

essential truth is that a deprived section of the community with essentially legitimate complaints, no matter how misdirected and sometimes unfortunately stated, *did* follow the appropriate path and as citizens appealed to their local governing board to recognize their problems and act on them.

Unlike Newark, Rochester, Watts, and the many other cities, the frustrations here never reached the point that riots would result.

This would not have been possible were it not for a combination of many factors over an extended period of time. While no group or individual can be singled out, in equity, as explaining what happened in Durham—and even more importantly what did *not* happen—I believe that time will prove that had it not been for the North Carolina Fund, for Operation Breakthrough, and for the individuals associated with them, we *would* have had riots and bloodshed.

The unwarranted, politically motivated, attacks by Congressman Gardner are perhaps best put in their true light when one recognizes that he does not represent this Congressional District but that, due to reapportionment, he now is an almost certain candidate for the seat held by Representative Galifianakis who is, as you know, a native of Durham. Any program which has any measure of success, as does Durham's antipoverty program, will also have isolated failures which provide grist for the mill of an irresponsible politician. If one traces the background of Congressman Gardner, the sources of his information, his whole pattern since election to office, then his real motivation becomes clear. And when one realizes, as you do, that his attacks have implications which are national, then his irresponsibility becomes tragic.

When one attempts to assess blame or give credit, if he is objective, he finds that every group with the possible exception of the reactionaries at both extremes deserves a measure of both credit and discredit. From this assessment I exclude only the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Council, Citizens for Law and Order, et cetera, at the one extreme—and their numbers are significant—and at the other extreme the Black Muslims and the Black Power advocates whose numbers, interestingly enough, are extremely limited.

In between we find the real leadership including the Mayor. Here is a man with the type of commitment we all support and applaud. We find equally enlightened Negro leadership in the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs and men such as Councilman John Stewart and John Wheeler with his national and international reputation. These men and the groups which they represent have, as you know, the terribly difficult task of retaining their leadership and still acting in a responsible fashion. They deserve the highest praise.

Then there is the "white power structure" which is highly conservative, divided for many years, easily panicked, motivated to act only by the strongest pressure, quick to relax, and above all short on leadership. This is a community where the largest industry is not locally owned—American Tobacco Company and Liggett and Myers, Burlington Mills, General Telephone, Wright Machinery (subsidiary of Sperry-Rand), et cetera. I believe that a conservative estimate would be that 90% of Durham business is under out-of-town if not out-of-state control. There is no better way to devastate potential leadership than to people a community with a majority of businessmen who cannot make decisions on the local level on matters of vital community importance.

Duke University is Durham's largest industry in that it has the largest single payroll. The University is deeply interested in the community but there is only slightly less than the usual split between town and gown. The University is liberal, the town is conservative. There is North Carolina College for Negroes which has provided the Negro power structure with a source of information and potential leadership. But the College is virtually isolated as an institution from any impact of the direction which the community will choose.

And then there is the North Carolina Fund and Operation Breakthrough. I say to you that Operation Breakthrough *is* making a very significant contribution and that the best measure of that fact is the controversy itself.

This community needs shaking at the very roots as does every community that I know of no matter where it is located. It is only out of tension, out of conflict, as you know so well, that change does take place. Durham's antipoverty program, if it is to be faulted on essential matters, can only be faulted for its failure to do more. Now I do not mean to say that mistakes have not been made. You know, as does no one else, the national problem of assembling a competent staff adequately motivated, which combines all the needed factors and yet which can follow every regulation and account for every penny in an ideal fashion. Durham's program has had its problems, has them now, and will un-