in this type of training. Our course like administration, do cover in regard to riot control but this is a college group. I did make, I don't know how effective it was but when I was riding with the emergency squad during last summer I had very close relationship with eh field commander Captain Moore. And we discussed at length various problems of law in the squad car. Now I don't know how much affect this had. I mean he listened, some of the things were, that he talked about were used but I don't know if I gave him any ideas they might be just general.

David Yellin- Where did he learn?

Arthur Crowns- He is an ex-paratrooper, dedicated police officer, self taught may have took advantage of a lot of education. He was in our courses getting his college degree from us.

David Yellin- And that is Captain?

Arthur Crowns- Captain Moore.

David Yellin- DO you know his first name?

Arthur Crowns- Glenn.

David Yellin- Glenn Moore. Is he still a captain or has he been promoted?

Arthur Crowns- Yes, well he might be but he is still is captain as of last week. But there, see the inspector from that division has resigned, Evans.

David Yellin- Oh yes, Sam.

Arthur Crowns- Sam, yeah but Captain Moore was also with the training division for a number of years.

David Yellin- Well then where does the Memphis police and their riot training and so on? They do have training.

Arthur Crowns- Oh yes it is usually under the police academy.

David Yellin- The police academy.

Arthur Crowns- Through the international chiefs of police.

David Yellin- I see, so you are not connected with the police academy.

Arthur Crowns- Just as guest lecturer.

David Yellin- And who would be the one who is responsible there?

Arthur Crowns- You would have to contact inspector Swan, Inspector Swan and Captain Burgess.

David Yellin- Captain Burgess.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah.

Unknown Male Interviewer- What was the general attitude of the men right when you began working with them. Did they look upon you with some suspicion some trepidation, did they accept you right out as a man who…

Arthur Crowns- Well you se the end was that I was a college professor teaching all of thee fellows and first off (muffled) came from my students. And they invite me to come along and to see how they worked and there would be, they would miss a class

or two and then they would invite me out to see where the conflict came, see. And then I saw an excellent opportunity to be able to observe and I talked to Dr. Newton about it and then we talked and I got permission so I could ride with the various units and now it has gotten to the point where I think, I hope we have a chance to ride within a unit that we want. In other words it used to be that I would request a ride and then the chief or the inspector would authorize it. Now if I want to ride with a unit we don't have to go through all this red tape I say I want to ride and that is it.

David Yellin- Were you riding or involved in any way during the trouble here, during the weeks of the strike and the riots?

Arthur Crowns- I rode with the at that time I was concentrated pretty much with the arson group.

David Yellin- The arson group, oh the nights of the curfew?

Arthur Crowns- The bombing and the curfews.

David Yellin- Can you talk about that, what did you discover?

Arthur Crowns- Well it see what I was kind of getting was the whole development was basically last year and this year are pretty much related. Of course with the change of the (muffled) structure from the strong commissioner form of government where the police had a lot of legislative power under the commission to a relatively weak position of the police are in at the present time under a director of public safety and also part of the political organization again they come under the mayor's office.

David Yellin- Yeah and before we get to the other can you explain what the difference is, before they were under the legislature, the commission why were they stronger?

Arthur Crowns- Because they had direct access to this governing organization. (muffled) was one fourth of the political power you see.

David Yellin- and they were only directly responsible to him?

Arthur Crowns- Well they would be directly responsible to Commissioner Armor. Who then had to run for re-election and there was a direct relationship between the commissioner and the people. It is closer.

David Yellin- So that Armor is an appointed official?

Arthur Crowns- Now he is appointed.

Unknown Male Interviewer- He is appointed by the mayor.

Arthur Crowns- And he is in between the mayor now and the mayor controls the appointment so what the program of progress did is put us backwards as far as communication with the people as far as police are concerned.

Unknown Male Interviewer- That is a good one.

David Yellin- Yes.

Arthur Crowns- And we went backwards on that particular point and now we are now again classified with a political organization.

David Yellin- There fore it is directly involved with the mayor.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah.

David Yellin- Not the council?

Arthur Crowns- Well the council controls too through the budgets and thing of this nature but in the past a police commissioner, a fire and police commissioner had to be answerable to the people which was almost see what you have done is imposed another level of control here and if somebody was dissatisfied with how the police were concerned they could take it out on the commissioner. Also the commissioner as far as budgets was in a command position because he has one part of the commission vote of a 4 man commission and hence we didn't have to, they didn't have to go through the mayor who recommends to the council for budget items and things of this nature.

David Yellin- Just for the record it was 5 commissioners. And the mayor was one. Ok I understand that. Now when you were involved with the police in the recent trouble and if we can kind of focus on that as our kind of mostly our immediate concern. Just generally and I ask the general question to get you into it. How well do you think they acted as police officers.

Arthur Crowns- Well this is a difficult question because first of all this entails do police officers act different than normal people in a crisis situation. The answer to this is that we expect police to act in certain ways but in a crisis situation there are human beings acting just the same as anyone being acting in a crisis situation. See what the police organization is, is it is a formal organization. And your police department, well a matter of fact a lot of the sociological concepts you can apply to mob behavior you can apply to the police too. They are a collection of individuals, they get together as a group, they are involved, they act in certain ways. Now through riot training you can pattern their behavior, in other words if something happens they go in to a pattern of behavior. This is very much the same as the military when I was in the air force we went through time and time again bail out procedures so when a crisis developed we didn't have to think we reacted. The same thing with school fire drills. A crisis developed the kids know it and they go out in an orderly fashion. This is pattern of behavior in a crisis situation. This doesn't require thinking. Now the police department comes together usually in small units and they

arrive at a scene of a crisis situation as a mob. Because they have very little organization, take you organization at the time you arrive, you arrive in two men in a squad car, and two men arrive at a time. Well you can't all converge with your transportation at the same time. So there is a period there when the police are organizing that they are more or less in a mob type of condition, a kind of milling type of condition, you see this when they arrive.

David Yellin- And more on their lines.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah, now as soon as somebody with authority comes there like the field commander, this milling mob gets structured real fast because of the form of conditioning and they got into certain types of formations. Now the problem comes is that you can teach a man to use a night stick or certain types of methods of force, which the police have their command(muffled) and weapons such as a shotgun. There are a number of nonlethal weapons and lethal weapons. You can teach these men what to do in certain situations but as a group they will start, they can do certain things they can either sweep down the street which is more aggressive or they can stand in position and protect. See they could either be aggressive or protective. If they start moving of course if something develops that requires the officer to make a value judgment to think of course he immediately goes into a patterned behavior. Now it has been my impression, it is my impression that what we have here is we have a group going from structured to non structured depending upon the situation. I other words when there is a crisis developed an attack on the police or somebody takes a shot at the police officers, immediately your structured group becomes unstructured. But only for a brief second but during this period your men are reduced to if they are not in the patterned type of behavior they are reduced to individuals with varying degrees of ability to think under stress.

David Yellin- Now all of this clear and at the same time and you understand I am not making these charges I am only trying to be the devil's advocate.

Arthur Crowns- Oh sure.

David Yellin- When there structure is destroyed or broken into by forcing the men to act on their own doesn't part of their training and getting ready for this problem include what should happen in these situations.

Arthur Crowns- No because you can't se the problem is you can in training, you train to go into a certain type of automatic response. In other words you don't put the crisis, see the individuals are thinking being. Now if all of a sudden this room filled with smoke se we become thinking, we become individuals. Now if we had planned if there was a crisis situation we would follow one of us out the door then of course we would follow and I would follow you and I would know you were going to lead and we would walk out the door and we would walk our way. I would suppose we didn't have this type of training all of a sudden there was a flash flame here. Now this is a crisis situation each of the 3 of us would define it differently. Perhaps you might run for the door, I might try to hide under the desk. And Harry over here

might stand there and watch to see which one of us two is going to act see he is a little more conservative and he takes a little longer to ponder and so he might decide in his judgment that hiding under the desk would be a good thing to do.

David Yellin- but in the police situation it is important that they act as a group essentially why do we spend all this time programming computers and not people?

Arthur Crowns- I am not sure I understand your question here.

David Yellin- What could come up that they don't know about, maybe this is naïve?

Arthur Crowns- Well no crisis situation is pattern. In other words the problem is that the mere fact that a situation becomes a crisis is that it is out of the pack. If it weren't we could handle it and it wouldn't be considered a crisis. And so the breakdown on what we know and how to handle it is the crisis. Now all crisis situation we can't predict. We can predict there is going to be looting but we don't predict how it can happen or when it can break out, we aren't that sophisticated yet. We can say that the officers might be sniped at but we can't tell which individual officers are going to be shot at or when. And as soon as somebody squeezes off a shot you have a crisis situation for a second here.

David Yellin- So all of the classic elements of time, place and person enter into it and any change…

Arthur Crowns- Training doesn't take into consideration emotion either. See we can train you to be a courageous soldier under fire and as long as you are caught in this group cohesive you might give your life willingly without really thinking while it is all about, when you are going with a charger over the top or a bomber or something you aren't thinking as an individual you are thinking as a group and your response is patterned by what you think the other fellow wants you to do too. Now when you get reduced to an individual, this is where you get your individual patterns of response. Some run, some stand, some attack.

David Yellin- Now therefore taking all this how could you, when I say account, how would you describe if for instance this is a true description of what happened if one looter came out of a store and 9 or 10 cops beat him what is that?

Arthur Crowns- See this is human behavior, basically I have a different concept on police brutality. Looking at it on television on the screen or observing it from the background you have what appears to be police brutality, unnecessary force. Now to be able to get involved in regard to what this means you first of all have to have some empathy with eh policemen at this time. This is a crisis situation, in other words he is charged with a certain responsibility and he has certain obligations in regard he has defined them. Now what usually happens here if you are faced with a looter, at this particular point you have a crisis situation, they have been taught they have to apprehend the looter let's say or stop the looting. Now they could do certain things. One is of course they could physically grab the man and restrain him, they could demobilize him through some type of chemical gas, nerve gas, or they could

demobilize him through some kind of physical force such as the night stick or the weapon. Now the easiest way is to do it through verbally, you say you are under arrest come with me. Now the person complies that is the easiest and simplest way but what usually happens in this case sit ha the office can't get compliance verbally nor can he get compliance by the usual exercise of physical force now what he has to do is resort to more violent means. Now this is a crisis situation, if all of a sudden we had somebody come through t his door with a gun in his hand we will say we all three of us would act differently. Now the military teaches you that if you are going to kill a group you take advantage and interpret you read your group, you don't kill indiscriminately. What you do is you work on the people who are the first (muffled) to you and you kill them first and then there are some people that just won't move until you get through, you didn't take but 15 seconds to dispose of a group. Now the same thing happens to the police officer, what happens here is a crisis situation develops, the police officer has a certain amount of self fear too, you are under a crisis combat situation, your life is being threatened, you are actually threatened at this particular point. The group let's say there are 10 officers present. Now the first officer that usually responds goes into a pattern type behavior which is the use of a night stick. And he starts hitting. The rest of them responded in almost like a sympathy type of arrangement. This is like the guy getting sick to his stomach and half a dozen people also get sick with him, it s sympathy and what it is, is it is almost like they are hypnotized, they will all start hitting. And the first person that usually starts this is not the person that has usually selected the right alternative. They are not thinking at this particular point as individuals, what they are doing is they are going into a patterned response by following a leader which police work does. What happens here is the men gets beaten in the ground because nobody can stop them. It is my feeling that no one under this type of situation when you train the men to respond in a patterned behavior you can't stop them. In other words in the leadership capacity has to stop it or somebody usually, might happen frequently is one of the officers on the sideline will say that man has had enough stop we will take care of him now and this breaks the chain it breaks the hypnotic spell.

David Yellin- And any one of the ten could be the leader there just by proximity.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah. Just by (muffled).

David Yellin- Just by the tone of his voice or just by the hard he hits, this is interesting because in Washington during the riots they were instructed not to apprehend the looters with force but to let them loose.

Arthur Crowns- Well then you have the other problem is that you do this and the officers don't get involved and then your looters tend to go on a looting frenzy. See now what you got mild behavior on both side sin a way.

David Yellin- So it almost begins in a sense with your philosophy?

Arthur Crowns- Well what you are going to protect and how much force you are going to use. Now when I was in Chicago daily issued the order to shoot looters on

sight or shoot the man and shoot arson to kill them. Here again this is a definite order you can do this. This is patterned behavior.

David Yellin- Yeah Dr. Kenneth Clark made a wonderful statement in relation to the situation in New York. He said, for the first time, that he has known that not only did the policemen did not use, I guess the term brutality I don't know if he used it but force. But there was on their face but a look of, their whole aspect was that of compassion instead of anger and brutality.

Arthur Crowns- But you see the problem that we got involved in here is this is action through non-action.

David Yellin- (muffled).

Arthur Crowns- Well it is, the things is if you are not going to do anything with looters or not going to do anything with arson then you have a state of anarchy, no control.

David Yellin- Now are you going to the other extreme. They didn't have anarchy in New York and they didn't have anarchy…

Arthur Crowns- They have anarchy in a place where you don't really have any, you know law enforcement isn't working. When you don't first of all, the representing authority is the officer, if he doesn't respond or doesn't do anything for that area you have a state of anarchy you have no control. Now if you are….(muffled). You see the fragment you run into is that it depends upon what control elements are involved. There are two types, two basic types of control. There is the control that we get through the structuring or socialization process, which you get self compliance. On the other hand the control that is involved through the police department is coercive control. If you can't get people to comply willingly then you have to use some type of force. Now the police officers by not getting themselves involved are capitulating, I mean there is no coercive control at that point. Now it just depends on what you think is more important. We are in a clash between the humanitarian value the value in regard to human life versus the property value. Now certainly the person losing property is also losing a means of life too. Now suppose we just had a eliminated amount of food stuff for us to live. Now if I took the food stuff away from you by force for you to live, this means I am threatening your survival. In other words you would have the right to protect basically, I shouldn't say you have the right but if you want to survive you better protect your property.

David Yellin- So in some ways and this may be an over simplification, that many of us make a judgment as to the relationship of police and coercion or needing force as to how we might act individually with someone else. In other words I myself can't imagine hitting anyone on the head with the stick therefore that I think anybody who does it is brutal and must be violent or at least have some urge within him whereas it becomes necessary when a mob of a group, whatever you calla mob or a group. A group is very often turned into a mob, it is very necessary to use some kind of outside force. You can't stay there and talk to people.

Arthur Crowns- Well your first attempt when you are dealing with a mob situation is trying to control. In other words more groups such as spectators at an (Muffled) contest will follow instructions and is very easily controlled. Anytime you have a collection of people together you have got a possible dangerous situation. But not all collections of people are dangerous and they don't get dangers because they are easy to control with purpose and objectives of what might be involved and might even be thinking as individuals if it is a crowd and not a mob. So the first attempt of police work is to direct and control. The second of course is probably trying to prevent some thing from developing.

David Yellin- I think before we get into that if you don't mind just to discuss this. I seems to me that what is important here also I guess that overused word of (muffled) or symbol because you discount the fact that to certain people the police uniform and certainly a man with a stick and a holster or with a rifle represents some thing. Doesn't that have to do, does that apply?

Arthur Crowns- Well the police officer does represent authority he is coercive control and as long as you comply and you are with the majority as far as or with the power group, he is protecting you, he is your protector. On the other hand if you happened to be on the outside then you look at him as the enforcer and he is the symbol of what is frustrating you. Now I mean we just can't get away from it if we have various factions, the police have represented in our country up to the present time the most powerful group, politically. And they have applied the most powerful group's laws.

David Yellin- You mean powerful group the group in power.

Arthur Crowns- Oh yeah well they would be the most powerful group in regard to being able to influence the elections and influence the selection of who is going to vote. So the police officer actually takes a group of laws and he says that I am just enforcing the laws of the group but the enforcement is usually directed towards another group and persons withdrawing from the group itself or has not got into the group because he happens to be at the low end, well I can't really say the low end of the economic chain but he is not part of the in group. For a better term I guess we could better classify him as an out group member. So police tend to be in group orientated and are totally in group. The out group tends to look at them as the enforcer the enemy.

David Yellin- So translated into Memphis the in group there may be other places to (muffled) but the in group would be the white middle class.

Arthur Crowns- Middle class property ownership group. Protestant probably in orientation.

David Yellin- The out group would be?

Arthur Crowns- It would be the your lower, well it would be your negro group basically, your colored group and also all people who didn't, well it depends upon

what level you would be at Memphis is quite stratified economically. And I imagine there are only a very few people that would be considered in the real power group of Memphis whatever that happened to be.,

David Yellin- If not only the establishment but if there is anybody almost related by color and religion and some sort of affiliation to the establishment you are part of. So there is indeed in Memphis as indeed much of the country, this demarcation.

Arthur Crowns- I would have to say yes from the view point that I haven't really studied it, this isn't my field of competency but I would say this does exist yes.

David Yellin- And then you cannot, I guess you have to consider that this was part of what happened in Memphis certainly.

Arthur Crowns- Well when Henry Lobe got elected mayor this meant he conservative group got back into power. And the conservative group puts heavy emphasis on property rights. And you see another problem that you have too Gerry is that services and benefits cost money. Under our system of government the government state or federal has no money, has no assets. They have to first take from the property class.

David Yellin- Or whomever.

Arthur Crowns- Well they got to do that through taxation, this is their method of getting money to run their program. Now when Henry Lobe got in he basically got in from the view point of being a conservative type of individual. The first thing he did was he drew the line in regards to increased taxes and increased expenditures, in other words he is going to protect the tax payer. Now this whole sanitation strike was a question of survival as far as the lower class negro in the lower type job such as manual labor. We have an influx of Mississippi negros in this area who are hard working individuals. Now the problem was that there was too much competition for the lower type job. There are too many working people who were willing to carry garbage. Now Lobe demonstrated beyond all doubt he could win that strike. He did win it. It wouldn't have taken him very long and he would have probably had a full compliment of replacements to take place of the men on the strike which is quite unusual. At this particular point he said this is as far as we are going if economy, and certain values are important this is the way we are going to do it. And he was consistent in regard to his position and of course it is very easy to predict looking at the conservative frame of reference. Now on the other hand your sanitation men are predominantly negro and it became a question of survival. See in order to have a free enterprise system you have got to have a labor union bargaining for the men other wise your free enterprise system seems to exploit the workers.

David Yellin- And in this case there was no lack of people willing to do it and from that point those workers really had no threat.

Arthur Crowns- No threat.

David Yellin- Even a strike was no threat.

Arthur Crowns- It was very little threat as far as the strike was concerned. AS a matter of fact none of us really on the outskirts suffered from garbage collection, with the interference that was involved and the pressures that were on that man he was able to do a pretty passable job of being able to collect garbage. And now the sanitation man himself through the union was asking for a certain amount as far as I was concerned was asking for a certain amount of vested interest, job security. And protection from this competition that a true business man could take advantage of in other words the garbage collectors would be working for less because you have too many people for the job. You can work for less and this way the unions would prevent this type of competition because to be able to be a sanitation man you would have to join the union.

David Yellin- So that if this was run strictly on business hard bargain basis they didn't have a chance and there was no basis on that, there was no reason on that basis to settle it.

Arthur Crowns- That's right.

David Yellin- So the only settlement came out of a humane and…

Arthur Crowns- Well what happened here of course you can see as long as the mayor was in a strong position as far as I was concerned the only thing that the labor unions can do then was to result to a boycott which was becoming quite effective for downtown merchants which had put pressure, this was the merchant group began to put pressure on the mayor to concede so they could get back to normal, or through some type of force. Now what had also happened during this period of time is that Memphis doesn't have a colored community, it has communities, a great number of them. He was starting to consolidate and get a unified cause for the sanitation strike. It fast became a colored issue because the common labor group were basically colored, and with as the strike progressed they (muffled) as far as a sociologist I looked a the interaction that was involved. We started to get increased hostility on both sides. That every step that the strikers and sympathizers would do they would go to one level higher of (muffled). In other words the spiral was basically as far as I could see it was basically being pushed up out of almost sheer frustration and of course more and more (muffled) was put on pressure. They started to symbolize, take for instance going after the Lobe BBq's and dry cleaners. There is no connection to the mayor at all except through the brother an they used this as a symbolic means to unify the group and they start in got (muffled) these places right away. And we had to (muffled) on this. They started to get hostile towards the white merchants in the various colored areas. W e had increased fire bombs. And we had a certain amount of agitation in regard to certain agitators that were stirring up the younger youth of the area. Now not all of them were (muffled) I mean it is a misnomer to say this was a solid unified colored community (muffled).

David Yellin- You mean they were not behind these things (muffled).

Arthur Crowns- Yeah that's right.

David Yellin- They were behind generally the whole idea.

Arthur Crowns- I am not even sure generally some of them even supported law and order.

David Yellin- Was it a question of law and order?

Arthur Crowns- Well it got down to the point where we had firebombing, this is why I was riding with the arson squad because (muffled) sophistication of their techniques. I think that as far as I could see at the present time from the orientation of (muffled) that the difficulty centered around the relatively few in the colored community. I mean a lot of your sanitation workers would probably come back if it hadn't bee for the group (muffled) that developed. In other words they couldn't very well because there was some hostility directed towards the uncle tom so to speak.

David Yellin- So it wasn't any longer a question of whether the sanitation workers wanted to come back themselves they had gotten themselves involved into a pebble and made a wider circle.

Arthur Crowns- Yes, it was more cohesive control and they developed one of those court ordinances…

David Yellin- This is the black community?

Arthur Crowns- Then we went from there to the assassination, well assassination to me is defined as killing a symbol but the shooting of King played a part and of course at this particular point if my memory serves me right is that the union representing the sanitation workers modified their demands in the spirit of compromise and this is where your strike got settled.

David Yellin- They were willing to accept what the mayor…

Arthur Crowns- Which had proposed, you see voting off on the union check off this was one of the stumbling blocks because the union check off would mean this would be formal recognition and it would give the union a strong position. The mayor holding out against it, also indicated that he was opposing the labor unions as such not the negros as such. As far as they were concerned. In other words the union check off puts the union in a strong position because they don't have to spend their time collecting dues. Now his compromise and I believe I am not sure who suggested it, but I think the mayor supported it the last 6 weeks or so before I am not sure about this, but he said they couldn't do it through the credit union and they had no objection to this. Now this is the only one that was accepted. So it was my feeling that after King's death they decided that the union and the sanitation workers (muffled) decided to back up slightly and take part of the offer they were

asking for and this helped put them in a strong position for a year or two by getting check off.

David Yellin- I am sure it will. Now then can we get to police activity which is certainly your prime expertise at this point. What did you discover about the arson or any of the activity during the period that you were out or in your talks with police officers. Were this kind of activity organized, was it spontaneous, was it what?

Arthur Crowns- Now here again these are, there is no general pattern here that I saw emerging except that most of the arsonists that I had seen seemed to be and at a very crude lever, I mean they weren't professionals, they tended to be of the younger colored group. In other words they tended to be the teenagers. Probably in the early teens.

David Yellin- Now did you get this from your observation?

Arthur Crowns- Well the ones that were caught there were 4 of them caught one night that I was there for and they were apprehended and in the interrogation and what was involved in the investigation. These were young teenagers, probably not over 16 or 17 years of age. And would be in the juvenile court jurisdiction. There was information on how to construct a fire bomb which had made it back and handed out and I have copies of this.

David Yellin- You have copies?

Arthur Crowns- Yes.

David Yellin- Can we get these?

Arthur Crowns- I can (muffled).

David Yellin- And we will make them.

Arthur Crowns- Yes. Now there, during this period of time this invader group that was involved, this was very interesting group. The first appearance that we had with this group and Smith and Cabbage were the two men involved here. They, on July 1st, like last year they were so small they fit inside of a Volkswagen and they had gone up to a filling station and in July, July 1st I believe and had gotten into a argument with the filling station attendant, a white filling station attendant over a gas cap. This group claimed that, (muffled) I am not sure if it was Smith or Cabbage, one of these two indicated that the attendant had stolen the cap off their gas cap. There was an argument, they called the police and the ensuing developments the police arrested the beginning of the invader group and charged them with disturbing the peace of something like that. Now that's where the invaders started. Now since that time they have grown to about 150 or 200 people. They were a near group last year. This year there are several things that seem to add to Memphis' invader group. One is they are phasing out only college. Which makes a certain amount of your negro college students who are thinking they are going to get their

degrees through (muffled) feel threatened and feel as though they had a poor closure as far as their chance of getting a college degree. So they are anxious and so they become prime candidates to get involved in this activist group. During the sanitation strike we had a real (muffled). Which is part of the national movement for self identity too.

David Yellin- The black students?

Arthur Crowns- Yeah the black activists, the black militants. And they have certain publications that they put out the African American student publications.

David Yellin- This is national?

Arthur Crowns- Well this is also local. Now in this, one of these publications carried how to make a firebomb, it gave diagrams but it didn't verbally describe it just gave diagrams on what a firebomb looked like. These attempts at fire bombing during the earlier stages of the summer here, had me quite true. They have a…

David Yellin- That is last summer or this summer?

Arthur Crowns- This summer.

David Yellin- This summer you mean as of now.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah as of now. There techniques aren't polished yet and I don't think they really have someone who knows how to construct a Molotov cocktail, hasn't really….

David Yellin- Come down here yet.

Arthur Crowns- Or they haven't gotten this information.

David Yellin- Now during the several, couple weeks of the curfew and where the fire bombs thrown or do you think they followed the instructions or is there any direct relationships.

Arthur Crowns- Well and I think what happens here too you better recognize that this was sort of an exciting time for some of the teenagers. And some of them get involved because it is some thing to do and they had a certain amount of support form certain leaders within the community gave them a certain amount of support. Certainly some of the publications coming out of Washington gave them some kid of support such as the (muffled) commission. White racists and this is causing all the problem so they go plenty of rationalization and I just think our whole culture is changing which allows a certain amount of hating out. They are basically less critical of certain types of behavior.

David Yellin- That's funny you say (muffled). It not only stimulates but permits it to go to a certain point, it is almost like movies have gotten frittier and some of this whole thing pointed (muffled) or whatever. Well now, would you say from your

point of view the mini riot, we call the mini riot march 28th the first march in which Martin Luther King was involved that broke out into trouble, do you have any evidence or do you sort of suspect that any plans to do that.

Arthur Crowns- no my feeling was that it was one of those things first of all I think that the emphasis here was on a peaceful march. King was sacrificing his whole Washington poor people's crusade. In other words I think what happened here is unfortunately King got used. I mean this is my own personal opinion and he was used and he was brought in here, and he wasn't really given a clear picture. Now we had this group of militant black nationalists developing which were the invaders, which had also became the satellite for quite a few hysteric college behavior too. There are student behavior(muffled). Now as you approach the Spring and the end of the semester you get a lot of anxiety. There is a lot of anxiety on the campus right now as you go into examination week there is a lot of anxiety in the high school, so your schools are hotbeds of anxiety. So anytime you get involved with your teenagers and college group you have a fertile group that is anxious to respond. All you have to do is give them a gift and now the first element of the right is anxiety, the second is to get people together in a concentrated spot. Well what was happening here is that you already had the anxiety they had the march, they had the sanitation, they had a cause that was going and they were bringing in these various guest speakers form the outside which all of a sudden Memphis was getting national news, national spot light. And Wilkerson came in and you had King coming in and I think that what happened here was that King thought they could start the poor people's crusade, this is what he said here in Memphis. And he led a march, and the first time he tried they had the big snow storm which was frustrating. So then they came around to the second time and in the meantime our high school group got a little more excited, fire bombings started to increase. And we had demonstrations out here in the campus, and people were started to get excited about the strike and the local merchants were getting excited because they were losing money. The ministers were certainly getting excited if Reverend Wax's appeal over the television was any indication that it was very emotional appeal. Everybody was starting to worry about garbage starting to putrefy during hotter weather and things of this nature. So I think that King came in here with the expectation that he could lead a peaceful march. And it was my feeling that it was a peaceful march, it was and that chances are it would have been nothing would have developed except we forgot about one thing. Attracting national publicity we had a number of television (muffled) on the street. Television is basically not interested in giving the news, they are interested in putting on a show., They call it a production is what they do if you talk to a television man he calls it a production. And this unit, this television unit I believe it was over channel 13 was focused in on Beale St. and in the background was this big plate glass window. As this march was progressing through, now you are in speech and drama what happens when you pan a group of spectators at a football or any contest when you turn the television camera on them. There is a certain percentage of them that will react. There are a bunch of hams, I mean they will jump up and wave their hands and things like that. And I mean you can see this all the time when you have a mobile television unit on the, in the area.

People start demonstrating. It is my feeling, it is my suspicion, my suspicion that what happened was that this whole set of circumstances that the boy that cut out of the line of march saw the television camera and he had a club in his hand the plate glass window was something that he could get and because of the whole set of circumstances he hit the plate glass window which was enough to set it off. This immediately (muffled) and breaking windows and things of this nature. But if it hadn't been for and now this is the precipitating cause, if it hadn't been for that type of circumstance at that time it could have happened sometime later on, it could have been an incident the police officer got involved with or it could have been something said downtown, see the situation the atmosphere was tense. It was ready but the precipitating cause here was television camera, bringing out the ham in certain types of people started this whole thing, I mean that was the precipitating cause. So we have got actually documented, I am sure if you look at it, it is documented that the precipitating cause here was television and this is one of the things that we have a problem…

David Yellin- Or the immediate precipitating cause, is there a definite?

Arthur Crowns- Well see anytime you have a collection of people you have a potential riot. See we can have a riot in our classrooms at a particular time if the situation is anxious enough. And we have riots on college campus almost regularly in the spring. We can't really prevent a riot because you have a large group of people collecting together in warm weather on the outside in a high state of anxiety. You had this,. You had a high state of anxiety, a large group of people all it needed was a precipitating cause and television would have given us that precipitating cause.

David Yellin- Now to get back, (muffled) it is seeming validity and you said that Dr. King was used, he was not told all.

Arthur Crowns- I don't think he was and I am assuming that he wasn't because…

David Yellin- By his own admission he wasn't?

Arthur Crowns- Yeah by his own admission.

David Yellin- He said that he didn't know…now do you think that this was a purposeful omission.

Arthur Crowns- I don't think so I don't mean knowing some of the leadership form the colored community was involved I would doubt this very seriously. I think they were genuinely concerned about getting the union recognized, it became a contest between mayor Lobe and certain leadership as far as the ministers were concerned.

David Yellin- It could have been if we can get it best put together that the leadership indicted, knew well that there was unrest among the young people but there way of handling it was kind of in a way of well let's not get them involved because they can only cause us trouble.

Arthur Crowns- But they were, they were certain of the negro leadership that was getting the younger people involved but of course this gave a certain amount of emphasis the younger people respond much quicker to stimulus.

David Yellin- But also by your explanation in a sense those who were involved were part of an organized group say the invaders and the other groups..

Arthur Crowns- See no white things you talk about organization I think that what happens here is that we have some people that have idea that they are going to resort to militancy and they are revolutionists, they have been to get a certain amount of national recognition because they are emotionary in concept, they want black nationalism. They want to separate from the white community, they want to make us the enemy, they want to redefine god in different color. Now see this gives them a certain amount of recognition. Now if you talked about a organization from that nature, well we got all kinds of organizations. From the view point that there was a battle plan drawn out and mastermind from the beginning to the end, I know of no master plan because how did they know that the television camera was going to be right there, how did they know that King was going to be shot? Now it could be, se that the problem is that one or two people can use mob psychology and a few agitators can do this but by and large the great mass of the population the great majority of the people involved were involved just as ordinary human beings and they were following more than leading.

David Yellin- Well how did you think then the police response to what happened? Did that further precipitate or could they have done anything else or how?

Arthur Crowns- Well can see nothing that they could have done. They certainly weren't equipped for a riot this was a, they didn't have the proper head gear and they didn't have the proper protection. I had been very much upset for year going into this situation that our police were not properly equipped. They are not properly equipped we have…

David Yellin- What do you mean by that?

Arthur Crowns- Well they didn't have the helmets, they didn't have the plastic glass shields weren't faced because part of the problem when you get broken glass is that the rioters sail the glass and this cuts the police terrifically hard and this is where a lot of your police injuries come from is the throwing glass out and they didn't have any shields. They for instance…

David Yellin- I wouldn't think they had those?

Arthur Crowns- Well this came later, all they had were World War 2 helmet liners.

David Yellin- Now what period are you talking about, I am talking about the march 28th..

Arthur Crowns- Well they didn't really have the riot equipment the helmet until have the break out of the first hostility.

David Yellin- That was the February when they turned the car over February 24th?

Arthur Crowns- No there was first of all there was the situation where they rocked the car, they never did turn the police car over.

David Yellin- Yeah.

Arthur Crowns- They rocked it the use of the mace that was the first one. Then we had the King march that was snowed out and then this was fouling the second attempt that King made to march.

David Yellin- yeah that is the 28th march.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah the 28th. We then got good equipment.

David Yellin- Oh we didn't have it then?

Arthur Crowns- We didn't have it then.

David Yellin- At that particular time?

Arthur Crowns- That's right. Now I am not sure when the equipment was ordered but he police officers weren't issued the good helmets, the sheriff's department had but not he police department.

David Yellin- Who would know about that or how could we find out?

Arthur Crowns- I imagine Holloman would know about this or somebody in special service. But…

David Yellin- So you say that you had never mentioned it as part of your pictures?

Arthur Crowns- Oh I had made several talks on it and pointed out…

David Yellin- The year before?

Arthur Crowns- I pointed out too, to captain Moore and a number of people I was in contact with that the police were very poorly equipped for riots, we weren't expecting any really. The other area too that we had trouble is that there was criticism of the use of the mace on the shaking of the car incident. The mace isn't too effective, the problem is it's a spray. And it gets in the policemen's eyes as quickly as it gets in the rider's eyes. It demobilizes both groups. The mace is good for a limited use but as far as general control for large groups it is pretty difficult.

David Yellin- (muffled).

Arthur Crowns- You can use gas which they have done but, when it get straight down to it the most basic, most inexpensive of control is the night stick or the riot

stick. And this you can, riot stick, well there are certain furniture companies that turn them on for nothing and the police officer picks it up so that the night stick becomes the most essential and cheapest and most efficient method of control. Now a nightstick in a properly trained officer's hands, or riot stick can be used very effectively. As a matter of fact to me a man should never be hit over the head, but I can put through my knowledge and use of the night stick I can usually put a man out of operation with one blow without even touching his head. Hit him in the collar bone and breaks his collar bone, hit him in the pit of the stomach with a jab. If you want to you can hit them in the point of the chin…

David Yellin- The thing is to immobilize them.

Arthur Crowns- Demobilize them and get them out of there, my thing I, and my feeling is that you don't have to repeatedly hit somebody over the head this is teasing aside. Because what it does is it opens up the scalp and there is a lot of blood but if you hit them hard enough you injure brain damage the man and you don't really, this to put them out of business you have to brain damage them and cause permanent injury. Where if you are trained to immobilize them it is better to other parts of the body that you could protect and work on that doesn't put them out as long.

David Yellin- Now let's if we could kind of February 24th it was after the council meeting and they disbanded and they marched down and threatened to turn over the car. Do you know anything about that? What happened?

Arthur Crowns- This from talking with the officers involved, of course I wasn't there, of course most of my information is second hand but where the group was involved I have a number of students and a number of law students that told me about it and talked to me about it and being able to be involved is that they left council chambers and they were quite frustrated and they were told to walk down the streets and it was a certain amount of discussion. So they were walking down the street but there was one of the negro labor leaders as I understand it was constantly verbalizing hostility towards the police as he was walking down and this became probably as he talked he became more involved and I think he was joined as I understand he was joined by another man. Who then started the assault on the squad car and then withdrew, one of the men withdrew and of course this started it. And what it was it was something that could be expected and you do expect these things when you are dealing with a mob or a group that has been frustrated. Until they get them transported back if there are emotions involved there is bound to be flare ups and the police, the police officers tried to handle this with a minimum amount of force.

David Yellin- So the police officers were riding in the car and this labor leader was taunting?

Arthur Crowns- Yeah and they were instructed not to engage and follow themselves in the direction and of course this was frustrating. As I see it because the officers

weren't talking back or getting involved and creating an issue this made the man who was verbalizing more frustrated and then he attacked the car.

David Yellin- Physically he tried to push it, he didn't try to attack the officers?

Arthur Crowns- No no just the car and this as I understand it, I mean this is a human reaction to frustration, I mean if you get mad at somebody and the guy doesn't respond you want to push him or something. And to me it was a normal reaction tot a frustrating situation and then the officers respond by using the mace on the rest of the people.

David Yellin- So did they two men together physically threaten..

Arthur Crowns- One man got arrested the other one got muffled) so they couldn't apprehend him. But you see what happened is when you get involved in the beginning and you have a mob and it being to organize on an incident of this nature the area of infection is just around the people that are acting and what usually happens after you look at it, it is similar to surgery. That the officers come in and try to remove the infected part. And through the uses of mace they sprayed an area larger than the leadership and a number of people got gassed.

David Yellin- This was the first time they used mace?

Arthur Crowns- That was the first time they used mace.

David Yellin- So that the just to get a picture these two men..

Arthur Crowns- That was the first time they got any notoriety for using it, it had been used before.

David Yellin- Oh in Memphis?

Arthur Crowns- Yeah.

David Yellin- Individuals?

Arthur Crowns- Individually and in small groups, they had used it before, some of the officers had used it they have used it trying to apprehend a couple of people. Once it didn't work I remember.

David Yellin- Yeah I remember it was on a hold up or something and a guy..

Arthur Crowns- You see it doesn't work to all people, you have got to have tear ducts and things like that, that function. On some people it won't work on.

David Yellin- So on this thing here, these two men went at the car in one way or another and the officers in the car didn't do anything themselves.

Arthur Crowns- They were just ignoring the man.

David Yellin- Someone behind here inspector Evans gave the…

Arthur Crowns- Well there was confusion on who gave the order or what happened but the reaction to the shaking of the squad car was almost spontaneous as far as they could see, I mean the officers responded, converged on the….

David Yellin- And then now, from your observation, why did the officers choose to be as close as they were to the marchers?

Arthur Crowns- Now here again the if you are, you see they were in the function of control directing a line of march and controlling which prevented the tie up of traffic and there were other problems that were involved. I thought that they were running a big risk by marching them down on the street where in an area where there were a bunch of plate glass windows. Keep people away from windows during a period like this because people like to smash window. I had thought that obviously they didn't expect too much to happen because all of those windows are specialty windows. I think that some of the Main St. Windows are impossible to break by hitting them with a club. Goldsmith's is one that had specialty windows but never the less they were waling down and it was easier to ride in the squad car, it was less of a threat instead of having an officer march against you just to ride in the squad car. There were a number of them on foot if I remember correctly but it was just a method, a technique of preventing them form spilling out into traffic and congesting the area. Here again it is alternative methods selection, they even attempted to keep the….why the mace was resorted to the police officers if I remember correctly were even instructed to leave their nightsticks and they put the night sticks on a truck that was paralleling the line of march that none of the police officers were supposed to have night sticks.

David Yellin- Oh I see.

Arthur Crowns- A few of them had kept their night stick under their coat they didn't want to give up their one weapon, they weren't quite sure about the mace so they, some of them kept the night stick concealed. But if I remember correctly it was an order that the night sticks were supposed to be put on a truck which paralleled the march, which caused a certain amount of problems you see.

David Yellin- Of course when the trouble started did they run fro the night sticks?

Arthur Crowns- Well there was confusion, there was confusion which of course they used the mace basically and then there was enough of them that had concealed nightsticks.

David Yellin- So at least there was some awareness or some attempt to, the only word I can think of is to be as non-combative as possible.

Arthur Crowns- Oh yes Holloman through this whole thing as far as I am concerned has attempted to reduce possible areas. I mean he is trying to approach this thing to

reduce the possible causes the precipitating causes precipitating causes and if you take for instance you notice there was no dogs. As an attempt to harass.

David Yellin- Or hoses.

Arthur Crowns- Well but these things… actually even when the view point of this criticism of using the mace there was an order not to us the mace except when absolutely necessary.

David Yellin- So this order was kind of on the spot.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah of course it came down…

David Yellin- I mean the order to use it finally was an on the spot decision even though…

Arthur Crowns- That was a later one yeah, but really the police, now the (muffled) police organization has a wide range of people. You have 900 to 1,000 people and of course they are all types. There are a number of officers who have problems and they have their prejudice. But by and large the group that I worked with intend to view police work as a job, as a means of survival. And they look at it basically as a profession. In other words they are not there to keep anybody in their place or anything like that. Most of the college men were financing their education look at it as a means of being able to pay for their family and their education.

David Yellin- Are you, of course you are exposed to what we have to call those who believe in education the better or the more professionally orientated group of people.

Arthur Crowns- Well also I come across the people that don't come to school too.

David Yellin- You mean your work I the cars?

Arthur Crowns- In the cars and things like that, and they are, the thing is to deny that there wasn't prejudice or any individual. They have the same prejudice as in varying degrees that we all had. Some of them liked the police work because it does put them in a position of authority. Others of course it is just a job.

David Yellin- Well, (muffled). What about police brutality, can there be any sense made, any rational judgment made about when is a policemen…you gave a definition of brutality. Unnecessary force?

Arthur Crowns- Well excessive force.

David Yellin- Excessive, yes.

Arthur Crowns- But you have to allow a reasonable amount of force you see. Police work (muffled) was basically coercive control. And the use of force is vested and delegated to our law enforcement group. The question of brutality is one of degree and area and zone of tolerance. How much force are we going to reasonably permit

the police officer to use. Now the zone of tolerance increases or decreases as time fluctuated (muffled).

David Yellin- Yes.

Arthur Crowns- In other words this isn't something static. We can't sit down and say there are certain things that I know I can't do, one of course is that we could say that nay police officer that hits a man on top of the head without it being an accident if the man moves his head or something like that, that this could be prima-facia evidence of police brutality. Now to me we could work with that. That this is something.

David Yellin- Are the policemen told in your knowledge?

Arthur Crowns- Yes most of the police administrators throughout the country stress never hit a man on top of the head. I can document it, O.W. Wilson one of the authorities, documents this in his textbooks. Also with the information coming out of the various police training areas this is stressed. So this we could say, we could say prima facia evidence but there is a possibility that the man has moved or something has happened that the blow has gone awry and hit the man in the head. Now as far as are the police brutal, it depends upon your frame of reference. If you are the man that the police are enforcing the rules against, the tone of voice can be brutal, the mere fact that he stopped you can be brutality. Now a lot of the complaints and I have read some of the complaints which files have been collected by the NAACP and some of this is a manner in how the officers address the negro. Some officers just choke on the word mister, misses.

David Yellin- (Muffled).

Arthur Crowns- Yeah for a negro. And they won't use it. There is a lot of pressure to adhere to this cultural pattern that you don't use Mr. and Mrs. When addressing a negro. If one area that I could say the term, this area the Memphis police department by and large don't address the negro by Mr. and Mrs. And so forth. Now a few of them do but the great majority of them don't.

David Yellin- The whole

Arthur Crowns- Yeah now if this is brutality then of course it is legitimate grounds.

David Yellin- For this could be precipitated.

Arthur Crowns- For the culture to you see. On the other hand the mere fact that somebody comes up to me and looks at my driver's license and says Mr. Crowns you violated the law and it has Dr. Crowns on it, I can say it is brutality as (muffled) although it wouldn't bother me that much. So we do have, we do have a certain amount of resentment of the culture which is symbolized in the police officers attitude which is being reacted to by the colored community. Now there are officers that will resort to force but one thing that I have noticed, that in our culture the

police officer very seldom throws the first punch or will throw the first blow or make the first aggressive act. But they do get involved.,

David Yellin- You mean he make the first physically aggressive act?

Arthur Crowns- No, what he does is in our culture is that the over act is a work out. He can use things that he starts the interaction when he gets out of the squad car. One thing I noticed is that police officers are in a state of anxiety when they get out of the squad car because just enough police officers get killed on traffic patrol that it is dangerous when you get out of a squad car. Police work by itself is dangerous you never know what you are going to run into. They will make the first step to protect themselves which usually means they will make sure their gun is free. Now that in itself can be interpreted as a brutal act to someone observing it because that starts it. Now being of an old western type myself, a police officer does this I would also like to be armed so I could also get ready see, if he wants to draw okay then let's make it a contest. Well I am not armed so that makes me feel very weak because he has the power of life and death over me and it makes me mad. I could see no reason why other people don't respond to this, why they don't. Another thing that the police officers tone of voice. I have ridden with officers that talk too much. If they are going to give the persona ticket give them a ticket, and cut out the lecture. Other officers are very professional, they won't talk. They will just say tat well you violated such and such if you have got anything to say, say it to the judge this is when you are going to appear in court. Hostility also gets projected on the police. Which the other side has started too by getting very vicious and hostile but the police can always go one step further in regards to meeting the force. In other words if the interaction starts and one side responds, the officer getting out of the car and making a move towards his gun this is responded to by the mortars coming out of the car with force with a mad expression on his face. The police officer then can go one step further and search him or start man handling him. And then the motorist responds by then trying to protect himself and the police officer and then hits him see, and then arrests him. In other words the police have the ability to be able to compound it and certain people respond it is just like a drama. Certain people respond to the implied force by force which gets them further in and the police officer to me does have some control at the level that force can be broke off.

David Yellin- Yeah that is interesting this business as you say the police officer in my own terms can counter, in my own terms, he has the confidence that he can counter.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah he can go one step higher.

David Yellin- At all times whereas the other person really can't doesn't know.

Arthur Crowns- Now if you have a police officer who wants to take advantage of this he can make a serious situation out of this because he doesn't have to stop. Then it becomes involved with the person that is emotionally involved. You see both people get emotionally involved and then it becomes the citizen who if he is responding to authority by violence he doesn't know how to stop and every time we have any

development of brutality usually we have this little drama being played out and both side contributed as far as I am concerned.

David Yellin- So what is the solution, how do you adjudicate, how do you, I can't use any word, control doesn't seem to work. What does the future or the fate of the police brutality situation.

Arthur Crowns- To me of course brutality ids a rallying cry if you want to organize on some thing. If you look down through history at law enforcement the police are always on the wrong side of every social movement and revolution.

David Yellin- Is that because they are?

Arthur Crowns- It is because they tend to represent the group that is established.

David Yellin- by the very definition of revolution.

Arthur Crowns- And the lower class group, the odd group can only get to the police usually because the police protect the (muffled). So here you get involved with the, if the culture is brutal towards the people then the police are in charge of brutality and it becomes a rallying point and you can develop hatred because the police because he symbolizes there. He has to absorb the hatred, he becomes the organizational rally point of the out group trying to overthrow or change the system. Now we tend to be less tolerant as far as individuals towards the police, I think we tend to assume that the police use brutal tactics. We have been conditioned that they use 3rd degree methods which they have historically. They do approach us in very (muffled) manner in a lot of places. They don't treat us as human beings they treat us as enemies you see. And even as an in group member I resent being treated as a (muffled). And so I think there is a zone of tolerance and there is also as our group gets more political power, or more power they can shrink this zone of tolerance because they themselves are involved. Now if just the in group is involved then the zone of tolerance is quite wide, because the out group has very little voice. Now what we are getting today we are getting more and more voice in the out group members, the colored community, and now we are finding out what it is like to be on the outside looking in. Now are forefathers who drafted the constitution also saw this. See they were out group members and they saw it, so our constitution our laws tend to protect the out group because we started as out group members.

David Yellin- Which is what a lot of people forget the rule of the majority sometimes…

Arthur Crowns- Yes it is very much tyranny too.

David Yellin- Yeah so that you know and what you are saying ins the minority is allowed to function in this country and must be allowed.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah and of course as they get more voice and then complaints get known of course these practices are change. One of course is that you can't and I

don't think we should permit the police officers for being the tools of certain political groups.

David Yellin- Now this is a natural evolution from our point of view into your point that you said at the beginning which fascinates me and which I think really is significant here. And I think at least I can remember how you defined the police as an arm of the political power therefore would you please now explain how this may be resolved to make it more effective?

Arthur Crowns- It is my feeling it is professionalization of the police officers really. They should answer some of the problems. It won't eliminate them of course because we still have complaints against the lawyers and the doctors. But what it will do is that actually there is a need for supervision of police activity because the police have awesome power and a great deal of power in our culture. They have the power of life and death over us without benefit of a trial. You take for instance, these are one of the more serious aspects. The first thing we have to do is have a organization that has a certain amount of control to screen out people who should not be psychological in police work. It requires a highly mature individual who has a great deal of knowledge of himself and his won emotional feelings. Not to get involved with interaction regarding hostility. And not to go out asking for trouble. Just a small percentage of police officers actually kill people. There is only a small police officers that actual get involved ion force, in brutal force. The great majority of police officers function at the level that they assume compliance. Now the first thing that happens here is that the police officer really isn't the servant of the people as we implied. He has a role that he is performing a service in the community very much like any other professional man, that it is a very professional type of service, law enforcement.

David Yellin- You mean the concept that some people say look buddy you are working for me is not the correct one?

Arthur Crowns- It is not the correct one because this reduces his status and then it also brings out a certain amount of hostility. Now the English police officer is in the direct line with (muffled). In other words he represents the crown so therefore he status he is above the people. Law enforcement to operate cannot operate from an inferior position you have got to operate form a position of superior status.

David Yellin- So even your sue of the concept of servant of the public or he works for us is not quite correct?

Arthur Crowns- It is not correct it causes problems with law enforcement. Now to have this type of status individual we will have to make sure first of all that we have the emotion mature and stable individual. A person who is attracted to law enforcement not for emotional needs but for a good sounds humanitarian needs. I would prefer a man who is attracted to law enforcement that wants to protect people rather than the person who wants to enforce laws. In other words the crucial issue here is that if I ask a man why do you want to be a police officer, you say

because I want to enforce the laws. That man wouldn't be a police officer. But the man that would say I want to be a police officer because I want to protect people, would be a better police officer as far as my opinion. The next level of course is that through the inter screening process your educational qualifications can (muffled) disagreement. A man has to make a commitment for an education, then we have two to four years to examine him and we can teach him to know more about himself and more about human behavior and more how to think under a crisis situation. In other words do we want to develop thinking individuals that respond to individuals. And then have a professional organization controlled by the police professional himself. That before he looks up any new candidate that he man is accepted on condition. Make it a 5 year probationary period before he gets granted a license to be a full time., or a professional police officer. That any time that his conduct becomes unbefitting for the internal organization of the good court of ethics that we have approved and support any time a police officer is questioned here that we can go to a grievance committee and actually present information. If we are not satisfied by the grievance committee than we shouldn't be able to resort to the courts.

David Yellin- Have you ever presented this in the paper?

Arthur Crowns- No I haven't.

David Yellin- And I want to be fair to you because, well not that I don't know what I have to say but I want to tell you almost say on tape here, I think it is fascinating. Whether it is possible and I know teachers are trying to do the same thing and teacher's at least have a little bit more or less resistance to this kind of thing the idea of professionalism and so on. Would you agree to put what you just said together in some kind of a form and you wanted to refine it and so on, would you consider as part of our report, I must tell you I just want to stop for a second…(Tape Break)

Arthur Crowns- Why would I (muffled) the law. As I see police education ahs got to have a purpose. I mean we don't just want to educate police officers for the sake of educating.

David Yellin- Make them aware of better uniforms or march or..

Arthur Crowns- That's right. It will help in some regard but looking at my law school education, the first thing it did is taught me how to think and how to act and respond like a lawyer. In other words it was an organization I was asking for membership in which was the bar association of Wisconsin. So my law degree first of all became my passport for the membership in the organization I wanted to get in to practice as a lawyer. So the influence in regard to what course I took was whether or not I could pass the bar exam or be admitted. So after I graduated and was admitted to the bar this meant that I had accepted the first commitment was my commitment study hall. The second was their acceptance of me, they watched me for 4 years the people that were in charge of the law school faculty was screening and determining whether or not I presented the raw material for a lawyer. And they gave me sufficient education so that I would go out and actually perform the role of

a lawyer. And after I graduated and was admitted to the bar from then on in I was still subject to control on how the cannons of ethics had been defined and I knew what they were.

David Yellin- So you are suing this analogy here.

Arthur Crowns- Yes so when I came into law enforcement education it was quite natural that I would bearing with me my own professionalization in law. And that I would want to apply this to the police officer because he performs a role almost similar to the lawyer. The lawyer performs his function in the courts.

David Yellin- He is an on the spot lawyer, not even a club house lawyer.

Arthur Crowns- No he is not he is a legislator, executive and judiciary all in one. And that I also think we should have mature individuals which of course education will give us a chance to see the person over an extended period of time. I also feel that although in law you have a starvation period because you are usually working for yourself which tests whether or not you can get the clients or attract the clients to you, we don't have this in law enforcement, you are going to be working for somebody. So this is why I feel that we should have a extended probationary period.

David Yellin- Now it seems to me to that our own or the function of the law enforcement officer as oppose to the policemen, we usually thought of the policemen as a man who apprehended a robber or stopped a speeding car or prevented a murder and so on. But as we have seen certainly, police brutality has nothing to do with that, it has to do with people sometimes in the normal course of events, than the abnormal when crises come up in the social conflicts. However I am wondering if you don't mind maybe we can talk about your idea of professionalizing the police forces of the country. First of all of course the big problem is to assume that the political entities who are now controlling them will give them up.

Arthur Crowns- Well it is going to be a struggle.

David Yellin- Yeah that would be…..Secondly, even suppose they did and professionalism came in as lawyers and doctors and I suppose architects and other professional groups. What would be the, who would have the final control. Would there be such, you say it would relegate to the organizations themselves. They would be responsible to the people. What would happen if would it be sort of, I mean the hierarchy, the people in command would it be civil service, you get up by examination?

Arthur Crowns- Well you see civil service I have a certain amount of inversion too. Because civil service tends to give an person a vested interest. I think a professional man should only be a professional man as long as he can perform the service adequately. Like the lawyer if he becomes dishonest he loses his right to practice. Now they have to be some type of licensing procedure.

David Yellin- (muffled) normal, I meant who would be the police chief who would be the lieutenant. How would you arrive.

Arthur Crowns- Well they could go through certain….they could tie it with education, you could tie it with any type of promotional experience. Such as, as a man becomes better qualified with experience, a good example of this is the boy scout movement. Their professional staff moves up to certain levels as they get more experience. Field men, 6 or 7 field men who are ready to move into the executive position a small council calls in and asks to hire a new man. So they send the files of the 6 men.

David Yellin- They are all part of the organization themselves?

Arthur Crowns- Yeah and after you get experience in a small department or a small council, you move up to bigger ones.

David Yellin- Well must be like the army in a way? No no the army is selected by..

Arthur Crowns- Yeah selected. I think there has got to be as far as promotional opportunities as far as the top administrative positions I think that you have to have an element of experience plus education plus a group that is involved.

David Yellin- I see self selection.

Arthur Crowns- Yeah self selection. I think we can work that out, I see that as no problem.

David Yellin- So not the civil service but partly by examination perhaps but not completely.

Arthur Crowns- You wouldn't want somebody in there that they culture group couldn't work with. And as I see it there would be a licensing on a state or federal level and the police officer would get a license to practice, engage in police work and then we would have a reservoir of possible, men and they could have great mobility if somebody wanted to move from Memphis they could to Madison Wisconsin and Madison Wisconsin had a position open he could apply to go up there.

David Yellin- So it truly would be a professional…

Arthur Crowns- Professional yes, it would be something like a school teacher in a way. The school teachers would be a good model to follow. For instance you have school teachers and you have principals.

David Yellin- So that in a way if this were effective, each one person being himself more effective than he is now, there would have to be fewer rather than more police officers in total. I don't know whether it would be a considerable lessening of the amount needed, but it might conceivably if they were well trained.

Arthur Crowns- Well I think you get more efficient use out of our men as I se the model suggested by the presence commission study. About how police officers have three levels. I see our operation primarily with the master police officer and the administrative and that if the police organization locally can still recruit men who and women who do not have the qualifications but can be used locally and that we could even suggest that these people coming into law enforcement if they want to stay over an extended period of time would have to go for education and would eventually have to join.

David Yellin- Did you ever talk to Mr. Holloman?

Arthur Crowns- We have had a number of discussions but never one on professionalization.

David Yellin- I just wondered if somehow, and this is just an eyehole dream that somehow through all of this, of course I don't know if Memphis would be the best place to start but I guess it would be as good as any, there would be no reason why it or as oppose to….

Arthur Crowns- Are you leaving however? I haven't rattled any (muffled)..

David Yellin- I don't know why I thought you were. As I say I find this kind of fascinating because first of all this is productive, this is creative, and I would like to suggest if you would first of all you sure can help us with a lot of interpretation as ewe get materials, I would like you to protect us against our own, whatever the word is, zeal sometime. (muffled) We have to maintain a degree of objectivity that may be god like or impossible. But I would like to suggest that maybe could you sort of just jot down a brief outline of your ideas.

Arthur Crowns- When would this be….

David Yellin- Tomorrow, no I am thinking or if you wanted this…..let me talk to Carolyn and we may be in touch with the editor and as a suggestion I don't know when we will do this whether we will do this immediately or in two or three weeks but somebody will be coming down from the digest, and if by then we can keep in touch with this in mind.

Arthur Crowns- Now we are running the institute from the 22nd tot eh 25th.

David Yellin- The 22nd of which month.

Arthur Crowns- Of this month.

David Yellin- Of June.

Arthur Crowns- May.

David Yellin- May.

Arthur Crowns- Then we have planned about a two week vacation after the institute. This has been a kind of hectic semester.

David Yellin- Now what does the incident consist of?

Arthur Crowns- Well this is where we at Memphis state (muffled) for an advisory council which is composed of representatives from all of the police organizations in the area. Come together under what is known as the law enforcement institute and then we put on certain programming.

David Yellin- Now will the programming have anything to do with what happened here in Memphis?

Arthur Crowns- Well we were discussing mutual responsibility in community relations this time and if you want to come over there feel free to attend.

David Yellin- 22nd.

Arthur Crowns- It will be down at Armor Station. You can see most of the group that I work with.

David Yellin- Alright well I am trying to think if there is anything that I wanted to find out here. No I think this is…(Tape break).

David Yellin- We were talking again while we were of the mic so let's get back if we can. About you were explaining about getting officers and their willingness to shoot to kill.

Arthur Crowns- The great majority of officers, now of course I don't have any percentages, but the vast majority of officers that I have been exposed to will not kill an individual. Now the hardest thing that I think the training division has to do is to get an officer to shoot at a human being and they have targets that are shaped like human beings but when you get to the first time that you actually have to squeeze the trigger and shoot at an individual that is a live human being, this becomes a most trying experience.

David Yellin- Why is that?

Arthur Crowns- Because you are rejecting a lifetime to be able to kills someone, you are rejecting a lifetime of conditioning and socialization, thou shall not kill is a very strong value in our culture. And the vast majority of our police officers as well as a great percentage of our soldiers will not shoot at a human being. That they will avoid this. Now the general public knows that the chances are on their side that a police officer isn't going to shoot at them. Now what happens in regard to the shooting of Payne, trying to interpret this from an armchair position. What happened here is the officer cornered the young man. And he had been looting at least as far as I know he had been looting from hearsay information. And that when he approached his officer the officer had his shotgun. Apparently he had his shotgun (muffled) and of course it narrowed his response.

David Yellin- The officer?

Arthur Crowns- The officer's response that he could do for a crisis situation developing. Payne gave him a crisis situation by evidently making a threatening motion. Now assuming he had the knife in his hand the officer now is caught where what he is going to do he has got to do with his rifle, or with the shotgun. In other words the immediate response is squeezing the trigger and if you pull a trigger on a shotgun, anything out in front of you is going to get hit.

David Yellin- Why did he have a shotgun?

Arthur Crowns- Because this is a police weapon.

David Yellin- Took it from the car?

Arthur Crowns- Most of them have them in cars yes they do. All your cars carry a shotgun.

David Yellin- He responded to a call for looting and so he got out of the car and he took a shotgun.

Arthur Crowns- He had a shotgun with him. Mot of them were armed with shotguns or riot sticks. Now if he had been armed with his chemical mace he probably could have demobilized the person with chemical mace. But still this is, the chemical mace isn't 100% sound. The other areas, that if he had a night stick a man with a night stick can certainly handle a man with a knife. Because a night stick is a superior weapon to the knife. Now with only having a shotgun his response to a threatening situation is limited. He can shoot which he did in this case, or he can use his weapon as a club and of course if you have been involved in (Muffled) of course you can always bring up the butt of the gun, or he could have poked the man with the gun. Now there is a possibility this is what he did too. It is hard to say the gun might have gone off accidentally. When you have a cocked weapon under your hand you can have an accident.

David Yellin- So it might be conceivable concluded that if he had not had the gun he may not have killed the boy.

Arthur Crowns- Well the things is what happens is that when you pick your weapon when you start off you narrow your immediate response to the weapon that you have got involved.

David Yellin- Right. It is the original sin in a sense.

Arthur Crowns- Well I mean basically if he gets out of the car and he enters into the thing with a shotgun then his response is going to involved the shotgun. If he gets out with a nightstick then his response is going to be the night stick. Now in a situation such as the officers are faced with just prior to Payne's death, this was quite threatening and most officers were armed.

David Yellin- And they were not prepared to take advantage of all the options, they wanted to get the most immediate option.

Arthur Crowns- They weren't in a position where they could respond with many types of…

David Yellin- Can you repeat what you were told by one of your students in regard to the shooting of Payne.

Arthur Crowns- Oh yes the student called me and indicated just that the tension was building up terrifically within the department because there was none of the officers involved wanted to feel the opposition which was the subculture that was rioting or striking at the time a martyr. They felt that he stage developed to the point where if it was following the regular sequence of events the way we see it in sociology, that what the strikers needed was blood on the concrete or a martyr. The officers were very much concerned or very much aware that this was the next stage that a martyr would have to be delivered. And none of the officers that I had communication with wanted to be that man that gave the opposition the martyr.

David Yellin- In spite of the fact that several of the officers by their prejudice and the tension and so on were anxious, well not anxious, but were provoked by all of their past to get somebody.

Arthur Crowns- But the problem was here that they didn't want to be the first. And there was a lot of social pressure not to be the first. While of course this is a question of degree again. I meant hat perhaps the officer that shot Payne was less controlled by the forces because he had a legitimate reason now to pull the trigger, legitimate from his viewpoint. And probably from the police viewpoint because he was attacked assuming the officer sees this correctly. Now you have to look at it in the officer's eyes, if he feels he is under attack he is under attack. Now the student or the officer pointed out that there was terrific pressure not to be the officer to give the other side the martyr. But now that the martyr had been given and the guys had paid…Payne being shot and dead, now he felt he could relax and become a better police officer because the tension was so great that he felt it would interfere with his common judgment on alternative selection and what he should do and that perhaps his life was also placed in danger because he did not want to be the officer who was with element…

David Yellin- Though that confuses me a bit though because your statement too that he said that you had quoted once as saying…

Arthur Crowns- Yes that I had made the statement and he paraphrased it he said that one dead negro was a martyr but a thousand dead negros is only a disposal problem and that now that it wasn't a question of police work, now it wasn't a question of martyrism anymore.

David Yellin- Well why would he then not go out and shoot more rather than…

Arthur Crowns- Because he isn't the type that would do it except that if his life was threatened, he might respond by taking life.

David Yellin- Now at the same time your explanation of your use of weapons and narrowing down the choice to the weapon you have, the part of police training might to be directed towards the best use of the weapons without the final use of killing.

Arthur Crowns- Well there is quite a move on today to eliminate police weapons to non-lethal weapons and of course this is opposed by the police naturally.

David Yellin- Now as far as you know you don't have any other information about he Payne boy.

Arthur Crowns- No that is what I have heard through the people, and I haven't talked to the officer that pulled the trigger, naturally I haven't been involved with him but discussing it with other officers that had been involved. There was only one other officer there besides (muffled) but most of them basically trying to reconstruct what really happened. Now what we did is we took the eye witnesses and we made the assumption that the Payne boy did not have a knife and the knife accidentally got there somehow or another. But so this could even be a threatening situation with their arms up in the air but maybe a person has twitched or something like that and you think you are being attacked, you can actually see a weapon and it might not even be there. You have to see from the viewpoint of the officer he is tense. And it is a threatening situation, he has somebody cornered he doesn't know what to expect and then there is a sudden motion, he has the shotgun and it is levied at the man, the response is to pull the trigger. This is his pattern of response without thinking. The trigger could even go off because when you have a loaded weapon pointed at somebody you have a situation where if the trigger gets pulled or accidentally jarred it can go off.

David Yellin- And the point is the officer had a legal right to be carrying that where as the boy or some other bystanders didn't.

Arthur Crowns- They didn't even have the right to have a knife in that situation. And now as far as I was concerned if we could replay the whole thing the officer could have done a number of things beside squeeze the trigger but you can't really second guess the officer because he was in a tense situation and he went into a patterned response which was to squeeze the trigger. Now it if were me and I was in this situation and sitting here in the armchair and not being there, I would probably bring the butt end of the weapon up and use it as a club. Which certainly would have taken care of the attack. On the other hand I don't like to point weapons at people unless I am going to use them.

David Yellin- It is somewhat like that famous case in New York city with that lieutenant that police lieutenant, (muffled) but is close to that, the one that was suing Martin Luther King for 2 million dollars because he killed a boy somewhat the same way.

Arthur Crowns- See as soon as you make your selection as we pointed out you have narrowed your response. In my feeling is if an officer comes at me with a shotgun and he has got it pointed. I feel mighty uncomfortable. I don't know what to do because to me just a slight little accident can reduce you to nothing.

David Yellin- And by the very same token the officer coming at the Payne boy with a shotgun made him uncomfortable…

Arthur Crowns- He probably was..

David Yellin- And he violent, he reacted in a way…

Arthur Crowns- But see he is not acting rationally because no one under his thinking being would attack a man with a knife that was holding a shotgun?

David Yellin- Yeah.

Arthur Crowns- The same thing is that the only defense the large technical defense against a shotgun would be a rifle and get out of the shotgun's range.

David Yellin- Yes, ok fine.

Arthur Crowns- Now the police officer also in our culture is about the only individual, the only group that is fir to (muffled). In other words they see the victim of the crime. Now in out culture we have an artificial attempt or an attempt under our judicial system to reduce the victim to evidence you see. The victim doesn't exist as far as our trial courts are concerned….

David Yellin- (muffled).

Arthur Crowns- No. the victim becomes evidence, the victim is not a human being in our law case.

David Yellin- Because we are concerned with the attacker.,

Arthur Crowns- With the criminal or the person accused. So the victim in these cases become evidence. Now the police officer is the only person who sees the victim as a human being or the victims and immediate family as human beings. They gather and they collect the evidence and they use it then and if the victim comes to testify the victim is reduced to the status of just evidence and the accused of lying and perjury and are subject to various techniques of the trial lawyer. Now the police officer he is very victim oriented, very victim oriented.

David Yellin- Is that sympathy?

Arthur Crowns- Well that is his job. He is a protector. He is a protector, and he sees the results of crimes and he sees the results of automobile accidents.

David Yellin- So in the case of riots the victim becomes….

Arthur Crowns- The property owner whose store is being looted. It becomes the person who is beat up by the rioters, it becomes the person who loses property (muffled). Himself and he is also a victim too. And he sees the people burned out the refugees and he sympathizes with the victim and as a result here the only group which has immediate communication with the victim as a true human being, as a human being, is a police officer and they get horribly frustrated because they have difficulty understanding that he victim doesn't exist except as evidence when you get into court. And as a correctional worker I don't, the victim is only part of the record. I deal with the offender and he becomes the person I interact with in my interprimary group relationship. But the primary group relationship of the law enforcement officers is the victim and he is the only one that is.

David Yellin- To be somewhat facetious because we obviously can't with all wisdom solve this, I mean police brutality, really being described as being a policemen is very brutal.

Arthur Crowns- Well when you see it from the outside, but when you see it from the inside the police officers is using only necessary force to carry out his responsibility and one of them is to protect the victim.

David Yellin- But I mean it is a brutal responsibility.

Arthur Crowns- Well I mean it is a responsibility that involved the use of force and it is also subject to great abuse.

David Yellin- Yes, obviously. And it would take as you say the wisdom of Solomon, or 17 Solomon's in one.

Arthur Crowns- Because you can't abuse you position. The other thing the police officer has the ability to do is cover up.

David Yellin- Yes and that leads to (muffled).

Arthur Crowns- He knows what information is necessary and he knows how to avoid it. This is why (muffled). This is also why we have to be very careful not to attract people into law that want to take advantage…(Tape End)