



Holmesburg Prison, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Sexual Assaults in the Philadelphia Prison System and Sheriff's Vans

ALAN J. DAVIS

In the summer of 1968, Joseph F. Mitchell, a slightly-built 19-year-old, was brought to trial before Alexander F. Barbieri, judge of the Court of Common Pleas No. 8 in Philadelphia County. Mitchell's lawyer, Joseph E. Alessandrini, told Judge Barbieri that his client, while being transported in a sheriff's van, had been repeatedly raped by a gang of criminals. A few weeks later, Alessandrini informed the judge that George Di-Angelo, a slender 21-year-old whom Barbieri had committed to the Philadelphia Detention Center merely for

pre-sentence evaluation, had been sexually assaulted within minutes of his admission.

Judge Barbieri thereupon appointed me, then Chief Assistant District Attorney of Philadelphia, to investigate these allegations. Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo started a parallel investigation; then these two investigations were merged.

In the Philadelphia prison system there are three facilities: the Detention Center, Holmesburg Prison, and the House of Correction. The period we chose to study

was from June 1966 to July 31, 1968—a little over two years. Out of the 60,000 inmates who passed through the prison system in those 26 months, we interviewed 3,304—virtually all of them inmates during the period of our investigation. We also interviewed 561 out of the 570 custodial employees. We took 130 written statements from those who had given us important information, and gave polygraph (“lie-detector”) examinations to 45 of them. We asked 26 employees to take polygraph tests: 25 refused, and the one employee who took the test “passed.” We asked 48 inmates: seven refused, and of the 41 remaining, 10 failed the test and 31 passed. (We ignored the statements of those prisoners and employees who either would not take the test or who failed it.) In addition, we interviewed several people whom we believed had special information, and we reviewed all of the reports dealing with homosexuality issued by the prison system since June 1966. Finally, we made a number of detailed personal inspections of the prison facilities and of the sheriff’s vans.

In brief, we found that sexual assaults in the Philadelphia prison system are epidemic. As Superintendent Hendrick and three of the wardens admitted, virtually every slightly-built young man committed by the courts is sexually approached within a day or two after his admission to prison. Many of these young men are repeatedly raped by gangs of inmates. Others, because of the threat of gang rape, seek protection by entering into a homosexual relationship with an individual tormentor. Only the tougher and more hardened young men, and those few so obviously frail that they are immediately locked up for their own protection, escape homosexual rape.

After a young man has been raped, he is marked as a sexual victim for the duration of his confinement. This mark follows him from institution to institution. Many of these young men return to their communities ashamed, and full of hatred.

This, then, is the sexual system that exists in the Philadelphia prisons. It is a system that imposes a punishment that is not, and could not be, included in the sentence of the court. Indeed, it is a system under which the least hardened criminals, and many men later found to be innocent, suffer the most.

A few typical examples of such sexual assaults may convey the enormity of the problem. In an early draft of our report, an attempt was made to couch this illustrative material in sociological, medical, and legal terminology less offensive than the raw, ugly language used by the witness and victims. This approach was abandoned. The incidents are raw and ugly. Any attempt to prettify them would be hypocrisy.

A witness describes the ordeal of *William McNichol*, 24 years old and mentally disturbed:

“That was June 11th, I was assigned to E Dorm.

Right after the light went out I saw this colored male, Cheyenne—I think his last name is Boone. He went over and was talking to this kid and slapped him in the face with a belt. He was saying come on back with us and the kid kept saying I don’t want to. After being slapped with the belt he walked back with Cheyenne and another colored fellow named Horse. They were walking him back into E Dorm. They were telling him to put his hand down and stop crying so the guard will not know what is going on. I looked up a couple of times. They had the kid on the floor. About 12 fellows took turns with him. This went on for about two hours.

“After this he came back to his bed and he was crying and he stated that ‘They all took turns on me.’ He laid there for about 20 minutes and Cheyenne came over to the kid’s bed and pulled his pants down and

A Note on This Report

This article is based on the results of a three-month investigation conducted jointly by the Philadelphia District Attorney’s office and the Police Department, under the supervision of the author. It culminated in a 103-page report submitted to Judge Alexander F. Barbieri and the public on Sept. 11, 1968. More than half of the report contains detailed recommendations for controlling sexual assaults and for the general reform of the Philadelphia prison system. Many of these recommendations are now being implemented by the city administration. This article relates only to those portions of the report analyzing sexual assaults and comparing the physical and psychological characteristics of the victims and aggressors.

got on top of him and raped him again. When he got done Horse did it again and then about four or five others got on him. While one of the guys was on him, raping him, Horse came over and said, ‘Open your mouth and suck on this and don’t bite it.’ He then put his penis in his mouth and made him suck on it. The kid was hollering that he was gagging and Horse stated, ‘you better not bite it or I will kick your teeth out.’

“While they had this kid they also had a kid named William in another section in E Dorm. He had his pants off and he was bent over and they were taking turns on him. This was Horse, Cheyenne, and about seven other colored fellows. Two of the seven were brothers.

“Horse came back and stated, ‘Boy, I got two virgins in one night. Maybe I should make it three.’ At this time he was standing over me. I stated, ‘What are you looking at?’ and he said ‘We’ll save him for tomorrow night.’ ”

Julius Brown, 18 years old:

“Brown stated that he has been in Holmesburg since March 29, 1968, and that about a week and a half ago,

on Thursday, he was in I block; his cell was number 926. On this date, in the morning after breakfast, James Williams called him into his cell; he went into William's cell. Donald Reese was in there also. Further that he had owed Williams four cartons of cigarettes. Williams said to him that he would have to give the cigarettes back right now or he would have to give them something else. He [Brown] then started to walk out of the cell and Williams pushed him down. Williams picked up the window pole, Reese picked up a bench and stood blocking the door. Reese told him that if he goes to the guard they are going to get him anyway; there were other men outside the cell.

"Further that he walked out of the cell, they were all around him and walked to cell 971, and they pushed him inside. He went over and sat on the toilet seat. Twin [Roger Jones] came into the cell, they made him lay down on the floor, and Twin pulled his [Brown's] pants down and made him lay face down. Twin pushed his [Brown's] legs apart and Twin put his penis into his [Brown's] rectum. He was on him until he discharged. When he got through, Brown saw that he was bleeding from the rectum. Then Twin, Williams, Reese, and McDuffy told him that if he went to the guard their boys would get him to D block, and he was scared then to tell the guard. Further that he did cry out when Twin did this to him, but the guard wouldn't be able to hear him because the block is long.

"Brown went on to say that the next day after chow [breakfast] James Williams, McDuffy, Ike (Isaiah Franklin), and Leftenant got him in cell 972 [Roger Jones's cell]. They told him that everything is cool now as long as he doesn't tell. Further that he had never been in jail before and he was too scared to tell anybody. Then four of them did it to him—they put their penises into his rectum, James first, Ike second, Leftenant third, McDuffy fourth. Twin did not bother him that time. That after they did this he was bleeding and got sick.

"That night, Roach [Thomas Roach] came into his cell and changed with his partner. Roach told him that he would have to do it. When the guard came to check the cells, Roach turned over so he wouldn't be recognized. After the guard counted and left, Roach got on top of him, put his penis into his [Brown's] rectum, and discharged."

Nineteen-Year-Old Is Beaten

Charles Williams, 19 years old:

"On Tuesday morning, the first week of June at about 9:30 A.M., I was in my cell 412 on D block and I had started to clean up. A tall, heavy-set fella came into the cell and asked for a mirror and shaving brush and a comb, and that my cell partner said he could borrow.

"He then said that he heard something about me

concerning homosexual acts. I told him what he had heard was not true. He then started to threaten me and if I didn't submit to him. Then I hit him with my fist in his face before he could hit me. Then about three more men came into the cell, and they started to beat me up, too. I fought back the best I could and then I fell on the floor and I got kicked in the ribs. Three guys were holding me while the other one tore my pants off; I continued to fight until one of the guys knocked me out. One of the guys was holding me on the floor and had my arm pinned to the floor. And about seven or eight guys came into the cell and they took turns sticking their penis up my ass. When they finished they left my cell, and I was still laying on the floor."

Clarence Garlick, 26 years old:

"Back in April this year, about 10:30 A.M. I was in my cell 455 on block D when Joe Lovett came into my cell. I was laying on my bed. When he came in I jumped up. He told me to get greased up. I told him I wasn't going to do nothing. He told me, 'You're going to do something.' He started punching me. I had backed up into a corner of the cell. He seen some mineral-oil grease I had on the table and he reached over and handed it to me saying, 'Put this on.' I put some on and layed down on the bed. He took out his penis and got on top of me. After he did what he wanted to do he got up and got some toilet paper and wiped himself off and went out of the cell."

"This is the second incident. He came to me on July 18, 1968, in the morning about 10 o'clock. I was standing up in the doorway of my cell, 455. He told me to 'Get it fixed.' I told him I wasn't going to do nothing, that today was my birthday. He walked on away."

"The next day, on the 19th, he came to me again. I was in my cell, this was about the same time. He stated, 'Today isn't your birthday, you're going to do something.' I told him I wasn't going to do anything. He started punching me again. I told him I was going to call the guard. He stated, 'Go ahead and call, you'll only call him one time and I'll knock you out.' He got the grease from off the table and handed it to me, told me to put some on, which I did. I laid down on the bed, he took out his penis and got on top. A friend he walks with, Kincaid, was standing out by the door, he was laughing. Joe got up after he got through, got toilet paper and wiped himself off. He then walked out of the cell."

During the 26-month period, we found, there had been 156 sexual assaults that could be documented and substantiated—through institutional records, polygraph examinations, or other corroboration. Seven of the assaults took place in the sheriff's vans, 149 in the prisons. Of the sexual assaults, 82 consisted of buggery; 19 of fellatio; and 55 of attempts and coercive solicitations to commit sexual acts. There were assaults on at

least 97 different victims by at least 176 different aggressors. With unidentified victims and aggressors, there were 109 different victims and 276 different aggressors.

For various reasons, these figures represent only the top of the iceberg.

■ Our investigators, as mentioned, interviewed only a twentieth of the inmates who passed through the prison system. We discovered 94 assaults—excluding those reported in institutional records. This suggests that if all 60,000 inmates had been interviewed, 20 times 94—or 1880—additional assaults would have come to light.

■ Almost all of the victims still in prison were so terrified of retaliation by other prisoners that they were very reluctant to cooperate with us.

■ Many guards discouraged complaints by indicating that they did not want to be bothered. One victim screamed for over an hour while he was being gang-raped in his cell; the block guard ignored the screams and laughed at the victim when the rape was over. The inmates who reported this passed a polygraph examination. The guard who had been named refused to take the test.

Then too, some guards put pressure on victims not to complain—such complaints, after all, would indicate that the guards were failing in their duty. We found many cases where victims, after filing complaints, had

“voluntarily” refused to prosecute, and a number of them told us that guards urged them to rely on prison discipline rather than to bring the facts out into the open. Very often, these guards asked the victim if he wanted his parents and friends to find out about his humiliation.

■ Without prompting from the prison guards, many victims and their families wanted to avoid the shame and dishonor they believed would follow such a complaint.

■ Inmates have little faith in the ability of a guard to protect them from retaliation should they complain. Their fears are justified by the lack of supervision by guards, and the inadequate facilities to provide security for complainants.

■ Inmates who complain are themselves punished by the prison system. It is usual procedure to place a victim of a sexual assault on “lock-in feed-in,” ostensibly for his own protection. This means that after a complaint is made, and especially if it is pressed, the complainant is locked in his cell all day, fed in his cell, and not permitted recreation, television, or exercise until it is determined that he is safe from retaliation. Many victims consider this “solitary confinement” worse than a homosexual relationship with one aggressor.

■ Sometimes very little comes of a complaint. Some complaints are just not acted upon; action, when taken,

Steel vans like this one, which are neither heated in winter nor ventilated in summer, are used to transport prisoners. Despite crowding, sexual assaults often occur on the rides between courthouse and prison.



The Sheriff's Vans

The sheriff of Philadelphia County is responsible for transporting prisoners between the courts and the various county and state prisons. For this purpose, there are five sheriff's vans and seven station wagons. Only five inmates can be carried in each station wagon. Some 35 to 40 inmates are crammed into each van. Since hundreds of prisoners must be transported back and forth each day, the vans do most of the work.

Investigators are in complete accord with the following essay written by one articulate inmate who had traveled on the vans some 50 times:

"Prisoners confined in Philadelphia's three prisons commute from their institutions to the courts by way of a prison van. The van is a truck externally resembling the sort of refrigerated delivery truck that delivers meat to food stores. The body of the truck has no windows. At the very top of the truck there is a tiny row of slots purportedly for ventilating purposes.

"Winter—The van is parked overnight in the House of Correction. At eight o'clock in the morning the van driver picks it up and drives it to the Detention Center. There, some 40 prisoners, who have been waiting since six o'clock (packed like sardines in a steel-barred can), are loaded into the van. It has only seating capacity for 15 people. The rest must make themselves 'comfortable' as best they can. There are no handholds. There is no heat. It is freezing with an intensity so great that some prisoners relinquish their seats: The pain of frozen iron pressed against their backsides is unendurable. Packed into the mass of men they may find a little warmth jammed together. The trip from northeast Philadelphia is an hour of grinding stops and bumping halts. The standing men are tossed about inside the van. There is no light in the vehicle and the darkness is punctured by the grunts and groans.

"Summer—The prison van is a sweltering cauldron of red-hot cast iron. The packed bodies of men stink. Prisoners who were arrested in winter are still in their heavy clothes. The sun winks occasionally through the narrow slits on top, but the outside air remains aloof, not wishing to contaminate itself with this Dante's Inferno on wheels.

"Some Interesting Highlights—Riding in the prison van is virtually the only time in a prisoner's detention that he is completely unsupervised, and some strange things do occur. If anyone is homosexually inclined, and it is summer, a stinking sex orgy may take place in the dim confines of the van. Sometimes this is with mutual consent, sometimes by coercion. All the time it is done with utter disregard for the feelings of the other men in the van, who cannot even avert their faces. Sometimes a prisoner who is going to be a [state] witness is accidentally thrown into the company of the very people he is going to testify against. Threats and even violence break out. The van drivers roll merrily on their way, blissfully unaware of what is taking place.

"The prisoners are alone in their walled-up cage, alone with their dry bologna sandwiches that must serve as sustenance for the next 24 hours. No cooked meal awaits them at the Detention Center when they return from court at night, only

the same bologna sandwich. On the return trip from court, the van drops prisoners off at Holmesburg, the Detention Center, and the House of Correction, in that order. At Holmesburg the van drives into a walled-off enclosure that is barred by two massive solid doors and topped by solid concrete and steel. Believe me, it's a very snug fit. It generally takes between 15 to 20 minutes of paperwork until the van is allowed to proceed, and during this time the already high temperature rises sharply, the atmosphere becomes completely stagnant, and the waiting becomes interminable and finally unbearable. The prisoners scream and bang on the sides of the van but there is no relief. The time never gets any shorter, sometimes it gets longer.

"It is difficult to comprehend how the city justifies the van as treatment for untried, unconvicted, unsentenced men, who are the bulk of its passengers.

"I know, as a matter of fact, that the Interstate Commerce Commission requires that certain minimum space be provided for each individual hog shipped in commerce. Couldn't untried prisoners get the same that a pig gets?

"I have written these few words not out of bitterness, but out of the experience of 50 trips.

"I was there, Charlie."

Dennis Cujdik, a 17-year-old charged only with being a runaway from home, describes his ride on the van:

"I was at 1801 Vine in a cell when four Negro boys started bothering me for not having underwear on. Then when we got on the sheriff's van and started moving they told everyone that I didn't have on underwear. As the van was moving they started getting close to me. One of them touched me and I told them to please stop.

"All of a sudden a coat was thrown over my face and when I tried to pull it off I was viciously punched in the face for around ten minutes. I fell to the floor and they kicked me all over my body, including my head and my privates. They ripped my pants from me and five or six of them held me down and took turns fucking me.

"My insides feel sore and my body hurts, my head hurts, and I feel sick in the stomach. Each time they stopped I tried to call for help, but they put their hands over my mouth so that I couldn't make a sound. While they held me, they burned my leg with a cigarette. When the van stopped at the prison, they wiped the blood from me with my shirt. They threatened my life and said they would get me in D1 if I told anyone what happened. They said that if they didn't get me in D1 they'd get me in the van again. When the door opened they pushed me to the back so they could get out first. At first, I told the guard I tripped and fell, but then I thought I'd better tell the truth. I pointed out those who beat me up. A doctor looked at me and said I'd have to go to the hospital. They took pictures of the bruises on my body, and I could just about breathe because my nose and jaw seemed to be broken in many different places. I was asked by the lieutenant to write down what happened, and this is exactly what happened."

Why has this situation been allowed to continue for so long, despite the fact that it was brought to the attention of public officials at least two years ago? The answer is simple: The responsible city officials have blatantly neglected their duty.

usually consists of putting the aggressor in the "hole" for 30 days or less. Meanwhile, the victim also is usually locked in, and looks forward—when released—to terror from the aggressor's friends, and from the aggressor himself when he is let out of the "hole." Finally,

■ Many of the victims themselves distrust and are hostile to constituted authority, and could not bring themselves to cooperate by filing a complaint.

Taking all of these facts into consideration, we conservatively estimate that the true number of assaults in the 26-month period was about 2000. Indeed, one guard put the number at 250 a year in the Detention Center alone.

Of the estimated 2000 assaults that occurred, 156 of which were documented, the inmates reported only 96 to prison authorities. Of this 96, only 64 were mentioned in the prison records. Of these 64, only 40 resulted in internal discipline against the aggressors; and only 26 incidents were reported to the police for prosecution.

Consensual Homosexuality Excluded

Now, in our study of sexual assaults we excluded any that were cases of truly "consensual" homosexuality. Nonetheless, it was hard to separate consensual homosexuality from rape, since many continuing and isolated homosexual liaisons originated from a gang rape, or from the ever-present threat of gang rape. Similarly, many individual homosexual acts were possible only because of the fear-charged atmosphere. Thus, a threat of rape, expressed or implied, would prompt an already fearful young man to submit. Prison officials are too quick to label such activities "consensual."

At the opposite end of the spectrum from innocent victims of homosexual rape are the male prostitutes. These homosexuals—known as "sissys," "freaks," or "girls"—were supposed to be segregated from the general prison population, yet they were readily available. We learned of repeated instances where homosexual "security" cells were left unguarded by a staff that was too small or too indifferent, or who turned their backs so that certain favored inmates could have sexual relations.

Many of these male prostitutes were created not only by force and the threat of force, but by bribery. The fact is that a person with economic advantage in prison often uses it to gain sexual advantage. Typically, an experienced inmate will give cigarettes, candy, sedatives, stainless-steel blades, or extra food pilfered from the kitchen to an inexperienced inmate, and after a few days the veteran will demand sexual repayment. It is also typical for a veteran to entice a young man into gambling, have him roll up large debts, and then tell the youth to "pay or fuck." An initial sexual act stamps the victim as a "punk boy," and he is pressed into

prostitution for the remainder of his imprisonment.

Despite the important role that economic advantage plays in the creation of homosexuality, it is virtually impossible to obliterate economic distinctions between inmates. Even a small accumulation of money or luxuries gives an inmate substantial economic advantage: In the prison economy, a shopworker earns 15 to 25 cents a day; half of the inmates have no prison jobs at all, and most inmates get little or no material help from friends or relatives outside the prison.

It is the duty of prison officials to reduce the economic power that any inmate might exercise over another inmate. Yet we discovered one area in which Philadelphia prison officials, either through neglect or indifference, disregarded this duty. As a result, at least one inmate became so powerful economically that he was able to choose, as cellmates, a series of young men he found attractive, and then use bribery to sexually subvert each one.

The University of Pennsylvania and a private concern operate a large laboratory on H block of Holmesburg Prison, where they test inmates' reactions to new medicines and to experimental commercial products like soaps, shaving creams, suntan lotions, and toilet tissue. The prisoners are excellent "human guinea pigs" (1) because they live under controlled conditions, and (2) because they will submit to tests for a fraction of the fee that a free individual would demand. Prison officials—because there is very little other activity for the prisoners, and because the laboratory pays 20 percent of the inmates' wages to the prison system—have allowed the project to expand to the extent that it constitutes a separate government within the prison system.

All the inmates at Holmesburg wanted to "get on the tests" because, by prison standards, they can earn a fortune. Just by wearing a chemical patch on his back, for example, a prisoner can earn \$10 to \$15 a week. By participating in some tests that last longer, a prisoner—for doing almost nothing—will receive over \$100. Altogether, the Holmesburg inmates earn more than \$250,000 a year from the project. A few prisoners end up with bodies crazyquilted with motley scars and skin



Alan J. Davis is an associate with the firm of Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen in Philadelphia. In his law practice he specializes in civil and criminal trial work. After his training at Harvard Law School, where he edited the *Harvard Law Review*, he was Clerk to the Honorable John Biggs, Jr., Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

patches, but to these men, in the context of a prison economy, it seems well worth it.

To save money another way, the operators of the project also use inmates as laboratory assistants. An experienced assistant, working an eight-hour day, will get \$100 a month—in the prison economy, the equivalent of a millionaire's income. Even a few prison guards are employed in the project, after their regular hours, and they work side by side with the prisoners.

University of Pennsylvania Project Disastrous

Generally, the "U. of P." project has had a disastrous effect upon the operations of Holmesburg Prison; it is one of the reasons why morale of the employees is at the lowest in that institution. The disproportionate wealth and power in the hands of a few inmates leads to favoritism, bribery and jealousy among the guards, resulting in disrespect for supervisory authority and prison regulations. What is more, the project contributed to homosexuality in the prison.

Stanley Randall, a 38-year-old con man serving a four- to eleven-year sentence, was employed in laboratory cell 806, H block, as an assistant. Although prison and laboratory officials at first denied it, Randall had the power to decide which inmates would serve as subjects on various tests. Since the 806 cell disbursed \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year, Randall's power was considerable.

Randall's special taste was newly admitted young inmates. Through his influence with the guard staff he had his pick of these young men assigned to him as cellmates—and for as long as he wished. When his victims moved in, Randall solicited them to engage in sexual acts in return for his giving them a steady stream of luxuries and for "getting them on the tests." At least half a dozen of these inmates submitted, and went on to profit handsomely from the University of Pennsylvania project.

Although top prison officials assured us that no inmate was permitted to earn more than \$1200 a year, and that \$400 was unusually high, in six months Randall's present cellmate had earned over \$800. The record was held by a prior cellmate of Randall's, who had earned \$1740 in just 11 months. When we asked university project managers about these high incomes, they told us they had never heard of any \$1200-a-year-limit. The prison's accounting office had apparently never heard of this \$1200-a-year limit either, because that office had credited these high amounts to the accounts of Randall's cellmates.

How had Randall managed to get his choice of cellmates? One guard told us that H-block guards had been instructed by "higher ups" not to interfere in the affairs of inmates working for the U. of P. Another guard reported he had received such instructions, and said they had come from the guard lieutenant. The lieutenant

denied this, and agreed to take a lie-detector test. Later he reversed his position and refused. Randall admitted he had often given cigars to this lieutenant.

Other inmates besides Randall exploited their powerful positions. One inmate worker, for example, forged test results and fee vouchers, and got fees for inmates who had not actually been test subjects. It also seems that at least a few guards were also corrupted.

As a result of our investigation, prison officials have relieved the powerful inmate workers of their positions with the U. of P. project. They are also considering phasing out the project entirely.

How did sexual aggressors in the prisons differ from their victims? On the average, aggressors tended to be older, heavier, taller, and more serious offenders. Data on hundreds of victims and aggressors yielded the following comparisons:

	Victims	Aggressors
Average Age	20.75	23.67
Average Height	5'8¼"	5'9"
Average Weight	140.9	157.2

Both victims and aggressors tended to be younger than the average inmate, as comparison with the following table shows:

Average Age of Prisoners (July 31, 1968)	
Detention Center	27.9
Holmesburg	29.3
House of Correction	28.9
All Prisons	28.8

Yet although aggressors on the average are older and larger than victims, these differences are rather slight. In many cases, there may be no differences, and in others they are reversed. Still, after having observed hundreds of victims and aggressors we believe that there are other, more subjective, physical criteria which can be used to differentiate between aggressors and victims:

- Victims tend to look young for their age.
- Victims tend to look less athletic, and less physically coordinated.
- Victims tend to be better-looking.

A comparison of 164 aggressors and 103 victims showed that 68 percent of the former and only 38 percent of the latter had been charged with serious felonies. Among aggressors, violent assaultive felonies were particularly common. Thus, 14 aggressors had been charged with rape, but only three victims; six aggressors had been charged with weapons offenses, and no victims; 34 aggressors with robbery and aggravated robbery, but only eight victims; and seven aggressors with assault with intent to kill, but only one victim.

As many victims as aggressors, however, had been charged with homicide. On the other hand, many more victims than aggressors were charged with relatively less serious offenses, such as the larceny of a car, going AWOL from the armed forces, violating parole, and delinquency.

We also made a study of the 129 documented assaults in which the races of both aggressors and victims had been ascertained, and found that a disproportionate number involved Negro aggressors and white victims:

Type of Incident	Number of Incidents	Percentage
White Aggressors & White Victims	20	15%
Negro Aggressors & Negro Victims	37	29%
White Aggressors & Negro Victims	0	0%
Negro Aggressors & White Victims	72	56%
Total	129	100%

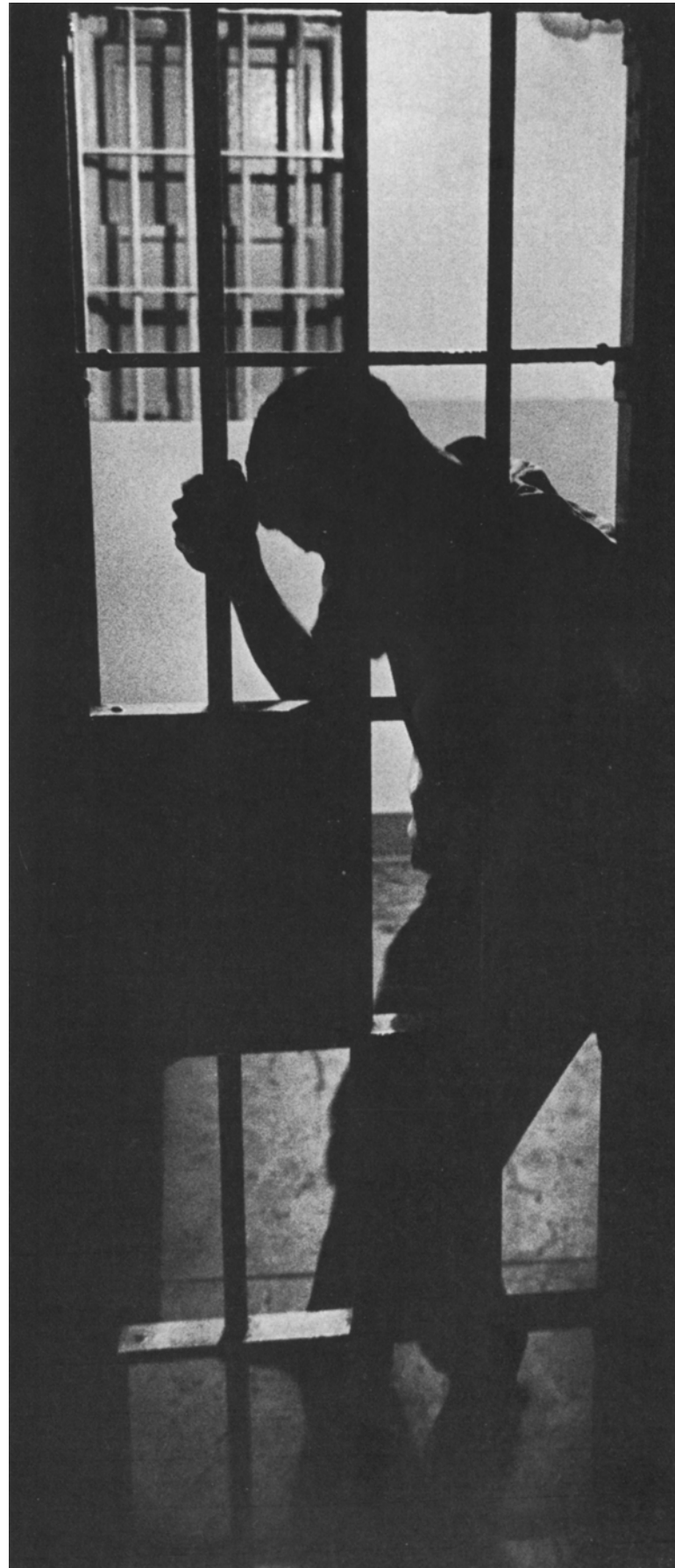
These statistics in part reflect the fact that 80 percent of the inmates are Negro—it is safer for a member of a majority group to single out for attack a member of a minority group. Then too, Negro victims seemed more reluctant than white victims to disclose assaults by Negro aggressors. But it also seems true that current racial tensions and hostilities in the outside community are aggravated in a criminal population.

Now, we are not professionally qualified to offer a scientific theory to explain the sexual aggression in the Philadelphia prison system. We have, however, reached certain conclusions that should be recorded for possible use by psychiatrists, psychologists, and social scientists. The conclusions and the analysis set forth are based upon our observations, upon pertinent literature, and upon discussions with a psychiatrist and a psychologist who are experts in forensic psychology.

■ We were struck by the fact that the typical sexual aggressor does not consider himself to be a homosexual, or even to have engaged in homosexual acts. This seems to be based upon his startlingly primitive view of sexual relationships, one that defines as male whichever partner is aggressive and as homosexual whichever partner is passive.

■ It appears that need for sexual release is not the primary motive of a sexual aggressor. After all, in a sexually segregated population, autoeroticism would seem a much easier and more "normal" method of release than homosexual rape. As recent studies have shown (Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Response*, 1966), autoerotic stimulation yields a measure of physical release and pleasure similar to that yielded by sexual intercourse.

■ A primary goal of the sexual aggressor, it is clear, is the conquest and degradation of his victim. We re-



In Future Issues

THE JAPANESE "HOWDUNIT"

One hundred years ago, Japan began to modernize her economy and became the only country outside of the West to do it along capitalist lines. As other Asian countries desperately try to industrialize, many people suggest that they follow the Japanese method. On looking back, a noted economist points out that Japanese development is too unique historically to be exported. The times have changed and even capitalist Japan is looking to socialism and welfare-statism to develop her economy.

IN THE FACE OF DISASTER

What would happen to the organized services of a great city in the face of a catastrophe so great that its facilities were over-taxed? A giant simulation in the Columbus, Ohio police radio-dispatch room of what would have occurred had a jetliner actually crashed into a row of apartment houses provides some interesting—and occasionally frightening—answers.

LITTLE GROUPS OF NEIGHBORS

Selective Service Director General Lewis B. Hershey has called the local draft boards "little groups of neighbors." An examination by age, education, military service and occupation of the men who actually serve on them demonstrates that they tend to be more like General Hershey himself than to the general run of neighbors on your block.

THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF AND HOW IT GREW

The White House Executive Office was first formally set up in 1939, under President Roosevelt. Since then it has grown at a very rapid pace, reflecting, in each administration, the personality and working style of each President, and the increasing demands on him from our growing economy, population, and problems.

HARLEM RENT STRIKES GIVE POWER TO THE POWERLESS

The poor lack not only money but political power; and they cannot better their lives unless they get that power. But how? Protest organizations and strikes are often given as one answer. An analysis of the Harlem Rent Strikes of 1963-64 finds it to be a very rocky road indeed, but suggests the right way.

REVIEWS OF SOME IMPORTANT BOOKS

Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community by Gary T. Marx, reviewed by August Meier

America in the Sixties: An Intellectual History by Ronald Berman, reviewed by Michael Rogin

American Science in the Age of Jackson by George H. Daniels, reviewed by John L. Heilbron

peatedly found that aggressors used such language as "Fight or fuck," "We're going to take your manhood," "You'll have to give up some face," and "We're gonna make a girl out of you." Some of the assaults were reminiscent of the custom in some ancient societies of castrating or bugging a defeated enemy.

■ Another primary goal of many of the aggressors, it appears, is to retain membership in the groups led by militant sexual aggressors. This is particularly true of some of the participants in gang rapes. Lacking identification with such groups, as many of the aggressors know, they themselves would become victims. And finally,

■ Most of the aggressors seem to be members of a subculture that has found most nonsexual avenues of asserting their masculinity closed to them. To them, job success, raising a family, and achieving the respect of other men socially have been largely beyond reach. Only sexual and physical prowess stands between them and a feeling of emasculation. When the fact of imprisonment, and the emptiness of prison life, knock from under them whatever props to their masculinity they may have had, they became almost totally dependent for self-esteem upon an assertion of their sexual and physical potency.

In sum, sexual assaults, as opposed to consensual homosexuality, are not primarily caused by sexual deprivation. They are expressions of anger and aggression prompted by the same basic frustrations that exist in the community, and which very probably were significant factors in producing the rapes, robberies, and other violent offenses for which the bulk of the aggressors were convicted. These frustrations can be summarized as an inability to achieve masculine identification and pride through avenues other than sex. When these frustrations are intensified by imprisonment, and superimposed upon hostility between the races and a simplistic view of all sex as an act of aggression and subjugation, then the result is assaults on members of the same sex.

Assuming that this analysis is valid, then the principal psychological causes of sexual assaults in the Philadelphia prison system are deeply rooted in the community—in that millions of American men, throughout their lives, are deprived of any effective way of achieving masculine self-identification through avenues other than physical aggression and sex. They belong to a class of men who rarely have meaningful work, successful families, or opportunities for constructive emotional expression and individual creativity. Therefore, although sexual assaults within a prison system may be controlled by intensive supervision and effective programing, the pathology at the root of sexual assaults will not be eliminated until fundamental changes are made in the outside community.