

I.A. 1000  
69

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

65

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: The following information was obtained during an interview with three members of the Citizens Complaint Bureau of the Detroit Police Department. The interviewees were Inspector Heffernan, who heads the Bureau, Lieutenant Owens, who is the number two man of the Bureau, and Reginald Turner, a Negro patrolman and one of the investigators.

The Citizens Complaint Bureau was established within the Detroit Police Department in May, 1961. All of its members are police officers. The Chief of the Bureau is Inspector Heffernan, white. The number two man is Lieutenant <sup>William</sup> John Owens, a white, and the number three man is Sergeant Jason, a Negro. There are 15 patrolman investigators, seven of whom are white, eight of whom are Negro. The present size of the Bureau staff represents an increase of four or five people over the pre-July disorder.

IRI-M

Bureau Staff. The Bureau is primarily an investigatory body, but it also has some small public relations functions. Its primary function is to investigate complaints of police misconduct brought by individuals or sent to the mayor or police commissioner, or referred to the Bureau by numerous other agencies, such as the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the NAACP, the Urban League, or any other body. In its public relations function, the members of the Bureau spend a good bit of time talking to community groups and participating in meetings at the various precinct houses around the city. We were ~~for~~

IRI-M POLICE [REDACTED] COMPLAINT PROCEDURE  
INTER. CITIZENS COMPLAINT BUREAU

that the public relations function has become significant only in the last year or so in terms of the amount of time devoted to that aspect of the Bureau's operations.

When a complaint is received in the Bureau it is assigned by one of the supervisory persons to one of the investigators who then has primary responsibility for gathering all of the facts concerning that particular complaint. In response to questions, we were advised that all of the investigators have at least ten years of experience on the police force.

In addition to his own time and talents, the investigator assigned to a particular case can call upon other aspects of the police apparatus to assist him. When the investigation is completed an objective report of all the facts is presented to the supervisory personnel within the Bureau without any recommendation as to what sort of conclusion should be reached, ~~based upon the investigation,~~ and never any recommendation as to what sanction should be imposed should a finding of misconduct be made. It is the function of the three supervisory personnel to arrive at certain conclusions based upon the factual data presented by the investigator. Once these conclusions have been made, the file is then transmitted to the Commissioner of Police, to whom the members of the Citizens Complaint Bureau report directly. If the conclusions of the supervisory personnel ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> that the accused officer is guilty of misconduct, the file is transmitted to the Commissioner ~~the~~ may contain a recommendation that action be taken. However, it is not the practice to recommend to the



C-11

Commissioner what sort of action should be taken.

The question of the degree of the sanction, or whether or not any sanction will be imposed at all is left solely to the Commissioner of Police.

Each of the interviewees admitted that in many instances they felt that the penalties for police misconduct <sup>was</sup> ~~was not as~~ stringent as <sup>they</sup> it ought to be. Patrolman Turner told us that in one case handled by him, he had taken up the matter of the sanction imposed with his superior officers, because he felt that the penalty did not fit the degree of misconduct. When asked what kind of sanctions were generally imposed, we were told by the interviewees that the matter may be disposed of <sup>by</sup> with a letter of apology to the complainant, or a letter of reprimand which would go into the file of the miscreant officer, or transfer out of a particular precinct into another or in very severe cases, suspension and discharge were possibilities. However, none of the interviewees could recall many cases in which the sanction was suspension and/or discharge. We were told that only about ten percent of the complaints filed resulted in a finding of police misconduct. The bulk of the complaints also involved charges of verbal abuse rather than physical abuse. In such cases, we were told, that it's quite often a matter of the word of the complainant against that of the officer. In such cases, it is apparently the feeling of the Bureau that there is an irreconcilable conflict of ~~testimony~~ positions. This results in <sup>no</sup> a finding in favor of the accused officer; ~~one way or the other~~ and of course the officer is not punished.

IA-M

IA-M

IA-M - POLICE COMPLAINT PROCEDURE -  
SANCTIONS [REDACTED] LENIENT

CLAIMS  
I-8-A POLICE MALPRACTICE  
1070 CASES MISCONDUCT  
VERBAL NOT PHYS. ABUSE

[REDACTED]

612

COMPLAINT  
- 4 -  
I-1-M POLICE PROCEDURE BLACK COMM. UNAWARE OF COMPLAINT BUREAU

When asked what the black community opinion was of the Bureau, Patrolman Turner told us that probably 80 percent of the people in the black community had never heard of the Bureau. Of those who ~~were~~ <sup>are</sup> aware of its existence, he felt that they <sup>are</sup> were generally distrustful of its credibility because it is an integral part of the police department. We were told that there had been upward of 50 complaints of police brutality filed in the aftermath of the July disorders.

This had necessitated an increase in the work load of the investigatory staff and also the addition of some more investigators.

Prior to the July disorders, we were told that each investigator carried one or two investigations <sup>per</sup> ~~for~~ a month. This has increased with increased the/number of complaints growing out of the July disorder. Only today are they starting to clear up some of the riot related complaints.

We were told that the Bureau and the Commissioner is <sup>is</sup> aware of the pressures under which the officers were working during the July disorders and that probably many of the sanctions imposed for riot related misconduct would be lenient except in extreme cases such as the Algiers incident. (This, by the way, was not investigated by the Bureau but was handled by Homicide Bureau.) We were told that it would probably be impossible to clear up many of the complaints growing out of the riot disorder, because of the fact that there was no way ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> which to identify the police officers involved, since the complainants <sup>were unavailable</sup> did not have badge numbers. The police wore no badges during most of the riot. Nor could they <sup>be identified</sup> identify a particular squad car by number or by license plate since both numbers and license plates were taped

I-1-M POLICE - [REDACTED] CLAIMS OF MALPRACTICE

50 AFTER RIOT

I-8-A POLICE CLAIMS OF MALPRACTICE - IMPOSSIBLE TO CLEAR RIOT ONES

613

- 5 -

over during much of the disorder.

When asked about this policy of the removal of badges, we were told that this was done because the identifying insignia of the police officer made the officers easy prey for snipers. The leadership of the Bureau said that it recognized the definite need to change the image of the police force in the Negro community. They expressed hope for a change in the recruitment policies of the department with the retirement of some of the old line recruiting officers, and their replacement by younger people and some additional Negro recruiting officers.

I-I-D POLICE-COMM. RELATIONS  
IMAGE CHANGE NEEDED

Inspector Heffernan stated that he thought the image of the Bureau of the police department was changing somewhat since there had recently been two high level promotions of Negro officers, and that the number of officers had increased over the last two or three years from approximately 130 to 234. Each of the interviewees admitted that the July disorder had resulted in a serious setback in relations between the police and the community. Inspector Heffernan particularly noted that the attendance at meetings between the precinct officers, members of his Bureau, and community persons in the precinct houses, had declined after the riot and were only at present starting to pick up again.

Interviewer's Evaluation. The appointment for the interview discussed above was made with Patrolman Reginald Turner, for the purpose of talking to him alone. However, when members of the team arrived at the offices of the Citizens Complaint Bureau,

I-I-D POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS  
RIOT SET BACK

C-14

Patrolman Turner felt compelled, I think, to introduce us to his superior officers. When we then moved into a separate room for an interview, Inspector Heffernan and Lieutenant Owens, both of whom are white, accompanied us into the room. For the first 15 or 20 minutes of the interview Lieutenant Owens answered most of the questions and did most of the talking. Whenever he had occasion to leave the room or Inspector Heffernan had occasion to leave the room, one always stayed behind so that we never had an opportunity to talk to Patrolman Turner as a Negro police officer, and ascertain what his view of the operation of the Citizens Complaint Bureau was.

There seemed to be an obvious effort to prevent Patrolman Turner from speaking to us in privacy, even though Lieutenant Owens and Inspector Heffernan had been interviewed at an earlier time during the same day by other members of the Detroit team. They insisted on sitting in on the later interview which included Patrolman Turner. It is the opinion of the interviewers that the Citizens Complaint Bureau is not very effective. Their findings of misconduct in only ten percent of the cases filed differs drastically from what the people in the community view as the extent of police brutality in that community. In addition, the Citizens Complaint Bureau finds itself in the anomalous position of not being trusted by the black community and also not being trusted by the Detroit Police Officers Association. While we were in town, there appeared in the newspaper some comment regarding the fact that the Detroit

~~J-I-M POLICE COMPLAINT PROCEDURE~~  
CITIZENS COMPLAINT BUREAU NOT TRUSTED BY COMM, OR POLICE

C-15

Police Officers Association was unhappy with the Citizens Complaint Bureau because the Bureau was sharing its findings with the Department of Justice, the FBI, and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission.

Patrolman Turner later telephoned a member of the team and stated that the picture was not quite as rosy as painted in the afternoon interview. He stated that contrasted to the two black officers who had recently been promoted there were dozens like himself who had been on the force for ten years or more and were still patrolmen. He has taken and passed the written exam for promotion but has never been promoted because his superior officers have not given him good performance scores. He stated that discrimination definitely exists within the Detroit Police Department.

II-E POLICE'S VIEW OF  
DISCRIMINATORY PE EMPLOYMENT

I.A. 10<sup>02</sup>  
C-16

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: (Ursu)+ Dobranski  
Subject: Interview with Inspector Carl Hefferman, Lt. William Owen  
and Sgt. Henry Jason of D.P.D.'s Citizen Complaint Bureau

This unit of the Detroit Police Department is vested with the duty of receiving and investigating complaints against police officers. Upon conclusion of each investigation, a report is filed directly with the commissioner. The bureau had formerly sent its report "up through the career officer administrators", and by the time it reached the commissioner, there was little left of its recommendations. Girardin was responsible for the change in procedure.

This bureau was described as the most integrated unit in the Detroit Police Department with nearly a 50-50 split in white and non-white officers. Hefferman and Owen are white and Jason is a Negro. They are the top permanent officers in the bureau, and a Negro inspector, George Harge, was assigned there for temporary duty after the riot. Altogether, there are 19 officers assigned to the bureau. In 1966, 119 complaints were received.

Attached to this report are copies of the bureau's report for <sup>1964-date,</sup> for 1966 and <sup>for</sup> the first nine months of 1967. The significance of the letter codes for disposition are as follows:

- (1) U - Unfounded: Allegation is false and not factual.
- (2) E - Exonerated: Incident complained of occurred, but was lawful and proper.

(3) N.S. - Not Sustained: Insufficient evidence either to

POLICE COMPLAINT PROCEDURE  
THE CITIZENS COMPLAINT BUREAU

(SD-SD N.-W.)

prove or disapprove the allegation.

(4) S - Sustained: The allegation is supported by sufficient evidence.

(5) P.S. - Partial Substantiation: Allegation and/or other violation is evidenced by the investigation.

The 1967 report lists sixty-one complaints against the Detroit Police Department relating to riot-connected incidents, and these cases are still open. (A breakdown of the nature of these complaints was not readily available. However, I have attached a compilation of complaints received and prepared by Congressman John Conyer's Detroit office, which does indicate the type of abuse allegedly suffered by the complainants.

The <sup>interviewees</sup> interviewed said that the bureau has a good working relationship with the older Civil Rights groups. Many citizens' complaints are directed to the bureau by the NAACP, ACLU, and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission (MCRC). The latter organization has a working agreement with the bureau, a copy of which is attached hereto.

Although the bureau purports not to be a "civil rights" group, it was estimated that only 5% of the total complaints received are filed by whites. Prior to the riot, the vast bulk of complaints filed by Negroes related to verbal abuse and discourtesy, and there were very few incidents of physical abuse.

All three of the officers expressed concern over a lack of support for the bureau's work on the part of the career officers

V-I-M POLICE COMPLAINT PROCEDURE  
CITIZENS BUREAU GOOD RELATIONS W/ CIVIL RTS. GROUPS  
V-I-M POLICE COMPLAINT PROCEDURE, CITIZENS BOARD  
5% COMPLAINTS BY WIS



from patrolmen to "third floor" administrators. The "Blue Curtain" falls in front of the Citizen Complaint Bureau in the same manner as it would for a civilian review board. The interviewees were especially dismayed over the failure of the top career administrators to support the community relations aspect of the bureau's responsibilities. Their request for a special section of officers to devote full-time efforts in this area has fallen<sup>m</sup> on deaf ears. The bureau cannot do an ~~and~~ adequate job in both areas with the small resources made available to it.

Lt. Owen believes that community relations could be improved if someone would teach basic law and enforcement to citizens in the schools. People often are ignorant of what police may legitimately do, and this causes unneeded friction. More police officers should be available for visits to the schools.

All the interviewees requested that we emphasize the importance of the bureau's work to overcome the negative feelings of top police administrators.

Evaluation: Either Inspector Hefferman or Lt. Owen would be an effective spokesman for the bureau. They are willing to be critical of the top brass.

✓ JHM POLICE (POWER STRUCTURE) COMPLAINT PROCEDURES  
"BLUE CURTAIN" DIVIDES ADMIN. FROM BOARD

8 I.C. 13

B-37

(G) INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: Interview with Dr. Brusant, A Negro Psychologist who is extremely militant

As a professional Dr. Brusant feels that it is his duty to advise the black man to not cooperate with futile aids such as studies and research projects which this team is on. He notes that more dollars are spent in this fashion than to remedy the very causes which create the study, particularly he feels the Negro has always been victimized by this type tactic. It's the white man who needs the study and the Negro who needs the remedy. The situation will remain that way if more emphasis is placed on the study than on the remedy.

He illuminates any deep sense of responsibility or pessimism toward his profession due to the characteristic research time which is spent. He of course states that when he truly desires to grant aid to a person, he in turn looks not too deeply into the cause but to the aid which is needed. His militancy is directed toward the black man consolidation into a power or class group or core. To bring pressure against the society which we live in, he hopes that a strong such core will eventually control more of the elements of the Negro ghetto ~~and he~~ agrees that armament is necessary for the self-protection of the black man. In Detroit he feels there will be a violent upheaval in the near future and wishes dearly that a remedy or a preventive even ~~internal,~~ temporary or <sup>one</sup> such authorization is placed into effect to prevent such.

✓  
II-7-E RACE RELATIONS, N. VIEW OF: FUTURE UPHEAVAL

G

I.A. 13  
C-19

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: John J. Ursu  
Subject: Interview with Miss Janet Cooper, Case Supervisor, Compliance Division, Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Michigan, Detroit

The writer was referred to Miss Cooper for statistics relating to complaints filed with MCRC against members of the Detroit Police Department. Miss Cooper stated that she noticed a drop in the number of complaints filed by Negroes against the police in the winter and spring before the riot. Also, in prior years (summers), some organization would launch a protest drive against the police, but this had not happened this year.

Miss Cooper gave the following statistics:

(1) Since February 1964 (and to October 12, 1967), 240 complaints were filed against the Detroit Police Department.

(2) In the same period, eleven have been lodged against the Grand Rapids police.

(3) MCRC has received 24 riot-connected complaints against Detroit police.

(4) No complaints growing out of the riot have been filed against Grand Rapids police.

(Cooper Ex. A)

(5) See the attached document for state-wide statistics on all complaints up to August 31, 1967. A total of 420 complaints have been filed against all law enforcement agencies.

(6) Of all the complaints filed against the Detroit Police

ET-8-A ALIENATION : DROP IN, WINTER & SPRING '67.  
POLICE MALPRACTICE CLAIMS

Department, Miss Cooper said that at a minimum there have been 56 dismissals for lack of evidence, 37 adjustments and five have been withdrawn.

Miss Cooper estimated that 30 percent of total D.P.D. complaints involved physical punishment, but that most of those arose at the beginning of the MCRC. An overwhelming percentage of present complaints grow out of the "stop and frisk" practice, and that non-physical abuse is the major grievance.

If an investigation shows that there is merit in a given complaint, CRC will try to "adjust" it. This procedure is like a consent settlement where the plaintiff is, if possible, made whole. The police department has sent official letters of apology, paid medical or other expenses, and modified existing police procedures to make them conform with practices which CRC believes to be more consistent with civil rights. However, a cease and desist order has never been issued against a Detroit policeman and a formal hearing has never been held.

Evaluation. I do not believe Miss Cooper can provide anything other than the statistics recorded above. Hence, I see no need to call her.

I.A. 3  
C-21

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: Report on an interview held with Judge George Crockett of  
the Recorder's Court

Judge Crockett stated that Recorder's Court in the city of Detroit is rather unique in that it has jurisdiction of every criminal offense from minor traffic violations to ~~exaggerated~~ felonies. There are 13 judges and they handle an average caseload of 30,000 per year. This, of course, creates a very congested docket.

After <sup>the</sup> a brief description of the makeup of Recorder's Court, Judge Crockett gave us the following chronology of the administration of justice during the riot period. He stated that Recorder's Court generally holds Sunday sessions beginning at noon with one judge on duty. On July 23 Judge Leonard had the session starting at noon. By 3 o'clock or so on Sunday afternoon the first groups of arrestees were being brought in. Judge Leonard quickly realized that he would be overwhelmed and he called Judge Brennan, who is the executive judge of Recorder's Court. Judge Brennan came down and opened another court and a few hours later a third judge, Judge Columbo, was called in. These three judges managed to keep the Court functioning until the late hours of Sunday night when Court was closed. At 9 o'clock on Monday morning when the other judges came in, a meeting was held at which time the judges who had not been there on Sunday were given an informal briefing by Judge Brennan. He advised them that the judges in attendance on Sunday had followed a high

I-6 JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF: 13 JUDGES, 30,000 CASES ANNUALLY ✓

I-6 JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF: COURT SCHEDULE (RIOT) ✓

G-22

bail policy as a means of keeping rioters off the street. Judge Crockett termed this an arbitrary and informal decision in that no vote was taken nor was there any agreement sought or made at the time of the Monday <sup>meeting</sup> ~~morning~~. Also at that meeting the judges were broken<sup>down</sup> into panels of three, each panel to work a six-hour shift thereby keeping the court open on a 24-hour basis. On Monday the arrest and booking process began to break down because of insufficient court staff, and cumbersome procedures and complex paperwork problems. By late Monday detention facilities were already starting to be overtaxed and people who were brought in buses to the Court for booking were kept sitting on buses throughout the night and most of the following day. Judge Crockett termed the sanitary conditions deplorable. He mentioned that one portable latrine had been brought near the courthouse to serve six busloads of men and women. He also stated that men and women were crowded in together in detention facilities and that no privacy of any sort was afforded.

It is his feeling that the Court has to bear part of the responsibility for the deplorable conditions of the detention facilities because the high bail policy was directly responsible for much of the <sup>us</sup> overcrowding. He advised/that it was his opinion from the outset that there was no possible justification for setting bonds at \$10,000, \$15,000 or \$25,000 for looting, an offense which carries a maximum penalty of 90 days in jail. He states that he never followed the policy of high bail.

<sup>for this</sup>  
~~He advised that~~ he was criticized by many people because he started releasing arrestees on personal recognizance or at most when

IG-6 - JUSTICE, ADMIN: COURT RUN DOWN MON, ✓

IG-6 - JUSTICE, ADMIN: HIGH DURING RIOT ✓  
BAIL POLICY

they pleaded guilty to some offense he would sentence them to the amount of time they had already spent on "those damn buses." He pointed out to us that Michigan statutory law requires certain factors to be considered in the setting of bail. This was not done in the cases of people arrested during the July disorders. It is his opinion that the high bail policy was not only violative of the law in the way in which it was pursued but also showed a "complete disregard for the function of bail." He also stated that the setting of high bail made a mockery of the presumption of innocence which is supposed to prevail in our courts of criminal law. He criticizes the Detroit Bar Association for going along with the high bail policy. He commends the National Lawyers Guild and the American Civil Liberties Union which raised questions about the policy from the outset.

He stated that through a panel of 400 volunteer lawyers provided by the Detroit Bar Association and the efforts of three OEO funded legal services operations within Wayne County, every person who wanted a lawyer at the time of his arraignment was afforded one.

He made special note of the fact that the neighborhood legal service centers lawyers had done an excellent job. We were advised that on Tuesday the executive judge, Judge Brennan, circularized a letter to all of the judges of Recorder's Court suggesting that they follow the policy of allowing all prisoners to be represented by a neighborhood legal service attorney if the prisoner wished. Judge Crockett states that he had followed this policy from the time <sup>that</sup> his first session on the bench started on Monday.



G-24

- 4 -

In explaining the role of the executive judge, Judge Crockett stated that he (the executive judge) acts as a spokesman for the Court but has no authority to fix policy without first submitting same to a meeting of all judges of Recorder's Court.

On Wednesday Judge Crockett wrote to Judge Brennan, with a copy going to the 11 other judges, denouncing the setting of high bails and pointing out that the practice was in violation of the constitutional rights of the individuals and Article VIII of the Michigan Constitution.

Judge Crockett stated that another aspect of the high bail policy operated as follows: if any prisoner was able to raise the bail or obtain a bond in the amount of the bail, special <sup>attention</sup> interest was given to him. Instruction was given by the executive judge to the sheriff and bond clerk that they were not to accept bond or release a prisoner but to remand the case to the judge who handled it for a review before final decision was made as to whether or not the prisoner should be released. ~~and the bond accepted.~~ When Judge Crockett became aware of this practice he read the riot act to the bond clerk and instructed the clerk to release all prisoners who had been able to raise bond in the amount set by him without further <sup>reference to</sup> ~~review~~ by him. Two or three of the other judges did likewise.

By late Wednesday, Judge Crockett stated, he noticed a retreat by some of the other judges from the high bail policy but the amounts being set as bail were still excessive, in his opinion. <sup>By</sup> Thursday we were advised that the judicial system was completely inundated, as arrests by that time numbered in the thousands. There were rumblings in the

IG-6 JUSTICE ADMIN. OF BAIL HIGH BAIL UNCONSTIT. ✓

IG-6 JUSTICE ADMIN. OF SYSTEM INUNDATED (THURSDAY) ✓  
27 JULY

625

Negro community about the treatment of Negro prisoners. Many persons were completely unaccounted for and physical conditions became worse. By this time prisoners were detained at several facilities all over the state of Michigan and in all sorts of places which were not designed to serve as houses of detention for prisoners. By Friday the space problem had become <sup>extremely</sup> critical. The prosecutor by this time was so distressed that he wanted to be given the authority to release prisoners on his own investigation without referring the matter to the Court for a setting of bail. Judge Crockett stated that it was his opinion that the prosecutor was the father of the high bail policy and he had so stated to the prosecutor in a meeting with him. He told the prosecutor that in his opinion the high bail policy was being used primarily because most of the prisoners were Negro and that if that were not the reasons, it certainly would be viewed as the reason in the black community.

On Friday the prosecutor stated that he had had time to obtain fingerprint checks on many of the people who were arrested during the early stages of the disorder, and it was as to these people that he wanted to be given authority to release, ~~them~~ <sup>whom</sup> without further reference to the Court, that if he would release these people on fingerprint checks had shown they had no prior records. It was the opinion of Judge Crockett that this sort of authority was not in keeping with the prosecutor's function and he opposed the prosecutor's request. However, the condition of prison facilities and a shortage of space was so critical on Friday that a plan was under way to transform the fairgrounds into a large "concentration camp." A meeting of all judges of Recorder's Court

I-6 JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF SCATTERED  
 I-6 " " " UNACCOUNTED FOR PRISONERS ✓  
 I-6 " " " SPACE PROBLEM ✓  
 I-6 " " " CONCENTRATION CAMP" ✓

G-26

was convened and Governor Romney, Mayor Cavanaugh and Cyrus Vance attended. It was at this meeting that the judges were advised that Governor Romney was preparing a proclamation to convert the state fairgrounds into a detention facility. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss confinement facilities and the administration of justice. Also during this meeting the plan for giving the prosecutor authority to release prisoners without reference to Court was discussed. Some judges apparently were willing to go along with that but Judge Crockett and several others raised strenuous objections. The prosecutor had said earlier that if the Court would not go along with him on that, he would get the Governor to issue a proclamation giving him that authority. <sup>after</sup> However, ~~xxxxxx~~ discussion in the course of this meeting, the Court ~~felt~~ <sup>decided</sup> that the Governor had no authority to give the prosecutor release power. <sup>However,</sup> ~~but that~~ the Court assured Governor Romney, Mayor Cavanaugh and Cyrus Vance that they would release 1,000 prisoners by the following day and there would be no necessity of using the state fairground as a detention facility. This represented the first breakthrough in getting prisoners released from the various places in which they were being detained.

Judge Crockett also advised us that it is his opinion that cases were assigned discriminatorily, to wit, he felt that many of the serious cases were not assigned to him because it was known in the police department that he was not following the high bail policy. He could recall only one case coming before him during that entire week in which the prisoner was accused of being in possession of a firearm and only one or two cases in which the prisoner was accused of being involved in the

IG6 JUSTICE ADMIN. OF

MOST CASES CORFEW  
24-29 JULY ✓

G-27

riot. Almost all of the cases which came before him during that week involved curfew violations. In this regard he pointed out that the job of assigning cases had been taken over by the police department in the course of that particular week. Other sorts of cases which were not assigned to Judge Crockett included those where charges of police brutality had been made, sniping cases, arson cases and any other sort of serious offense. As an example of this sort of assignment system, Judge Crockett told us that one morning when his session was about to start his bailiff went to pick up some cases from the assignment clerk. The clerk advised Judge Crockett's bailiff that he had no cases at that time to assign to Judge Crockett, ~~and~~ when the bailiff noticed that there was a stack of files sitting there he <sup>advised</sup> ~~said to~~ the assignment clerk that he would take those and give them to Judge Crockett, <sup>he</sup> ~~but~~ was told that those cases were not for Judge Crockett and that they would make up a separate batch for him and would send them along.

In commenting on police brutality both prior to and during the disorders, Judge Crockett stated that the instances of physical brutality had declined in the last two or three years but that there was very obviously a great deal of police brutality during the disturbance in July. It was his opinion that the brutality was not so much because police officers were anti-Negro but simply that they were anti-citizen. He stated that they would crack the head of a white man as readily as they would that of a Negro.

INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION

Judge George Crockett is a Negro in his last 40's or early 50's.

✓ I-6 JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF (RIOT) ~~CHARGES~~ CHARGES OTHER THAN SNIPING  
 ✓ II-6-D RIOT, N. CONCEPT OF ~~ANTI-CITIZEN~~ POLICE ANTI-CITIZEN

678

an  
He is/extremely articulate man and very knowledgeable about what goes on in Detroit. He has been a candidate, previous to being elected a judge, for City Council and I think for School Board. If any investigation is to be made into the administration of justice during the Detroit disorder, it will be absolutely essential to call Judge Crockett as a witness. I think that he could provide the Commission with valuable information as to what occurred during that hectic week in Recorder's Court.

I. B. 2  
629

3  
INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dobranski & *Ullmer*

Subject: Interview with Walker Cisler, Chairman of the Board, Detroit Edison Company on October 11, 1967 in Detroit, Michigan

Mr. Cisler has been one of the most active civic leaders in the Detroit area for the past twenty years. He is a member of numerous national and local committees, including the Business Advisory Council of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Detroit Model Cities Program, and the Detroit Urban League.

Mr. Cisler began the interview by stating that it was not right that Detroit should have <sup>had</sup> a riot <sup>in Detroit</sup>. It was one of the most progressive cities in the country <sup>in</sup> ~~in terms of its~~ race relations ~~programs~~. He also denied that the riots that took place in July, <sup>with</sup> of 1967 were race riots. *He pointed out that looting was carried on by both blacks and whites, much of the looting, he said, was integrated, and a Mardi Gras-like carnival spirit pervaded the whole atmosphere.*

Mr. Cisler had nothing but praise ~~and good words for the actions~~ <sup>for</sup> of the National Guard and the police department in their handling of the disturbances. He <sup>believes</sup> ~~thinks~~ Detroit has one of the best police forces in the country.

Mr. Cisler <sup>is of the opinion</sup> ~~believes~~ that one of the major problems in the Detroit area is <sup>unemployment</sup> ~~the~~ jobs. Unemployment rate is <sup>twice as high</sup> ~~two~~ higher among the Negroes than it is among the whites. Prior to the riots, <sup>according to Cisler,</sup> ~~there~~ <sup>was</sup> no concerted action on the part of the business community <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ alleviate <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ unemployment problem <sup>was being taken</sup>.

IF-3 BUSINESS: NO ATTEMPT TO END N. UNEMPLOYMENT

In discussing reasons for the riot that occurred in Detroit, Mr. Cisler pointed to the break down of the moral fiber of the country, <sup>the growing</sup> increasing disrespect for law and order, and an <sup>increasing</sup> increasing militancy of the younger population.

Mr. Cisler ~~pointed out~~ <sup>was, has been</sup> that he remained in the Detroit Edison building throughout the ~~entire~~ <sup>period</sup> time of the riot so that he could properly be called an eye witness to the disturbances. He also ~~said~~ <sup>pointed out</sup> that the Detroit Edison Company was able to get its crews out ~~as~~ <sup>a day or so after</sup> the riot began <sup>the riot began</sup> quickly ~~as possible~~. No man was forced to go out and ~~no~~ <sup>no</sup> man was permitted to go out until Mr. Cisler himself ~~had~~ made a survey of the area, <sup>and no individual was forced to go out if he did not ~~so~~ desire to do so.</sup>

In conclusion, Mr. Cisler said that such disturbances cannot be permitted happen to Detroit again. ~~They must not happen~~ "It would not be right." <sup>is the</sup> His ~~great~~ <sup>is the</sup> hope ~~is the~~ New Detroit Committee, of which he is a member, <sup>offer the greatest hope for the future.</sup> The unique thing about this committee, <sup>Says Mr. Cisler</sup> Mr. Cisler says, is that it also has representation from the militant elements of the Negro community. <sup>Does not believe</sup> Mr. Cisler ~~said~~ the problems are not going to be solved right away. He also pointed out that no matter how enlightened the white business leaders are, <sup>there must be</sup> they ~~must get~~ a response from the other side before any effective measures can be taken. "All the good intentions in the world will be no good," said Mr. Cisler, <sup>if</sup> if the other side does not respond."

Mr. Cisler ~~also~~ turned over to us a great deal of literature including an inventory of all federal programs <sup>+ services available to the</sup> now in the Detroit area, <sup>(Exhibit A attached hereto)</sup> and <sup>citizens of Detroit,</sup> inventory of all city programs. He pointed out that a third

6-E-III-RIOT, COMM. CONCEPT OF  
BREAK DOWN LAW & ORDER



inventory that of state programs operating in the city of Detroit

area is now being prepared. He also gave to us a two volume set of

an urban study done by Constantinos <sup>Doxiadis</sup> Doxiadis, a noted Greek urban

architect, which was ~~completed and funded through the efforts of the~~ <sup>by</sup>

Detroit Edison Company (attached hereto as Exhibit B.) He also

attached or exhibits are a list of the members of the

New Detroit Committee ~~CE~~ and a list of its ~~CE~~ subcommittee

+ task force members (Exhibit C) and pamphlet entitled

"Detroit in Perspective, a condensed comparison report of the

financial ~~report~~ affairs of Detroit for a 5 year period ending

in 1965 (Exhibit D)

### Evaluation:

Although Mr. Carter is genuinely concerned with the social  
 problems facing the country today and has given tremendous amounts  
 of time + money, he has no real grasp or awareness of what the  
 real problems + causes are. The emphasis on the "breakdown in  
 the moral fiber of the country" best illustrates ~~one~~ their point.

I.B.9  
C-32

6

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Wilson

FROM: (Dobranski and Ursu)

SUBJECT: Interview with Phillip Colesta, Director of the University of Detroit Law School, Urban Law Project. Interviewed on October 12, 1967 in Detroit, Michigan.

*Mr. Colesta explained that in*  
The past two years the Urban Law Project has received funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity. It was the first program funded in Michigan by OEO. Along with the mobilization of youth program in New York City, and the California Rural Legal Services Organization in California, Detroit's Urban Law Project is one of the most intimately involved with the problems of the poor. It tries to hit all phases of legal services. "Initially, it was thought that it would be concerned only with the academic aspect of legal services. The program, however, has <sup>since the</sup> changed <sup>the</sup> emphasis <sup>since</sup>. <sup>Mr.</sup> Colesta pointed out that he had been a practicing lawyer extensively engaged in Civil Rights work. For example, he represented CORE. He originally came in as a consultant to the Urban Law <sup>project</sup> Project, and then became <sup>the</sup> director. He <sup>apparently</sup> changed the emphasis from a purely academic one to a more activist role. "The project was originally funded to do four things. The first was to get involved with the community <sup>through</sup> educating them as to their rights and informing them what the law could do for them." The second was curriculum development. In connection with this, the Urban Law Project had developed new courses for the University of Detroit Law School. As examples, Mr. Colesta cited <sup>a course</sup>

~~course~~ in welfare law, a ~~course~~ in landlord-tenant law, a ~~course~~ in <sup>and</sup> employee rights (- not only his rights as against his employer, but ~~also~~ <sup>also</sup> concerned with his relationship with his <sup>follow</sup> other employees, and ~~to the~~ <sup>and the</sup> union, ~~also to the~~ federal and state government)--. These courses, said Mr. Colesta, are full <sup>pledged</sup> ~~pledged~~ courses and not just seminars.

He further stated that there has been no problem with student enrollment in these courses. Approximately fifteen to twenty-five students have signed up for each of these courses. This may not seem to be a large number, but <sup>he pointed out that</sup> ~~you must remember that~~ the school is <sup>small</sup> ~~small~~. In connection with curriculum development, the project has also been responsible for ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>the focus of</sup> altering some of the traditional courses, especially those concerned with Creditors' Rights and <sup>Torts</sup> ~~courts~~.

The third concern of the Urban Law <sup>Project</sup> was to develop a research program. The <sup>purpose of the</sup> ~~research~~ was to enable ~~the~~ project not only to prepare test cases before the court, but also to prepare <sup>proposed</sup> ~~legislation~~. <sup>To illustrate:</sup> Last February ~~in this connection~~ the ~~Project~~ sponsored a state-wide conference to consider the problems of public housing, open housing, ~~and~~ <sup>Attendance</sup> landlord-tenant relations. ~~Attending~~ were social workers, community action people, policemen and lawyers from all over the state. The ~~Project~~ was able to get both the mayor of Detroit and the Lt. Governor of the State to come in and speak to the <sup>delegator -</sup> ~~conference~~. Out of this conference was formed a Law and Housing Committee consisting of approximately 800 members. This committee has been responsible for the drafting of many bills relating to the housing field. Many of <sup>the proposals</sup> ~~them~~ have received a great deal of bi-partisan support. One of the bills ~~actually was reported out of committee.~~ - The Tenants' Right Bill was reported out of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>of the state</sup> ~~Judiciary committee~~ <sup>legislation</sup>.

~~The~~ <sup>Mr. Colesta was</sup> ~~project~~ people were very surprised because <sup>the bill</sup> it was a radical bill in ~~the same that it contemplated~~ terms of a complete change of the law. ~~Before the full legislature~~ <sup>when it was placed before the entire legislature,</sup> the bill was barely defeated. It received 45 favorable votes out of a total membership of 110, ~~not all of which the legislators voted.~~

~~The~~ <sup>Law + Housing</sup> Committee has also been working very closely with the New Detroit Committee. <sup>is presently staffed by</sup> The Urban Law Project, which ~~now~~ <sup>has</sup> seven lawyers and one social worker community organizer, <sup>recently</sup> ~~has also~~ <sup>telephone</sup> tackled the major utilities <sup>before the</sup> for the Michigan Public Utility Commission, on behalf of ADC mothers. <sup>telephone company was</sup> The ~~major utilities~~ were forcing ADC mothers to put down a larger deposit for <sup>telephones</sup> ~~utilities~~ <sup>its</sup> than other customers because they were receiving ADC benefits. The company's argument was that a deposit <sup>was</sup> necessary because the ADC mothers would ~~buy~~ have installed such luxuries as princess' phones, etc. which they really didn't need. <sup>The</sup> Company ignored the fact, however, that these women were high pressured into installing these extras by the telephone company's sales personnel. The <sup>Project</sup> also discovered that the company did not put out any brochure describing the services available to the customer. <sup>The report</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>of all this was that the Project persuaded</sup> were able to persuade the telephone company to put out such a brochure of the services available <sup>to the customer</sup> and the cost of each.

The Urban Law Project has also handled problems resulting from urban renewal. Mr. Colesta says they have all but stopped urban renewal in <sup>HANTRACK</sup> ~~Hantr~~ack. Hantr<sup>m</sup>ack has very poor relocation policies. It has no low cost housing <sup>and</sup> ~~or~~ <sup>put</sup> does ~~it~~ try to insure adequate treatment for Negroes. Mr. Colesta said <sup>he is</sup> they ~~are~~ also hopeful that <sup>the Project</sup> they will

be able to change the urban renewal plans of the city of Detroit.  
~~He said~~ <sup>Already</sup> the project <sup>has succeeded in</sup> was ~~responsible for~~ substantially altering the city's methods of evicting tenants in public housing. An administrative procedure has been ~~set up~~ <sup>instituted</sup> and tenants can't just be removed. The tenant must be given the opportunity to be informed of why he is being evicted and an opportunity to say why he shouldn't ~~be~~ <sup>not</sup> be. He also has the right to <sup>appear with</sup> ~~obtain~~ legal <sup>counsel</sup> ~~assistance~~ before the agency. For additional information on this point, Mr. Colesta referred us to an August 10, 1967 column of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak <sup>appearing</sup> in the Detroit News.

The fourth thing the Urban Law Project was set up to do was to provide a clinic where ~~students~~ law students, could handle indigent cases under the supervision of ~~two~~ lawyers. Since November ~~of~~ 1965, the project has handled ~~a caseload of~~ <sup>cases</sup> over 2,800. Under Michigan law it is permissible for <sup>law</sup> students to handle certain types of cases under the supervision of an attorney.

The Urban Law Project has received some cooperation from the <sup>'Blue Stacking'</sup> ~~'Blue Stacking'~~ lawyers. Mr. Colesta was referring to such organizations as the Detroit Bar Association and the Michigan State Bar. Most of <sup>criticisms of the Project</sup> ~~their~~ problems comes from individual lawyers. Usually <sup>they are</sup> attorneys who represent <sup>of</sup> the other side in cases handled by the Urban Project lawyers. Their major criticism is not that the Urban Law Project lawyers are taking business from them, but that <sup>the project won</sup> they lost <sup>the</sup> case.

The <sup>also</sup> project is ~~now organizing~~ <sup>organizing</sup> incorporating many citizens groups. For example, they have helped form or are now forming a medical cooperative, and a food cooperative. The Project also

battled successfully, said Mr. Colesta, for a larger ~~part~~ participation <sup>in the</sup> ~~Model~~ <sup>City's</sup> program, ~~which Detroit has applied for.~~

The Urban Law Project has a very minimal connection with the Negro militants, such as ~~Milt~~ <sup>Milt</sup> Henry and Rev. Cleage, according to Mr. Colesta. "They like us, I think. But, they don't do much except

scream and yell. They don't want to work for ~~the~~ new welfare programs, tenant strikes, and new legislation". <sup>As an example of</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>the type</sup>

of ~~the~~ cases handled by the Urban Law Project, Mr. Colesta related to us the <sup>one of the</sup> "Hobart Street Case". <sup>a group of</sup> ~~Some~~ ministers, working with the

West Central Organization, were arrested for trespassing and assault and battery. Trespassing on city property and also for assault

and battery against ~~the~~ police officers. <sup>at that time</sup> The city was attempting

to tear down certain homes in the Hobart Street area. The ministers

suggested, however, that the homes be <sup>made livable</sup> rehabilitated until it was

time for them to come down. The city refused, however, and 300 minis-

ters went in, took over the homes, and started rehabilitating and re-

furbishing them. They staged 24 hour vigils, and <sup>succeeded</sup> were instrumental

in getting one family to move in. On the fifth day of their vigil, 12 of

the ministers were arrested, and charged with assault and battery and

trespassing. The Urban Law Project was instrumental in getting the

assault and battery charge dismissed. They lost the trespassing case,

but the case is now <sup>up</sup> on appeal. Many people in the community say

that this case helped raise tensions before the riot. Tensions, how-

ever, existed long before this, <sup>according to Mr. Colesta</sup>

URBAN RENEWAL

✓ I-2 (URBAN RENEWAL) - RELOCATION INCIDENT RE: MINISTERS, HOBART STR.

C-37

Mr. Colesta then discussed ~~the~~ relationships between the police department, the prosecutor, and the courts.

← Mr. Colesta pointed out that the police department, the sheriff's office, the county prosecutor are all located together in one building. Immediately behind this building is the Recorder's Court. The explanation for this is geographical closeness is greater efficiency. ~~But, let's examine,~~ says Mr. Colesta, ~~with the individual who must face all this.~~ But what about the individual, asked Mr. Colesta, "who must face all of this." He ~~goes to the~~ <sup>arrested by the police</sup> police department and then is taken one flight up to the prosecutors office for <sup>issuance of a</sup> warrant. After the warrant is issued, ~~he~~ <sup>the defendant</sup> is taken ~~right~~ over to the Recorder's Court for arraignment. After arraignment, he is taken <sup>back</sup> across the street to jail. Physiologically, ~~the impression~~ <sup>all of them have a tremendous</sup> psychological impact on the accused individual. ~~The inescapable reaction of the defendant is that they are all in cohorts.~~ <sup>psychological impact on the accused individual is that they are all in cohorts.</sup> All of this power, ~~what chance I have, is the inescapable reaction.~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> inescapable. The Negro especially looks <sup>up at</sup> this whole complex of the sheriff, the prosecutor and the police, etc. as the enemy. ~~It comes as no surprise to Mr. Colesta that the Negro attacked the police during a riot.~~ <sup>therefore</sup> ~~It points out~~ <sup>he pointed out</sup> that the snipers were ~~even~~ <sup>heavily</sup> firing at the precinct stations.

Mr. Colesta then discussed with us the Wayne County Prosecutor's office and its operation.

6



G38

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: Dobranski and Ursu  
Subject: Interview with Phillip Colesta, Director, University of Detroit Urban Law Project, in Detroit, Michigan on October 12, 1967

Mr. Colesta then discussed with us the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office and its operation. <sup>Generally, he believes that the</sup> The present Prosecutor, William Cahalan at least looks like he will prosecute police brutality cases <sup>if he</sup> thinks they exist. His predecessor, Sam Olson, did nothing, however. He was a <sup>lazy,</sup> do-nothing guy <sup>and</sup> ~~was~~. He let others run his office. He <sup>had</sup> lost a tremendous amount of Negro support, so in the last election, he made his appeal to the whites, <sup>although he was not really a racist.</sup> He is ~~not really a racist, but he did direct~~ his appeal to the whites. Mr. Olson did not look at police brutality cases objectively. One <sup>illustration</sup> ~~example~~ is the Cynthia Scott case. This case involved the killing of prostitute by a police officer. The officer <sup>who</sup> had quite a reputation for being ~~very~~ brutal, <sup>was</sup> was not charged or suspended. He merely had his gun taken away and put into a desk job. No criminal action was ever instituted against him. "On the undisputed facts alone, the case was worth at least taking it to court," <sup>according to Mr. Colesta.</sup>

Mr. Colesta then <sup>gave his opinions of</sup> ~~discussed with us~~ the relationship between the Mayor's office and the police department. Mr. Colesta said that Mayor Cavanagh <sup>has</sup> had some very progressive programs. However, the Mayor's political strength is based on certain friendships. He therefore cannot make certain changes in the police department! <sup>To the Mayor's credit, he did</sup> The Mayor did, ~~however,~~ appoint Hubert Locke, a Negro, to the number two position in

I-8-A- POLICE MALPRACTICE CLAIM - SCOTT CASE RE: SAM OLSON  
Mr. Colesta did not say that he meant by certain friendships

the ~~police~~ department. Hubert Locke is very, very outstanding." Mr. Colesta hopes that he is appointed as the new Police Commissioner. However, Mr. Colesta pointed out that Locke, as the number two man, could not make any real decisions. For this reason, the militant Negroes call him a "do-nothing or Uncle Tom." But he is not. Locke does get a tremendous amount of support from the middle class Negroes. *As Mr. Colesta's opinion,* It would be very difficult to get a white man better qualified than Mr. Locke for the Police Commissioner. *part.* The militant Negroes, even though they believe Hubert Locke to be a "Tom," feel that he is better than any white that might be appointed. Even the police officers think highly of him. So Locke should get a lot of support from both the black and the white communities. "He can deal effectively with both."

Back in 1962, George Edwards, *Judge on the* now *of the* 6th Circuit Court of Appeals was named police commissioner by Mayor Cavanaugh. Edwards is a ~~very fine~~ man. In the ~~early stages~~ of his appointment, he believed that the worse problem facing the police department was the race problem. As time went on, however, he began to pay more attention to corruption and organized crime in the city of Detroit. He began to view these as the real problems rather than the race problem and committed all his time and energies to combatting corruption and organized crime in Detroit. Mayor Cavanaugh and Commissioner Edwards differed on this point and grew far apart. There is some speculation that Cavanaugh had many influential friends who were involved in the organized crime. Mr. Colesta pointed out however that this is based

✓ II - H. POLICE, COMM. VIEW OF EDWARDS, ORGANIZED CRIME EMPHASIS  
EX-COMMISSIONER '62:  
J

on rumor. Commissioner Edwards finally went to the United States Senate before the McClellan committee and began naming names. When he came back, many groups attacked him, including the Italians in ~~Detroit~~, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Cavanaugh himself. A severe antagonism developed between Cavanaugh and Edwards, and as a result, Edwards left. Another reason for his ~~leaving~~ <sup>specifically</sup> taking the position with the Court of the Sixth Circuit was that he felt he needed the protection of a judicial post. He believed his life to be in danger. Although this sounds silly, Mr. Colesta said <sup>that</sup> he ~~himself~~ believes it to be true.

During his reign, Edwards was responsible for getting rid of the notorious Byrd brothers, two brutal tough policemen, who were "top dogs" in the police department.

George Edward's replacement, Commissioner Girardin, is a nice guy. However, he is <sup>so</sup> a hack and a ~~very~~ man with very close ties to the police department. <sup>as Mr. Colesta stated that</sup> Many people, not only in Detroit but throughout the country, say ~~crime is on the increase~~ <sup>because</sup> therefore the police department should have their hands untied by the Supreme Court. <sup>to combat the increasing crime.</sup> However, the real problem is not the Supreme Court, but inefficiency and corruption on the police forces.

In Detroit, the ghetto and the organized crime go hand-in-hand. The people behind organized crime run the abortion rackets, the drugs, the prostitution, <sup>and the other vice that flourishes in the</sup> ghettos.

✓ 15: N. CONDITIONS, MATHEW. GHETTO / ORGANIZED CRIME CLOSE

C-41

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dobranski and Ursu

Subject: Interview with Phillip Colesta, Director, University of  
Detroit Urban Law Project on *October 12, 1967*

*Mr. Colesta believes that*

During the first few days of the July 1967 riots, relationships between the Negro community and police department were very good. However, the patience of the police wore out as the riot grew. *A fireman was killed* ~~A fireman was killed~~ the policemen got tired, and antagonisms grew. The courts <sup>too</sup> gave tremendous help to the police department during the riots. The ~~only way to describe it is~~ ~~the court system broke down~~ <sup>the</sup> "The normal processes that ~~took~~ <sup>take</sup> place in the jails and in the courts completely broke down. The police were <sup>then</sup> able to hold the prisoners longer and beat <sup>them</sup> ~~them up~~ without interference by lawyers and the courts."

The courts suspended constitutional rights during the riot, according to Mr. Colesta, and he can "prove and document it." All hearings on Writs <sup>of</sup> ~~and~~ Habeas corpus were adjourned/during the riots <sup>until after</sup> ~~during the riots~~ <sup>the riot</sup>. Bonds were very, very high. Mr. Colesta said he has the figures to prove this. For example, a curfew violator would have a bond of \$10,000 imposed upon him. ~~Mr. Colesta said that he and his people~~

~~in the Urban Law Project interviewed over twelve hundred prisoners at the Jackson prison.~~ Mr. Colesta said that <sup>Project is presently compiling</sup> ~~he has the statistical~~ <sup>statistical data on arrests during the riot, it should be completed in early November</sup> ~~available on all of this and that they will be available to the~~ <sup>will be available to the Commission, upon request.</sup> ~~commission in time.~~ The information is now being run through a computer

70

C-42

and will appear in a special issue of the Urban Law Journal. The material ~~should be ready in about two or three weeks, and he will be glad to send it to us if we request it.~~ <sup>Mr. Colesta a few</sup> He gave ~~me~~ some examples of some of the preliminary information they have ~~already~~ obtained. To prove that the bond level during the riots was very high, Mr. Colesta cited the following statistics: Out of 538 cases which he has examined, 56 or 10% had a bond of \$1,000 imposed. 110<sup>or 20%</sup> received bonds of \$5,000. 219<sup>or 40%</sup> received \$10,000 bonds. Thus, ~~you can see that more than one half received bonds of \$5,000 and over.~~ The questions

~~become~~, of course, said Mr. Colesta, is whether they were deserving ~~of any~~ lower bonds than ~~this~~. <sup>the received. To try and answer them, the project of</sup> He then cited statistics on the age <sup>employment records, length of residency, marital status, number of children, and prior police records of those arrested during the riots.</sup> ~~groupings of the people arrested. Of the same, 538 cases, 68% were~~ between the ages of 16 to 30, 43% ~~of these~~ were married, <sup>of these</sup> 78% ~~of these~~ people had 0 to 3 children. 44% <sup>of the 538</sup> lived at their present addresses from 1 to 3 years. Only 16% had less than one year at their present residence.

He then related some employment statistics to us. Out of a sample of 609 people, 82% were employed (one-third of the 82% were employed by the automobile companies in Detroit). 19% had been employed less than one year at their particular job. 59% had been employed from 1 to 3 years at their present job. Out of a sample of 450 people, about 40% <sup>or 200</sup> had ~~not~~ prior arrest. About 60% of 450 had no prior convictions. About 20% of <sup>450</sup> ~~this same number~~ had been arrested, but never convicted. <sup>Mr. Colesta then cited to us some examples of the bond practices of the individual judges.</sup> 3.3 percent of ~~the people~~ <sup>the emphasis is that these are statistics based on an examination of a very small number of the total cases that come before each judge during the riot.</sup>

✓ I - JUSTICE ADMIN. OF: HIGH BOND POLICY  
 ✓ II - RIOT ARRESTED STATISTICS OF  
 ✓ III - RIOT PARTICIPANTS - RE: EMPLOYED 82%

C-43

before Judge Crockett received a bond a \$10,000 <sup>and 40%</sup> ~~Forty percent~~  
~~before Crockett~~ received a bond of \$1,000. Eighty-three percent of  
~~the~~ these cases examined that came before Judge A received a bond of  
 \$10,000. Judge B, 80% of those <sup>before Judge B</sup> ~~examined before him~~ received \$5,000  
 to \$10,000 bond. Judge C imposed a \$10,000 bond on 48% of those  
 before him, a \$25,000 bond on 33% of the people before him, and a  
 \$1,000 <sup>bond</sup> ~~not only~~ on 0% of the people who came before him. Judge D,  
 a woman, imposed bonds of \$5,000 to \$10,000 on 91% of the people who  
 appeared before her. (Mr. Colesta would not reveal the names of these judges,  
~~then, their letter designations.~~)

Mr. Colesta said that it must also be pointed out that the  
 sheriff was not accepting bonds even if the bond was already ordered  
 and could be met <sup>by the defendant. The sheriff pleaded that he was overloaded with work and</sup> ~~He said he was far behind in his clearing~~  
 as a result people would spend an additional two days in jail after  
 their bond had been ordered and they had offered to pay it. ~~There~~ <sup>There</sup>  
 was a conscious deliberate decision on the part of the judiciary to  
 keep the rioters off the street. <sup>Then, despite the fact that</sup> ~~However,~~ the United States Supreme  
 Court has already said that bond cannot be used to keep people off  
 the streets. <sup>in addition,</sup> ~~Also,~~ the Michigan constitution provides bail as a  
 matter of right, ~~(this point is still being argued as concerns the~~  
~~United States Constitution)~~ <sup>Furthermore, the</sup> Michigan statute <sup>to</sup> ~~instructs~~ the Judge  
 to look ~~for~~ <sup>to</sup> the following things in setting the amount of bond,  
 required: "the severity of the crime, <sup>the</sup> prior record of the accused, <sup>and</sup>  
 and ~~things relating to his roots in the community~~ <sup>items</sup> things that  
 will insure his reappearance, such as length of employment, marital  
 status, things of this nature." Mr. Colesta said that there is no

doubt that things could have been done differently than they were during the riots. The actions of Judge Crockett proved this. <sup>The</sup> ~~These~~ people who were arrested, even the looters, were not going to do ~~it~~ <sup>return to</sup> ~~streets~~ again once they were released. They realized the stupidity of their actions, and would have returned peacefully to their homes.

We, here at the Urban Law Project, <sup>continually</sup> blasted the actions of the Judges during the riots and ~~made the front pages in the newspapers,~~ <sup>local communication media.</sup>

Evaluation:

Mr. Coletta possesses a <sup>detailed</sup> profound knowledge of the legal system in Detroit. He was quite willing to discuss the problem of the police and the courts that <sup>with</sup> existed before ~~and~~ during the riot. He gave an excellent interview.



I. C. 7

C-48

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

(6) To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Report on attendance of the Citizens City-wide Action Committee, by certain team members on Thursday, October 12, 1967.

The ~~The~~ Citizens City-wide Action Committee popularly known as CCAC, is a broadly based black organization in the city of Detroit, which at present is the principally ~~the~~ political arm of the ~~Black Christian Nationalist Movement~~. The chairman of CCAC is the Reverend Albert <sup>Clay</sup> Claygue, minister of the Central United Church of Christ, and the principal officers and committee chairman of CCAC are members of Reverend Claygue's church. This organization was formed after the July disorder and has been holding meetings on a bi-weekly basis in various sections of the city of Detroit in order to rally ~~support~~ support. The meeting attended by four members of the Detroit team on October 12, was the fifth in a series of meetings around the city of Detroit. The meeting was convened <sup>at</sup> approximately ~~around~~ 8:30 on Thursday evening at the Southwest Baptist Church.

There were between 250 and 300 members and guest in attendance, ~~at the meeting~~. Reverend Claygue, the chairman of CCAC presided <sup>and</sup> delivered the principal address. In his <sup>speech</sup> address he outlined the <sup>basic</sup> philosophy of CCAC, ~~that philosophy being~~ <sup>the</sup> basically unity of the black community and black control of that community as a result of the transfer of power from the white power structure. An appeal was made to all persons

present to join the Citizens City-Wide Action Committee and to take an active part in one of the more than 12 committees which have ~~already~~ been set up to focus on particular problems that are facing the emerging black nation. These committees will deal with housing, labor, employment, finances, redevelopment, communication etc. ~~There~~ <sup>attached</sup> (Attached hereto and marked CCAC-Exhibit A, a document ~~asking~~ <sup>requesting</sup> people to join CCAC and participate in one of the committees ~~the~~ <sup>various</sup> committees are listed on that document. There is also <sup>a membership</sup> attached/envelope, which is marked CCAC-Exhibit B.)

The theme constantly reiterated by Reverend Claygue and other speakers was black identity, black unity and preparedness of the transfer of power to the black community from the white power structure.

While there was no talk of violence by any of the speakers, it was evident that violence was not considered <sup>to be</sup> as an unaccepted means of attempting to solve the problems of the black community. Many of the militants in the audience wore 50mm machine gun bullets attached to leather thongs around their necks as pendants, we were told by one of the black nationalist that these are the new "devil-chasers". (A

more complete account of the philosophy of CCAC is given in the ~~EXCERPTS~~ excerpts from an explanatory report written by Reverend Claygue, on September 27, 1967, this report is attached as CCAC-Exhibit C.

One should also see an article "Detroit, Birth of a Nation", which is ~~also~~ <sup>attached</sup> to ~~another~~ <sup>an</sup> report and marked "Church Services" <sup>of Rev Claygue's Church Services as</sup> Exhibit A.)

• VIII-1 N. ORBAN - MILITANTS - CLAYGUE PHIL.

• VIII-1 N. ORBAN - MILITANTS NEW "DEVIL-CHASER" PENDANTS

C-50

CCAC claims as its membership the entire black community, whether the individual black man has actively joined the organization or not. The organization is not open to whites and whites are not allowed to attend meetings of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> organization. It should be noted however, ~~xxx~~ that the organization is not made up completely of black militants, although black militants ~~xxx~~ hold most of the positions of leadership in the organization. The president of the local chapter of the NAACP is a member and a committee chairman of CCAC, and there are representatives of other moderate, middle-of-the-road black organizations ~~represented~~ in the membership and as committee chairman in CCAC.

I.C. 6  
651

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Attendance of certain team members at a regular Sunday service at Central United Church of Christ.

On Sunday, October 15, 1967 three members of the Detroit team attended morning services at the Central United Church of Christ, home of the Black Christian Nationalist movement. Reverend Albert B. <sup>Claygue</sup> Claygue is the minister at this church. When we arrived at approximately 11:30 a.m. there were no more than 100 worshipers present in the church. By the end of the service the sanctuary was filled to capacity with approximately 600 persons. There was also an unknown number of persons seated in the balcony. Reverend Claygue delivered the sermon. His theme was <sup>the</sup> Tolerance of One's Black Brothers and the <sup>the</sup> Missionary Role of All Black Men to Educate All Members of the Community about the Importance of Black Control of the Black Community's Economic, Social and Political Life. At the close of the service a lengthy appeal was made to non-members to join the church. In response more than a dozen persons came forward and were accepted into membership. The team members were told that the membership of the church has been increasing at a phenomenal rate since the July disorders. After the services we were able to obtain a copy of an extremely comprehensive article which explains the background philosophy and goals of the Black Christian Nationalist

IX-1-A-INFLUENCE

MILIT. ORGANIZATION

~~INCREASE~~ NATIONALIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Movement, and its political arm the Citizens City-wide Action Committee.  
The copy of that article is attached hereto. It is entitled "Detroit  
versus the Nation", and is labeled church services-exhibit A.

I.C.3

G-53

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: Interview with Attorney Henry Cleague

(G)

Mr. Cleague is in charge of the misdemeanor office of the neighborhood legal service centers. He is also the brother of the Rev. Albert Cleague. Our purpose in interviewing Mr. Cleague was to obtain his views on the administration of justice during the disorders.

At the outset Mr. Cleague told us that during the disorder "the courts and the police were all busy breaking the law." He made specific reference to the policy of some judges of the Recorder's Court of setting excessively high bail solely for the purpose of keeping people off the street. He also commented on the suspension of the writs of habeas corpus and the suspension of all civil and constitutional rights, accompanied by untrammelled police brutality in the detention facilities. He lamented the complete breakdown of the judicial system, not only in terms of the illegal policies and practices which were tolerated and condoned during the disorder, but also the complete physical breakdown. He stated that many files were missing, the police had no records which would indicate where and what prisoners were being detained, and that cumbersome booking and arraignment procedures were magnified by the amount of paper work involved.

Mr. Cleague was adamantly opposed to the practice of setting high bail. He blames this practice for many of the ills which clogged the system. He cited instances of the legal apparatus being in such a

~~Structure~~ Breakdown of judicial system - pol. files missing,  
I-6 - Alien, Justice no prisoner records.

GS4

state of confusion that the police were calling his office to find out whether or not they knew where alleged prisoners were being held. He told us that no investigations were being made into a defendant's background and financial status which is required under <sup>Michigan</sup> ~~Detroit~~ law in the setting of bail. Instead, bail was simply being set at figures intended to keep all prisoners incarcerated. We were told that bails for misdemeanors were being set at \$5,000 and \$10,000 and up. He also mentioned the fact that if a bond could be posted it would not be honored. Mr. Cleague commended Judge George Crockett for his unwillingness to go along with the high bail policy. He told us that Crockett was the one judge in Recorder's Court who did not consider himself a member of the police department. He also advised us that a group of lawyers is currently meeting in Detroit for the purpose of considering the filing of a law suit against the judges of Recorder's Court for engaging in a conspiracy to deny to persons their constitutional and civil rights during the disorder.

Mr. Cleague told us that John <sup>Dear</sup> Dore of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice had attempted to dissuade <sup>him</sup> from filing such a law suit. While he condemned police brutality, Mr. Cleague stated that he was much more distressed by the court's actions during the disorder since the court had a responsibility to assure justice even more so in what was described as "emergency conditions." He contends that unless martial law has been declared, which was not the case, civil law remained, and if there was no law then there was nothing.

It was his opinion that the high level of frustration in the black



C-55

community which was the impetus for the disorders was heightened by the injustices perpetrated by the courts.

He explained that the black community felt that one of the only channels open to is for possible redress of grievances was the court. Now that these people have suffered at the hands of the court, they feel that they have absolutely no legal channels for redress. He feels that this must inevitably lead to further violence and disorder.

We turned to a discussion of the conditions in detention facilities and Mr. Cleage admitted that he had not visited any of the detention facilities during the disorders since he was charged with administering the operations of the attorneys in his office along with attorneys from several other legal services programs. However, he stated that he had not obtained reports from many of his staff members and other lawyers as to conditions inside the detention facilities. He was told that these conditions were deplorable, completely lacking in any sort of adequate sanitation facilities or in food or places to sleep. He told us that he received the following information from a minister who allegedly observed the incident:

A truck which had been used for transporting prisoners to police headquarters pulled up with a load of women. This was a flat bed truck with sideboards. The policemen told the women to jump from the rear end of the truck. One woman told a police officer that she was pregnant but he told her to jump anyway. She did so and had a miscarriage on the sidewalk. She was then dragged into the police sta-

RUMORS

~~Mr. Cleage stated that during the disorder police arrest and~~  
~~I-6-Alien Justice~~ - W. Lack of Confidence in Courts Leads to Violence  
~~IX-5 - Opinion Shapers, Rumors~~ - Women Has Miscarriage After Pol. Force Her to Jump

~~1. Post-POE RIOT~~  
~~6-6-68~~ Free Missing Persons Bureau Gets 1500-2000 calls 1st & 2nd wk of riot 56  
VIII-1-organ (N.), Militants - Militants Supported By N. Middleclass More

~~detainment-records-had-become-so-leused-up-that-many-of-his-attorneys  
and-staff-members-were-kept-busy.~~

Mr. Cleage told us that the police arrest and detainment records had become so fouled up during the disorder that many of his attorneys were kept busy not only trying to provide free legal service but also undertaking a number of investigations for missing persons. After it became publicly known that they were doing this, Mr. Cleage states that his office received from 1500 to 2000 calls during the first week and up to 1700 calls during the second week from persons asking them to investigate as to the whereabouts of their relatives or friends.

When asked about the current state of relations in the city of Detroit, Mr. Cleage stated that the July disorders were certainly the first of many more to come. He stated that the middle class Negro, being well aware of injustices perpetrated on the Negro community, is beginning more and more to identify with the militant movement. Cleage felt that the black nationalist movement was gaining support from all segments of the black community "like a snowball rolling down hill." Mr. Cleage credits the July riots with speeding up the process of Negro self-identification and unity by many, many years. He contended that it has developed in the Negro who has been brainwashed to accept his current station in life and almost total psychological separation from the system and its mores. In its <sup>more modest</sup> ~~most modern~~ form <sup>this</sup> ~~the~~ separation is manifested by the fact that the black man no longer fears the white man.

In its most violent form this separation from the system and its mores is manifested by the attitude of many Negroes that killing a white man

II-5-b-Comm. + Rel., Psq. Att., N. - N. Separation Leads To Less Fear of W. + W. System.

is no longer immoral. Mr. Cleage compared the 1943 race riots with the 1967 disorder to illustrate his point that the Negro is building up an immunity to repressive techniques. He stated that in 1943 the tactics police forces used to quell the disorders were awesome. In 1967 they were still impressive but not <sup>very</sup> frightening and next time they will be even less impressive and less frightening.

We asked Mr. Cleage whether the black community seems to be making any connection between conditions in the ghetto and the expense of the war in Vietnam. He responded that the general attitude seemed to be "what in hell are we doing over there when we have so many problems here?" He contended that <sup>the</sup> black man <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ now beginning to question the validity of spending his tax dollar in order to free an oppressed people halfway around the world when he faces almost the same kind of oppression and exploitation by the white merchant halfway down the block. He told us that membership in his brother's church had increased markedly since the July disorder and that it continues to increase with each succeeding week. Mr. Cleage stated that he, along with many others, is hopeful that the black community can in large part become unified. If this happens, it is his feeling that the white power structure will have to transfer part of its power or risk complete destruction of this country as we know it today.

INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION

Henry Cleage is a Negro attorney appearing to be in his early 50's. He is not as outspoken a black militant as his brother, Rev. Albert Cleage; however, he is in complete agreement with the aims of

VIII-1-Organ, N., Militant - Militant church membership increased markedly Postriot.

C-58

Cleage's (his brother's) movement. He has good contacts within the black militant community and seems knowledgeable about what is going on within the movement, although as stated earlier he is not as active in the movement as is his brother.

Inter-office Memo

I.C.D. (1)

To Nelson

-7-

Fr. Wilson

Subject - Interview with Rev. Albert Clay

659

(G)

The following notes are based on an interview with Reverend Albert B. <sup>CLAY</sup> Clay, minister of the Central United Church of Christ.

Reverend <sup>CLAY</sup> Clay is one of the leading spokesmen in Detroit of the

black nationalist movement. It should be noted at the onset that

Reverend <sup>CLAY</sup> Clay seem somewhat reluctant to grant us an interview, ~~and~~

when he did so, <sup>talk to us</sup> it was with his body-guard in attendance. <sup>was</sup> ~~he also~~ <sup>During the interview</sup>

<sup>he</sup> volunteered no information; when asked a question <sup>he</sup> ~~but~~ would answer in

yes or no terms if possible. With this sort of background one can

understand the <sup>brevity</sup> ~~gravity~~ of the interview which lasted no more than

20 minutes. When asked about the <sup>problems - in the black community</sup> ~~police~~ brutality was only

one of many complaints, that there was no regress for black people

when acts of police brutality were committed against them.

He told us that the educational system is lowly and is on the verge of collapse. He contended that black students will no longer tolerate

In this connection he referred to the Northern High School

but stated that it had not been very effective

the kind of education they are receiving in the public schools.

C-60

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: This is a continuation of the Rev. Albert Cleage interview from tape number 21

To illustrate the fact <sup>that</sup> students will no longer <sup>(flerate)</sup> inferior educa-  
 tions, Rev. Cleage referred to the Northern High School boycott of  
 the '65-'66 school year. He added however that the boycott had not  
 been very effective in shaking up the school system. Because the boy-  
 cott had not been effective, Rev. Cleage stated that the students were  
 now rioting in the schools. In this connection he mentioned the inci-  
 dent at Knutson Junior High School where students went on a rampage  
 and kicked out school windows and did other sorts of damage to the  
 school building. When asked about housing Rev. Cleage stated that  
 there was a definite need for more low income housing in the city of  
 Detroit. He told us that little or no public housing has been built in  
 Detroit in the last ten years. He also referred to the slumlord pro-  
 blem and stated that 60 percent of the rental property in <sup>the inner city</sup> intercity was  
 slum property. On open occupancy he stated that this was something for  
 white people to work on. It was his contention that any black man with  
 the resources could buy a home anywhere he wanted in the Detroit metro-  
 politan area. Open occupancy will only panic white people and add to  
 the tensions between blacks and whites. If defeated, it will simply  
 reveal how stupid white people are since passage of an open occupancy

II-4 PRIOR INCIDENTS: SCHOOL VIOLENCE (NORTHERN H.S.)

III-3-B HOUSING CONDITIONS: UNNEEDED OPEN OCCUPANCY

C-61

bill would represent no concession at all <sup>by</sup> ~~for~~ the white people. With reference to the New Detroit committee, Rev. Cleage stated that the only useful thing that could come out of the committee would be a transfer of power to the black community. He stated that his organization, Citizens City-Wide Action Committee, was recognized by the New Detroit committee as the voice of the black community. The basic theme of the Citizens City-Wide Action Committee is self-determination for black people. Rev. Cleage talks about a black nation and particularly the ghetto as a black state controlled by the black people with authority over all aspects of life within the black community including the police, the schools, housing, the stores and <sup>all</sup> other things. At the conclusion of the brief interview Mr. Cleage permitted the interviewers to view the Black Madonna, a painting in the sanctuary of the <sup>Central</sup> United Church ~~of Church~~ of Christ which was done by Glanton <sup>Dowdell</sup> ~~Beldel~~, a member of Rev. Cleage's church. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Attached to this report is a brochure marked "Cleage - Exhibit A" which gives the background of the Black Christian Nationalist Movement for which the Black Madonna is the artistic symbol.

Interviewer's evaluation: Rev. Cleage is a Negro who is in his early or mid fifties. He is recognized in Detroit as one of the leading spokesman of the Black Nationalist Movement in that city. He also in the last year or so has acquired a nation-wide reputation as a spokesman for black nationalism. Both before and after the Detroit disorder, Rev. Cleage was widely quoted in newspapers and journals of national circulation with regard to his theories of black nationalism.

IR-1-A-MILITANT INFLUENCE      CLEAGE'  
BLK. SELF-DETERMINATION



C-62

His church, the Central United Church of Christ, has become the focal point for what Rev. Cleage calls the "Black Nation" which includes, willingly or unwillingly every black man in the United States.

I.C. 8(2)

C-63

14

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: Interview with Rev. Clegg, Oct. 24, 1967

CLEGG

CLEGG

Clegg pointed to educational deficiencies, the strong tendency for criminal elements in the community; and the exclusion of the Negro from accepted social standard. Even after he has performed efficiently all the responsibilities that are expected of him, he is rejected generally on the basis of an individual's act, on the basis of the criminal element thus present, and even is pre-judged on this basis and punished for ~~xxxx~~ such, although he is innocent of all connotations. He specifically sets the police activity subsequent to the riot as being brutal and stated that no change is expected in this area as long as the Negro people tolerate white police in black communities.

I. C. 23

6-64

(G)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: James Raschard

Subject: Interview. October 9, 1967, Detroit, Michigan, Subject, Kenneth Cockrell. Notator, James Raschard.

On the afternoon of October 9, at 2:30 <sup>P.M.</sup> ~~in the afternoon~~, Senator Brooke and his party met at Central Community Development Center in Detroit, Michigan, with the following people: Dr. James Boyce, Consultant to the Virginia Parks Development Corporation; a Mrs. Burton, retired, staff member of the Neighborhood Legal Services; Mr. Clyde Cleveland, President, Detroit Chapter of CORE, and Supervisor of the Community Services Division; Mr. Richard <sup>Simmons</sup> ~~Senners~~, Acting Director of the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development; Mr. Julian Witherspoon, Wayne County Department of Social Services, and Chairman for Target Area Four, Advisory Committee. Also included at that meeting was Mr. Kenneth Cockrell, staff member of the West Central Organization, and a recent graduate of Wayne State School of Law.

It is <sup>as</sup> to Mr. Cockrell's statements at <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ meeting, this writer directs his <sup>attention</sup> ~~attention~~. Cockrell is young, perhaps 25, very articulate, outspoken, with reasoning, and in my opinion, <sup>states</sup> ~~articulates~~ the plight of the Detroit <sup>BLACK</sup> community in a manner which is clear, precise, and constructive. Mr. Cockrell feels that the Detroit community in-toto, will be caught up in a confrontation of black-white physical violence unless the government intercedes. He views the present calm as a

II-7-d - Comm. & Rel., Race Rel., Postriot. - N.W. Violence Coming ~~to~~ Op.

6-65

"wait and see period" with the final resolution depending on the scope of Federal intercession. He feels that the Common Council, police force, the mayor, and other state and local agencies, <sup>representing Detroit,</sup> have lost the initiative and have nothing to offer as an ameliorating factor. He refused to identify either employment, education, housing or any one facet of the multiple problems as having priority over any other of the identifiable plights. He feels the answer is in mass program development; ~~the program~~ and the contents <sup>of the</sup> ~~services~~ <sup>PROGRAMS</sup> being aimed at specific communities; ~~and~~ that they be of such a scope as to guarantee specific services to specific groups, families <sup>OR</sup> individuals and that these programs be designed at the level of subsequent input. ~~and~~ <sup>Further,</sup> that the monies and programs sanctioned by Washington by-pass the state, thereby insuring full utilization at the city level. Mr. Cockrell also <sup>calls for</sup> ~~an~~ expansion of the present programs in force, but with an addendum of built-in guarantees of community participation. He feels that a ~~at all levels, through the~~ /revision of the civil service structure in Detroit is mandatory, particularly civil service structuring within the Community Action Program.

During the interview, this writer noticed a certain reluctance of the group gathered in allowing Mr. Cockrell to express his views. Follow-up on Mr. Cockrell revealed that his marriage to a caucasian, particularly during this high tension period of black militancy ~~was~~ ~~present~~ in Detroit, could have lead to a negative attitude in feelings toward Mr. Cockrell. My subsequent attempts to interview Mr. Cockrell in privacy was unsuccessful. However, this writer feels that Mr. Cockrell has much to say in regards to events leading up to the riot, events concurrent with the riot, and the militant posture ~~over~~

C-66

at its present level. I would highly recommend a more thorough and private interview with Mr. Cockrell at the earliest possible date. A source of contact for Mr. Cockrell would be Curtis Rogers of Human Relations Commission. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

I. C. 12

G-67

(G)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: Walter Duke  
Subject: Interview with Earl Cockerel

Earl Cockerel is a member of the West Side ~~committee~~ community committee, organization. He is another individual who is very vocal and influential in the Detroit community. His militancy is extensive and most extreme. His specific aim is to overthrow the existing power structure in Detroit, particularly to gain control of the ghetto. The highlighting reason is police brutality. He feels that eventual conflict is eminent and this is his only basic premise. In trying to reach him with the reasoning and ~~logic~~ logic of the negativeness of this concept, I was told that it is inevitable. He visualizes all the social reforms, all the basic programmings as just a temporary appeasement, but that eventually there must be conflict between the races. I would say from the argumentation of this young man that he is most influential toward the extremist element, and he will emerge as a leader of such element. The ghetto was additionally stated by him to relate to the ineffectiveness of the present social structure and a failure of communication or the <sup>VOLUNTARY</sup> donation of relief by the white man. Those who suffer the most in the lower brackets of society inevitably he feels will be the most violent. He therefore preaches <sup>TO THEM</sup> in attempts to communicate with this element of the community. He profusely advocates black violence. He views affirmative programs as an insult to the Negro,

ID-2-B CIVIL RTS. N. VIEW

N. CONTROL GHETTO

ID-2-B CIVIL RTS. N. VIEW

BLACK VIOLENCE

- 7<sup>th</sup> 72

C-68

and he chiefly relies on the true intent of the white man <sup>IS TO BE DESTROYING</sup> ~~for even ad-~~  
~~vocating them.~~ Race separation and control is ultimate. He seeks  
political support for his candidacy for mayor of Detroit in the up-  
coming election with these thoughts as premises. He seems to be in  
a highly dangerous and dedicated mood for the destruction of the exist-  
ing social order, and it is this social order which all his energy  
seems to be attacking.



I.A. 17

D-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Bernard Dobranski and Tom Popp

Subject: This is an interview with Malcolm Dade of the Mayor's Development Team, conducted on October 11, 1967 by Bernard Dobranski and Tom Popp

Dade is a young man, a Negro, in his early thirties. He told us that the Negro community as a whole in Detroit view the police as being the major problem. Before the riot this was not so much so.

At that time the traditional problems, such as housing, <sup>were</sup> more important than the police. In the minds of the people <sup>now,</sup> the police problem is the most severe, although housing in Detroit is critically short and

the density of persons per house is very high. Detroit has a very high percentage of home owners, in relation to other American cities, <sup>also.</sup> But

many of these homes become delapidated because of poor code enforcement <sup>owner</sup> and low income <sup>on the part of the owners.</sup> I asked why some cities with

~~the same kinds of problems as Detroit has didn't have any riots, and~~

Dade responded by saying that these other cities are going to have them riots eventually.

<sup>The riot</sup> This particular riot in Detroit, was caused by a precipitated by <sup>a raid</sup> ~~ing incident a blind pig raid. That is a raid by the police on an after-~~ hours <sup>spot</sup> joint.

<sup>No</sup> This particular incident was inflammatory enough to cause a riot because there were a great many people around. It was a hot night and a lot of people were out <sup>in</sup> on the streets. Dade described to us another incident which had happened several months earlier in which a Negro man

I-1-D - POLICE-COMM. RELATIONS  
WORST CITY PROBLEM

D-2

had been killed in a park and his wife molested by a group of white men. This incident, in and of itself, was probably more inflammatory, Dade felt, but there ~~hadn't~~ <sup>had not</sup> been many people <sup>on the spot at the time</sup> around to know about it, ~~who were incensed by the incident on the spot at the time.~~

In describing the climate in Detroit which had allowed a riot to happen, Dade felt that the news media's handling of the murder of Dana Thomas in the park had had a large effect on the Negro community. The white papers played the incident down; <sup>there</sup> There was a small story in the second section about the murder. The Negro newspaper, called The Chronicle, had made a big story of this incident; and the concensus <sup>was</sup> in the Negro community had been that ~~since a black man had been murdered~~ <sup>it didn't really</sup> make much difference to the white people. Dade felt that the intentions of the white press to play the incident down and therefore help to keep things cool, had, in fact, backfired, in convincing the Negro people that their feelings were not being properly considered. Further, the handling of the trial of the murderers of Dana Thomas was also considered by the black community to be unfair because, in fact, several men were involved in his death, and only one was finally indicted.

Dade also felt that there is a popular feeling in the Negro community that justice is administered in Wayne County on a double standard basis. He pointed out that no white man has ever been convicted of killing a Negro in Wayne County. <sup>¶</sup> This is the end of the interview with Malcolm Dade. He had to go to a meeting so it was cut short. <sup>¶</sup> Also, present during this interview were Jim Bush and Kitty Edwards, who are other staff persons in the mayor's development <sup>Team</sup> committee.

✓ I-5 [REDACTED] RIOT CLIMATE - THOMAS CASE IN NEWS PAPERS  
✓ I-6 - JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF - N: "DOUBLE STANDARD"

D-3

Malcolm Dade is a smooth young guy with a decent mind and a too-soft job. In tough circumstances he could be somebody; as it is, he only appears, somewhat deceptively, to be "it." His information was not first-hand, was middle-class, was unchain.

I.B.4  
E-1

③

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Tom Popp

Subject: Interview with Nelson Jack Edwards, Vice-President, United Auto Workers in Detroit on Thursday, October 12, 1967. *Board Member at large*

After I had explained to Mr. Edwards what the purpose of our visit to

Detroit, ~~was~~ namely to find out the what and why of the riot in July, he

explained that from his point of view unemployment was partially the cause,

but that the police department was the key to setting off the reverbrations.

Among whites in the suburbs, Mr. Edwards felt, the police are servants of

the people, whereas in the Negro neighborhoods they are the masters pre-

suming guilt, because *they think that* black men are prone to commit crimes the police think.

In relation to unemployment, Mr. Edwards stated that unemployment was

higher in 1967 than it had been for five years in Detroit. The people in the

ghetto have been seeing bits and pieces of freedom come along very slowly

for quite a while; but that with this *still* high rate of unemployment *is high* and so many

people *are yet* not enjoying the kind of freedom they now expect, *these factors contributed* this was a con-

tributing fact to the riot. In 1960, the riot probably would not have happened,

in Mr. Edwards' opinion. One of the reasons why more ghetto Negroes have

not been able to get jobs, Mr. Edwards felt, was that the employment

offices give tests which are totally unrelated to the jobs ultimately done in the

plants by the persons seeking day labor. There *to these people* is the manpower available,

but the jobs are not available and the people who are involved in violence

seem to have the belief, according to Mr. Edwards, that violence will bring

*RIOT, IN CONCEPT OF*

*POLICE DEPT. TO BLAME*

*UNEMPLOYMENT HIGHER THAN IN 5 YRS.*

*DISCRIMINATION - INDUSTRY IS JOB TESTS*

the white power structure around to their point of view and will help them to get more jobs. <sup>In the</sup> ~~The~~ Detroit high schools, Mr. Edwards, <sup>told me,</sup> ~~felt,~~ there is no

vocational guidance which understands the problem of job placements for people with low qualifications. In the high schools, there is no industrial equipment which is up to date. The shops are ill-equipped to train people

to do the kind of jobs that are needed by industry. The trade unions have also been very strongly opposed to admitting Negroes among their ranks, through

the means of the tests they have given for admission. A high school graduate in Detroit really has only about a tenth grade education, Mr. Edwards

felt, but <sup>Beyond</sup> ~~in spite of~~ that there is a <sup>custom</sup> ~~social~~ problem of tolerating ill-qualified white people, <sup>while they learn their work;</sup> ~~white young people in trades and in unions,~~ whereas Negroes

who are not well-qualified are not tolerated. In other words, a white man and a black man, both of the same qualifications, would fare differently.

The white man would be tolerated while he was learned how to do his work whereas the Negro would be expected by the trade union and the employer

know everything about the job from the very start. I asked Mr. Edwards who controls the testing which controls the job placements, and his answer

was that it is a joint effort between the unions and management itself but ~~the unions are a party to it,~~ he admitted. In the building trades, the unions

know what the high school curriculum is of the people who are applying to get jobs, but the tests which are given are not at all commensurate with

that education. Particularly in the trades and services, Mr. Edwards felt,

~~III-1-A~~  
EDUCAT. QUALITY  
POOR VOCATIONAL

~~III-1-A~~  
EDUCAT QUALITY  
HIGH SCHOOL GRAD =  
10th GRADE

~~I-2-A~~  
DISCRIMINATION  
INDUSTRY UNION  
N. JOB: NO LEARNING SITUATION

E-3

testing is used as a preventive of keeping Negroes out, and Mr. Edwards

He was quick to admit that even the United Auto Workers had been delerict <sup>derelict</sup>

in its duty to tolerate imperfection among the Negroes it employs. Mr.

<sup>discussed</sup> Edwards related the reasons for boys behavior - for the behavior of those <sup>boys</sup> <sup>beginning new jobs:</sup> who begin jobs to the training which they have gotten from their parents.

<sup>if</sup> If they are bad, <sup>it</sup> this is probably due to their parents, that they are bad boys.

<sup>if</sup> If they are good, <sup>because of</sup> which is due to their parents, their friends call them

Uncle Toms, so they can't win either way they go about it. "Getting back to

the riot itself, Mr. Edwards stated <sup>his</sup> there is belief that it had been spon-

taneous and not planned. The specific grievance which he cited was the

<sup>had not</sup> fact of urban renewal and the building of freeways which has not in Detroit

<sup>do not</sup> allowed for the relocation of the people displaced. I asked why some people

with the same grievances riot and others with the same grievances don't.

Mr. Edwards simply felt that those who did not riot and who had the same

grievances were willing to wait and hope for the day when white people

would decide that they were ready for equality. "But these people as well

are gravitating toward the militant point of view. The next time <sup>Mr.</sup>

<sup>stated</sup> Edwards feels, the riot will be bigger and worse. "Going back to the point

of tests which are inappropriate for the job which is to be performed, I asked

Mr. Edwards what he suggested to improve the relevance of those tests and

to improve the tolerance on the part of the employer to accept imperfection

until a person has had an appropriate period of training, Mr. Edwards'

RIOT, W. CONCEPT  
OR  
URBAN RENEWAL

EDB PAGE 121  
NEXT VIEW OF  
NEXT RIOT, WORSE

E-4

<sup>answer</sup>  
response was that this is the responsibility of industry, skilled trades,  
employment offices, supervisors, everyone. <sup>No one has</sup> it seems has not gone far  
enough toward making Negroes feel welcome. Mr. Edwards felt that the  
United Auto Workers has pretty nearly achieved industrial democracy in  
its own plants but that the churches have not been strong enough on this,  
the management of various industries have not been strong enough on this,  
the individuals involved have not been strong enough on it and it is a problem  
which has to be dealt with in many ways. "There are thousands of qualified  
Negroes waiting for jobs," he said. "It is a myth that these people don't  
want to work or aren't sufficiently well-qualified, <sup>though they</sup> They may need training,  
however. ~~In other words, Mr. Edwards was saying~~ legislation by the  
Congress in this area is inappropriate and not useful because this is some-  
thing which must come from within the management of industry and cannot  
be legislated. Industry can be persuaded by government agencies to do this,  
but it has to do it itself; and <sup>industry</sup> it will certainly contribute to the problem un-  
less it is able to make a helpful contribution in this area."

Mr. Edwards is a Negro, established but not  
isolated. His is a particularly labor-oriented  
point of view - he thinks less of color than  
of class. I think he basically misunderstands the  
popular Negro mood.

(6)

DET.

I. A 11  
F-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: John J. Ursu

Subject: Interview with John Feikens, President of the Detroit Bar Association and former Co-Chairman of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission

Mr Feikens could only grant a half-hour interview, which we managed to stretch into one hour.

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission is the only such agency in the nation which is established by the state constitution. It began operations in 1964, replacing the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Its opening budget was \$190,000, and that grew to \$2,000,000 in 1966. Its staff grew from 17 the first year to over 100 last year. The Commission has no formal relationship to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Feikens served with Damon Keith (a Negro attorney recently appointed to the federal bench) as Co-Chairman of the Commission.

Feikens was well aware of the tension that exists between the black community and the police department. The real problem area, he says, is the bottom 15 percent of that society. All the benefits of social programs and movements seem to reach, at best, the middle and upper class Negroes, but there has not been effective contact with the remainder of the people. To these people, the police force is the white man, and the force has displayed a propensity to view the worst elements in the Negro community as representative of the whole.

The early CRC program concerning law enforcement agencies was little more than a system of adjusting disputes between the parties.

✓  
I-1-D POLICE ~~PROBLEM IN LOWER 15% N.~~  
COMM. RELATIONS



F-2

This case-by-case approach had a very limited impact on police-community relations. It did not reach the bottom 15 percent, since they would not come to MCRC with a grievance.

IV-1-M- POLICE COMPLAINT PROCEDURES

CASE-BY-CASE! LITTLE EFFECT OVERALL

Dr. Burton Levy, director of MCRC's Division of Community Ser-

vices, conducts programs for the benefit of police officers. The most serious problems are verbal abuse, lack of respect and discourtesy, and

Levy is working to educate officers in these areas.

IV-1-D - POLICE-COMM. REL: SMALL CORPS OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE  
in Feikens' view, a small minority of policemen are responsible

for most of the tension between the blacks and the force. There is a certain type of officer that is a consistent object of complaints. The less formal schooling an officer has, the worse he is likely to be in his contacts with Negroes. One specific ethnic group on the Detroit force has a very poor record in dealing with Negro citizens.

as Feikens Ex A

Attached to this report is a copy of speech which Feikens delivered at the Annual American Bar Association Meeting. It gives general information on the activities of the local bar during the riot. Feikens was at police headquarters during the riot to coordinate legal service activities. Approximately 700 lawyers were recruited to represent defendants at arraignment and preliminary examination.

IV-6-B, JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION OF! 700 LAWYERS CALLED REPRESENTATION OF N.

Feikens would not criticize the Recorder's Court judges for using the bail procedure to keep people off the streets. There was great hysteria during the first couple of days of rioting, and no one knew what the insurrection would grow into. By Thursday and Friday, things began to cool down and bail was reviewed and adjusted.

In Feikens' opinion, the Detroit riot was a revolt against property. The most important step to cure the ills which led to the disorder

IV-6-E  
NOT COMM. CONCEPT OF: REVOLT AGAINST PROPERTY

F-3

is to provide ways in which the lower class will be able to own their own homes. Job opportunities must be expanded. The U.S. Government should provide tax incentives to corporations that are willing to conduct special training programs for the normally unemployable people.

Evaluation

Feikens has little specific knowledge relating to the riot or the Civil Rights Commission. I do not recommend that he be called.

I.A. 5

G-1

G

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: (Ursu)

Subject: Interview with Ray Girardin, Commissioner of the Detroit Police Department

The chief administrator of the Detroit Police Department is a civilian appointed to that post by the mayor. Prior police experience is not a prerequisite for the position, and Mr. Girardin was an administrative aide to the mayor immediately before his appointment. Prior to that, he was a reporter for the now defunct Hearst newspaper, The Detroit Times. Girardin has held the job of commissioner for approximately four years, and he recently announced his intention to resign. Girardin is 65 years old.

Directly below the commissioner in the department's organizational structure are the following career officers:

JAHN — Eugene Reuter, Superintendent  
Joan F. Nichols, Deputy Superintendent  
Thomas Turkaly, Chief Inspector  
Edward R. Sash, Chief of Detectives.

All these parties have offices on the third floor of Police Headquarters at 1300 Beaubien Street, and they are often referred by fellow officers to as "the third floor."

The commissioner stated that he had believed that police-community relations in the city of Detroit were basically good. The department has organized programs ("block clubs") operated at the precinct level, and the Citizen Complaint Bureau is active in this

✓ VI-1-D POLICE COMM. REL.

COMMISSIONER: "BASICALLY GOOD"

G-2

(as Girardin Exhibits A and B)

area. Two documents attached to this report ("Police Community Relations Program" and D.P.D. Inter-office memo of April 5, 1966 to Girardin) present a fairly complete picture of the department's activities in this area. In addition, Girardin said that he has tried to keep his office open to Negro leaders in order to maintain a personal dialogue with the black community.

The Detroit Police Department was historically better than any other urban force in matters related to staff integration. The department is presently trying to cure the situation that had existed by advancing Negro police officers to supervisory positions. One must, however, give attention to the fact that there are only about 200 blacks on a force of 4500 men in a city where approximately 40% of the citizens are non-white. (Leon Atchison, Administrative Assistant to Congressman John Conyers, told this writer that white officers go to great lengths to drive new Negro policemen off the force.) Add to this the fact that the Detroit Police Department, which is operating at about 500 men below authorized strength, is compelled by the City Charter to only hire men who have been residents of Detroit for one year prior to their employment.

years ago

The principal channel for complaints against the police department is the Citizen's Complaint Bureau, which was organized in May 1961. (For a more detailed report on this bureau, see the Dobranski-Ursu interview with Inspector Carl Heffermen, et al.) The Citizen's Complaint Bureau was moved from police headquarters by Girardin in

1964, and it is now located in the downtown YMCA.

✓ I-1-A POLICE COMPOSITION  
N. TO SUPERVISORY POSITIONS

✓ I-1-A POLICE COMPOSITION  
200 N./4500 POLICE  
40% N. IN CITY

✓ I-2-E ACTS DISCRIMINATION  
W. DISCRIMINATION TO N. POLICE

✓ I-1-B POLICE WORK COND.  
500 ~~DOWN~~ ~~UNDERSTAFFED~~

Although there is no civilian review board in Detroit, Commissioner Girardin states that the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, a constitutionally established state agency, is, in effect, the toughest civilian board one could expect to have. (See my interview report with Dr. Burton Levy and Miss Janet Cooper of the Michigan C.R.C.) In addition to the two above channels, citizens may lodge complaints at each precinct, and the precinct commander must submit monthly reports concerning any such complaint so filed.

Commissioner Girardin stated that the July riot came as no surprise to him, and, indeed, neither did the location of the precipitating incident. Detroit, he believes, is a center for black militancy, and, in his view, the spokesmen for the black revolution have caught the ear of Detroit's young unreachables. In other words, the 18 - 25 year old under-or unemployed street corner type is listening to and believing the advocates of violent black power. Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown reach these youths in their living rooms, and Detroit's resident black extremists reach them in the bars and on the street.

Girardin also stated that citizen complaints against the department were less frequent during the several months prior to the July riot. The commissioner noticed that he, himself, was having less contact with black spokesmen before the upheaval. The writer failed to ask Girardin what the specific significance of these facts were to him, but in the context in which he was speaking, I believe he meant to indicate that the poorer Negro community had

JG-6-B RIOT, POLICE VIEW OF BLACK MILITANCY

JG-8-A POLICE, CLAIMS MALPRACTICE! LOWER PRE-RIOT

G-4

grown disenchanted with conventional methods of expressing grievances.

Note ~~was~~, however, that this is only my personal impression.

Girardin stated that Detroit's riot was significant because it was not, in his opinion, ignited by the sparks of other, nearby civil disorders. In the summer of 1966, Girardin believes that Detroit felt the shockwaves of rioting in Cleveland, Ohio, and the Michigan cities of Benton Harbor, Jackson and Lansing. He does not believe that Newark was a major factor in the Detroit riot.

Attached to this report <sup>as Girardin Ex. C</sup> is a paper-bound volume entitled, "Statistical Report On The Civil Disorders Occurring In the City Of Detroit" which contains all the relevant statistical data relating to the number of arrests, nature of offenses and offenders, casualties and other information. Information concerning the specific circumstances and events which precipitated the riot is presented in my report on an interview with Deputy Superintendent Nichols. The near-riot which occurred in Detroit in August 1966 (the "Kerjcheval incident") is <sup>presented</sup> ~~discussed~~ in Mayor Jerome P. Cavanaugh's formal presentation to this commission, <sup>as an attachment thereto.</sup>

Some general or unconnected observations on the part of the commissioner are following:

(1) The now famous "order not to shoot" was not issued to Detroit policemen during this riot. Such restraint is a basic part of police training and procedure for Detroit police officers.

(2) The Detroit riot may signify that conditions have improved for Negroes in the city. A wholly suppressed class of people would not have rioted as these people did.

✓ I-1-J POLICE, RIOT PROCEDURE, "ORDER NOT TO SHOOT"  
✓ I-6-B RIOT, POLICE CONCEPT OF, "N. NOT WHOLLY SUPPRESSED"

II-6-B RIOT, POLICE CONCEPT OF; RESOURCES CAN'T COPE!  
II-6-B RIOT, POLICE CONCEPT OF; NOT RACIAL DUE TO ARRESTS

(3) The violent black revolution is not, as President Johnson indicated, a problem for the cities. The resources available to the city and state are not nearly enough to cope with the riots and the causes thereof.

(4) The most significant factor in preventing Detroit's civil disorder from becoming a race riot was the large number of arrests (over 7000) which were fully effective in getting people off the streets. Other important factors were the large patrols covering affected areas and the imposition of a curfew. People who respected the curfew order kept off the streets, and people who did not could be arrested.

(5) The amount of time that exists between a potentially precipitous incident and ignition of a riot has grown progressively smaller. The first stage of a riot is crucial, and police or other forces must be available in the briefest possible time. An immediate show of strength contributed to the failure of the Kercheval incident to spark a riot. It was not possible to make such a show at 4:00 A.M.

II-6-B RIOT, POLICE CONCEPT OF EG. KERCHEVAL INCIDENT  
(6) The United States Army should train special troops for 1ST STAGE RIOT CRUCIAL

domestic, riot duty. They should be stationed in sufficiently large numbers at strategic points throughout the country. A procedure should be worked out with the Secretary of the Army for their rapid deployment to trouble spots. In addition, if we are going to rely to any degree on National Guard forces for riot duty, the federal government should insure that they are properly and extensively trained to handle that kind

of civil warfare.

Evaluation: Mr. Girardin is not a policeman and his four year tour as commissioner has not made him one. A party in Detroit, whose opinion I greatly credit, told me that "Ray's heart is in the right place, but he is too weak an administrator to press his own views on the force." The commissioner is, however, an intelligent and articulate observer and commentator.

If this commission were to conduct a field hearing in Detroit, I could not recommend that Mr. Girardin be the sole spokesman from the Detroit Police Department. In the event that time permits only one such representative to appear, that person should be Deputy Superintendent John Nichols. I do believe, however, that it would behoove the commission to hear both men and I accordingly recommend that this be done.



Detroit

I. B. 10

6-9

3

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Mr. Bernard Dobranski and John Ursu

Subject: Interview with Ernest Goodman, Attorney, on October 11, 1967 by Bernard Dobranski and John Ursu

*white attorney in his brother's office,*  
Mr. Goodman ~~has always~~ practiced law in the ~~City~~ of Detroit *since he was graduated from law school.*

He has an extensive civil rights and civil liberties practice. The firm in which he is a partner was organized in 1950, *Mr. Brodman had* and ~~he~~ believes it was the first integrated law firm in the United States in the sense that Negroes were taken in as partners. A former partner *is* was Judge Crockett, a Negro, who now sits on the ~~Detroit~~ City of Detroit's Recorder's Court.

Mr. Goodman stated that *the* a major problem in the City of Detroit is the police department. The police have historically posed a problem for minority groups. During the 1930s, for example, when the labor sit-down strikes were occurring, the police were hated by labor groups as much as the Negroes hate the police today. Mr. Goodman pointed out, however, that the problem must be put into proper perspective. The police department represents the force which society uses to enforce its laws. *To* the extent that these laws are unpopular *or* immoral, even good police officers run into trouble trying to enforce them. Since our society is a discriminatory one, it comes as no surprise that the police departments are a visible symbol of that discrimination. *in the first to be attacked. They are a visible symbol* Police have the same prejudices that the rest of society has.

One of the main problems with the Detroit Police Department is the entrenched bureaucracy that exists *in the department*. The top career people arrived

*V-1-1* POWER STRUCTURE, POLICE, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1930's LABOR HATED POLICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IV-1-14-POW, STR, POL, ~~...~~ Career Resist Progress, Pol. 6-10

at their positions through long service and seniority. They resist the ~~effects~~ of the most progressive of mayors and police commissioners. Their attitude <sup>is</sup> being that the mayor and commissioner are here today, gone tomorrow, and ~~we'll still be here~~. Former Police Commissioner, George Edwards, now sitting with the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, was an excellent police commissioner, but he was disliked intensely by the career policemen and ~~had~~ <sup>was</sup> his efforts thwarted at every turn. The police department does have a police review board. The commissioner is also advised by a civilian advisory board. Neither of these groups are very effective.

Recent Supreme Court decisions in criminal law have played a very important role in changing the Detroit Police Department, <sup>for the better.</sup> The Department has significantly changed its practices because of these ~~Supreme Court~~ <sup>the practices</sup> decisions. Things are now better and much fairer to Negroes than they were before. Mr. Goodman believes that this change, to conform to the Constitution, is most significant.

The Detroit Police Department, however, is ~~xxx~~ still faced with some problems not yet resolved (which can <sup>not</sup> yet be resolved). The first is that the white policeman is basically afraid of Negroes and <sup>the</sup> Negro areas. He knows he is hated. He, therefore, often reacts out of fear and does things he would not ordinarily do. Recruitment of Negro policemen to the Detroit Police Department is also way behind <sup>what it should be</sup>. One reason for this is the feeling of Negroes that to become a cop is to sell out. Also, any Negro who joins the force is ~~then~~ treated as a Negro police officer on ~~the police force~~ and not just as an officer.

IV-1-9-POW STR, POL, View of N. - W. Pol. React Out of Fear  
IV-1-12-POW STR, POL, N. View of - "Sell out" if Become Cop, Treated as N. Pol. Officer.

Mr. Goodman then related to us an <sup>to</sup> example illustrating this point. A white man who heard a lady screaming stopped and called the police, and waited until they arrived. After the police officers arrived, the man, instead of dispersing, stayed around. The man was arrested by the police for refusing to ~~disperse~~ disperse. At the man's trial, the police witnesses consisted of some white officers and one Negro officer. In describing what had happened, the Negro police officer went much further than even the white complaining officer. One had the feeling that he was trying to show the white officers that he supported them. This illustrates another problem, <sup>is</sup> that <sup>Some</sup> a Negro on the force has <sup>over</sup> bending backwards to show the white officers that he <sup>they are</sup> goes with them.

Until the Detroit police force is truly integrated, the problem with the police will continue to exist. In fact, said Mr. Goodman, even if the entire force was composed of Negroes, the Negro community still would not be satisfied. Discriminatory laws would still be enforced against them. Mr. Goodman also added that there are few Negroes in positions of leadership in the Detroit police force.

~~Mr. Goodman believes that~~  
An uneven standard of policing is applied to the Negro community by the Department than to the white community. ~~What are the officers A~~  
<sup>Mr Goodman believes that a</sup>  
different standard of policing is applied by the Department to the Negro community than to the white community. The white officers are torn by conflict. <sup>The</sup> A desire to do what is right conflicts with their prejudices. Some white policemen, in fact, compensate for this prejudice. They may arrest a white man for doing something that they would not

I-1-d-Pow Str, Pol, Com, Reh - Less Responsive to N. Calls.

G-12

- 4 -

*definitely*

arrest a Negro for doing. Police are ~~less responsive to Negro calls~~ and complaints than similar calls from the white community. One factor is their fear of the Negro community. They are well aware of the hostility of the Negroes toward them.

Mr. Goodman then related to us an example of police brutality that occurred during the July riots. The police and National Guard received reports of sniper activity from a certain house. They surrounded the house, and broke down the doors, ~~xxx~~ <sup>+</sup> called the people out. Asleep upstairs was the ~~home~~ <sup>owner of the house</sup> owner, a Negro worker, who had never been in trouble, ~~had no record whatsoever.~~ <sup>before</sup> Also, asleep upstairs with him was a friend who ~~was~~ <sup>had been</sup> unable to return to his home because of the curfew. A third person was apparently asleep downstairs. These three were taken outside and searched. <sup>The</sup> Police found nothing. They were then taken to the police station. At the station, according to Mr. Goodman, the police beat "the living shit" out of them." The police literally stomped them." The men suffered such injuries as broken jaws, and deep cuts and bruises. The police hurled such epithets <sup>at</sup> as them as "black bastards" and "dirty Niggers". Because of the lack of any evidence, the men were released the next day. As the men were being released, a policeman asked them if they would like some coffee. When one of the Negroes answered that he did, the officer then threw it in his face as a final gesture of contempt and hatred. Mr. Goodman contended that this incident is well documented. The medical injuries have clearly been established and there is no question that the beating and injuries they received resulted from ~~this day~~ <sup>their stay</sup> at the police station. There was no

*from that house,*

apparent evidence of sniper activity. Even assuming that sniper activity was coming from the house, there was no doubt that these men took no part in it. Mr. Goodman, who represents two of the three men, stated that he will file an action either with the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, <sup>in</sup> with the U. S. District Court. The incident occurred on July 26, 1967. The address of the house was 1644 Glynn Court. The names of the two Negroes represented by Mr. Goodman are Virgil Austin and ~~Edd Henry~~ Edd Henry, Jr. The third man's name is Paul LeGrand.

The above incident, according to Mr. Goodman, illustrates how the inner feelings of a good many of the police officers surfaced during the riots. A considerable amount of this type of brutality occurred during the riot. Lawyers in Detroit don't want to handle these kind of cases. One reason is that the city is immune to state law. <sup>So</sup> <sup>There,</sup> even if a <sup>civil</sup> suit is brought against <sup>the</sup> an individual police officer and is <sup>the</sup> <sup>the</sup> won, there is difficulty in collecting. The U.S. Attorney's office is not <sup>very</sup> ~~too~~ interested in prosecuting these cases of *alleged brutality.*

Mr. Goodman ~~then~~ <sup>an</sup> related to us ~~another~~ example which illustrates what the term "police brutality" really means. This incident occurred before Judge Crockett, a Negro, in Records Court, the City of Detroit.

~~The police arrested~~ During the riot, the police arrested a Negro man who was caught <sup>looting</sup> in a store ~~looting~~. At the time that he was caught, his son, a ten year old, was along with him. At the trial the police officer testified that he arrested the defendant and then "got the kid out of the place. Mr. Goodman <sup>stated</sup> ~~said~~ that it was quite obvious from previous testimony that the police officer had <sup>in fact</sup> ~~kicked~~ the kid out of the ~~xxx~~

I-1-VJ Pow. Str., Pol. Brutality — During Riot Pol. Kicked 10-Yr. Old

store, ~~but~~ <sup>however,</sup> the officer did not say this in his testimony. Judge Crockett then asked the officer, "Did you kick the child?" The officer answered "yes". At this point, the prosecutor interrupted the officer with the following question, "You didn't kick him hard or hurt him, did you?" Judge Crockett, however, instructed the officer that there was no need to answer that question. After the case was finished, Judge Crockett called the prosecutor and the cop before him, and told them that the point was not whether the <sup>child</sup> kid had been hurt, but ~~the~~ <sup>it was</sup> the indignity of being kicked that was so reprehensible about the officer's conduct. He told them that the child would remember this incident for the rest of his life. Mr. Goodman <sup>stated</sup> ~~pointed out~~ that incidents of this kind go on all the time. The white policeman just doesn't realize <sup>that</sup> ~~how~~ his speech and manner of treatment affect the dignity of the Negro. Mr. Goodman said that as recently as 15 years ago, the prosecutors and judges in Detroit ~~still~~ called Negroes by their first names; ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> himself, with <sup>was</sup> ~~a good deal of~~ <sup>deeply resented by</sup> resentment from the prosecutors and judges, because he addressed Negroes as Mr. or Mrs.

Mr. Goodman <sup>also</sup> ~~then~~ described the actions of the Detroit courts during the riots. He stated that the judges, like most of the white community, were scared to death. ~~When he arrived at the courthouse during the first day of the rioting, he found the building surrounded by police, machine guns set up.~~ <sup>had been</sup> In order to get in he had to show his Bar Association card. The judges made it quite clear the first day that they consider <sup>themselves</sup> ~~to be~~ part of the ~~city~~ <sup>city</sup> ~~apparatus~~ <sup>apparatus</sup> whose job it was to stop the riots.

← When Goodman arrived at the court house, on the first day of the rioting, he discovered it was surrounded by the police. In order for him to get in, it was necessary for him to show his Bar Association card. The judges made it quite clear that they considered themselves to be part of the city apparatus, whose job it was to stop the rioting. They pledged themselves <sup>to the task of</sup> keeping the arrestees off the street. They functioned as an adjunct <sup>to</sup> of the police department. They were scared to ~~take~~ death. <sup>According to Mr. Goodman,</sup> <sup>of the judges</sup> The public statements <sup>at that time</sup> were amazing, especially <sup>the</sup> statements of Judge Brennan, the Executive Judge. The <sup>only</sup> ~~only~~ exception to ~~the attitude~~ <sup>one</sup> was Judge Crockett, who took the position that it was the court's job to treat the rioters like any other defendants. He was the only judge who did not use the bond procedure as a means of keeping people in jail. The rest of the judges, following the lead of Judge Brennan, did. Mr. Goodman said that he quickly found out that in a police-state lawyers don't serve any useful purpose. He was forced to face the fact that he was totally useless.

On Tuesday, July 25th, while the rioting was still going on, Mr. Goodman made a statement on local television about what was happening. <sup>in the courts.</sup> The essence of this statement was ~~that the~~ that the court had thrown the Bill of Rights ~~right~~ out the window. The bond system was being used to keep people in jail. People were being held for no reason at all, just to keep them off the streets. Just prior to his television interview, an interview with Judge Brennan was shown, in which Judge Brennan made the statement that people must be kept off the streets. Mr. Goodman ~~said that~~ stated that he re-



IG-b-Alien, Just., N. Rep. Legal Services X Int, especially OEO.  
5-16

- 8 -

ceived a tremendous adverse reaction from his white "liberal" friends because of his television statement.

Mr. Goodman believes <sup>the</sup> there ~~to be some excellent~~ in excellent legal services programs in Detroit. The most effective program has been the OEO program. ~~The most effective program~~ <sup>another</sup> excellent program is that run by the University of Detroit Law School's Urban Law Project. Even the organizing bar has been changing <sup>for the better</sup>. In the last few years, they have had excellent presidents who have recognized the need <sup>for</sup> providing legal services to the poor. The organized bar also provided many lawyers for <sup>the</sup> defendants during the riots.

The ~~Legal Services Programs in Detroit~~ in Detroit have also been developing a bond project. The courts were at first reluctant to go along. Recently, their attitudes have been changing. <sup>However,</sup> ~~Still~~ the predominant method for meeting a bond requirement is <sup>still</sup> through the use of a bail bondsman. Bail bondsmen in Detroit ~~were~~ work very closely with the judges of the court. To illustrate this point, Mr. Goodman related an incident that occurred to him a few years ago. His Negro client was charged with <sup>the</sup> murder, ~~with the murder~~ of his wife. Mr. Goodman talked to the judge about getting his client, a working man, released on bail, so that he could continue to work and earn money. He asked <sup>the judge</sup> ~~him~~ to release the defendant on his personal recognizance. The judge refused, however, and set bail at \$10,000, "which my client couldn't raise". ~~It~~ "I then talked to the bondsman, who said, 'Let me talk to the judge'. The bondsman did and got the bond reduced to \$5,000." Bondsmen in Detroit kick back a part of their fees



to the client's lawyer. Mr. Goodman said his practice is to return this portion to his client. However, he said, <sup>that</sup> it is not the ordinary practice of most lawyers. The bondsmen are also heavy contributors to the judges' campaigns. <sup>"Corruptors in"</sup> These ~~avails~~ are inevitable <sup>when</sup> where you have bondsmen making ~~money~~ <sup>legal</sup> their money out of the system, <sup>"asserted Mr. bondsmen"</sup>

Mr. Goodman said he once wrote an article, a Law Review article, ~~in~~ which citation he has now forgotten, on the value we place on liberty in this country. In theory, we value freedom, liberty, etc., very highly. In the market place, however, liberty is placed at the bottom of our concern. The real value in the market place is the monetary value. How much money is in liberty. These lawyers shrink from defending ~~persons~~ a person's liberty in a criminal action because very little money is involved in so doing. Mr. Goodman's suggestion is to place a money value on liberty. The result would be much better protection of a person's liberty and freedom. Mr. Goodman went on to say that ~~the~~ ~~xx~~ a number of years ago the loss of a human life was worth very little money, perhaps \$5,000 or \$10,000. Now, however, it has gone way up to \$100,000 in many cases. As a result of this the plaintiff's bar in the negligence field is probably the best bar in the world. Put the same value on liberty and freedom, and you would have the best criminal lawyers you have ever seen.

The judiciary not only functioned during the riots as an adjunct for the police department, but has done so for a long time prior to the riots. For this reason, many <sup>people</sup> have suggested that no judge should handle criminal cases exclusively. All judges should

handle both civil and criminal cases. The judges who handle just criminal cases tend, after a while, to identify with the police department. <sup>77</sup>In ~~a~~ Detroit, the judiciary is identified with the police, even insofar as the physical arrangements are concerned. The court room, the prosecutor's office, the police department, are all located in the same geographical area. ~~Even in the court room, itself, policemen are in a room next to the judge. The prosecutor is talking to the judge in his chamber, the defendant looks on to all of this from behind a rail. Only a strong judge~~ ~~can escape becoming an adjunct~~ ~~of the police department.~~ <sup>at least</sup> or the appearance of having become <sup>an</sup> ~~the~~ adjunct of the police department. Mr. Goodman believes that Judge Crockett has. However, the police do not like him because he treats the officers like he treats any other witness, no better and no worse. <sup>77</sup>The key to the Negro's struggle, not only in Detroit, but throughout the rest of the country, is power. <sup>Mr Goodman emphatically stated that</sup> ~~The Negro will not get whites~~ "You can't get whites to integrate with blacks because integration is <sup>morally correct</sup> ~~not~~ morally correct." The only way it can be done is by development of a Negro nationalistic movement of real power, so that Negroes can bargain as equals. <sup>77</sup>Mr. Goodman then, very ~~briefly~~ <sup>briefly</sup> discussed the problem of housing in Detroit. At one time he was on the Detroit Housing Commission. He believes that open occupancy legislation can have a very real effect upon improving the lot of the Negro in Detroit. "Let the whites move <sup>out of the city</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>say</sup> <sup>said</sup> Mr. Goodman. "In fact, ~~accelerate~~ <sup>housing</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>their moving</sup> as quickly as possible. For then, good ~~houses~~ <sup>houses</sup> will open up for Negroes."

Mr. Goodman also stated that the school situation in Detroit was very bad. Because of time limitations he did not have time to discuss it with us ~~extensively~~. However, he did give ~~us~~ us copies of some briefs and complaints he had ~~filed~~ recently filed attacking de facto segregation in Detroit's schools. These papers are attached hereto as Exhibit Number <sup>A</sup> ~~One~~.

*Evaluation:*

*Mr. Goodman is extremely articulate and well well-informed. He not only has a great deal of knowledge of the specific problem the Negro faces in Detroit today, but in addition possesses a deep philosophical understanding of the whole problem of race relations.*

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Interview with Dr. Karl Gregory, Assistant Professor of  
Economic at Wayne State University

*Unreliable witness -- I.C.K. G-20*  
*fails to differentiate between official*  
*actions and "talk." Makes no effort to*  
*separate rumor from fact.*

(G)

Mr. Gregory stated that the two main problems of the black man in Detroit <sup>were</sup> that the white community would not permit the black man to pick his own leaders and <sup>that</sup> the white community practiced a kind of economic colonialism within the black community.. He stated that these problems were manifested in several ways: (1) poor police-community relations, (2) inadequate housing; (3) inferior education, (4) economic insecurity.

Mr. Gregory contended that there has been a long history of police harassment and brutality in the black community. As an illustration of this, he told us about an incident involving the Northern High School boycott of a year or so ago. During that time he was an advisor to <sup>the</sup> these students participating in that boycott. He stated that the police and news media blasted the non-violent boycott as "mobs moving in the street." During the boycott space <sup>and facilities</sup> was sought and various facilities to conduct the classes. The boycotters were unable to find classroom space in a local hotel because the owner had been harassed by police and was afraid to <sup>allow</sup> make space available to ~~the~~ the boycotters *to use her facilities.*

<sup>no 9</sup> The previous harassment of this local hotel owner resulted from the fact that the police had seen an interracial couple going

III - 7 - N. Conditions Economic - W. Practice Economic Colonialism  
V - 1 - Pow. Str., Police - Pol. Harass Hotel Because OF Interracial Couple  
Comm. Rel.

into the hotel. <sup>In addition</sup> Also the student leader of the boycott was arrested and beaten by police ~~and~~ in the Mack Street, <sup>Kercheval</sup> ~~Gurcheval~~ Street area where the small riot of 1966 had taken place. That disorder of 1966 is referred to in Detroit as the <sup>Kercheval</sup> ~~Curehuval~~ incident.

Gregory advised us that he had talked to a number of people involved in police brutality incidents and had a long list of grievances. He also stated that whenever neighborhood groups attempted to organize and develop a program <sup>to deal with</sup> ~~that would do something about~~ their particular problems, they could never get the program underway because they would spend all of their time defending themselves from police harassment.

Gregory also recounted a personal incident in which he was involved with the police as a result of an auto accident. He stated that he was rudely treated and called "boy" by the police.

He also showed us photographs of the person whom he contends was bayoneted by police commanders on the first day of the recent July disorders. As the incident was related to us, the victim was drunk at the time and was standing on a corner ~~half~~ leaning on a mailbox or some other object. The police lined up <sup>in</sup> ~~across~~ the street and started clearing the street by moving the crowd backwards along 12th Street. At the point where the crowd passed the place at which the victim was standing, the victim, of course, did not move along with them since he was intoxicated.

Gregory states that he was told the policeman pushed the man down and when he attempted to rise and stand up, he was bayoneted in

G-22

the side and in the back. The photograph which was shown to us shows  
was  
the man lying on the ground with what/~~he~~ described to us as his  
intestines coming out of his mouth.

It should be noted here that although attempts have been  
made, no one has been able to find out what eventually happened to  
this man. He has not been seen since and it is widely believed in  
the Negro community that he died although no riot deaths were reported  
until the following day when a white woman was killed.

Gregory stated that the problem with the police force was not  
lack of good will or good intentions on the part of ~~Major Roden~~ <sup>Gregory</sup>, the  
Police Commissioner, but rather discipline ~~on the line~~ <sup>among the line officers</sup>. He noted  
that there was a general lack of professionalism and an inability to  
get policies made at the top carried through by the man on the beat.  
<sup>A</sup> Further, he acknowledged that it was the degree of discipline  
~~On the point of discipline, he illustrated the difference in~~ <sup>which made</sup>  
~~between demeanor of~~  
the Detroit Police Force and the regular army troops which were moved  
into Detroit in the mid-stages of the July disorder. We were told that  
there was not a single complaint of brutality lodged against <sup>any of</sup> the regular  
army troops while hundreds of complaints were lodged against the  
Detroit Police Department and the National Guard. We were told that  
there was an extremely intense hatred of the police in the black  
community because of real or imaged acts of police brutality.

Whether real or imaged, the belief that the policeman is ready  
to commit some violent act against any black man is ever-present in  
the black community.

~~I-I-C - Pow. Str, Pol, Quality - No discipline - D.K. Gregory~~  
~~Influence of that Element: Policy Not Implemented~~

It was Mr. Gregory's belief that the citizen has very little redress against the police. He mentioned the Police Review Board <sup>in</sup> with the Police Department and the State's Civil Rights Commission, <sup>in for</sup> as totally ineffective tools/ ~~and~~ dealing with the police brutality problem.

He said that <sup>a</sup> some member of the State's Civil Rights Commission had admitted to him that out of the many, many complaints received by the State's Civil Rights Commission, very little was done <sup>to</sup> ~~in the form of punishing~~ officers who were involved in those incidents.

He offered this example of the inequalities of justice within the Police Department. He mentioned <sup>an officer</sup> a police officer who had accepted a bribe of a bottle of liquor ~~and~~ was suspended <sup>after</sup> upon a finding that he was guilty of <sup>the</sup> this offense. While another police officer who had committed a hideous act of brutality against the black man was not punished at all.

He also told us that he had been told by a police recruit that during the training period, policemen are told to always carry a knife so that if perchance they should be involved in an incident with someone they could ~~at~~ always throw the knife on the ground next to the victim and claim they had acted in self-defense.

He told us that a number of black officers had quit the force because their ~~chances~~ chances of promotion are limited. Yet Mr. Gregory does not feel that the answer to better police-community relations is to increase the percentage of Negro policemen above the present approximate five percent. (no 91)

II-7-m - Pow. Str., Pol., Compl. Proc. — Police Review Board Ineffective: Dr. K. Gregory



~~I-8-11~~ - Pow. Str., Pol., ~~1941~~ - N. Pol. Rougher On N. than W. Pol.

<sup>5-</sup>  
MAL PRACTICE CLAIMS

G-24

<sup>no 7</sup> He pointed out that most Negro policemen will brutalize black people even more than white policemen in order to show that they are not being partial to their own race.

On the subject of economic colonialism, Mr. Gregory <sup>said</sup> pointed out that virtually the entire black ghetto ~~community~~ is owned by whites and is completely dependent on whites. He stated that the most segregated aspect of American life is entrepreneurships.

All of the major financial institutions which are in the business of advancing risk capital for the launching of any sort of business enterprise are controlled by whites and it is virtually impossible for a Negro to obtain an advance of capital to start a business. He also contends that the black community suffers from price gouging for food and all other consumer items, <sup>because it</sup> and does not have the luxury of an alternative place <sup>to shop</sup> of shopping. To deal with this latter kind of "extortion" Mr. Gregory proposes setting up food buying clubs which would later be expanded into cooperatives engaged in the purchase and distribution of all sorts of consumer items.

On another aspect of economic colonialism, Mr. Gregory stated that the Negro has to pay <sup>a</sup> racial tax <sup>when</sup> in trying to obtain housing. He conceded that a fairly large percentage of the housing in the Negro community is owner-occupied, <sup>yet</sup> but ~~stated~~ <sup>that</sup> in terms of comparative <sup>the</sup> value <sup>of the property</sup>, the Negro <sup>home-owner pays</sup> had paid dearly for <sup>a</sup> homes, which are owned by blacks.

On the subject of employment, Gregory contended that a majority of Negroes are relegated to low-paying menial jobs and that there are <sup>in</sup> very few <sup>eunuchs in</sup> units and showplaces with no <sup>other</sup> function than <sup>to be</sup> being

III-7 - N. Lond., Economic - N. Cannot Get Capital



VII - Statistics - 14% Detroiters Work in Suburbs  
29% Suburbanites Work in Detroit

G-25

visable. Statistically he pointed out that the city of Detroit provides a disproportionate number of jobs to suburbanites. In this regard, he stated that 14% of the people who live in Detroit work in the suburbs while 29% of the suburbanites work in Detroit. <sup>A</sup> Turning to the question of selection of leadership, Mr. Gregory said that the black community is well aware of the fact that <sup>the</sup> ~~society's~~ rewards <sup>of society</sup> under the present system are handed out by the white <sup>man</sup> ~~world~~. The leadership in the black community is determined by the white power structure which <sup>holds</sup> ~~wholes~~ the goodies. <sup>Thus</sup> ~~In the matter~~, the so-called "Negro leaders" emerge by bent of the fact that they are willing to play the game and say to <sup>he</sup> ~~the white man~~ what the white man wants to hear. These so-called leaders are awarded and cheered at functions such as the City Awards Banquet which was held during the time the team was in Detroit.

It is Gregory's contention that the ~~white power structure~~ is basically masochistic. It displays and <sup>chosen</sup> ~~courts~~ its/black leaders in times of peace, but when a crisis arises, these leaders cannot communicate with the masses and they <sup>thus</sup> ~~have~~ become completely irrevelant. However, once the crisis is passed the white power structure continues to view these people as the ones with whom they should deal in terms of what is to be done in the black community.

On the subject of schools and education, Mr. Gregory stated that rebellions such as the one which occurred at Knudsen Jr. High School while the team was in Detroit are due to several factors. First, the quality of education in the Detroit public schools turns a child off at the second or third grade level. Gregory contended that

II-6 - Comm & Rel., Pol. 1. - N. Leadership Determined by W.  
II-6 - Comm & Rel., Pol. 1. - In Crisis N. Leaders Cannot Lead

III-1-1 - N. Cond., Ed.

III-1-2 - N. Cond., Ed., Fac.

VIOLENCE TO CHANGE SCHOOLS  
Discipline Main Function of Teacher

a child is physically beaten down ~~because~~ (Detroit public schools still permit paddling) <sup>if</sup> until he's old enough to strike back, ~~if~~ he then strikes back, he is then labelled uneducational <sup>etc</sup> and pushed out of the school system. Secondly, Gregory contends that the vandalism such <sup>as</sup> that which occurred at Knudsen may very well have been a result of school children seeing the damage caused <sup>during</sup> in the riot <sup>and</sup> drawing the conclusion that peaceful attempts to change the school system just won't work. ~~There had been a boycott last year which had produced very little in the way of results.~~ <sup>A peaceful</sup> It is his contention that the students are seeking alternatives to the present educational set-up. Thirdly, ~~Mr.~~ <sup>He</sup> Gregory feels that the attitudes of the teachers are an important index of the quality <sup>of</sup> in the educational system. He contends that discipline has become the main goal and function of the teacher because <sup>the schools are so</sup> of the serious overcrowding <sup>ed</sup> and large size of many of <sup>the</sup> classes. <sup>he so large</sup> <sup>Mr. Gregory</sup> categorized white and Negro teachers into four distinct groups. (1) The white middle class teacher who tries to impose her values on the ghetto child. An example of this would be <sup>the</sup> a white teacher who asks a child what his father does for a living. The child answers that his father is a brain-surgeon or something of that sort. She doesn't believe the child and the other children in the class start to snicker because they know that <sup>this</sup> <sup>the</sup> particular child doesn't even know who his father is. This white middle class teacher finds it difficult to conceive of a child not knowing who his father is and certainly not knowing <sup>what</sup> the father does for a living. The child <sup>because</sup> his peers know that he does not know his father <sup>and</sup> feel ridiculed because they have laughed at him, <sup>he rejects the teacher</sup> because she <sup>asked the embarrassing question & then did not believe his answer.</sup> asked the embarrassing question & then did not believe his answer.

G-26

G-27

*At this*  
point Gregory contends ~~that~~ this child becomes a psychological drop-out. <sup>(2) The</sup> ~~The other sort of white teacher Gregory characterizes as the~~ <sup>one</sup> who feels that the majority of black children are uneducational <sup>ble</sup> and makes no effort to motivate the child. This <sup>type</sup> sort of teacher simply carries the child along until he is old enough to quit school or be pushed out. He states that Negro teachers also fall into two categories. <sup>(3) The Negro teacher</sup> One is composed of the Negro teachers who have escaped the ghetto, and he feels that they may be quite detrimental to the development of black children. This <sup>type of</sup> sort of teacher is now comfortably established in <sup>and</sup> the middle class and resents the daily reminder that she was once like the little black children sitting in her class. This resentment may be manifested to the child by verbal abuse or by obvious lack of any genuine interest in the <sup>child's education or</sup> welfare of the child or his education. <sup>(4)</sup> The second category of The Negro teachers is characterized as those who are extremely proud of the fact that they are black. This sort of teacher feels that it is her responsibility to instill race pride in any black child in her <sup>class.</sup> ~~child and she~~ <sup>she</sup> therefore, <sup>demands</sup> of the black child a higher standard of performance than would ordinarily be required. She is extremely hypercritical and constantly places the child under the pressure of not being <sup>able</sup> to make even little mistakes.

(cont'd)

Mr. Gregory feels that this type of teacher may be quite detrimental to the development of black children.

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: Continuation of the Karl Gregory interview

<sup>no 9</sup> It is Mr. Gregory's contention that this sort of black national-ist strain warps the child's development as much as the sense of inferiority which is instilled by the detached middle class teacher types.

Gregory stated that, as an economist, he has long been concerned with the fact that the inner city does not get its fair share of state aid.

In this regard he noted that many people felt that with re-districting the rural areas would lose power over the <sup>state's</sup> pursestrings and that the cities would gain it. However, he stated that the inner city did not pick up any seats in the legislature in the re-districting. <sup>These seats</sup> They went instead to the suburbs which are as hostile <sup>to</sup> toward the inner city as the rural areas <sup>had been.</sup> were heretofore.

Gregory contends that the present <sup>formula for</sup> system of allocating state aid to local school systems takes no cognizance of the need factor. This was explained as follows. The ghetto Negro children from broken homes

obviously need more programs and services in order to have an education <sup>that is</sup> equal to that of middle class suburban children. He suggested that the only <sup>way that</sup> these services and programs could be provided would be to build the need factor into the state allocation formula. He told us that at present, state aid to education is based on a formula which

looks only to the amount of local support for education. It is his

~~III-3-1 - Pow. Str., Mun. Coun'ty, Fin. & Tax. - ~~State Aid Allocation System Does Not Recognize Student Needs~~~~

III-1-IV Cond., Ed. - State Aid Allocation System Does Not Recognize Student Needs

~~State Aid Allocation System Does Not Recognize Student Needs~~  
Cities Not Getting Fair Share of State Aid

V-3-d - Pow. Str. Mun. Govt., Fin & Tax - Taxation unfair for Detroit Residents - 29

contention that this formula does not take into account the fact that residents of Detroit pay many <sup>kind</sup> ~~sorts~~ of taxes which are not paid by residents of suburban and rural communities.

In further explanation of this point, Gregory stated that Wayne County has the second highest property tax of any county in the state.

In addition, residents of the city of Detroit which is ~~within~~ Wayne County, pay a city property tax, <sup>the</sup> county property tax, a school district millage, and a city income tax, whereas many suburban communities will pay <sup>in contrast, residents of</sup> simply a county property tax, <sup>which is probably lower</sup> than Wayne County, <sup>and a school district tax.</sup> It is therefore

<sup>these suburban communities</sup> easier for the county to assess a high school district tax and obtain <sup>more in the way of</sup> state aid than <sup>is possible in</sup> the city of Detroit <sup>based on the amount of school tax paid to the state.</sup> (and Wayne County.)

Gregory stated that it is because of the already burdensome tax structure in Detroit that the additional millage which has been proposed in recent elections to support the schools has been defeated.

He also set forth several other <sup>Reason</sup> factors for the defeat of the additional millage <sup>during the</sup> recent elections. One was that the nonghetto dweller, especially the middle class whites, sent their children to private

<sup>to</sup> schools rather than Detroit public schools. <sup>Therefore, they voted against</sup> and <sup>therefore</sup> were unwilling to pay additional taxes to support the public schools and voted against

<sup>Another reason was that</sup> the millage. Also many of the East European whites <sup>who</sup> live in the outlying areas of Detroit send their children to school <sup>by</sup> in suburban areas and therefore would not vote for a millage to support the public schools <sup>in Detroit.</sup> in the city of Detroit.

V-3-d - Pow Str. Mun Govt., Fin & Tax - W. Middle Class ~~Have~~ Not Supporting Public Schools

*An additional reason*

Another factor was that the issue was stated on the ballot in such a manner that it was confusing to many people who might have voted in favor of the additional millage. ~~Another factor was the~~ *Third, the* lack of voter education of ~~residents~~ *most* of the inner city who would normally have voted in favor of the millage. *led to its defeat* Mr. Gregory explained ~~that~~ *that* in the following manner. He stated that many inner city dwellers when faced with a long and confusing ballot simply voted for the particular names that they knew and did not ~~bother casting any~~ *bother* vote at all on issues stated at the bottom of the ballot.

A final *reason* factor was the movement of many young married couples with children out of the city of Detroit into the suburbs leaving many older people in the city who ~~had~~ *have* no children in the public schools and who ~~felt~~ *feel* no obligation to support the public schools by additional taxes on their property.

Mr. Gregory had the following comments with regard to the disorder of late July. He advised us that in the late morning or early afternoon on Sunday, July 23 he received a call that a tailor shop owned by his father on 12th Street was being looted. He went down to 12th Street to check ~~this out~~ *on* and while walking ~~toward~~ *three or four blocks* his father's tailor shop ~~on one of four successive corners~~ he heard rumblings ~~in~~ *the crowd* about a Negro man who had been bayoneted by the police. At first, he said, he thought this was simply a rumor but as he heard it on corner after corner he realized that there must have been some truth in it. Later he obtained photographs of the body and of an unidentified policeman who had allegedly done the bayoneting. He was

G-31

later told that a kind of carnival atmosphere prevailed on 12th Street until the rumor of incidents such as the bayoneting spread. When he was on 12th Street he stated that police commandos with rifles and fixed bayonets were standing shoulder to shoulder across 12th Street looking as if they dared the crowd to move toward them. It was Gregory's statement that the posture of the police seemed to be challenging the manhood of people in the crowd. The police looked extremely hostile. They were practically all white and to Gregory appeared to be an "occupying force". In contrast he stated that later in the week the regular army troops on the east side were much more amicable, less threatening, <sup>and friendly</sup> <sup>to the point</sup> talked to children, showed them their equipment when they <sup>were</sup> children, asked what certain things were. The National Guard, Mr. Gregory stated, were worse than the Detroit city police. He characterized them as "trigger happy."

During the time that he was on 12th Street on Sunday, Mr. Gregory stated that the police were inattentive to looting possibly because they were under orders not to shoot. Gregory suggested that the police may have adopted the attitude, "if we can't shoot to hell with it." He contends that the major part of the police force at this time was being used to guard certain utilities and major stores. It is his feeling that regular army troops were deployed to the East Side because this area had the greater potential for racial confrontation between blacks and the low-income, East European community of Northeastern Detroit. Also, on the East Side there had been conflict the summer before between police officers and the black community and the police

IV-6-g. - Riot, Riot, Looting - July 23 Pol. Ignored looting on 12th St.

3



may very well have wanted to avert another confrontation of this sort.

In commenting on the white reaction to the July disorders, Mr. Gregory divided the white community into several distinct groups:

(1) the low-income, ghetto dwelling white (2) the "out-of-touch" middle class suburbanite<sup>n</sup> (3) the middle class liberal (4) the low-income East European Birchite type. He advised us that each group had a different ~~sort of~~ response to the July disorders and <sup>with</sup> these responses varied as a result of the roles played by each in the disorder. The low-income, ghetto dwelling white identified with his black neighbor because in the forays by police and National Guards <sup>as the</sup> the indiscriminate spraying of houses with machine gun fire, the white ghetto dweller was as much a <sup>target + victim</sup> ~~victim of this sort of thing~~ as the black man. Also, the low-income, ghetto-dwelling whites participated with their black neighbors in the looting. <sup>on the other hand,</sup> The detached middle and upper class suburbanites saw the disorders as acts of hoodlumism. They apathetically snuggled back into their world and assured themselves that the rioters ~~would be~~ were only a small proportion of the black community and that <sup>they</sup> ~~that proportion~~ would be punished. The middle class liberal still did not completely panic. He felt, however, that he had lost his function because he could no longer feel that he spoke for poor whites and Negroes. The low-income, East European-Birchite types looked for a rallying point from which to prepare for physical confrontation with the blacks whom they feel are trying to take over everything. It is from this group that Lopsinger has drawn his following.

Mr. Gregory interpreted Lopsinger's ploy as one of arousing and frightening his fanatical following to the physical threat of a

IX-2 - Opinion Shapers, Infl. on W. Comm. - Lopsinger's Followers <sup>want</sup> ~~has~~  
Physical Confrontation w/ N.

VII-2 - Opinion Shapers, InFL on W. Comm. - Lopsinger's racist, anti-communist

G-33

takeover of their community by the black man. Lopsinger states that whites will be ready next time when the blacks come after them.

Gregory told us that Lopsinger's meetings were characterized by the racist harangues <sup>in which</sup> of Lopsinger ~~in an~~ <sup>fashion</sup> attempts to cast the entire black revolution <sup>into</sup> in some sort of international communist conspiracy. ~~and~~ <sup>These harangues are</sup> followed by a rather pathetic speech by a teenage Negro agreeing generally with Lopsinger and ~~then~~ a demonstration by a member of the National Rifle Association <sup>of assembly</sup> as to the optimum and ~~specific~~ use of certain sorts of weaponry.

Gregory feels that the extremes of the reactionary plans of groups like Lopsinger's <sup>will</sup> was exposed when Lopsinger in the course of a ~~the~~ television interview appeared to be visibly shaken when the interviewer asked him whether or not <sup>his organization, called</sup> Breakthrough, ~~which is the operation~~ ~~that Lopsinger had~~, had compiled a list of black militants who would be assassinated during the next outbreak of violence in Detroit. It is Gregory's feeling that such a list has been compiled and that there will be an attempt to execute <sup>him</sup> if and when there is renewed violence in Detroit. It should be pointed out here that Mr. Gregory feels that unless conditions change drastically, <sup>quickly</sup> there will be renewed violence.

#### INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION

Karl Gregory is a very articulate young Negro economist and professor of economics. He is associated with the militant camp in the city of Detroit and serves as advisor to various groups in the black

VIII-1 - Organizations (N.), Militant Organi. - Lopsinger's <sup>Compiled</sup> List of Militants to Be Assassinated  
X-POSTRIOT  
More Violence unless Conditions Change  
-CP.

7  
community on economic and educational matters. Mr. Gregory has been active for a number of years in civil rights activities and once headed the Washington, D.C. chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality. If the Commission wishes to study the economic plight of the black man in the city of Detroit, I think that Karl Gregory would make an excellent witness.

I.C. 16

6-35

19  
⑥



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Mr. Walter Dukes

Subject: Mrs. R. Grubbs, a social service complaintant

Mrs. Grubbs has three children in a foster home. She is living common law with a man. She petitioned the juvenile court to release ~~her~~ them to her care after a period of ten continuous years of living within the framework of law and establishing a home with her common law husband. She ~~desires~~<sup>wishes</sup> to marry this man but doesn't have legal recourse to, in that her husband refuses consent. The court refuses to because of her status with this man to grant her custody of ~~her~~ her children. She priorly had cohered to all mandatory requirments, of the court and feels now that the social <sup>order</sup> structure of the <sup>white man</sup> ??? needs redressed. She advocates violence against the social structure and wished to strike out against it. When asked if she felt if the separation of the races would benefit <sup>her</sup> she extended the comment that anything would benefit her which would change the conditions and effects <sup>of</sup> today.

1  
G

I. B. 7  
6-17

17

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Walter Dukes

Subject: Interview with Vice-President Gullen, Wayne State University

<sup>A</sup>  
Vice-president Gullen is moderate conservative thinking white man living in the community of Detroit and he feels that the social order in Detroit needs revamping to confirm with the <sup>DIFFICULTIES</sup> facilities at hand. His view of the problem lies in the reverse of most, the intervention of new concepts have left a gap, <sup>FROM THE OTHER CAUSES FROM</sup> between the mechanical and physical capacities as well as the functions of the lower income person. He <sup>has</sup> lost belief in the mystic form of real principles and affect and react only to that which he feels and believes are convinient. The social order therefore has to be revamped to give him the facility and the substance which will turn him back to <sup>THE</sup> his principles, <sup>WHICH ARE CALLED ON THESE LEVELS</sup> which he <sup>MIGHT</sup> puts faith in and which he feels are really and truly beneficial. The complexities of operations have to be simplified. The communication level has to be simplified. The elements in our society have to be simplified for this individual. Otherwise he will remain in his idealistic state and continually be a responsibility of the other elements of the community. He is in a position of being dangerous simply because he holds the bitterness towards the state <sup>of his being</sup> and in order to free himself or release himself of this he will eventually have to resort to destructive activity and his actions probably will take the form of destructive <sup>thoughts</sup> thoughts. Whether these thoughts will be inflicted by group methods <sup>OR INDIVIDUALLY</sup>



G

I. B. 12

645

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: Report based on an interview with Dr. Sally Cassidy, Professor <sup>at Wayne State University and founder of the organization</sup> ~~Homes By Christmas Project~~ <sup>Homes By Christmas Project</sup>

At a luncheon meeting on Monday, October 16, 1967, Dr. Cassidy <sup>told about</sup> ~~gave us~~ the background and present success of the <sup>Homes By Christmas</sup> program. It is the aim of this program to find housing for families who were burned out during the July disorders. Dr. Cassidy stated that she and her staff of volunteers, composed mostly of suburban housewives, were surprised to learn that not more than <sup>one or</sup> two families have expressed an interest in moving to the suburbs. In fact, she mentioned that one house was available in <sup>Grosse</sup> Groves Pointe, but that no one was interested in moving into that area. She told us that homes are located through a variety of channels. <sup>calls</sup> Homes are made to realtors, written appeals are made to <sup>service to</sup> groups, churches, to the suburban and urban <sup>throughout the city & suburbs</sup> home owners, and information about property available <sup>for</sup> on sale is telephoned to the group headquarters ~~which is~~ located in Mrs. Cassidy's home. Once a home is located and a family expresses an interest in purchasing it, the Homes By Christmas program pays or helps to pay the down payment or arranges for loans to the prospective purchaser from banks where the prospective purchaser would ordinarily not be able to obtain credit. <sup>at</sup> She advised us <sup>that</sup> the group is seeking rental and purchase property throughout the metropolitan area. The goal of the organization is to obtain dwelling places for <sup>more than</sup> the 170 families who are known to have been burned out during the July disorders.



These homes hopefully will be located before Christmas. She pointed out that one of the difficult aspects of the project was to find the kind of homes the families wanted in the areas where they wanted to <sup>live</sup> locate. The sincerity of this group's efforts, ~~she told us,~~ to satisfy the families and thus avoid the necessity of making temporary moves, is contrasted sharply with the attitude <sup>of</sup> ~~with~~ the Director of Housing for the city of Detroit, Bob Knots. Dr. Cassidy told us that immediately after the <sup>three</sup> ~~three~~ disorders ~~when~~ she asked the Housing Department if it could help the group to find homes, Mr. Knots' only suggestion <sup>was</sup> that the displaced persons could be permitted to live <sup>temporarily</sup> in city-owned condemned housing ~~temporarily~~. On the other hand, Dr. Cassidy stated that the group had received invaluable help from the Board of Education in <sup>her</sup> ~~her~~ attempt to locate all of the families whose homes were burned out. However, Dr. Cassidy criticized the school system for refusing to give merchandise vouchers to the children of those families whose homes were burned out. For lack of clothing, these children have been staying out of school. The school enrollment has decreased markedly because these children and many others have not registered, and the result has been a lowering of the per pupil allocation of state aid to the Detroit public school system. Apparently the school system has explained that if they got increased state aid, they could give the clothing vouchers to these children, but these children cannot come to school without the clothing. Therefore, the school system does not get increased state aid, and thereby the system and the children are caught in a vicious cycle.

G-47

Although Dr. Cassidy did not elaborate on the sources of financial support for her project, she did mention the fact that Joseph Hudson's new Detroit committee had given her group \$7400. Private contributions were mentioned as a prime <sup>source</sup> support of funds. The program had placed three families in new homes at the time that we talked with Mrs. Cassidy. ~~The~~  
~~following~~

Interviewer's Evaluation

Dr. Cassidy is a white woman in her mid 50's. She seems to have a number of influential contacts among ~~the~~ white business and professional groups. She also seems to be extremely concerned with the welfare of the ghetto Negro. <sup>She seems to</sup> empathizes with him in his disaffection <sup>with</sup> ~~the system~~ because <sup>she has been awakened to</sup> the inattentiveness of the power structure, <sup>in her attempt to deal with</sup> ~~the~~ problems of the displaced family. Attached to this report are the following exhibits: a newspaper account of a Negro <sup>family found a home through the</sup> who was helped by the Homes By Christmas <sup>project.</sup> ~~to obtain a home~~ (This exhibit is marked Cassidy-Exhibit A); a progress report on the activities of the program updated to October 16, 1967, marked Cassidy Exhibit B; <sup>flyer</sup> a ~~flyer~~ distributed by the Homes By Christmas project, marked Cassidy-Exhibit C; an explanation of the organization of the group and the criteria for family assignments, together with a letter appealing for suburban support, marked Cassidy-Exhibit D.

I.A. 25

H-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: James Rachard and Tom Popp

Subject: Interview with one of the members of the Common Council of Detroit. His name is Hood. He is the only Negro on the Common Council. The interview was conducted on October 12 by James Rachard and Tom Popp.

(G)

We went to a meeting of the Common Council of Detroit, out of which we learned nothing, and met with Councilman Hood at the conclusion of the meeting. Hood felt that during the riot in Detroit there was a breakdown in command. The Detroit headquarters just didn't know from the start what was happening. The riot started off with a lawless element, Councilman Hood said, rather vaguely. After that the revolutionaries moved in and it was too late to stop the riot. Councilman Hood felt that the police should have moved into the situation immediately with tear gas and with all of the power that they could, to stop the riot, but that they were just asleep at the switch and this is why they didn't do it.

The Councilman told us that they didn't think a riot would happen in Detroit because <sup>(1)</sup> they had made fairly good strides in employment, <sup>(2)</sup> ~~the~~ the top government officials were responsive to the needs of the people, and <sup>(3)</sup> church groups were moving together to respond to human need, as well. ~~But that~~ <sup>however,</sup> these strides in human relations had lulled the officialdom to sleep. "In all of our efforts," the Councilman said, "We forgot about the guy at the bottom, <sup>the guy</sup> who has not been reached ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> He is the one who has no place to go but up."

We asked the Councilman how this man could be reached, and his

IV-6-D RIOT, N. VIEW OF

GUY AT THE BOTTOM

H-2

answer was that nobody is reaching him. Community organization, where it exists, is mostly for the purpose of community organization, and not for the people. Reverend <sup>Cleage</sup> ~~Clague~~ might be reaching this sort of man, the Councilman felt, but he himself, that is the Councilman, was not a street worker, and was not reaching the people in the way that a street worker can. This job has to be done by street workers, <sup>said Mr. Hood;</sup> ~~and~~ ~~that's why he felt that~~ <sup>thus Cleage</sup> Craig might be the one <sup>who</sup> ~~was~~ was reaching this element. <sup>the</sup> "The role of elected official," said the Councilman, "is to keep lines of communication open, not only locally, but in the Federal Government as well. We have to have our reports first hand, he said. The Federal Government should have the initiative to start anti-poverty programs." We asked Councilman Hood how he thought the Federal Government could most appropriately help in the situation and he listed four points: ¶ (1) There have to be more massive housing programs. The population is simply too dense in Detroit. There has to be a speed up in the lump sum grant to the cities. Under the current arrangement there is usually a three year delay from the time a city applies for housing project money until the time when it receives it. This time is simply no longer available, the Councilman felt. ¶ (2) There <sup>must</sup> ~~has to~~ be more jobs. The government has to spend its money in re-training and training people to work. ¶ (3) There has to be greater representation in government for Negroes. Government has to be able to listen to the complaints which Negroes are making, and this is not being done now. ¶ (4) The police department relationships have to be improved.

"We in Detroit", said the Councilman, "thought we were making great strides in this area, but we now must disabuse ourselves of that thought. The police department's relationship with the Negro community is 'lousy' There is a basic racism within the police department. Councilman Hood felt. Also, the department itself is a closed society: These men are ~~all~~ friends, mostly with one another, both socially and on the job."

An additional point which the Councilman made was that there has to be a provision for risk capital in the Negro community. ~~The~~ "A white person can go to the bank and get a loan because of the people he knows, but a Negro person cannot. ~~Councilman Dade also felt that~~ there ~~has to~~ <sup>must</sup> be more registration and voting by Negroes. When this ~~is not~~ <sup>isn't</sup> possible under the present circumstances," said he, "The <sup>the</sup> Federal Government ought to send in Peace Corps-type people who are experts in teaching Negroes what their civil liberties are."

We asked what the effect of the riot had been on the community as a whole, and the Councilman said that he felt it had scared some white people out of their lethargy. This is the end of the interview with Councilman <sup>Hood</sup> Dade.

Hood told us very very little. Not that he was guarded - he just doesn't know.

VI-1-D- POLICE COMM REL:

HOOD: "LOUSY", RACISM, CLOSED DEPT.

I. B. 1

G

Coordinator

H-4

Detroit

Interviewer: John J. Ursu

Interviewee: Joseph T. Hudson, Jr. and Joseph Bianco, Chairman and Deputy Executive Director, respectively, of the New Detroit Committee

Mr. Hudson is, according to his personal aide, Mr. Walter Crow, a very busy man. He was unable to spare us more than twenty minutes. Mr. Hudson did say that he has been so occupied with talking about what the New Detroit Committee will try to do that it is cutting into the available time to do it.

"New Detroit" was a riot-inspired idea, and during the riot week Mayor Cavanagh and Gov. Romney appointed Mr. Hudson to the chairmanship. The other members have been chosen from the entire sector. There are nine Negroes on the committee -- 2 women, 3 militants, 2 establishment types, 1 minister and a representative from NAACP. The major industrial concerns in Detroit are represented by their presidents or board chairmen. The committee has been broken down into five subcommittees which are described in the attached materials.

The first significant move by the Committee has been its sponsorship of broad open-housing legislation. The Michigan State Legislature is presently in special session and, hopefully, will treat the proffered bill. The committee has been able to marshal the lobbyists who work for the giant Detroit corporations for support for the bill. This is a rather extraordinary event, since, in the past, public spirited industrialists have given their money to support various drives, but never have they made a loan of their political power.

Mr. Hudson is an impressive and vigorous man. He is approximately 37 years old and quite articulate. His reluctance to talk about "New

Detroit" is understandable since the organization has had little time to accomplish anything.

Joseph Bianco has been loaned to the staff of New Detroit by the accounting firm of Touch<sup>e</sup>, Ross, Bailey & Smart. He customarily works in their management consulting division and has degrees in accounting and economics. He told us that New Detroit meets as a committee of the whole every two weeks. The five subcommittees and task forces meet once a week. One may get some idea of the nature of their interests by reading the two attached copies of meeting agendas. See Hudson Ex. D and E.  
For their priorities, see Ex. C.

New Detroit does not consider itself to be a permanent body. However, it will (or hopes to) form new permanent groups for specific problems. For example, there has already been established a Small Business Development Corporation to work with and supplement the Small Business Administration. The group hopes to be successful in creating a viable class of Negro small businessmen.

Mr. Bianco says that the New Detroit Committee functions with the philosophy that the people and businesses of Detroit can do the most to solve the city's problems.

#### Evaluation

We spent so little time with representatives of New Detroit that it is not possible to judge whether the Commission would benefit from hearing anyone first hand.



I.C.4

H-6

(G)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Interview with Stewart House and Norvel Harrington, both are presently employed as investigators for the Wayne County Suburban Legal Services Corporation, and work out of the Highland Park, Michigan office.

House and Harrington began the discussion by characterizing the July rebellion as a black reaction to white inaction, rather than as an offensive action by any one group. They feel that it was a warning to the white power structure that it has the option of either changing the system to allow the black man power over his own community, or it must in the future expect a more sophisticated and destructive rebellion.

Harrington is a recent high school graduate, 18 years of age, who ~~while a student~~ <sup>is</sup> quite active in student affairs. He is at present a member of the New Detroit Committee and is considered one of the young militants on that committee. Harrington is also active in a number of other student groups and black militant groups.

In discussing the inadequacies and poor quality of the educational system in the inner city, Harrington contended that the Highland Park High School from which he was graduated was quite superior to the average Detroit high school. It was his assessment that a student in the Detroit schools would get an "A" ~~from~~ for the same quality of work for which a student in the Highland Park Schools would receive a "C". He further condemned the educational system, as

II-6-D RIOT, N. CONCEPT OF: N. WARNING

II-1-A- EDUCATION, QUALITY: INFERIOR TO HIGHLAND PARK

it operates in the ghetto, for educating the ghetto child only to the extent that he can possibly find a job as a manual laborer and thus become trapped in the \$80 to \$90 per week salary bracket for the rest of his life.

As an index of the lack of willingness of the school system to provide ~~effective~~ <sup>meaningful</sup> special programs, Harrington referred to two special courses which were recently instituted at Northwestern High School.

In one these courses, Northwestern students are being trained to operate and program for the IBM 1401 computer. Harrington told us that he had been told that the 1401 computer will be obsolete within five years.

In contrast to what is happening at Northwestern, Harrington stated that in the Detroit suburb of Grosse Point, a special program was instituted in computer design. The <sup>other</sup> special course referred to by Harrington was one in landscape gardening which he described as a glorified course of teaching youngsters ~~ix~~ how to be better yard boys.

We were told that the drop out rate in the predominately Negro high schools in the inner city is fantastic. Harrington estimated that the drop out rate exceeded 50 percent in some of these schools from the time the class entered ninth or tenth grade to the time they graduated. Of the approximate 50 percent who graduate, Harrington stated that only 1/3 could expect to receive jobs within six months after graduation. Only a very small percentage of the graduates could expect to gain admission to college.

Mr. House described the educational system as exclusive. By this, he stated he meant that students who were determined by the teacher to be incapable of learning had little attention paid to them ~~after such a decision was made~~ and ~~that~~ the real educational effort was directed toward an exclusive group of students. The only attention that might be paid to <sup>a</sup> student who has not demonstrated a great capability for learning would be if that particular student became a disciplinary problem. If so he would be suspended for a ~~single~~ slightest infraction of the rules. Mr. House described this as the push-out problem in the Detroit public schools.

When asked whether or not there was a serious problem of over-crowding in class sizes, Mr. Harrington responded that there was a problem in ~~those areas~~ <sup>that area,</sup> but the most serious problem of the Detroit public schools was one of poor administration. In this regard, he referred to the Northern High School boycott of the 1965-66 school year in which one of the chief demands of the boycotters was the removal of the principal, ~~of Northern High School.~~

<sup>stated</sup>  
One of the interviewees/~~that~~ a game called "fool the students" is being played in the Detroit high schools. In explanation, he stated that the students are being deluded into thinking that they are receiving a high school education. However, when they graduate and seek employment, they realize that they are actually equipped with no better than a sixth grade education. This has lead to a great deal of frustration and anger on the part of young Negroes in the city of Detroit.

III-1A- EDUCATIONS, QUALITY

H.S. DIPLOMA = 6TH GRADE

We then turned to a discussion of the July disorder and asked the interviewees their opinion as to the real underlying cause of the outbreak.

IV-1-D POLICE COMM. REL. - BRUTALITY HISTORY

They were in agreement that the real basis for the outbreak was the problem of police ~~brutality~~ brutality in the black community. They stated that there had been a long history of brutality and that tensions between the Detroit Police Department and the black community were tremendous. ~~with regard~~

With regard to the specific disorder starting July 23rd, both interviewees felt that the excessive forcefulness with which the elite corps of the police department tried to clear the streets at mid-day on Sunday ~~and~~ <sup>inflamed</sup> ~~blamed~~ <sup>populace</sup> the more violent disorder which took place later in the week.

Harrington told us that he had been on the streets early on Sunday morning and watched the disorder develop.. From approximately 7:30 a.m. until 11:30 a.m., a good bit of window breaking and looting was going on but no real violence in terms of personal attacks on any white people or even on police were occurring during those hours. He stated that as far as he knows, the violence was confined to 12th Street during these hours.

By 11:30 a.m., he stated that looting had begun to subside and that most of the stores in the area in which the disorder began had been completely looted. Shortly before noon, we were told people had started to go home with their loot. At approximately 12:15 p.m., the

IV-1-A RIOT, EMBRYONIC STAGE - NO REAL VIOLENCE

Elite Corps or special riot forces came into the area. These forces were characterized by Mr. House as gorillas.

Upon entering the area, the Elite Corps, dressed in riot helmets and carrying Carbines with fixed bayonets, lined up across the street and started to move toward a crowd which was in the 12<sup>th</sup> Street and along the sidewalks. The move apparently was made ~~wik~~ in an attempt to get the people off the streets. However, as the crowd receded in the face of the police advance, <sup>a</sup> young Negro whom Mr. Harrington said was drunk, remained behind. We were told that he had initially been behind the crowd and the crowd simply passed and that he had not consciously lagged behind, <sup>in fact, he</sup> and had remained in the same place from the time the police started the sweeping movement down the street.

This young man was order<sup>d</sup> to move on and in Harrington's opinion did not understand the order. When he did not move, he was bayoneted in the back, leg, and side. Harrington states that he personally witnessed this attack and also the kicking of a girl who screamed for help. No ambulance was called immediately and Harrington does not know to this day what happened to the man. However, he told us that he had made a photograph of the man lying in someone's front yard where he had fallen and this photograph reportedly shows the intestines of the victim coming out of his mouth.

<sup>were</sup> We/shown photographs by another interviewee, Mr. Karl Gregory, which ~~are~~ were allegedly the ones taken by Mr. Harrington of the victim lying in someone's front yard. Upon this occurrence, Mr. Harrington

III-1-A- RIOT STAGE, EMBROIDERED: ELITE CORPS  
CAUSE CHAOS

H-11

states that the crowd of approximately 200 people went into pandemonium.

By 1:45, he stated the disorder had spread to Lynwood Avenue and by 2 o'clock to Dexter Avenue. As word of this particular incident spread rapidly throughout the black community. In his opinion, the serious violence which occurred later in the week could possibly have been headed off had it not been for this flagrant incident of police brutality which was witnessed by a large number of Negroes. While both Harrington and House play great blame on the Elite Corps for inflaming the populus, they agreed that during the first day or so of the disorder, the regular Detroit police officers

~~IV-1-B~~ RIOT, ~~██████████~~ OUT OF CONTROL CAUSED BY ELITE CORPS H-12

~~II-B~~ NATL GUARD - TRIGGER-HAPPY  
INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Continuation of Interview with House and Harrington.

~~Beth House and Harrington agreed that during the first day or so of the disorder the regular Detroit police officers and the officers of the Technical Mobile Unit performed rather well. It was the opinion of both that serious violence may have been averted completely by the performance of the police department had it not been for the bayonetting incident by the elite corps of that department. However, as word of that spread and as the national guardsmen entered the city; it became inevitable, they feel, that the violence would escalate. Both characterize the performance of the national guard as "ridiculous". They told us that the guardsmen were so frightened and trigger-happy that one of them shot a fellow guardsman who stepped on a tin can, thereby making~~

*made a loud noise by stepping*

In commenting on the general problem of police-community relations, Mr. House stated that he felt that the police department interpreted its role to be one of containment of the black community rather than the enforcement of law and order within the black community. He said that the Negro is very well aware of the fact that no attempt is made to protect one Negro from violence committed by another Negro. In fact, he added it is very difficult to get police to answer calls in the black community involving domestic quarrels or other sorts of minor violence between blacks. It was Mr. House's contention that the answer

~~II-1-D POLICE-COMM. REL - N. CONTAINMENT NOT LAW~~

~~II-1-D POLICE-COMM. REL - NO RESPONSE N. CALLS~~



to this problem did not lay in the increasing number of Negro officers on the police force. He stated that the Negro cop often feels that when dealing with other Negroes he must overcompensate <sup>be extra firm</sup> in order to show "the man" that he is not showing favoritism to members of his own race. He will, therefore, be as brutal, or perhaps more so, than white cops to Negroes. Mr. House suggested that one way to solve the problem of poor police-community relations would be to have the black community organize ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ into a kind of town meeting which, if it did not have power granted by the state legislature, would at least have sufficient pressures to force the police department to reform or to get out of the Negro community. He further stated that the watch rebellion <sup>White</sup> had proved to him that the legitimate demands made on the white community were only met in post-riot periods. He concluded, therefore, that out of violence comes movement. House continued saying that many of today's problems in Detroit grow out of the fact that the black man has for many years been deceived and <sup>duped</sup> ~~duked~~ by the white man in many areas of life, including police-community relations, education, employment, housing and others. To bolster this statement, he referred to the Kercheval ~~Churcheval~~ incident of 1966. He stated that this incident was a riot only because the police and the press chose to call it a riot. He told us that there were fewer than ten participants -- five or six Negro men and three police officers. The trouble occurred, he stated, when a fight broke out with police officers <sup>who</sup> ~~when~~ they were in the ~~XXXXXX~~ process of attempting to make an arrest. Yet the headlines the following day read, "East Side Riot Quelled by Speedy Capable Police Action." This handling of the incident, House claims to be an example of the sophistication of the ruses

X- POST RIOT (CLIMATE) VIOLENCE YIELDS RESULTS  
J- ALIENATION PAST N. [REDACTED] DECEPTION  
II-4 PRIOR INCIDENT - KERCHEVAL '66

perpetrated on the black community. He feels that this was the power structure's way of easing riot fever by trying to induce black people to believe that they had had their riot for the summer. He feels that this may have worked with <sup>a</sup>the sizeable segment of the black community in 1966. However, ~~he~~ even during that year the militants knew that the headlines were only a clever deception. "House stated that the black community is becoming conscious of the fact that something has to be done to let "the man" know that he, the black man, can no longer be duped. As the black man becomes more aware of his real relationships to "the man" he will become increasingly sophisticated in his dealings with the white community. House also stated that as the black community learns to know <sup>its</sup> ~~his~~ enemy, it will begin to realize that that enemy is not the whole white race in America, but rather a very powerful minority which House referred to as the 2,000 ruling families who own most of the wealth of this country. With this redefinition of the opposition the black man can feel that the odds are beginning to work in his favor.

"Mr. Harrington stated that the power structure does not seem to realize the scope of the problems being presented by the black community, and the power structure is underestimating the level of sophistication with which the black community is willing to press its cause. Harrington states that the power structure has so grossly underestimated this willingness of the black community to press its cause in a number of ways that it -- the power structure -- has decided that the first order of business after the riot is acquisition of more riot control equipment, rather than an attempt to eradicate some of the underlying causes of

I-7-B RACE REL. N. VIEW ENEMY IS W. RULING MINORITY

I-7-B RACE REL. N. VIEW W. POWER UNDERESTIMATES N.

the riot. For example, Mr. Harrington told us that he had obtained a list of riot control armament that had been requested by the police, and <sup>he</sup> had been advised by the person who gave him the list that the request <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ probably be granted. Included on the list he told us were 200 infrared sniper scopes, four tanks or armed personnel carriers which were to be donated by the Chrysler Corporation, and a sizeable number of <sup>M</sup> M-16 rifles. Mr. Harrington told us that at approximately the same time that the police were requesting increased riot control armament, the new Detroit committee proposed that the state <sup>grant</sup> ~~sent~~ to the Detroit public schools \$5.3 million in additional school aid. He stated that that particular proposal will probably have tough sledding in the legislature as contrasted with the ease with which he thinks the police request for additional riot control armaments will be granted. (It should be noted that the police department request will be handled by the common council <sup>of</sup> ~~for~~ the city of Detroit, while the increased state aid proposal of the new Detroit committee is before the state legislature.)

In discussing the Rev. <sup>Clague,</sup> ~~Albert Clague,~~ the interviewees told us that <sup>Clague's</sup> real power base was the core of the congregation at his church. We were told that his vocal leadership in the black community is based not so much on his true leadership potential, but rather on the fact that he has been quite vocal, and the news media have devoted a great deal of time and space to covering his statements. They conceded that at the present time, <sup>Clague</sup> is the focal point of the black community's push for unity. This push is concentrated in two organizations. One is <sup>Clague's</sup> church, The Central United Church

of Christ, and the second is the Citizens City-Wide Action Committee, which contains a broad spectrum of membership from the NAACP to the black militants in Detroit. When we asked about the black community's attitude toward Congressman John Conyers, we were told that the reaction to his futile attempt to stop the disorder was no indication of a rejection of Conyers by the black community. Harrington interpreted the crowd's reaction against Conyers as a means of telling him that instead of attempting to stop the riot, he should go back and tell the city and national administration whose policies had created the bases for the rebellion that they should start listening to the grievances of the Negroes in the ghetto and do something about them. We then turned to a discussion of the new Detroit committee of which Harrington is one of nine Negro members. He gave us some <sup>insight</sup> ~~insight~~ into the possible political conflicts of certain people who had <sup>an</sup> interest in the committee's work, and also the motivation of some of the committee members and persons who had a voice in the setting up of the committee. He stated that much of the mayor's concern for what is done in the black community is based on the fact that he knows that Rev. <sup>as</sup> Clague will take over the community if given the opportunity. The chairman of the committee, Joseph L. Hudson, feels warmly toward <sup>as</sup> Clague. Harrington feels that Hudson is sincere and because of this, Hudson and the mayor have a very cautious relationship. He also told us that the mayor and the governor have a strained relationship because the governor feels that the mayor cannot be "held in <sup>line</sup> ~~hand~~" in these matters.

It is Harrington's opinion that the Negroes on the committee can be quite influential, although they comprise less than 25% of the total

membership. He feels that this influence will derive from the fact that many whites are reluctant to flatly ~~deny~~ <sup>deny</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> demands made by ~~many~~ the Negro members of the committee. He told us that although the Negroes on the committee ~~who~~ were chosen according to the various shades of opinion they represented on the spectrum from moderate to militant, they had found that they feel much the same on most issues, and they do try to maintain a united front. In this connection, he advised us that the Negro members of the committee meet as a group, both before and after each meeting of the committee to discuss what has happened in various subcommittees prior to the meeting of the full committee and also to plan what position the various Negro members ought to take in subcommittee meetings which are to be held in days following the regular meetings of the full committee.

When we asked <sup>whether the black community was making any connection</sup> ~~between~~ the lack of funds to solve ghetto problems and the war in Vietnam, we were told by Mr. House that that connection was definitely being made by the Negro militants. However, he felt that it was not being made in the black community at large at this time. This situation is likely to change, <sup>however, in the near future, and change rapidly because one of the</sup> positions of the citizens city-wide action committee is ~~the relationship between~~ <sup>that</sup> the war in Vietnam <sup>is responsible for</sup> and the lack of resources to solve Negro problems in this country. Mr. House told us that there was at present no widespread draft dodging or refusal to serve in the war on the part of the young Negro males in Detroit, <sup>He feels that this is so</sup> because many of them still feel the necessity to find channels through which they can prove

themselves capable in order to dispell their own sense of inferiority.

Harrington stated that in many instances he feels that the black soldier is willing to go twice as far as the white soldier in an attempt to be accepted as a man and a productive citizen. Mr. House pointed out that many of the Negro militants in Detroit are sympathetic with the position of the Vietnamese people. He ~~took note to point~~<sup>pointed</sup> out that this did not indicate that the black militants were oriented ~~to~~<sup>toward</sup> communism because they felt no more allegiance toward Russia and communism than they do toward the U.S. and capitalism, ~~but~~<sup>however</sup> that they do feel some allegiance to the colored people of the world who are colonized, just as the American Negro is colonized. Mr. House added that a number of returning veterans of the Vietnam conflict had said to him that they now realized how wrong they had been to go there and fight, when there was so much fighting to be done here in America on the black man's battle ground, the ghetto.

H-19

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: Continuation of the House and Harrington interview from Belt 35

Both Mr. House and Mr. Harrington stated that the prospects for a long season of peace in Detroit are not good since the power structure has taken no visible steps to eradicate the underlying causes of the July disorder.

INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION

Mr. House is a Negro in his early 20's. He has been active in student groups in Detroit in the past but I get the impression that he is not very active at present. I feel that he also is not very active in black militant organizations but he seems to be acquainted with many of the black militant leaders. On the other hand, Mr. Harrington, a Negro 18 years of age, is and has been quite active in student organizations in the Detroit area. He is also a member of the new Detroit Committee and would probably make an interesting witness since he bridges the gap from student activities to the activities that are being carried on by the new Detroit Committee. He does not talk the black separatist line but he is militant in his speech and is very sensitive to the <sup>frustration of</sup> ~~oppression which has been suffered~~ by the black community in Detroit.



I. C. 26  
H-20

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

- 29 -

(3)

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: Milton Henry and Richard Henry

Both of these gentlemen are reportedly functioning closely with the Black Nationalist. This organization believes in the separation of races with each controlling their physical boundaries.

Milton or Richard Henry are also both members of the Malcomb X Society which is another ~~extremist~~ <sup>extremist</sup> society functioning in the Detroit area. Chiefly they use the incidents of brutality or administrative lackdies to unite people toward massing for the specific object, black power or black reaction to white injusticies. They

generally tend to ~~train these men by~~ <sup>point towards injustices</sup> ~~of the past and~~ in at present and utilize the theory of armament to gain ~~the~~ popularity with the current fad toward MILITARY. <sup>SOME</sup> Many people <sup>ARE</sup> following them due to the lack of change from other methods. ~~And~~ these two gentlemen are professing a general and unique theory ~~of~~ to other

elements of the community by <sup>STATING</sup> utilizing a white separate state and a black separate state <sup>IS THE ANSWER TO THEIR PROBLEMS</sup> ~~to be housed in the same physical contact.~~

<sup>POPULAR</sup> ~~They AREN'T TOO~~ <sup>however their following is growing</sup> ~~see no reasonable cause to be alarmed at the outgrowth of~~

~~two factors(?)~~ simply because the more modern Negro isn't thinking of separation, isn't thinking of integration and the more extreme Negro who reacts <sup>negatively</sup> against any basic transformation of ~~in~~ his body to other areas. Henry has mentioned on several occasions that he believes

in a revisulation of the Negro <sup>history</sup> culture, which he has proved in the <sup>states</sup> past, placed a lot of effort in attempts to educate more people in the theory of right thru legal machinery. <sup>IS FROG HADY</sup> ~~He~~ in this capacity <sup>not as being noted as the champion</sup> he is effective, due to his status as an attorney, he tends to basically change <sup>and on the no. line</sup> the rights of the black man in court ~~xxxxxxx~~ and with this as his <sup>reputation</sup> core he jumps into many controversial issues which he lacks the general capacity to deal with. At the moment he is involved with changing <sup>the</sup> the cause for a reform in the police ~~xxxxxx~~ department. He has split himself up into <sup>too</sup> these numerous segments and fragments ~~and~~ really never completed or consolidated <sup>to finish or conclude</sup> any of them effectively to ~~cause an~~ <sup>He is at present trying</sup> to form a <sup>consolidation</sup> ~~fighter~~ coalition with the ~~xxxx~~ some of the other power leaders in the community like Rev. <sup>Clayton</sup> Claygue, Nick Hood for a <sup>black</sup> ~~consolidated~~ class movement to attain <sup>economic gains</sup> But most of his attempts are <sup>extremist</sup> failing because most of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>moderates & extremists</sup> repugnate the moderates and the moderates repugnate the ~~xxxxxxx~~ extremist. His basic aim is to lead a separate black movement to Africa or back to an area where black would dominate. <sup>because of achievement</sup> ~~However,~~ losing faith in this he is moving rapidly towards separate control of the ghetto, and ~~he~~ <sup>is tending</sup> to draw those individuals and those organizations which basically function on this <sup>to his leadership</sup> ~~premis~~ towards ~~him~~. He ~~deals~~ <sup>is</sup> associated generally with whites and therefore as a leader has become ineffective with the hard core black militant. His attempt to bring about coalition therefore is doomed for failure from ~~this extreme end~~ and also

INFLUENCE: BLACK SEPARATIST MOVEMENT - HENRY

doomed for failure from the moderate end unless his positioning is changed from one or the other groups. I see a general gradual weakening in his stand and then a more conservative ~~functioning in~~ <sup>ATTITUDE towards</sup> the society which will form or ~~basically take form in the Negro~~ <sup>and his involvement</sup> or black ~~collaboration~~ <sup>collaboration</sup> groups. He at present is generally aware of legal functionings and is very afraid of being placed outside of the law and therefore tends towards ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> conservative nature ~~as we pointed out~~ <sup>as we pointed out</sup> The true aims in his present activity, as priorly mentioned has no consolidated ~~or purpose or~~ strength at present, however, the popularity of the middle class is beginning to ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> wain toward ~~futility by the~~ <sup>extent of</sup> ~~constant preaching and heckling the inequities and the presence of~~ <sup>his efforts</sup> the riot tended to increase ~~the~~ <sup>his</sup> stand for militancy among his group. He mostly appeals to the low income groups who are the has nots and who don't have anything to lose by being extremist and therefore ~~he~~ <sup>most</sup> has a good potential for growth in that area. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>will be</sup> ~~Black Nationalist~~ To date Milton Henry is not a confessed Black Nationalist or a confessed Malcom X, he associates only close with both these groups. ~~Most of the comments that have been placed where~~ <sup>and acts as their secretary</sup> Milton Henry goes for Richard Henry and being brothers they function very close with the same objects, Milton Henry being the leader of the ~~duo~~ and Richard Henry follows his every statement. Inas far as civil rights demonstrations and leading groups he has always professed racial overtones throughout the history of the ~~strikes the~~ <sup>SIT-INS - MARCHES etc</sup> militancies and even so far as ~~efforts to consolidate black~~ <sup>efforts</sup>

and their basic interest <sup>is</sup> different and various conferences they have held. He has participated plus they have attempted several movements for extending African Culture in the US by utilizing African Nationalist <sup>AND</sup> being transported <sup>of them to US.</sup> most of these attempts have failed, <sup>generally</sup> mostly from the lack of funds or lack of basic interest in the Negro community.

When asked about police brutality, both of the Henrys' seemed <sup>to be</sup> ~~be~~ overly <sup>PESIMISTIC</sup> optimistic about the complaint records that they have and also the extensive history and recording of these complaints. They pointed out realistically to this person that they have a cause. <sup>for claim by showing pictures of Boston people's records of injustices.</sup> We don't know precisely from looking at the records and memorizing the exact details of some of the complaints, <sup>what cases were mentioned</sup> but most of them center around the areas of over-excessiveness for handling prisoners, or basically when they were confined or being confined <sup>in a sense of</sup> ~~lack of~~ <sup>domestic times, or great police brutality.</sup> answering to urgent calls or emergency calls when certain individuals were ~~actually~~ killed. They pin pointed to ~~pointed out~~ several incidents recently that occurred when one Negro couple picnicing at River Rouge Park <sup>was attacked</sup> where the pregnant wife was raped and the husband was killed by a group of teenage youngsters who basically hadn't been brought to justice to date, and they pointed to the numerous other ~~XXXX~~ popular cases, like the Algiers Motel Case as being typical of the white type of justice that is being handed out in Detroit. And they point to Cynthia Scott case <sup>was mentioned</sup> where the prostitute was killed and the policeman was exonerated and later subsequently shot himself. ~~But in~~ In - all of these cases, and ~~with~~ the highlight cases there has been

was very good with overtones of how  
inhuman they are - or what sort of help they  
to police

H-24

They point frequently to the  
astigmatism that is not present in Detroit by the police. Mr. Henry

has been a ~~capable~~ and community leader in addition to

his civil rights efforts - He has  
presented ~~and~~ <sup>led</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>reform</sup> programs for the  
educational & social structures in  
Grand Rapids & Detroit

J.M. 41

J-1

(G)

Detroit

Interviewer: John J. Ursu + Bernie Dobranski

Interviewees: Mr. Arthur Johnson, Deputy Superintendent of Schools (School-Community Relations Division) and Dr. Wattenberg, Deputy Superintendent (Division of Child Accounting and Adjustment)

Mr. Johnson was our principal interviewee at the administrative offices of the Detroit Public Schools, and all statements set forth herein should be attributed to him unless otherwise indicated.

Mr. Johnson's Division is the only such department in the country that is operated at the "Deputy level." Johnson reports directly to the Superintendent.

In Mr. Johnson's opinion, Negroes in Detroit are more concerned with the quality of public school education than are the whites. The Negroes have learned that a good education is an essential step to their realization of equal opportunities. He said that the parents of lower class children do communicate their concerns, beliefs and criticisms to the Board and the Administration. He cites community concern as a definite "plus" in Detroit.

The Knudsen Junior High incident (see my Simpkins report) was a violent expression of ghetto dissatisfaction with the present quality of Detroit schools. A brand new building, he says, no longer satisfies the needs of the poor, whose only hope is a reasonably high mental achievement level produced by the educational system. Detroit schools suffer from a lack of local administrators who are fully aware of all the sociological problems that present themselves for cure in the public schools. In this recent incident, the community told the System to remove the principal or it would remove him. (See

✓ III-1A EDUCATION, QUALITY N. MORE CONCERNED THAN W.

✓ III-1A EDUCATION, QUALITY NO LONGER JUST PAPER PLANT

~~III-1-A~~ EDUCATION, ~~[REDACTED]~~

CANT

~~[REDACTED]~~ FIRE

INEFFICIENT

-2

(Johnson Ex. F)

also the attached report, on the Northern High revolt.)

Aside from adequate finances, the school system's most serious problem is its inability to demand efficiency from those who work in it. People who have proven that they have no business serving as teachers or administrators are almost impossible to remove.

Mr. Johnson points to conditions at the level of higher education as having a deleterious impact on elementary and high school education for inner-city children. Most Negro teachers in the Detroit

~~III-1-C~~

EDUCATION, FACULTY

MOST FROM SMALL SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

schools, including himself, are products of the small Southern Negro colleges. He states that the training received there is simply second or third rate. His college, Moorehouse, has an endowment of about \$10,000,000, while Harvard, he says, enjoys the income from \$900,000,000. He is especially upset over the fact that the University of Michigan, a highly prestigious state school, has only 450 Negro students out of a total enrollment of 30,000.

~~III-1-D~~ UOYM SHALL GO N. EDUCATION: ADD. TO DATE.

Mr. Johnson believes that Negroes must be admitted in greater numbers to all the leading universities. The impact of de facto unequal opportunities at that level filters down to big city school systems and perpetuates the second class citizenship of American Negroes.

Both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Zwerdling expressed beliefs that the attached statement of ~~(Johnson Ex. A)~~ Rev. Albert Cleage presented to the Board on behalf of the Inner City Organizing Committee contains just criticism of the Detroit Public Schools. Mr. Johnson also submitted to the writer the attached statement of School Superintendent Norman Drachler (Ex. B) which was presented to the Subcommittee on Education, U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, after the Detroit riot. Both documents, in my opinion, deserve careful attention.

~~[REDACTED]~~



J-3

Statistical information relating to Racial Distribution of Students and Personnel in Detroit Public Schools is contained in the attached document of that title, <sup>Ex. C.</sup> Attached also are copies of the Annual School Withdrawal Studies, <sup>marked as Ex. D and E.</sup> ~~The School System is very reluctant to identify the specific schools, and it uses a code system instead of the school name.~~ Dr. Wattenberg went through the senior high school report and described the racial character of each. The significance of the symbols used by the writer is set forth at the foot of the first page of that document. In the event that this Commission finds that it has a need for the School System's code, <sup>for the Junior High Schools)</sup> I believe a letter to the Superintendent, Norman Drachler, or to A. L. Zwerdling, Member of the Board of Education, would result in their submission of this information.

Mr. Johnson also reported that the Detroit Public Schools lead the nation in the use of textbooks and subject-matter that more accurately portray the Negro in American life and history. The System maintains a portfolio of proper photographs that ~~are~~ publishers may use in place of the "lily-white" pictures that customarily appear in school texts.

We were unable to arrange an adequate time for an interview with Dr. Wattenberg. In the few minutes we did spend with him, he pointed out the following:

✓ II-1-A EDUCATION, QUALITY OF UNBIASED N. HISTORY PHOTOS

(1) The schools were providing jobs for students who met poverty program standards this summer. One program was financed with Neighborhood Youth Corps funds. Of the 1,500 students participating here, only 15 were arrested during the riot (8 for curfew violations and 7 for looting). In a second program (Job Upgrading), only 3 were arrested (all for curfew violations) out of 300. In view of these statistics,

✓ II-1-A ~~ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS~~ ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS, RESULTS OF MEMBERS = SMALL IN RIOTS; IMMUNIZING EFFECTS

he believes that good poverty programs have an "immunizing effect" for those who participate in them.

(2) The Board of Education received information from the Michigan Civil Rights Commission's regional centers in Detroit that high school graduates were not getting jobs in the city this year. This was unusual, since last year, according to Wattenberg, just about all the June grads were in jobs by December. He said that students are told by everyone to stay in school so that they will get jobs. This condition was a "seedbed for disorder," according to Wattenberg.

(3) The heavy dependence in Detroit on the automobile manufacturers and their suppliers for employment means that the job market is relatively poor in the summer. The auto companies shut down for changeover at this time, and there is little need for vacation replacements.

#### Evaluation

Arthur<sup>r</sup> Johnson is an articulate man who is, initially, somewhat reluctant to speak his own mind. When he does open up, he provides valuable insight into the problems of education for Detroit's Negroes. However, I believe that he would add little to what I have recorded in this report.

We spent too little time with Dr. Wattenberg to evaluate him.

-27- (G)

I.C. 18

J-8

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: Interview with Arthur Johnson, Deputy Director of the NAACP in Detroit

Mr. Johnson seems to be a middle income Negro living in a community, <sup>ASA</sup> administrating official in the organizational structure of the NAACP. <sup>HE</sup> ~~who~~ comes into contact with a great deal of Negroes. He seems to think the vast majority of Negroes want more satisfactory facilities, <sup>PARTICULARLY THOSE</sup> which administrate to them. There basic mistrust <sup>HE STATED</sup> is caused by seeing their friends who just a few years back were walking the streets earning nothing, ~~are~~ now presenting making \$20,000 on so-called jobs heading departmental agencies or functioning as administrators in large organizations. However, deep within them there is a resentment that these people not only will deal with them ineffectively but are in fact a detriment to them.

In <sup>TRUTH TOO</sup> ~~fact~~, it proves that <sup>THIS</sup> social structure which professes equality through effort and <sup>THROUGH</sup> endeavorment is failing. Most of the Negroes, he seems to feel, having <sup>THAT</sup> positions don't have authority and therefore are ineffectual to remedy any conditions that come before them. <sup>MOST OF THE</sup> ~~But~~ time they communicate what is needed by discussion <sup>AND MORE</sup> ~~excuses~~ to the white man who heads the structure, frustration sets in or the cause is lost. <sup>WITH THE DELAYS WHICH ARE CAUSED</sup>

The neighborhood programs particularly need more dedicated and professional administration, not political appointees who repeatedly use their position as setting stones to gain insights into better <sup>POSITION</sup> ~~positioning~~ or to look upward to disenchant themselves from reality <sup>OF THEIR</sup> ~~OF THEIR~~ OWN LIVES.

The highest degree of animosity he states comes when a Negro comes in contact with the tendency to not be able to reach those who are in power, those who are in a position to do immediately away with their problem of <sup>By being given</sup> giving others a substitute. Usually in these instances, a phone is useless and personal conversation impossible. <sup>RELIEF IS NEVER GOTTEN JUST OUT OF LACK OF FAITH - DUE TO PAST INFERIORITY</sup>

Since a Negro is usually in a lower economic level, he is not mobile, he does not have extensive money to spend to investigate who and where and what. He does not want to keep being transferred from one physical location to the next to find out what really is going on, who is the best one to see. He does not have the leisure to not suffer from these types of conditions. The general run around is given in most instances until he proves he is going to make a pest out of himself. This greatly irritates individuals and creates ill will toward the agencies and toward any political entity who uses these methods.

<sup>THE</sup> In welfare <sup>AGENCIES</sup> conditions, it <sup>IS</sup> has been generally known that <sup>they</sup> they test the individual to note his capacity for need. First he is told to keep coming back, then he is told what he needs and this need is really far shorter than the actual estimate. It is left to him to agitate for the difference. In <sup>TIME</sup> term this really creates a person of hostility who although he accepts the rewards or the fruits that are forthcoming believes that in the end he has to chop the tree.

I.B. 13  
J-5

(6)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Walter Duke

✓  
IX-2-D LIBERAL  
IX-1-A MILITANT  
Subject: Interview with Frank Joyce  
REVOLT TO TAKE OVER GHETTO

NOTE:  
Joyce is  
white.  
Duke is  
color  
blind

Frank Joyce, an extremist and militant type of individual, who is Negro, and is constantly advocating revolution not against the power structure, but out to take over control of the ghetto. He desires the control of center city immediately to consolidate a black mass which will eventually control political and economic segments of the community. These eventually he wishes to dominate. His particular platform seems to be the seeking of educational values immediately to prepare for higher society which he thinks the black man will be <sup>of</sup> great entity of in the future. Particularly he seeks control of the educational, social and recreational facilities immediately to instill a proper perspective for the youth in the black communities. He thinks this stress has been neglected throughout years, ~~and even publicly today~~ that the value has tended away from the important elements of scientific and business administration stresses. Primarily education specialties such as scientific and business administration, <sup>is a must</sup> to gain more control over economic <sup>is his point for as</sup> his ultimate goal in this area. He feels that the school system should be controlled by the forces in the ghetto immediately and he even threatens the use of force to gain these ends and seemingly would side with militants to upset the social order now present if his reform type of activity doesn't work within a more peaceful means. He claims that the community needs ultimate <sup>BLACK DOMINATION</sup> for self protection

✓  
IX-2-d LIBERAL  
IX-1-A MILITANT ORGANIZATION - JOYCE, YOUTH PREPARATION

IX-2-d LIBERAL  
IX-1-A MILITANT ORGANIZATION - [REDACTED], COMM. CONTROLLED SCHOOL

He feels that such wouldn't be necessary if the police would do their proper function. He feels that the average individual has been let down by many numerous programming that are in effect in the community and that the overall value is more harmful than good. He feels that the responsibility of the individual should be taken on his own incentive and not by a mass grouping of socialistic agencies. However, he feels the agencies should be present to give aid and ~~to~~ to encourage people. He feels advisory and guidance ~~is~~ <sup>IS THERE PROPER FUNCTION</sup> certain basic denied. For instance, <sup>IT IS THE MIDDLE CLASS NEGRO</sup> ~~of that class~~ <sup>HE</sup> ~~in that~~ <sup>POINTS TO THE FACT</sup> the lower elements or other irresponsible people have tended to create an image that all Negroes are bad or "we can't trust a Negro" attitude from the white man. Even after working hard and placing forth extreme efforts to gaining education, he has no practical outlet for it, because the barrier is placed in front of him to gain the enormous benefits that <sup>THE MIDDLE</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>NEGRO TO RECEIVE THESE BENEFITS</sup> ~~class~~ has on the white side. Generally he feels that this is a most frustrating position for a Negro to find himself in and ultimately it is this Negro who will cause the revolution that he feels will be present in the near future. Militancy, he states, is still popular, but not in the majority. It is within the framework of reform ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ and trusts that the white man will change. However, he feels that, wherein the Negro attempts to drive the white man to prove this change, <sup>IS NECESSARY</sup> ~~harder~~ and harder repercussions will be suffered, and a more bitter and bitter state of frustration will evolve from ~~the~~ <sup>THE</sup> Negro, which will eventually cause him to seek force as his only solution. Then he feels the moderates will be chained to militancy

ALTHUS FAR THIS

J-17

and so the rebellion will be on.



I.A. 18  
K-1

(B)  
INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Bernard Dobranski

Subject: Interview with Robert Knox, Director-Secretary, Detroit Housing Commission on October 19, 1967

~~Mr. Knox began by stating that an acute housing shortage exists in Detroit, as in other large cities across the country, and that an acute housing shortage exists.~~ <sup>the city of</sup> During the July 1967 riots, Detroit,

with the help of Federal agencies and private citizens' groups, was able to house all people <sup>who requested assistance, because they were burned out of their homes during the riot.</sup> ~~who were burned out of homes who had requested assistance.~~ During the riots, 321 housing units were <sup>destroyed by fire,</sup> ~~burned.~~

<sup>However,</sup> The loss through fire of commercial establishments during the riot <sup>according to Mr. Knox</sup> was much greater than the destruction of housing. A good many of those housing units destroyed were units located above commercial establishments.

Mr. Knox <sup>asserted</sup> ~~said~~ that the Federal government was very helpful in providing emergency quarters for people displaced by the riots. GSA, for example, <sup>turned over</sup> gave 48 units located at Fort Anthony Wayne ~~within the city of Detroit.~~ A reservoir of 23 units was provided by the Veterans Administration. Seventy units were provided by FHA. An additional 28 <sup>with who</sup> were provided by the Detroit Board of Education. In sum, <sup>said Mr. Knox,</sup> "we were able to pretty/house, <sup>well at least</sup> in the short and middle run, everyone who requested housing."

Mr. Knox has been <sup>Director-Secretary of</sup> ~~affiliated with~~ the Detroit Housing Commission <sup>Commission as Director-Secretary</sup> for approximately five and a half years. ~~Ever since Mayor Cavanaugh was elected to office.~~ ~~XXXXXX~~

✓ II-1-2 FIRE DAMAGE

321 HOUSING UNITS

K-2

<sup>Commission</sup>  
 The ~~Detroit Housing Commission~~ handles both public housing and urban renewal. It does pretty much the same work on the local level as HUD does on the national level, <sup>according to Mr. Knox</sup> Currently they have some 50 projects <sup>under way</sup> ~~going~~. These, however, are a joke, according ~~xxx~~ to Mr. Knox.

"We are beginning projects without adequate Federal funding," <sup>said Mr. Knox</sup>  
 "We just can't wait any longer. We must, therefore, use city funds which are totally inadequate to do the job."

The Detroit Housing Commission controls 3,000 acres for clearance purposes, ~~it controls~~ 9,000 acres for neighborhood conservation projects, 600 acres for code enforcement projects and 8,178 public housing units.

The Commission also is encouraging the construction of middle cost housing ~~xxxxxx~~ units. <sup>Mr. Knox said that</sup> Although these projects are referred to as middle cost, the price is much higher than most Negroes are able to pay."

Mr. Knox believes that Detroit has the best relocation program in the country. It still is inadequate, however. <sup>He believes that</sup> One of the reasons for the relatively good record <sup>city's</sup> has been <sup>the</sup> traditional soft housing market in the Detroit area. However, housing is becoming harder and harder to obtain ~~xxxxxx~~ and the job of relocation is becoming more and more difficult."

<sup>Mr. Knox also pointed out that</sup> The Commission is required under law to <sup>relocate the people who are</sup> place an adequate standard of housing of people who <sup>displaced in "adequate, standard housing"</sup> are displaced. So far, <sup>said Mr. Knox,</sup> we have been somewhat successful. However, it is becoming more and more difficult.

✓ E-2-c ALIENATION, HOUSING: MIDDLE COST HOUSING TOO HIGH

✓ E-2-c ALIEN, HOUSING (RELOCATION) TRADITIONAL "SOFT HOUSING" CHANGING

K-3

The most urgent need, according to Mr. Knox, is substantial amounts of <sup>Federal</sup> money, ~~in funding for housing provided by the Federal~~ <sup>The funds were provided by the Federal government</sup> government as programs now are "painfully and pitifully inadequate."

We have, according to Mr. Knox, over \$1 million worth of applications awaiting approval on Washington but none of the money is coming in.

However, <sup>however,</sup> the city can not sit ~~idly~~ <sup>by</sup> and ~~do~~ <sup>do nothing</sup> something.

Mr. Knox believes that Detroit is doing an inadequate job but <sup>it is</sup> still a better job than most cities, <sup>are doing.</sup> ~~In total,~~ <sup>It only</sup> amounts to "a nibble on the edge of a massive problem."

Mr. Knox then <sup>discussed</sup> ~~began to discuss~~ again the relocation policies of city of Detroit. "We will," he said, "guarantee ~~any~~ <sup>to</sup> good standard of housing <sup>in any area of the city</sup> for anyone <sup>who is displaced</sup> displaced in any area of the city. ~~Of course,~~ <sup>He admitted that</sup> such housing is often difficult to come by and 60 percent of the relocation of Negroes is to other Negro areas. <sup>that</sup> In the predominantly white areas, <sup>he explained that</sup> however, very few units are available. In the Negro areas, we are much more likely to find a unit available." We are not, said Mr. Knox, "doing the job we should be doing."

<sup>Mr. Knox pointed up pride</sup> He did point with pride, however, to the fact that, in 18 years, the Detroit Housing Commission <sup>never has</sup> evicted a family.

<sup>Mr. Knox stated that the Housing Commission's</sup> ~~Our~~ main concern with urban renewal is ~~not~~ to get people into standard housing and to get rid of dilapidated slum areas. It is basically a slum clearance program. ~~If, during the course of our~~ <sup>we believe that decent</sup> clearance, we do beautify the area by putting in middle or high cost housing, the is only a secondary objective. ~~We believe that decent~~

✓ THE-3-HOUSING! LITTLE GOV'T MONEY

K-4

in an affluent society such as ours  
standard housing is a right for all people and not a privilege," <sup>created Mr Knox.</sup>  
especially in an affluent society such as ours.

<sup>According to Mr Knox,</sup>  
The state of Michigan completely ignores the problems of the city. Last year, <sup>the state</sup> they did pass some legislation in the form of tax abatement, but <sup>did not provide</sup> provided no funds under it. A few years ago, the legislature did fund tax abatement for construction of senior citizen housing. ~~ix Now, however, a state housing authority has been instituted, although it is not yet funded, it gives some promise of abatement and supplemental income.~~

The city has no real spokesman in the State Legislature <sup>to protect the</sup>  
Mr. Knox believes that the city has <sup>the</sup> good tools and <sup>the</sup> good <sup>city's interests,</sup> programs for the construction of adequate housing. The real problem, <sup>say that Knox</sup> he says, <sup>is</sup> again is the need for much money quickly."

~~The~~ He believes that the New Detroit Committee can be very helpful in solving the housing problem in Detroit, especially in its <sup>lobbying</sup> ~~legis~~ activities, both on the state and Federal level. "The white <sup>if</sup> businessmen who form nucleus of it are extremely powerful and they swing their weight behind the attempts to solve the problems they may be very effective."

If an open housing statute was passed in Michigan it would not have much concrete effect, but it <sup>promise</sup> would <sup>bring</sup> result in tremendous changes in attitudes, <sup>stated Mr Knox,</sup> as a result of its passage.

<sup>According to Mr Knox,</sup> Forty-eight percent of Negroes in <sup>Detroit</sup> Michigan own their own homes. This is the highest percentage in the country. ~~There is not much urban housing in Detroit. Mr Knox said the Commission is trying~~

✓ III-3-C HOUSING: ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ HIGHEST U.S. 970 OWN HOMES (48%)

There is not much public housing in Detroit. This is a problem for them <sup>in the</sup> ~~to change this but again it is a lack of funds.~~ <sup>Some old problem — no money.</sup> K-5

← Public housing consists of 60 percent Negroes and 40 percent whites. All <sup>the</sup> projects are thoroughly integrated, according to

Mr. Knox, and no real problems have arisen. <sup>in Mr. Knox's opinion,</sup> The Negro slums <sup>are</sup>

good compared with the slums that exist in other cities, ~~but~~

Relative to the rest of the Detroit <sup>housing</sup> market, <sup>however,</sup> they are very

bad. There are 80,000 substandard, deteriorated units in the city

of Detroit. <sup>Mr. Knox pointed out, however, that</sup> Even these units, ~~however,~~ do possess plumbing and

electricity, ~~no matter how inadequate,~~ <sup>although in many cases they</sup> are <sup>seriously</sup> inadequate.

✓ III-3-B HOUSING, SEGREGATION:  
ALL PROJECTS INTEGRATED

✓ III-1-A  
HOUSING, QUALITY: 80,000 SUBSTANDARD UNITS

K-6

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dobranski

Subject: Interview with Robert Knox, Director-Secretary, Detroit Housing Commission. Interviewed in Detroit, Michigan on October 19, 1967

*According to Mr. Knox,*  
Enforcement of the housing code in Detroit is done by three different agencies -- <sup>the</sup> Building and safety commission, <sup>the</sup> health <sup>department</sup> ~~commission~~ <sup>and</sup> the fire commission. They all do an inadequate job. They usually respond to complaints, but do not systematically attack the wide-spread abuses that exist in housing in Detroit.

*Mr. Knox then outlined the procedure that is followed to enforce the housing codes:*

~~Violations~~ <sup>alleged</sup> violations of the ordinances are brought <sup>before the</sup> in Traffic Ordinance Court. They are first taken <sup>heard by a</sup> ~~to a~~ referee and then, if either party is dissatisfied, <sup>heard</sup> before a Judge. Ninety-five percent of the cases ~~just~~ <sup>only</sup> go to the referee. Some referees and Judges do a good job and some, ~~do~~ a bad job. On the whole, they ~~generally~~ are getting better. Mr. Knox said, "we, <sup>with</sup> meaning the Detroit Housing Commission] bug the hell out of them, <sup>for example,</sup> whereas, a few years ago the fines would be \$10 to \$25 per violation, <sup>they are</sup> they are now, <sup>getting to be</sup> getting to be \$50 to \$65 per violation. This is for the first violation. The <sup>fine for an</sup> second violations are <sup>in</sup> ~~also getting~~ much steeper.

Mr. Knox said that he is aware of the cry of the Negro communities in many cities that urban renewal is really Negro <sup>renewal</sup> ~~renewal~~. Detroit he said, however, is an exception to this. The Negro community has supported urban renewal <sup>to a very large degree - for example,</sup> very much. Not too long ago, some white suburban clergymen came ~~down~~ to Detroit and raised the cry

✓ IT-A HOUSING QUALITY: HOUSING CODE ENFORCEMENT IN ADEQUATE

that urban renewal really <sup>was</sup> is nothing but Negro removable. The position however of the Housing Commission/was supported by the Negro community against the ministers. Even Reverend Cleage a militant Negro clergyman, <sup>has</sup> had supported, <sup>the Commission in a few</sup> ~~in particular instances,~~ <sup>albeit</sup> ~~although he does so~~ reluctantly.

Since the July riots, <sup>the</sup> Housing Commission has been working very closely with the 12th Street community, <sup>said Mr. Knox.</sup> [It was the 12th Street area, ~~said Mr. Knox,~~ that suffered the most damage during the riot.] For example, ~~said Mr. Knox,~~ we are discussing plans for the construction of a shopping center, ~~a shopping center,~~ which will house such things as cooperative buying centers. Mr. Knox said that <sup>his</sup> preference is that the shopping center be manned by black merchants rather than having the whites <sup>go</sup> return to the black community.

Mr. Knox again emphasized the importance of getting large sums of federal money. He suggested that it is time for <sup>the Federal Government</sup> us to re-examine <sup>the</sup> ~~our~~ priorities. He pointed out that federal money appropriated for urban renewal is only 10 percent of the amount appropriated for surplus agricultural commodities, one percent of the amount appropriated for <sup>sub</sup> space projects, <sup>and</sup> 33 1/3 percent of that appropriated for super-sonic transport development. "It is, suggests Mr. Knox, much more important to be able to walk in Detroit than it is to walk in space." Mr. Knox also claimed that <sup>it is the</sup> FHA and its discriminatory policies that is responsible for the white <sup>moral</sup> ~~loose~~ that is around every large city. FHA is not composed of socially motivated people. He insisted that any socially-oriented program should not be put under the jurisdiction of FHA.

<sup>Mr. Knox believes that</sup> The root cause of most of the housing segregation in Detroit

III-3

HOUSING

URBAN RENEWAL 10% AGRIC. SURPLUS



and in other cities across the country is the real estate people. They claim that they're ~~just~~ <sup>only</sup> following the desires of their clients. However, as a former real estate man, he knows that the real estate people, themselves, "push and lead the thinking of their clients."

Finally, Mr. Knox informed me that ~~this~~ <sup>he has</sup> is not the first visit ~~from a study group~~ <sup>from a study group</sup> he had in the last few weeks, ~~from a study group~~. Last week, people from the Kaiser Commission spent over 14 hours with him. The day before my visit, October 19, Mr. Knox was visited by representatives of the McClellan Committee.

Attached hereto as Exhibit No. ~~A~~ is a packet of information concerning the work of the Housing Commission which was given to me by Mr. Knox.

✓ III-3-B HOUSING, REAL ESTATE PEOPLE  
SECREATION

Comments: Mr. Knox was very frank & open in his criticisms of the operation of his Commission. His attitude was a pleasant surprise. At ~~times~~ when I requested specific details, he, at times, appeared to be evasive, but on the whole, he was very informative.

I.C. 10

K-9

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Interview with Francis Kornegay, Executive Director of the Detroit Urban League; Roy Williams, Special Project Director for the Urban League and Miss OLA Jordan, the educational specialist with the Urban League

We had some difficulty obtaining an interview with Mr. Kornegay at the time we finally got in to see him, he expressed some disgust with the fact that the various wings of the federal government could not get together and exchange information. He told us that he had been visited several days before by two investigators from the <sup>McClellan</sup> ~~McClintock~~ Commission. After some preliminary apologies we finally got Mr. Kornegay to discuss the situation of the black man in Detroit and he made the following <sup>comments:</sup> ~~point:~~ It is Mr. Kornegay's contention that the basic conflict <sup>revolves</sup> ~~revolves~~ around the fact that the black man in Detroit wants freedom and peace. ~~If~~ he cannot have both at the same time he wants freedom first and peace later. The black man Mr. Kornegay says will no longer be satisfied with the formula proposed by the white man: ~~which is~~ <sup>first</sup> peace at present and we will discuss freedom afterwards. Mr. Kornegay stated that the black man has been so brain<sub>o</sub>washed that it has taken him until recent years to realize that non-violent persuasiveness will not work. He thinks that <sup>this</sup> ~~that~~ is part of the reason for outbreaks such as the one experienced by Detroit in the summer of 1967, <sup>A</sup> with regard to the welfare system, the poverty program and other <sup>kind</sup> ~~sorts~~ of programs that have been designed to raise the level of poor people, including the

IF-2-B N. VIEW CIVIL RTS. NON-VIOLENCE WON'T WORK

K-10

black community, Mr. Kornegay made an analogy to lend ~~lease~~ and dollar ~~diplomacy~~. He stated that America had put a great deal of money into foreign countries, <sup>particularly</sup> in ~~particular~~ war-torn Europe, <sup>but she</sup> has found that <sup>she can't buy</sup> it is ~~unable~~ to purchase friends, ~~through that means~~. In like fashion the ~~welfare~~ poverty programs and other assistance programs have been unable to buy friends for the white man in the black ghetto. He analogized the <sup>"YANKEE GO HOME!"</sup> cry of many foreign nations which we have helped ~~Yankes go home to the ghetto~~ <sup>with the cry</sup> which is now heard in the black ~~ghetto~~ <sup>"Honky get out!"</sup>. It <sup>is</sup> Mr. Kornegay's opinion that many of these programs were designed not to raise the ~~ghetto~~ Negro to a level <sup>which would make him</sup> ~~way~~ with the white man's equal, but simply to keep him placid in the state in which he has existed in this country for hundreds of years. ~~At about this point~~

At about this point Mr. Roy Williams entered the room and was introduced to us. We than adjourned to his office and continued the interview with Mr. Williams and Miss Ola Jordan. Mr. Williams, in addition to being special projects director for the Urban League is also on loan to the ~~New~~ Detroit ~~Committee~~ as a staff member.

He offered these observations about the tension in Detroit. The black man, according to Mr. Williams, is frustrated because he exists on the preiphery of society. He is always near but not there. ~~This~~ This frustration is reenforced by the constant fear that the police will brutalize him <sup>to</sup> as ~~a~~ reminder <sup>him</sup> that he is not a part of the main stream of society.

ANTI-  
VI-1-B POVERTY PROG. REVIEW: CAN'T BUY "N."

K-11

During the riot we were told that the real fear was not the possibility of being shot by a sniper, but that of being beaten or shot by a member of the Detroit police force or a National Guardsman. From what he observed on the streets during the riot, Mr. Williams concluded that the police seemed to feel as if they had a ~~license~~ license to retaliate for all of the acts that they had not been permitted to

*in a release for the which had built up frustrations due to the restraints under which Police Commissioner Gicardin had operated the force for the last three or four years, when they operated under some restraint from*

~~police commissioner~~ *Geordon?* He stated that black people observed many of these acts and were extremely angered by them. When the police officers were arrested in the Algiers Motel incident there was some hope in the black community that *perhaps* justice would prevail.

However, when many of the charges ~~involved~~ *implicated* against the several officers originally charged were dismissed, the black man's faith ~~and~~ *in* justice within the Police Department disappeared. This flicker of

hope was replaced by the old frustrations of the black community that *there was no source of* justice was ~~no where to be obtained from~~ *if an incident* the charge involved an act of brutality by a white man, be he police or otherwise, against a black

man. It is ~~of~~ because of this sense of frustration that the black man according to Mr. Williams now is demanding control over his own existence. He is aware that self-determination is no assurance that

everything will be better, but at least he will be the captain of his own fate. Mr. Williams characterized the New Detroit Hudson Committee as *an attempt by* the white communities ~~attempt~~ *this* to relieve that frustration in the

II-1-D POLICE COMM. RELATIONS  
POLICE RETALIATION - RIOT

K-12

black community. He described the committee and especially its white <sup>staff</sup> members as so naive about the Negro problem that they are going down to 12th street to talk to ADC mothers in an attempt to find out what the problems are in the black community. He stated that this is probably the first time that many of the whites on the committee have ever visited 12th street and ~~also~~ <sup>that</sup> the first time they had ever talked to an ADC mother during the day! He told us that the black community understood very well that the committee was not completely altruistic in its efforts but rather <sup>that</sup> the altruism was combined with selfishness since the big industrialists on the new Detroit committee do not want further outbreaks of violence in the city of Detroit.

Mr. Williams is a bit skeptical about whether or not the committee will actually accomplish anything, however, he sees it <sup>as</sup> at least a step toward trying to improve the situation. It is his opinion that the black community is attempting to find a new kind of inter<sup>preter</sup>rupter, a kind of <sup>Ombudsman</sup> ~~ambudsman~~, a black <sup>intellectual</sup> man, who can communicate with the white power structure <sup>to set</sup> setting forth the desires of the black community, <sup>yet</sup> ~~and still~~ remain responsible to the black community.

Mr. Williams stated that the black community needs a new kind of

Negro intellectual who can communicate with the white man in the white man's language, <sup>(in order to set forth the desires of the black community)</sup> but who will not become bit-by-bit <sup>remains responsible to the black community and</sup> captive of

the white community as small concessions are granted ~~from time to~~

~~time~~. <sup>9</sup> When we ask about activity during the riot, Mr. Williams told

us that he and Miss Jordan had observed the looting of several stores

including the large Westinghouse warehouse. He stated that the looters

K-13

appeared to him to feel that the merchandise was free and that <sup>if</sup> they did not take it, it would be burned. They seem <sup>to</sup> feel no moral compunction about taking goods which did not belong to them. He also stated that many of the people involved in the looting undoubtedly felt that they had a license to take whatever they wanted since the police were not ~~bothering~~ <sup>trying</sup> to stop the looting, ~~and many~~ <sup>that in many cases the police</sup> cases, <sup>Williams</sup> he was later told were involved in some looting themselves.

Judging from the kinds of items taken, Mr. Williams surmised that many of the people who were involved in the looting did not do it out of any sense of desperation or sense of need, however, some did <sup>root</sup> ~~do it~~ out of a sense of need. In this connection he states that many women were seen fleeing from drug stores with toilet items, others from grocery stores with cleaning equipment, mops and the like and in one instance he told us that he saw a little old lady of perhaps 75 years <sup>dragging</sup> with a 9 x 12 rug ~~dragging it~~ <sup>she was</sup> home being so exhausted after <sup>was</sup> 5 or 6 steps that she would have stop and rest <sup>before</sup> ~~and then~~ <sup>dragging</sup> the rug a little ~~ing~~ further. He assumes that she eventually made it home and for the first time in her very dreary life <sup>she</sup> had a ~~very~~ nice rug on her floor. On the subject of education, both Mr. Williams and Miss Jordan told us that the situation in Detroit public schools was extremely severe because of a lack of finances. There was a serious problem of over <sup>crowding</sup> and a complete break <sup>down</sup> in communication between the public schools and the black community. In this regard <sup>Williams</sup> told us Miss Jordan told us that she was attempting to organize several parents groups in order to <sup>motivate them to</sup> ~~plan~~ <sup>play a</sup> bigger role in the administration of their <sup>children's</sup> particular schools. This

was , however, a very tedious process that sometimes necessitated meetings for 6 or 8 weeks before any sort of effective organization could be formed. Miss Jordan referred to the protest boycott of the Northern High School, and stated that in the future, protest may not be as non-violent. It is interesting to note that the following week there was a rather violent protest at the <sup>Knudson</sup> ~~Newton~~ Junior High School; ~~where~~ students went on a rampage, kicking most of the windows in the school and committing other acts of vandalism.

INTERVIEWERS EVALUATION

Mr. Kornegay, Mr. Williams and Miss Jordan are all Negroes. Mr. Kornegay is in his late 50's or early 60's, and has been executive director of the Detroit Urban League for a number of years. In the opinion of the interviewers, Mr. Kornegay would make a good witness as to the trend of the Negro middle class toward militancy if he can be persuaded by the Commission <sup>to speak</sup> ~~frankly~~. He took a rather militant line during the course of our interview. Mr. Williams would be quite knowledgeable about the working of the New Detroit Committee and Miss Jordan is knowledgeable about the Detroit educational system.

\*\*\* As an addendum to the Kornegay, Jordan, Williams interview there should be appended 2 ~~pages~~ pamphlets, which were given to us by Mr. Kornegay; One is entitled "The Detroit Low Income <sup>Negro</sup> Family" and is labeled Kornegay exhibit A; the other is entitled "A Profile of the Detroit Negro" and is labeled Kornegay exhibit B.



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: John J. Ursu

Subject: Interview with Dr. Burton Levy, Director of Community Services,  
Michigan Civil Rights Commission

*the University of*  
Dr Levy, a Ph.D. from Massachusetts, has been with MCRC for three years. He spoke entirely on police-community relations.

MCRC's program assumes that there is a serious problem existing in the area of police-Negro relations, and it assumes that the problem can be solved. Nonviolent abuse by police of black citizens is the source of most of the tension. The "front line" of the police force -- the patrolmen, scout car policemen and sergeants -- are main culprits, but the cure can only come from the high levels of police administration.

Theoretically, at least, the police administration has the same power over the front line as any employer has over any employee. On duty behavioral patterns should be controllable through ordinary systems of rewards and punishments. A strong, McNamara type of commissioner in Detroit should be able to solve the police-community relations problem in that city.

Levy works with all the police chiefs in the state. As he convinces them of the true importance of good relations, and as they convince each other, one of the causes of civil disorder should be dissipated. (See the attached resolution of the Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police, <sup>Levy Ex. E</sup> for an encouraging example of the attitude of those men.)

The MCRC is cosponsoring (with the police chiefs) a program designed to get more Negroes onto police forces. (See attached promotional

VI-1-D POLICE/COMM. RELATIONS: MCRC (MICHIGAN CIVIL RTS. COMM.) PROG.

62

(- Levy Exs. F-H)

material.) The program is conducted with a \$15,000 federal grant, but the Chrysler Corporation has provided about \$150,000 worth of service and funds. Basically, the program encourages young men to apply, it aids them in finding out where the jobs are, and it employs the good offices of the various police chiefs to insure that jobs are available on an equal basis. This program was started before the riot.

The CRC established valuable precedent during the July riot. Tales of police abuse of prisoners were widespread, and CRC decided to send observers to all places of detention. Police and other detention authorities acquiesced in this move, but actual observers did not arrive until Friday, by which time most of the police violence had stopped.

Evaluation

Dr. Levy is a very <sup>ll</sup> well informed, intelligent and articulate man. He has done an enormous amount of work in police-community relations, and, if the Commission is interested in hearing an expert in this area, I would recommend that he be called.

G

156

I.B.6

L-13

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Walter Dukes

Subject: Interview with Elliot D. Luby, psychiatrist

Grievances in Detroit are not cured. Hostilities result and are at an increasing rate of growth because of the unimaginative reality of thoughts which masses of poor men have and the disbelief and disenchantment in constructive change. Fathers in the poor family definitely have no sense of reality. Mothers are limited by administrative <sup>RED</sup> tape. People are not in a position to receive and appreciate culture or education in this class, particularly when they are hungry.

And then ?????????????????? THEY DON'T HAVE MONEY OR EDUCATION ARE LOST IN A MAZE OF FUTILITY EVEN WHEN FACILITIES ARE PLACED IN THEIR MINDS TO AID THEM. THEY CAN'T BE REACHED IN THE KNOW CONVENTIONAL WAYS. THE ENTIRE SOCIETY MUST BE REVAMPED TO INCORPORATE THEM INTO IT.

G

-11-

I. B. 15

L-14

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: Interview with Don Lopsinger, a white ~~armist~~ <sup>SUPREMECIST</sup> in Detroit

Lopsinger is a white ~~armist~~ <sup>SUPREMECIST</sup> in Detroit who is professing the use of arms to prevent the intrusion of Negroes into the physical area and geographical area of the white domain; in addition to protect them physically from any harm, which is in effect imminently present by the lenient attitudes of the administrators and the government towards Negroes.

Mr. Lopsinger is DEDICATED and states that he has an effect only because there is a need, and that he stand for armament simply because it is a necessity; that he will make guns available at bargain prices, particularly in automatic weapons, and his philosophy is basically to kill before being killed. He wants particularly everyone kept in their place; through the use of power and affirmative protection of property. He wants a stronger police force and the criminal element particularly stopped in the Detroit area. When questioned as to why he affirmatively would provide guns for people interested in such, there was no question that if guns were provided and at hand that violence would erupt, and if they weren't present there would be no need for using them, he responded that if the guns were'nt present ~~either~~ possibly a life might be lost, and it would be a white life. I do believe that Mr. Lopsinger has a profit motive in his activities, in that these guns are paid for, he feels that he can become an eminent person in the com-

IX-2-~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ W. SUPREMECIST - LOPSINGER - ARMS

IX-2-~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ W. SUPREMECIST - LOPSINGER - "KILL, NOT BE KILLED"

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

munity through the handling of this type of interest; he is not getting a strong following, but has a cumulative effect from the lower economic level, who see the threat of the Negro intrusion as a real one, and who are being challenged constantly for position in jobs, and for educational space, by the Negro. Mr. Lopsinger seems to be AWARE OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST and when asked if they presented a threat to him, he commented that he could always protect his self, and the need for such from any black nationalist would be well taken care

IV-C RACE RELATIONS, MAJ. ARMS STOLEN FOR N.

of. It was pointed out that several sporting goods stores have been

rifled in the Detroit area recently, and arms taken out in sufficient

quantities. ~~It was subsequently asked, too, as to his impression of~~ <sup>TO START A SMALL REVOLUTION AND HE KNOWS WHO DID IT HE FELT THE</sup>

the riot and the causes for it; a statement came forth that the police had been too lax in their jobs and the Negroes presumably had been given too much, and had decided that they were going to

IV-C RACE RELATIONS, CONCEPT OF! POLICE LAX W/ N.

<sup>take more.</sup> I questioned Mr. Lopsinger as to his impression of the

present possibility of violence in the Detroit area; and he stated

that it was imminent, and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ almost assured. The only

question was when. I asked him his reasons for believing such, and

he responded that the feelings were so high and so intense over

the loss of property that any excuse and any justification for

taking out vengeance on a person or a group. <sup>WOULD CAUSE ANOTHER</sup> I asked Mr. Lopsinger

further as to his having any connection with any armament company

and he stated that he had done business in the line; however, this

was not his way of making a living and he was doing it for the social

good of the community; particularly the white community, and he felt

IV-C RACE RELATIONS, MAJ. VIOLENCE IMMINENT



- 13 -  
- 2 -

L-16

deeply responsible for its protection and that the police seemed to  
be inadequate to do the job.

I. B. 14

L-17

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

21

(G)

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Walter Duke S

Subject: Interview with Dr. J. Lorenzo

Dr. J. Lorenzo is an individual militant seeking reform within the existing framework of facilities. He as an individual seems to have more influence in the community than any others that I have observed. Particularly, he seems to be a champion of the causes of injustice through the legal recourses available to <sup>them</sup> him. As a prominent and practicing doctor, one suspects highly his motives in that he is constantly running behind victims and <sup>COMPLAINANTS</sup> complaints and supporting them in their righteousness, <sup>P</sup> particularly <sup>TOO</sup> he seems to be the only individual in the community who has initiated <sup>LEGISLATIVE</sup> legislation reform and fought against the power structure for the past six or seven years, even prior to noticeable disturbances in the Detroit area. Subsequently to the riot, he <sup>WAS A</sup> has witnessed <sup>TO</sup> several complaints, one of which was brought to our attention. He stated he saw the police brutally beat a man they were arresting in the back seat of a car. He has carried this complaint to the highest authority and personally stated that there will be no justice for the colored community or the lower social element as long as the police in Highland Park, Michigan continue to have the awesome power which they have been practicing over the last few years. In addition he professed a strong view that the police department would never change in the Detroit area, simply because the power did not <sup>COME FROM</sup> come from THE STOP OF THE FORCE, WHO WERE SYMPATHIC TO THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE - BUT FROM THE BOTTOM WHERE THE INDIVIDUALS WERE PREDJUDICE & RACIST.



The areas of their control even was stronger than the dictates and mandates from the top down to them from the mayor's office. The only recourse to the people was to have a legislative change which would, in effect, cancel the charter which presently gave them their structural form. Particularly, it was pointed out, if this was to come about, the at-large voting machinery for city councilmen who, in effect, would have to change the legislature, would have to be itself altered. And in line with this view, Dr. Lorenzo had been gathering forth all possible aid, <sup>plus</sup> and communicating in every instance the need for doing such.

Continuing to the idea of witnessing and bearing witness against the police, he felt that this was his duty as a citizen and that no one else took this view as dangerous as he, but it was present and for real, and the general attitudes of the people were slowly coming around to the fact that the police would have to be governed from without or at least be responsible to a body outside their general control. He indicated that wherein a police council was available, namely the Highland Park Citizenship Council, containing 19 officers which reviewed the cases, there had never been one instance of an officer being punished or actually reprimanded in any real sense for his conduct. He felt, too, that in an incident where witnessing had taken place of atrocities or brutality, mainly the witnesses were quieted by illegal means, beatings, or just disappeared, he pointed out incidents where during the testimony against an officer, the officer himself smiled at him and told them he would get his soon. In all instances, Dr. Lorenzo seems

to feel that he will champion this cause to the bitter end and that justice through reforms is possible. I felt that he was in excess of general reasonableness as far as his activity and did a bit of checking to determine the extent that he believed in his cause. It seems that elements in the community at work with him on a number of <sup>COMPLAINT</sup> the incidences ~~and~~ seemed to <sup>THINK OF</sup> ~~treat~~ him as a real savior, particularly ~~the~~ one lady who had had an involvement in an incident with the police, who was thankful to have had his presence and his comfort. She had joined a citizens council organization which was now forming action <sup>COMMITTEES</sup> to start petitioning throughout the community to solicit interest in a similar cause which Dr. Lorenzo seemed to support.

I additionally found that he was a heavy monetary contributor to one of the Vietnam extremist groups which set up an office on Hamilton Avenue near the corner of Boston <sup>Blvd.</sup> Road in Detroit. The gentleman who <sup>HEADS THIS OFFICE</sup> is an outright advocate against American getting out of Vietnam, ~~He~~ was ill during the day, I visited his shop, but I had heard from reading many of his throw-aways and seeing many of the articles which had been written on his activities that he was <sup>THE</sup> instigating force in the community for <sup>THE FIGHT FOR</sup> Americans leaving Vietnam and leading the peace movement! <sup>N. GENERAL</sup> In fact, he was heading the delegation that was coming to Washington on October 23<sup>rd</sup>. Dr. Lorenzo seemed also to be a great social reformist in that he was constantly advocating and communicating the need for educational and housing reform within the ghetto. I felt from listening to the many people who had enumerated on his activities that he isn't for real and there would have to be more causation for his

24 -

L-20

particular interest <sup>that he</sup> in being a white man than what <sup>was</sup> is surfacely shown.

G

I.C. 5

(-21

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Interview with Mr. Fred Lyles. Mr. Lyles is the leader of a rent strike in west Detroit, he was introduced to team members by Mary Valentine, who was interviewed at the offices of the west central organization.

Mr. Lyles advised us that he is a tenant at 3300 W. Chicago Blvd. in a building ~~and~~ owned and/or managed by the <sup>Linden</sup>~~Lyndon~~ Management Co. He compared the extremely deteriorated conditions <sup>of</sup> the property in which he lives with property owned by the Goodman Brothers Co. , which were <sup>are</sup>~~described as~~ notoriously deteriorated. He noted, however, that while the Goodman Brothers property has gotten a good bit of publicity there had been no previous publicity as to the exploitation of low-income Negroes by the Lyndon <sup>or</sup> Management Co. ~~In response to questions,~~ he told us that the rent strike was currently in its 3rd month, and was confined to the single building located at 3300 W. Chicago Blvd. although Lyndon <sup>or</sup> Management Co. owned or managed other property on W. Chicago Blvd. including the building next door to the one in which Mr. Lyles lives. He stated that the present rent strike was confined to his building because most of the people who live in the building were single and would not be terribly inconvenienced if they were evicted as a result of the rent strike. He stated that it was not as if children were going to be put in the street. :

CONDITIONS  
IT-2-A HOUSING RENT STRIKE

Mr. Lyles stated that almost all of the tenants in the building were participating in the rent strike. At present <sup>15</sup> ~~2~~ of the tenants have received eviction notices, ~~(correction approximately 15 tenants have received eviction notices)~~ but only one case has gone to court, resulting in an order of eviction. The other cases are due to go to court this month. Mr. Lyles stated that the principal grievances of the tenants were the extremely poor conditions of the buildings. In this regard he advised us that the ~~city~~ department of building and <sup>safety</sup> the ~~city~~ health department inspectors were extremely inattentive to the conditions of the building. He explained that there were no regular inspections of the buildings in his area and if inspectors were called out to a building, they only inspected the specific violation which prompted the call and never the entire building. Another grievance was the <sup>exorbitant</sup> ~~exhorbatent~~ rental charges. Mr. Lyles pointed out that while the housing was quite deteriorated, because of the extreme housing shortage <sup>of</sup> for the low income <sup>housing forced people to acquiesce</sup> people in the city of Detroit, the <sup>in exhorbitant rentals</sup> ~~rental charges were exhorbtant (?)~~ on ghetto property. He illustrated this by <sup>told</sup> ~~telling~~ us that two years <sup>ago</sup> when the Lyndon Management Co. took over his building, he was paying \$52.00 per month for a bachelor apartment. In the two years since, his rent has been increased <sup>a</sup> successively to <sup>a</sup> current monthly rental of \$85.00. During this period we were told that no facilities or services were added and that no substantial repairs were made to any part of the building. The only

explanation which has been given to the tenants to this date is, that the city and county taxes <sup>have</sup> ~~has~~ been increased, therefore, rentals had to be increased. Mr Lyles told us that he had checked ~~and the~~ <sup>out</sup> of the tax increases and found that the taxes for 1966 for the <sup>two</sup> adjacent buildings, the one in which he lives and the one next door, both of which are owned or managed by the Lyndon Company, <sup>he</sup> and found that the tax increase on one building was \$278.00 and on the other building \$600.00.

The third grievance directed not so much at the landlord as at the judicial system was the fact that a <sup>ap</sup> tenant in <sup>court</sup> court had absolutely no rights in an action for non-payment of rents, the fact that the building <sup>is</sup> was in a poor state of repair <sup>is</sup> was no defense, nor <sup>as</sup> was the fact <sup>that there are many</sup> ~~there were many~~ code violations and ~~that there might~~ citations outstanding for code violations. In this connection, we asked him whether or not he had gone to the legal services program, which <sup>is</sup> are funded by the office of economic opportunity. He told us that the strikers had not gone to the neighborhood legal services centers until quite recently, but they were now receiving some help. He was not hopeful, however, that the neighborhood legal services would be able to prevent evictions for non-payment of rent since, as he had previously stated, <sup>ap</sup> tenants have absolutely no rights in the landlord-<sup>ap</sup>tenants courts in Detroit. He also told us that the Trade Union Leadership Council which he stated to be a Negro organization was giving the strikers some help and acting as an informal lobbyist.

To illustrate the extreme influence of slum landlords with inspectors and ~~xxxx~~ upper echelon types in the departments of health and the department of building and safety, Mary Valentine told us that an inspector had told her that he was forced to tear up a list of violations on property owned by the Goodman Brothers Co. upon advice of his superior. The superior reportedly said that great pressure had been brought to bear by Goodman Brothers Co. The failure of the inspectors to enforce the building code corroborated with Mr. Lyles statements that "the regulations on the books have no effect, its just writing". Mr. Lyles told us that the striking <sup>or</sup> tenants realize that they probably have no hope of avoiding payment of rent or eviction in the <sup>event</sup> ~~case~~ that they do not pay the rent, but they hope that by the rent strike they <sup>may</sup> induce or harrass the company into making necessary repairs, <sup>they may also</sup> ~~or at least~~ get the department of buildings and safety and the health department to take a closer look at the property, and <sup>cite</sup> ~~site~~ the landlord for the many violations on the property. ¶ In an attempt to bring industry pressure on the landlord Mr. Lyles told us that he had written a letter to the Board of Realtors setting forth the facts as to the property at 3300 W. Chicago Blvd. he received a ~~xxxx~~ letter acknowledging his letter and stating that the matter would be looked into. Several weeks thereafter he happened to meet one of the officers of the Lyndon <sup>sp</sup> Management Co. who was known to him, this officer said to Mr. Lyles that he had read his letter

III-3-A - HOUSING CONDITIONS UNENFORCED BLDG CODE



and ~~then~~ Lyles inquired "what letter"? The officer replied, "the letter which you sent to the Board of Realtors." Lyles then asked the officer what he planned to do about the letter, and was told that he, the officer, <sup>had</sup> said to the board of realtors that they should return the letter to Mr. Lyles with <sup>the</sup> comments that he should "stick-it"

On the day that we interviewed him, Mr. Lyles had come to the WCO office in an attempt to get that organization to support the rent strike ~~because~~ <sup>he</sup> felt that the broader publicity which might result from WCO <sup>involvement</sup> ~~pressure~~ would not be <sup>result from</sup> ~~forthcoming~~ because of the activities of <sup>his</sup> ~~one~~ small group. Mary Valentine indicated that she felt strongly that it was the function of WCO to ~~xx~~ expose the <sup>illegal</sup> ~~elite~~ housing practices which are so flagrant in the ghettos. She told us that it had been her experience that calls to the department of health by the tenants alone was futile. <sup>On one</sup> ~~an~~ occasion, a tenant, after calling the department of health several times and getting no response or no satisfaction, went to WCO. Mary Valentine told us that she then went to the property and it was in deplorable condition. She called the department of health and was told that there were no inspectors on the premises, and no one could be sent out at that time. She asked who was there and was told that ~~xx~~ there were some supervisors there, ~~and~~ <sup>she</sup> insisted that they send out a supervisor. The supervisor came out to the building and looked it over and stated, according to Mrs. Valentine, "this isn't so bad" Mrs. Valentine then asked the supervisor where he lived and what this looked like in comparison to

L-26

where he lived. She told us that as a result of ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> sort of ~~confrontation,~~ <sup>confrontation,</sup> ~~confutation,~~ the supervisor left the building with a notebook full of violations. She also told us that <sup>as</sup> tenants who fear reprisals for complaining about the condition of their apartment, or who have ~~xxx~~ become complaisant ~~xxxxxxx~~ because they feel that no one cares or will help, will be less apprehensive knowing that an organization such as WCO will support their cause and give them every assistance.

We then inquired of Mr. Lyles, whether or not there was other economic exploitations of ghetto residents, in addition to housing. He responded that there was a great deal of exploitation in the consumers goods business and in the small loan business. Mr. Lyles stated that an index of <sup>the degree of</sup> this grievance was <sup>the</sup> a number of stores of merchants who were known to be exploiters, ~~and~~ that were destroyed during the recent disorder. He admitted that <sup>his</sup> ~~feelings were so adverse~~ <sup>to</sup> against these merchants, mostly Jewish, according to him, that if he had been inclined to arson, he would have burned out every Jewish store that he could find. He also described to us a technique of exploitation used by most of the pawn shops ~~pawners~~ in the ghetto area. He stated that if he wanted to get an \$8.00 loan on a suit or something of that sort, the owner of the pawn shop would have him sign a note for \$10.00. when he returned to pick up the suit <sup>he</sup> he might find himself faced with a bill for \$16 or \$17. The explanation of the owner would be that the <sup>bill increased because</sup> ~~additional cost was that~~ the suit had to be cleaned while it was in hock. Mr. Lyles would not completely exonerate the black businessmen who do

II-7-A PSYCH. ATT. N. ANTI-JEW FEELING

business in the ~~area~~ ghetto. He stated that prices of consumer goods and rental scales were generally set by the larger white entrepreneurs but that many Negro businessmen follow suit and ~~and~~ ~~are~~ are as exploitive in their practices as their ~~white~~ larger white counterparts.

At this point Mr. Lyles had to leave and the interview was terminated.

III-1-7-11 CONDITIONS ECON. COMP. PRICES/RENTS  
N. BUSINESS ~~██████████~~ EXPLOITS

5/2

13

I.A. 1.  
4-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: James Raschard  
Subject: Conrad Mallet, Respondent

Conrad Mallet, 39 years old, Negro, is at the time of the interview assistant to the mayor and since has been promoted to the role of executive secretary to the mayor. Mr. Mallet is a very deliberate person, giving great thought to the questions being presented by the interviewer and more deliberate thought to any response which he might offer. Mr. Mallet was reluctant to grant the interview, feeling that the constant flow of interviewers, research people and investigators with whom he had spoken previously, could and should be a source of information for <sup>either</sup> any agency seeking information pertaining to the Detroit riots and ~~that pre and post events~~ <sup>of the inner-</sup> ~~the city~~. Mr. Mallet admitted that his present role within the political framework of ~~the city~~ has been instrumental in loss of direct communication at the community level. He is dependent upon friends who <sup>are totally involved in</sup> ~~are in~~ the community activities <sup>of the inner-</sup> ~~of the city~~ to keep him abreast of the ~~current~~ happenings <sup>of the inner-</sup> ~~of the city~~. He feels the most vital occurrence since the riots has been the welding together of heretofore fragmented black groups into a cohesive unit. He feels the new involvement of the middle class black community is indicative of a new and dynamic force evolving from the riot. Mr. Mallet was quite firm in his belief that the causality of riots remains unchanged. His feelings are <sup>pessimistic regarding the</sup> ~~are~~ poverty programs ~~which are the only way agencies~~ reaching

4-2

“They are only <sup>segment</sup> the poor, ~~not~~ able to reach a ~~level~~ <sup>segment</sup> above the critical areas and even then with great difficulty.” Mr. Mallet feels that ~~the city~~ still another segment and it is at that level that Mr. Mallet feels that city, state and federal programs have failed. Mr. Mallet feels that high concentration of effort must be attained in bringing to these people services which will affect the family <sup>and</sup> the individual, without ~~diminishing~~ <sup>diluting</sup> the efforts now being demonstrated at a higher plane. Mr. Mallet feels that the newspapers and television have played a negative role in their undisciplined exposure to the public of riot and riot related news coverage.

From another source, it was disclosed that Mr. Mallet was at one time a member of the police force and has worked his way through the ranks into the position that he holds presently. Mr. Mallet was very careful in his statements and in perusing my notes, find that his responses were of no new or informative value to the commission. However, I found Mr. Mallet a very sincere person who if questioned by a more experienced interviewer might well serve as a bridge to the wide gaps in the chronology of the Detroit riots and their aftermath.

✓ VII - ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS, N. VIEW OF  
REACH ONLY SEGMENT ABOVE CRITICAL AREAS

35 (G) I.C. 19  
M-8

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: Dukes  
Subject: Interview with Mr. D. Mitchell

Mr. D. Mitchell is a complainant <sup>as to</sup> concerning an involvement he was in immediately after the riot. The complainant was returning from a teenage party on August 14, 1967 being held on the corner of Hamilton and Lubell in Highland Park, Michigan. He proceeded to Elmhurst Street where he intended to stop at a drug store to purchase gum. While proceeding in the direction of the store he saw two of his friends and a number of police gathered around the store. The police stopped him and questioned <sup>him</sup> as to his reason for being present. He answered he wasn't doing anything and he was on his way to the store. It seems the police had been summoned due to the rowdy individuals who had gathered around the drug store <sup>and</sup> they had had complaints by the owner and they in turn decided to take all the persons in front of the store to the station. Patrolman McCleary, a Negro who was in charge of the patrol car, took Mr. Mitchell along with five other boys and arrested him at the station. He was charged with disorderly conduct and was called to hearing <sup>one</sup> three months later. He pleaded not guilty at trial and the officer testified that the boy was not arrogant nor disobedient. However, he was found guilty and sentenced to twelve months. ~~Sentence~~ He was placed on probation by Judge Golden who stated that it would be in the record that if he was ever caught on the corner of Elmhurst and

Court again he would be rearrested and made to serve the twelve months probation.

His mother and others in the community seemed to think that Judge Golden is exceptionally prejudiced in his administration of justice. Particularly they felt this was so immediately after the riots. Norman Witchell, the attorney, was interviewed and indicated that all legal evidence showed that exoneration for the boy should have been present. Particularly it is felt too that the attitude resulting from the riots caused a harsher administration of justice to all Negroes in the area. Mrs. D. Mitchell, the boy's parent, professes a great hatred now for the police and states that the injustice would not have followed against her son if he was not black. She is continually communicating this incident and others which come to her attention in the immediate neighborhood. Particularly, too, she seems to feel that this is going to be a major block to her son gaining educational advantage and progressing in society. She notes that the disadvantage for him is larger basically because he is a Negro and basically he is in this type of economic setting. *I will remain in it because of the white man.* It is hard enough, she states, that jobs can't be had by Negroes *But* whenever they have a blemish on their record, ~~They~~ they are very rarely given an opportunity.

She has joined an organization called the Citizens Committee to remove injustices in Highland Park and professed a great interest in social welfare and other organizational structures such as the Salvation Army, and through all of these she seems to tend to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ *communicate her bitterness against the system.*



I. B. 17

M-3

G

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Tom Popp

Subject: Interview with Maryann Mehaffey of Wayne State University, conducted on October 13, 1967, by Tom Popp. Mrs. Mehaffey is a professor of sociology at Wayne State.

Mrs. Mehaffey belongs to a group called Youth Citizenship; ~~and~~ this group has predicted for four years that Detroit would have a riot. Her prediction has been based on the mood of the people, which is one of frustration of not seeing things done. It is aggravated by all sorts of incidents which increase the general frustration. IS RIOT CLIMATE = FRUSTRATION

She definitely does not think that riot is being spread from city to city by a single person or group of people. In other words, she is vehemently opposed to any kind of conspiracy theory. "Riots happen as a matter of mood and timing," she said. She said she does not know what the magic combination of ingredients is which produces a riot, but, ~~that~~ a year ago there was a very inflammatory incident at Kercheval and 25th Street which involved police provocation of people which could have developed into a riot, but didn't, because there was a downpour of rain at that time and everybody went home.

A great deal more employing has to be done by private industry and by the government, Mrs. Mehaffey feels. Far too many people are simply out of work.

M-4

In reading the mood of the nation as a whole at this time, Mrs. Mehaffey said that there is a deep conservatism in America. She doesn't know quite how deep, but, ~~that~~<sup>"</sup> this is something which is likely to frustrate the efforts of Negro people to gain full equality. "Black people are against the war, for example," Mrs. Mehaffey said, "because it deprives them of their share of government money. There is an increasing trend of resentment against the war in the black community," she said.

The American Civil Liberties Union, of Detroit, studied the people who were jailed because of the riot, and found that a relatively small proportion of them had had previous criminal records. The conditions under which they were living in jail were indescribably bad. Unfortunately I ~~don't~~<sup>do not</sup> have a copy of that study. <sup>A</sup> I asked Mrs. Mehaffey why some people riot and others ~~don't~~<sup>do not</sup> when both groups have the same grievances. Her answer was to explain that people release their frustrations in many different kinds of ways. People who ~~don't~~<sup>do not</sup> riot must either have some other way of releasing their tensions or of suppressing them. She gave me the example of the wife of a Negro psychiatrist in Detroit. <sup>This woman</sup> ~~who had been~~, during the riots, <sup>been</sup> taking her children out and photographing them with the background of the riot going on. This is a woman who did not riot herself, but who felt that the event was second <sup>historical</sup> in importance <sup>for Negroes</sup> only to reconstruction. ~~It said,~~ according to this woman, the riot's <sup>message was clear: "the</sup> white man can no longer pat us on our heads and <sup>then</sup> go ahead and do

II-6-D  
RIOT, N. CONCEPT OF: W. MUST LISTEN = LESSON

do what <sup>he</sup> they want to do. ~~Now is the time when~~ <sup>finally</sup> they have to listen to us. M-5

Mrs. Mehaffey feels that the looting which took place during the Detroit riot represents a certain kind of "street justice" <sup>it was a beautiful thing</sup> ~~that the fact~~ that people were getting back at the gougers who had been over-charging them for years and years. ~~was a beautiful thing.~~

In asking Mrs. Mehaffey what kinds of governmental actions she felt were most appropriate, I found her strongly to support the importance of governmental responsiveness to whatever kind of grievance is heard. "Parks and recreation areas in Detroit, for example," Mrs. Mehaffey said, "are a scandal.. They have not been well kept. There are not enough of them, particularly in the ghetto areas. This is something that people have been screaming about for years and nothing is getting done whatsoever. <sup>Also of course</sup> There have to be more programs for training people who have no specific skills, as well as trying to employ them," she said.

She supported the idea of giving money to indigenous organizations, with no strings attached, although she recognized that this is practically impossible because of the mood of the people who control the money in the government as a whole and in Congress, specifically. "Universal employment would be the utopia," she said. "But short of that, a demi-grant to disadvantaged persons would be practical, i.e. giving money to people simply so that they can live."

I asked her how much she thought specific grievances, such as bad housing or rats in buildings, had to do with rioting. She felt that <sup>"a person</sup> people <sup>does not</sup> who riot ~~don't~~ make direct connections between these

conditions and rioting, but that <sup>he</sup> ~~the rioter~~ has a frustration level which is very high because of many kinds of things. His whole context of life builds anger within him, and the rioting is one of the ways of blowing off frustration."

In Detroit there was a great carnival of looting Mrs. Mehaffey <sup>told</sup> ~~tells~~ me, and this, <sup>another way of releasing</sup> ~~again, is one of the ways of blowing off~~ frustrations. She <sup>felt</sup> ~~feels~~ that the government must have faith in its people, a kind of faith which it <sup>does not now</sup> ~~doesn't have, now,~~ and in going back to the theory of giving groups money with no strings attached, she <sup>said,</sup> ~~says that~~ "it could work because these are the groups which are in closest connection with the people and which live with these problems every day. It's a risk, but either they'll take the money and make it, or they'll blow it and come running back to the source <sup>saying,</sup> ~~and say,~~ "well, we didn't quite do it, maybe you can help us out next time." In other words, a fruitful kind of a dialogue can be set up. Some of the groups will use the money well. Others won't, and those which don't will have to come back to the organization from which they got the money, thus establishing a meaningful conversation between both organizations."

Another point on which she felt the Federal Government does not have enough faith in its people is that the government does not seem to recognize that black people are also monitoring the programs which are going on in the various <sup>OEO + potential</sup> ~~agencies,~~ OEO and \_\_\_\_\_ programs, ~~and this kind of thing.~~ They have the interest of seeing that these programs work. The Federal Government <sup>does not</sup> ~~doesn't~~ seem to recognize this.

The failure rate of programs planned and initiated by white middle class bureaucrats for the ghetto is phenomenally high, Mrs. Mehaffey felt. This is not a course of action which is likely to continue to work much longer. It is time to let the people do it themselves, with Federal financial support. ~~This is the end of the interview with Maryann Mehaffey.~~

Mrs. Mehaffey is a very perceptive and thoughtful white woman. We were totally relaxed during the interview and thus exchanged a wealth of valuable information.

Mrs. Mehaffey has been involved with these problems of poverty, both academically and extra-curricularly for a number of years, and I valued her advice highly.

fp.

NOTE: ATTACHED IS AN EXHIBIT OF A CRITIQUE AND SET OF RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT THE RIOT WRITTEN BY MRS. MEHAFFEY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE MICHIGAN STATE CENTRAL COMM OF NAT. ASSOC. OF SOC. WORKERS.

I.A. 1

N-1

(B)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: (Ursu)

Subject: Interview with Deputy Superintendent John Nichols of the Detroit Police Department (with the brief attendance of Detective Sgt. Stanley Rojowski).

Deputy Nichols is the second ranking career officer in the D.P.D. He was interviewed at Commissioner Girardin's suggestion and in the absence of his immediate superior, Superintendent Eugene Reuter. Nichols has been with the department since prior to the 1943 Detroit race riot, and he has occupied his present office since July 1966.

Unfortunately, the Deputy's schedule did not permit as extensive an interview as I would like to have had, and I could not cover with him the entire range of suggested questioning. The interview that I did conduct was concentrated on the riot itself and police control of potential mob violence. The grave omission was my failure to learn firsthand what the top level of career officer administration thought about police-community relations. (Cf. interview report on Inspector Heffermen of the Citizen Complaint Bureau). This should be treated in the course of any follow-up interview.

The 12th Street area of Detroit is within the jurisdiction of D.P.D.'s 10th precinct. Nichols described the area as "unique" since it is 95% Negro, but contains the complete range of economic classes

✓ III-D - RIOT AREA - 12TH STREET / ECON. RANGE

V-2

running from the perpetually unemployed to the Negro professional. He also believes that the department's community relations program for that precinct was one of the best in the city. In his view, one cannot point to the police force as the only cause of unrest in that area. All sociological factors contribute to the problems of 12th Street. He does recognize, however, the enormously difficult task all social agencies, including the police, have in reaching the so-called grass roots people of the ghetto.

In his opinion, a police department's first duty is to cope with the immediate products (i.e., the criminality) of sociological problems. The police department has a duty to protect the interests of the law-abiding bulk of the citizenry from the lawless.

The precipitating incident of the riot was a police raid on an after-hours drinking establishment. The police had raided the place a couple of times in the past. This raid was prompted by complaints from the neighborhood concerning breaches in the peace caused by activity in and around the "blind pig".

There were an unusually large number of people in the drinking establishment and also a large number of people in the street. Both Nichols and Commissioner Girardin described the onlookers as "jovial", and their presence at the scene of the arrests was a normal event. As police officers escorted arrestees to the paddy wagon, the onlookers would tease the latter with such remarks as, "Well Willie, we won't be seeing you for a couple of months, but

✓ III-5 RIOT, PRECIP. INCIDENT - BLIND PIG ATMOSPHERE "JOVIAL"

N-3

don't you worry cuz I'm gonna take care of your girlfriend for you." The arrest was described as "peaceful" and the arrestees as "cooperative".

This atmosphere was dramatically changed by two Negro men in their twenties who began to shout aggitating remarks. One of these men, Michael Lewis, was recognized by patrolmen on August 13, 1967, on 12th Street, arrested, and charged with inciting a riot and rioting. He is presently free on bond, and the other man has not been apprehended.

as Nichols Ex. A

Attached to this report are two police reports relating to Lewis' activities, a copy of his police record, and a "mug shot" taken in connection with his arrest on January 6, 1967, for carrying a dangerous weapon. It is interesting to note that Lewis had his hair "processed" in the January photo, but that he was wearing it in a "natural" style at the time of his arrest for a riot-connected offense. N.B. The documents described in this paragraph are extremely confidential and were given to the writer on the express condition that their contents would not be made public, nor would the specific events they describe be made public, until after Michael Lewis has been tried on the offenses charged. Premature release in a public document would possibly prejudice the State's case and must be diligently guarded against to protect the integrity of this commission. I would also point out that the principal defendants connected with the August 1966 Kercheval incident have not yet

✓  
W-5 RIOT, [REDACTED] PRECIP. INCIDENT [REDACTED] MICHAEL LEWIS AGITATING  
[REDACTED]



N-4

been tried, and we might expect that Lewis' trial will not occur before this commission files its final report.

The department has not yet uncovered any link between Michael Lewis and any organized militant group. Lewis was a "nobody", according to Nichols. He, nevertheless, was able to leave the arrest scene for a brief period and return with 40 or 50 people.

Detective Sgt. Rojowski gave the following history of Lewis. He was born in Georgia in 1944 and left that state for Michigan at the age of two with his parents. He is single and lives with his mother and her present husband, (Georgia Lee and Willie Hardeman) at 2234 Sturtevant in Detroit. Lewis entered Chadsey High in February 1961, and transferred to Central High twoschool years later. He dropped out of Central on March 19, 1963, and reentered in September of that year. He again dropped out of school as an <sup>OVER AVERAGE</sup> average student on September 4, 1964. His scholastic record indicates that he has an "E" mentality.

Lewis had been employed by Ford Motor Company since September 20, 1965, where he had a poor attendance record. During the riot, and immediately thereafter, until his arrest, his attendance was worse than usual. Lewis had no juvenile record with the DPD, and he has not been in the service. Nothing else of significance is known about him, except for the fact that Rev. Cleage was instrumental in raising his bail.

Deputy Nichols shares Girardin's ~~view that the initial response~~ view that the initial response to a riotous condition is crucial. The precipitating incident in the

✓  
IV-6-F RIOT, ORGAN. OF MICHAEL LEWIS UNKNOWN

N-5

<sup>found the</sup>  
Detroit riot police force at its lowest in terms of men immediately available. The bulk of the force is on duty during the time of the heaviest incidence of crime, viz. 3:00 - 11:00 P.M. The police department expects that the kind of incident that would precipitate a riot would occur during those hours. This was the case insofar as the August 1966 Kercheval incident was concerned. That incident found the police prepared and Nichols cites as a crucial difference the fact that the department could and did then dispatch 250 men to the scene immediately.

The Detroit Police Department is gearing itself for another outbreak. Nichols said that it could happen anywhere, anytime and that whites could start it. The department is preparing for all contingencies and has requested from the Common Council an additional appropriation of \$1,800,000. The department wishes to purchase eight armoured personnel carriers from Cadillac Gauge and preposition these vehicles in pairs in four police districts. (Such vehicles were loaned to the force by that company during the July riot.) Nichols feels that these vehicles could provide the needed "show of strength" at the initial stage of a riot without regard to the number of men available.

In addition, the department wishes to purchase high powered rifles and military carbines, since many officers were forced to rely on personal hunting weapons and police shotguns during the riot. (The latter is a highly ineffective weapon for such incidents since its reliability is low.) The department is also requesting

- ✓ II-6-B RIOT, POLICE CONCEPT OF: DEPT. LOW AT CRUCIAL STAGE
- ✓ II-6-B RIOT, POLICE CONCEPT OF: [REDACTED] COULD REOCCUR
- ✓ III-6-B RIOT, POLICE CONCEPT OF: PREPARATION FOR NEXT OUTBREAK

N-6

either a helicopter or a fixed-wing airplane for surveillance purposes. Five thousand steel helmets have been secured from the army, and D.P.D. wishes to buy more gas masks, lightweight bullet-proof vests, and better communication equipment. The request was presented to the Council during the week of October 16, 1967, and we do not know what disposition will be made at this time.

Evaluation: Deputy Nichols is a very impressive policeman. He has attended Wayne State University and is fairly articulate. He reminds one of a military major or lieutenant colonel, and appears to be extremely efficient. In his own opinion, he knows more (first-hand) about riot-connected police functions than his superior, Superintendent Reuters, and I recommend that the commission hear him in the event that a field hearing is planned.

I.C. 21

11-7

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: James Raschard  
Subject: NACCD

On the morning of October 9, 1967, visiting members of the NACCD (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders) and accompanying staff personnel, met and discussed with a cross section of people from the target communities, the riot or civil disturbances of July 1967, its causalities, <sup>ies and other</sup> ~~and recommendations~~ and general comments.

Representing the Commission were Senator Brooke, Mrs. <sup>PALMEIRI</sup> Polarmy, Messrs. MISKOVSKY, CIWAN, ~~Miss Korzski~~, Willis, ~~Sydney~~ and the commentator, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~.

~~Commenting~~ <sup>ING</sup> Representatives of the Detroit community were; Mr. Robert Tindal, executive secretary, NAACP -- Detroit branch, Albert Boer, director, Franklin Wright Settlement House; David Cason, director, Model Cities Project -- Detroit; Malcolm Dade, member of the Mayor's Development Team, Curtis Rogers, Human Relations Commission staff; Mrs. Mary Vallentine, president of the West Central Organization, and Mrs. Alice Hines, president of the Grass Root Organization <sup>Workers. (GROW)</sup>

Mrs. Vallentine opened the session with her interpretation of the disturbances. Her views are <sup>as</sup> that it was not a riot but a message... A message from the poor people that there is no more time for asking of respect, in changing of conditions pursuant to the plight of black people." Mrs. Vallentine went on to speak of the new feelings

of hostility rising in the community because of the lack of programs ~~being~~ inaugurated since the riot and the lack <sup>of</sup> instrumentation of programs suggested prior to the riot.

Mr. Tindal elaborated on the situation in this manner. "There is no true black leadership from the target communities and because of this the power structure has not responded to the signs of trouble which were in evidence. He explained the ~~x~~ feeder system used in the Board of Education structure and its consequences, which are undereducated and disillusioned black young people and the spin off of those frustrations to the adult segmentation.

Mr. Tindal also underlined the ~~lack~~ of participation of local industries to involve themselves in a positive sense by ignoring the problems <sup>of</sup> job entry for minority groups. He cited the one Negro <sup>owned,</sup> auto dealership in Detroit as an example of unique participation and he suspects <sup>or</sup> the riots <sup>were a</sup> ~~were the~~ motivating factor which allowed that one concession. "

Mr. Tindal refused an invitation to sit on the Hudson Committee, feeling that he would he would then be forced to "Play the game by their rules while they (the Hudson Committee) were secretly changing the rules." Mr. Tindal feels strongly that the government should commit themselves to mass spending in the fields of education and housing at a level where those to be serviced would also have a role of responsibility in the architecturing of such services.

~~Mr.~~ Tindal feels ~~the~~ the Police Department has been lax in <sup>MAINTAINING</sup> ~~the~~ good ~~the~~-community relations. His feelings are that

N-9

the Police Department was overly hostile and brutal during the riot <sup>has</sup> and continued their brutality up to the present time. (He then cites recent episodes, the likes of which he feels are unjust and could rekindle the disturbances in Detroit.)

Mr. Tindal made this statement: "The professional militant came to Detroit after the riots <sup>but</sup> it is the militants of consistency who are <sup>populating</sup> this city." <sup>and</sup> "the <sup>onus</sup> of responsibility is on the power structure. If they do not move, <sup>positively</sup> neither will the militants. The postures of each faction will remain unchanged."

Mrs. Hines made comments on housing, noting that under FHA, housing which is available to Negroes are three to four times over the normal rates and because <sup>a</sup> FHA ruling which disallows insurance between \$4,000 and \$5,000, houses are vacant or there is a critical sparsity of housing units available to the Negro populace.

Mr. Boer ~~made~~ <sup>ed</sup> comment on the large percentage of school drop-outs. He gives <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ percentage of 74 percent annually and suggested <sup>are erroneous and</sup> that ~~these~~ statistics published by the Board of Education can be translated into ~~negative~~ negative actual figures. Mr. Boer called for ~~ax~~ humanizing in the area of housing and employment. He feels that ~~the~~ FHA cost; can and should be supplemented with a lending bill negating the necessity of some Negro homeowners having to seek out such avenues as the <sup>Lloyds</sup> ~~Lords~~ of London for insurance coverage.

General comments: The group agreed with comment that 11,000 units have been torn down since 1964 and the input of 550 new units into an overly dense community

has not been sufficient. In addition, no low income/<sup>units</sup> have been built since 1963, <sup>commented</sup> Mr. Boer.

It was pointed <sup>out</sup> that prior to 1941, there was a general apathy towards skill~~ed~~ acquisition. The group feels that ~~the~~ crash programs <sup>geared</sup> towards training of skilled personnel during the war years could and should be applied to the present time.

-----

-----

G

I.B.16  
0-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Tom Popp

Subject: Interview with Father O'Hara of Saint Patrick's Roman Catholic Church on John R Street in Detroit. It was conducted on Thursday, October 12th, by Tom Popp.

Father O'Hara is white. He had not been out during the riot, but at his church there had been clothing and food distribution going on during the <sup>riot</sup> ~~time~~ and in the <sup>its</sup> ~~wake of the riot~~. Father O'Hara is convinced that the root problem which allows riots to happen is the feeling of despair, the feeling of no future on the part of the people who live in the ghetto. There are reports coming in to him from time to time of suicides in the various projects where people live. This is also a reflection of that same despair, Father O'Hara felt.

<sup>feel</sup> ~~feel~~ RIOT, COMM. CONCEPT: DESPARATION

He <sup>states</sup> ~~stated~~ that the riot around his area, where his church is <sup>located</sup> ~~located~~, which is a black community, was very much <sup>more</sup> like a celebration <sup>of</sup> moving with <sup>more</sup> like fun and release, than it was malicious and coming out of animosity. His feeling is that the people felt they were just getting the things that they needed when they were looting. Most of the people involved were around 20-year-old men who came into the area and broke windows and began the looting. Then the neighborhood folks would follow by continuing the looting after the first wave of window smashers had passed.

II-6-E • Father O'Hara felt that the situation resembled a war in the RIOT, COMM CONCEPT OF: FUN, RELEASE NOT MALICIOUS

II-6-E RIOT, LOOTING NEIGHBORS FOLLOW TEEN B&E



sense that ~~it was~~ <sup>were</sup> people getting back things that were rightfully their own from those who had taken them away. Particularly <sup>Caldean</sup> ~~Gal-Bean~~ Groceries were being burned and other kinds of stores were being skipped over. It was a conflict between haves and have-nots, rather than specifically racial, he ~~felt~~ <sup>feels</sup>. He ~~never~~ <sup>does not</sup> considered the riot to ~~be~~ <sup>have been</sup> black against white. Father O'Hara explained that in his area there is a patchwork pattern of racial housing. ~~Some~~ <sup>or</sup> areas are white ~~right next to~~ blacks and so on by blocks or by groups of several blocks. <sup>W-6-D</sup> RIOT, N. CONCEPT OF CLASS NOT RACIAL <sup>white</sup>

Not Across Woodward Street there are a number of blocks of white.

I asked him what their reaction to the riot had been, and he said that he felt it firmed up their bitterness and decreased the amount of coöperation they were willing to give. The Saint Patrick's Church has another <sup>building</sup> ~~church~~ across Woodward Street, another extension of the same parish, <sup>which</sup> ~~and it~~ is mostly white. These people are now much less willing to coöperate with Father O'Hara's Church on the Negro side of Woodward than they were before..

Merchants, particularly <sup>those</sup> within the area where both blacks and whites live, have taken the riot to be racial, as an attack on the entire white community. <sup>though some</sup> Some of the merchants have moved out, but many have stayed. But Father O'Hara insisted <sup>s that</sup> this was not a racial riot, but rather an economic one, and cites the example of a grocery store in his neighborhood which is owned and run by white people, and was lit or arsoned three times, and each time the people in the neighborhood ~~around there~~ put the fire out because they knew that

if that grocery store burned they would have to walk ten blocks to  
 buy their groceries. It is also possible, he <sup>feels</sup> felt, that the owner  
 of that particular store <sup>was not so</sup> wasn't as bad as were the owners of some  
 of the other stores. Father O'Hara <sup>said</sup> pointed out that most of the  
 looted stores in his area have all been opened up again. Nearly all  
 of these stores <sup>and</sup> ~~as well as~~ homes in the neighborhood are owned by  
 people who live elsewhere. One of the principal resentments in  
 the neighborhood where Father O'Hara works, he <sup>says</sup> said, is that against  
 landlords. But again, <sup>the resentment</sup> ~~that~~ is not racial. <sup>It is</sup> ~~It's~~ the hates against  
 the have-nots. <sup>At</sup> At this point, Father O'Hara left and asked me to  
 talk to a Neighborhood Youth Corps Worker, a girl <sup>is</sup> who ~~was~~ a  
 secretary in his office. Her name is Valerie Childs, and I talked  
 to her, then, after the Father left. This girl is a Negro, 17  
 years old. She told me that the most important things ~~were the~~  
 complaints of the people involved in the riot. <sup>were</sup> ~~She told me~~ that  
 they needed more job training, more low income housing, more  
 recreational facilities for the children. These three things <sup>she</sup>  
 emphasized <sup>especially</sup>. She pointed out that <sup>many</sup> lots of people simply  
<sup>do not</sup> ~~don't~~ have anything to do. They hang around, and <sup>when</sup> something  
 like a riot comes along, naturally <sup>they</sup> get involved <sup>because</sup> <sup>it is</sup> ~~it's~~  
 something to do. She also made a point of police brutality by say-  
 ing that during normal times when the cops come in and rough people  
 up, they think that all of the people around are afraid of them.  
 But the riot had the good effect of teaching the police and the white  
 community in general that black people <sup>are not</sup> ~~aren't~~ afraid.

0-4

I asked her if she thought anybody was listening to the complaints that black people make about the neighborhoods they live in; <sup>did not</sup> and she said she ~~didn't~~, ~~she didn't~~ know what those people were doing downtown, but they certainly <sup>did not</sup> ~~didn't~~ seem to be doing anything about her neighborhood. There had been a park in her neighborhood which was destroyed by Urban Renewal and the people had been asking and trying to get another park for quite a long time. Promises had been made, but it was all a put-off as far as she was concerned, because nothing had happened

III-2-A HOUSING CONDITIONS: PROMISES A PUT-OFF

She said she felt the newspapers and television ought to quit talking about the riots because they were going to incite another one by keeping the topic so much alive. "All you hear when you turn on the television is riot, riot, riot," she said. "And the newspapers and television, themselves, are going to be responsible for the next riot, if they don't cut it out. One good thing about a riot," she said, "is that when it happens, for a change we're all thinking together.. During the riots, you don't have a bunch of Uncle Toms going off in one direction, and a bunch of ministers going off in another direction, and everybody else going off in separate directions. For a change we have one voice saying that black people are not satisfied with the way they have to live."

"People need some kind of an outlet", she told me, "especially kids". For example, at <sup>Knudsen</sup> Knudsen School, "where there was a disturbance the same week that the team was visiting Detroit," the students simply don't have enough voice in the affairs of the school.

III-2 RIOT, N. VIEW OF: ALL N. THINKING TOGETHER  
 IX-4 MASS MEDIA: INCITE RIOTS

0-5

XYou need a constructive way to use your energy," Valerie said.

"But even if you go to school and get a good education, what good

does that do you?" She told me about a friend of hers who was

graduated from high school in June and now in October still does

not have a job. "The point about the riots," she said, "is that

people want refrigerators and television sets and all of the things

which money can buy. In a riot you get whitey, who already has

all of the things you want." ~~THE~~ <sup>THE</sup> ~~1-A~~ <sup>EDUCATION, QUALITY,</sup>

WORTHLESS TO N. TEN

"One of the main things about the riot", she told me, "was

~~THE~~ <sup>THE</sup> ~~6-D~~ <sup>RIOT, N. CONCEPT OF "GET WHITEY"</sup>

police brutality, particularly at <sup>the</sup> Verner and 12th Street Station,

she pointed out. ~~The~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~cops down there~~ are just a bunch of Southern

crackers." She thinks this feeling is widespread in the Negro

community and that "showing these guys that they can't push us

around" ~~is~~ <sup>THE</sup> ~~one of the main points of the riot.~~ <sup>6-D</sup> <sup>RIOT, N. CONCEPT OF</sup>

She told me that there is no sense in black people's trying

POLICE BRUTALITY

to be white anymore, that times have changed. "You are what you

are and you're black if you're black, and that's that. We need

to understand each other," she said. "There ought to be exchange

students between white and black high schools. The time has come

when we are no longer trying to be something we never can be," she

said. ~~This is the end of the interview.~~

Father Ottawa is a sincere pragmatist whose value to us is limited by his distance from the scene + his age + color. What he did know was good + sure. Valerie was exceptionally straightforward + honest. The interview was very useful for flavor + gut.

G

I.B. 11  
P-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Bernard Dobranski

Subject: Interview with William T. Patrick, Jr in October 13, 1967  
in Detroit Michigan

Mr. Patrick, a Negro, is Assistant General Attorney for Michigan Bell Telephone Company. He was City Councilman in Detroit from 1958 to <sup>until he resigned in 1963</sup> ~~1963~~ when he resigned. His name is one of the many being mentioned in connection with the post of Police Commissioner.

Mr. Patrick began the interview by stating that "We here in Detroit have a lot of good things going for us." We have as an enlightened <sup>race relations</sup> policy as you will find. A good relationship <sup>over</sup> exists between the black and white <sup>communities</sup>. But all of this is only in a relative sense compared with the rest of the country. In a pure sense, we have many, many problems. However, Detroit is damn good compared with other cities. <sup>It</sup> Something can happen here and it did. Then it can happen anywhere."

Basic to the problem of race relations in this country -- what Mr. Patrick terms the fundamental causative factor -- is <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ "whole <sup>entire</sup> business of racism that permeates the/structure of our society, Despite half measures and attempts to placate the Negro community, this racism still exists. To the extent that it does exist, the race problem in this country insoluble." Race must be removed as a factor, insists Mr. Patrick.

Although the most vocal cries of the Negro community are directed against the police, the police are only a symbol <sup>by</sup> ~~where~~

~~INTER-OFFICE~~ <sup>RACE RELATIONS</sup> N. VIEW GOOD RELATION VS RELATION

P-2

instrument for carrying out <sup>the</sup> racist policies of the <sup>white</sup> community.

What happened on July 23, 1967, in Detroit was purely fortuitous. <sup>according to Mr. Patrick,</sup> it could have ~~appeared~~ happened anytime. All <sup>that was</sup> it needed <sup>was</sup> a precipitating incident. In Detroit <sup>they</sup> we had made many promises that we had not delivered. ~~So~~ a reservoir of resentment had built up within the Negro community.

The situation in Detroit was likened by Mr. Patrick to an oily rag in a closed closet ready to burst into flames at any time.

Mr. Patrick believes that the communications media in this country must share some of the responsibility and blame for what has occurred in the past few years. The mass media acquaints the Negroes with the techniques of rioting and clearly spells out <sup>the</sup> things that ~~they~~ may be done. The instantaneousness of communication through mass media is one of the most important contributing factors <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ the explosions that have occurred in recent years.

Mr. Patrick then discussed specifically the communications media in Detroit. He believes they made a honest effort to report all news including Negro news. <sup>Particularly</sup> ~~Specifically~~ they have come out for open occupancy and greater employment opportunities for Negroes. He believes their coverage of the July 1967 riots was pretty fair. <sup>They</sup> ~~They~~ <sup>inhibited</sup> ~~gave~~ understanding, sympathy, and compassion <sup>for</sup> ~~to~~ the circumstances that ~~produced~~ gave rise to the riot.

Detroit is filled with people who are trying to alleviate the conditions that produced the riots. But the white community in

II-1-E POLICE, N. VIEW OF: INSTRUMENT FOR CARRYING OUT RACIST POLICIES

II-9 MASS MEDIA, REPORT: INFLU.

II-5 RIOT CLIMATE "RESERVOIR OF RESENTMENT"

Detroit as a whole <sup>has</sup> ~~have~~ said, "Hell, no" <sup>to the Negroes.</sup>

Mr. Patrick believes that a dual standard of policing definitely exists in Detroit. The police are less responsive to answering complaints that come from the Negro community than they are from answering similar complaints emanating from the white sector of the city. The situation is, however, improving. Mr. Patrick pointed out that white police officers fear to come to the Negro community because of the <sup>intense hatred</sup> ~~attitude of hate~~ that exists against them.

There is no real Negro political organization in the city of Detroit. ~~For years Negroes have been part of a coalition composed of Democrats, Labor, Liberals and other minority groups.~~ He pointed out that 14 Michigan delegates to the 1964 Democratic Convention were Negroes. The next largest representation of Negroes in a state group was New York with four.

Mr. Patrick thinks that this coalition may well be breaking up in Detroit, <sup>the voice of the</sup> ~~as the militants are increasing~~ <sup>is increasingly</sup> being heard. There is also an increasing concern with providing an economic base, an economic vitality within the Negro community <sup>composed entirely of blacks.</sup>

Mr. Patrick once again pointed out what he believes to be the basic problems facing this country. Race has become the most important thing. More important than any other factor.

Mr. Patrick believes that the New Detroit Committee (NDC) provides hope for the future of the city. Its head, J. L. Hudson, has infused

II-1-E POLICE, N. VIEW OF, NO RESPONSE TO N. CALLS; FEAR N. AREA  
IX N. ORGANIZATIONS NO REAL N. POLITICAL LEADERS  
IX N. ORGANIZATIONS N. POLIT. COALITION BREAKING



P-4

the spirit of renaissance in its members. Although <sup>N DC</sup> ~~the committee~~ <sup>also</sup> does have the support of the white power structure, it must/get the rest of the white community behind it if ~~it~~ <sup>claim Mr Patrick.</sup> it is to be effective,

Mr. Patrick stated that in the first couple days of the July 1967 disturbances the Negro community was sympathetic and understanding to the problems faced by the Police Department, ~~and~~ the National Guard, etc. However, as the Negro death toll rose, the Negro community rapidly became <sup>antagonistic toward the police</sup> ~~antagonistic~~. Since the riot, the problem of police-community relations <sup>the</sup> has become <sup>a</sup> major one in Detroit.

Another factor causing the polarization of attitudes of both blacks and whites <sup>since the riot</sup> was the conduct of the judiciary during the riots. The imposition of high bonds was <sup>a</sup> horrible, damnable thing, said Mr. Patrick. He went on to add, however, that it was <sup>somewhat</sup> ~~quite~~ understandable in view of the conditions ~~that existed~~ and the fear <sup>that existed</sup> in the white community.

The problem facing the Negro today <sup>is to decide</sup> in ~~deciding~~ whether he should work within the system or against the system, ~~in an attempt~~ to ~~destroy it~~. The militants who are out to destroy the system are saying nothing different than the moderate leaders of a few years ago such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins. Although they are demanding the same things, they are demanding them with leverage. Their cry is "Give us what we want or we'll burn your damn house down." Whereas the moderates <sup>had</sup> ~~have~~ been saying, "Give to us what we want because it is the morally correct thing to do."

III-6-D  
RIOT, N CONCEPT OF POLICE N. SYMPATHY ENDS W/ N. DEATHS



Mr. Patrick believes that Father Groppi of Milwaukee is touching the core of the problem that exists in this country. Some people claim that open occupancy is merely a symbolic issue with no real benefits ~~is change~~ ~~is~~ achieved <sup>does</sup> if such legislation is passed. Mr. Patrick believes, however, that the tremendous opposition to open occupancy laws on the part of the white community refutes the contention that the issue is merely a symbolic one. *The reaction of the whites is so strong because they <sup>instinctively</sup> realize that open housing will in fact make a difference.*

*Evaluations. Mr. Patrick has a profound philosophical understanding of the ~~of~~ race problem that exists in the country. However, he was reluctant to discuss specifically the problem that existed in Detroit. He referred to them as not problems but symptoms of the basic disease that exists in racism.*

I.A. 15  
9-1

(3)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Tom Popp

Subject: Interview with the Detroit, Chief of ~~Police~~ Fire Quinlan on Friday, October 13, 1967 by James Raschard and Tom Popp.

The chief told us that during the riot his men had been harassed in their work while they were at work on chief commercial arteries <sup>and</sup> of main streets, but that on the other hand when they would work in residential areas, they received a great deal of popular help and support by people who were trying to protect their own property. "This kind of help and support ought to be encouraged," said the chief, "and we ought to have a larger program of civil defense type training for civilians who wish to help us when we are trying to control fires in a riot situation." Those who were helping the firemen for the most part were homeowners and older type people, whereas those who were hampering the efforts of the fire department were for the most part teenagers and people in their early twenties. Detroit has a firefighting force of 1,700 men, of whom 40 are Negro, the chief told us. "We would like to have more colored firemen," he said, "but our men are hired by <sup>the</sup> Civil Service, which selects from the top of the list <sup>the</sup> this number of men we request, sends us the number of firemen we ask for each time we make a request simply by selecting those from the top of a list. Consequently, we have no control over who the firemen are going to be, black or white." Chief Quinlan contends <sup>ed</sup> that the Detroit riot was not a race riot. In fact, he said, the colored firemen seemed to be the favorite targets of the snipers and bottle throwers. "Once the

✓ II-2 FIRE DEPT. RIOT HARASSMENT  
 ✓ II-2 FIRE DEPT. 40 OF 1700 N.

Q-2

riot got started on Sunday with the brick and bottle throwing, we found that when our equipment went in, groups of people would stand in the street to block the passage of our apparatus. They might throw rocks and bricks at our trucks, damaging them, in a hit and run pattern. Usually, however, they were not aiming at firemen as such. Chief Quinlan told us that during the period of the riot, the fire department had received 1,617 calls for fires.

Some of these were duplicates, others were rekindled fires which had not been completely put out. Thus, the chief estimated that perhaps half of those calls represented separate fires. During the riot, two firemen died

and 82 were treated for burns, wounds, or smoke inhalation. The Detroit

~~IV-6-H RIOT INJURIES - FIRE DEPT. 2 FATAL 82 WOUNDED~~  
Fire Department has prepared a manual for action during civil disturbances

attached.

and a copy of this manual is being mailed to the commission. From 4:30 p. m.

on Sunday, July 23rd, 1967, through 8:00 a. m. on the following Wednesday,

all Detroit firemen were on 24-hour duty working straight through. On

Wednesday morning, half of them went home for six hours. Then, at 2:00 p. m.

the other half went home for six hours. On Thursday, July 27, each man

had twelve hours off. The following day, the fire department resumed its

normal shift schedule. Only four bodies of victims who had been burned to

death were found in the charred remains of buildings in Detroit. By

pulling in its entire force from all over the city to fight the fires of the riot,

the Detroit fire department had left great outlying areas of the city without

fire protection. To safeguard these areas, the De'roit department had

~~IV-6-C RIOT, FIRE: 1617 FIRE CALLS; DUPLICATES~~

~~IV-6-C RIOT, FIRE: PULLED IN SUBURBAN FORCES~~

alerted suburban companies around the edges of Detroit to respond to fires  
in those areas, but strangely enough there were no fires in the outskirt areas

of Detroit, <sup>while</sup> while the curfew was on, people apparently were being very  
careful. We asked the chief why he thought people had harassed members

of his department during the riot. He quickly pointed out that this was the  
case not only during the riot, but that there are lots of false alarms being

turned in now. When the men respond to <sup>a false</sup> an alarm, they often find kids

there who will heave rocks at the equipment as it is pulling away from the  
site, ~~of the false alarm~~. But the chief said he really <sup>did not</sup> didn't know why this

alienation took place. "here you are trying to help these people, but they don't  
seem to appreciate it." The department does not get complaints of specific

grievances against it from the people, the chief explained. He <sup>does not</sup> doesn't know

why this feeling exists. "We have tried," he told us, "to use some school  
dropouts by giving them employment in connection with <sup>CAP.</sup> the TAP program.

We offered to use them as wall washers. I ~~said the chief~~ wrote up <sup>the</sup> this

program <sup>and CAP</sup> TAP was enthusiastically about it, I said I would try to take 20  
people, but what we found out was that the kids were not interested in working.

These are people who are not interested in getting an education or bettering  
themselves. The in-school kids, on the other hand, have been used by the  
fire department at neighborhood youth corps wages. The 14 and 15 year olds  
worked in the fire houses and around them policing the grounds. The 16 to  
18 year olds washed walls and performed general maintenance duties. These

Q4

were all in-school kids. The terrible problem is how to reach the dropouts. The fire department has an age limit of 20 to 27 years for beginning firemen. Consequently, dropouts are not eligible to join the department right after they drop out of school. Our pitch to highschoolers," said the chief, "can only be 'wait until you turn 20 and then come on around.' What we would like to do," he said, "is to have a fire cadet corps of under 20's so that we can begin training these people and so that when they become 20, they can become firemen.

9 "The Detroit department has no previous residence requirement for firemen.

In other words, if you want to be a fireman in the Detroit department, you can just move to Detroit and apply. You don't have to have lived <sup>here</sup> there for six months or a year. You do have to live within the city, however, at the time when you are a fireman. The starting salary for firemen in the Detroit department is \$7,420 per year." [OVER]

The chief seems astonishingly innocent of the scope + cause of current civil disorders. His knowledge of his own department is thorough. He impresses me rather like a US Marshall in the near, tame, late Wild West talking about something he neither knew nor had known.

Q-5

NOTE: ATTACHED ARE 3 EXHIBITS:

1. DESCRIPTION OF FIRE DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES DURING THE RIOT
2. CIVIL DISTURBANCE MANUAL FOR FIREMEN
3. NOTE ATTACHED TO FIREBOX AFTER FALSE ALARM.

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Tom Popp

Subject: Interview with Major General Simmons of the Michigan National Guard, in Grand Rapids

I.A.D

(G)

S-1

Detroit

Major Simmons was in charge of the forces of the National Guard in Detroit at the time of the Detroit riot and was not in Grand Rapids when that city had its civil disturbance. There were no Guard troops in Grand Rapids at that time.

Major Simmons began by explaining to me the case of Tonia Blanding, a four-year-old girl who was killed by <sup>NATIONAL</sup> the Guards in Detroit. He said that the Guardsman had seen someone shooting from a window and the Guardsman returned fire after making sure that it was the right window and after seeing the man shoot again. He had shot bullets into the window and after the firing from out of the window ceased, he ordered everyone out of the building. When the people came out they were carrying the body of <sup>Tonia Blanding,</sup> a four-year-old girl who had been in the room. Major Simmons feels that the responsibility for her death rests on the shoulders of the people who were shooting out of the window rather than the Guardsman who had no idea that she was in there.

Major Simmons is a tough old soldier. My first question was how much force <sup>this:</sup> how quickly is appropriate <sup>during a riot how quickly?</sup> and his answer was, "hit 'em with everything you've got right away. As soon as a guy gets away with something, he'll do it again. If they think they can get away with it, they will. You've got to smash them hard and fast and for keeps." Those are

IV-1-3 RIOT, NATL GD, TONIA BLANDING ~~DEATH~~ DEATH

IV-1-3 RIOT, NATL GD, PHYSICAL FORCE IMMEDIATELY

~~the Major's words.~~ I asked the Major what he thought the police or the National Guard ought to have done this summer in order to help next summer <sup>to</sup> be kept cool and his response was the same as it had been for the previous question: ~~if~~ if the people know that a looter will get shot for looting, they will be much less likely to loot. His answer is that you have to be friendly but firm. His appreciation of public relations is minimal, I would say.

II-3 RIOT, NAT'L GUARD  
PUNISH FOR PREVENTION  
He feels that people were coming into Detroit from Ohio and Indiana with guns and ammunition. Apparently some of these were apprehended <sup>do not</sup> although I don't know the number. He says that <sup>it is</sup> ~~it's~~ a small percentage of people who riot. "You have to hit them hard and hit them quickly and you'll control them."

GRAND RAPIDS  
In Grand Rapids the situation was saved by the state police who hit hard and broke the thing up and by the curfew ~~which gave the police~~ which gave the police a way of keeping the streets quiet at nighttime. Never was the situation out of hand in Grand Rapids.

II-1-1 RIOT, POLICE PROCEDURE  
GRAND RAPIDS CURFEW  
Things had been quiet in Grand Rapids on Tuesday morning, the 25th, but they flared up again that afternoon; and that night is when the state police came in and managed to keep the situation well under control from then on. Also the barricade was set up Tuesday around 6 o'clock.

One result of the riots, Major Simmons told me, is that every Guardsman has had 32 extra hours <sup>of riot training</sup> in addition to his usual guard drilling. ~~32 extra hours of riot training.~~ "But we never could have controlled the situation in Detroit," the Major told me, "if we had not had Operation

II-3 RIOT, NAT'L GUARD - 'OPERATION SUNDOWN'



S-3

Sundown already planned and ready to go. Operation Sundown laid in extreme detail the plans for a riot contingency situation -- where would we house everybody and park trucks, where would we get the food, where would people sleep, where would you put the cars. If you make enough advance plans and hit hard under those plans and delineate the responsibilities to be handled during the riot, you'll be able to handle the situation."

✓ II-3 RIOT, NAT'L GUARD;  
YOUNG, TIRED

"Many of the Guardsmen were young boys out of college or still in college, people who want to get their service out of the way and not go to war, people who have responsibilities at home, etc., etc. Many of them were scared, these Guardsmen. But also they were very tired, a ~~great many of them~~. They had been on another kind of <sup>Guard</sup> field trip up in the Grayling area and had to come straight down riding in the backs of trucks all day long Sunday and go straight to work and not get much rest until around Wednesday. This was in Detroit, of course. They ~~were~~ were there for two weeks until Sunday noon, <sup>August 6,</sup> although the curfew in Detroit had been lifted the previous Thursday, that is ten days after the initial riot incidents."

✓ II-3 RIOT, NAT'L GUARD  
DUTY (RIOT) AFTER FIELD TRIP

Major General Simmons feels that there were very few snipers actually involved in Detroit, that never were there more than seven snipers at work at one time. It was possible for these men to shoot rapidly and heavily for five minutes in one place, then scurry off somewhere else and continue their sniping in another location. This is the pattern which he implied in his comments. Overall, sniping was, he felt, quite sporadic. ✓ II-6-A RIOT, SNIPERS; NAT'L GUARD; "FEW"

Simmons is pure soldier who understands strength + efficiency and planning but not public relations or the effect his troops may be having on the people of the area. His vision is (over)

I.A.9  
S-4

34

G

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: Interview with William Stevens, Highland Park, Michigan  
Police Force

CRIMINAL ELEMENT HAS INCREASED increased, particularly crime and law abidance was on the upsurge, and that little have changed in Detroit since the riot, and that little more and likely will change except for animosity and discrimination has been effecting the people <sup>being increased. Observed</sup> White people with a greater interest <sup>observed</sup> towards the other race as well as being directed toward the black <sup>observed</sup> men. His worst fear seems to be that the police have a tendency to be overly controlling and overly dominating in this society, and there were beliefs that they will be too <sup>LIST AT TIMES, WHICH MIGHT</sup> to aid the growth lawlessness. He says that most of his inquiries as far as brutality or overexcessiveness is taken to the chief executive officer of the police force who had been very cooperative but again the effectiveness of his mandates have <sup>LITTLE EFFECT AT</sup> the most important level where the officers in contact with the public is not so. Generally the police when affronted with eye witnesses such as statements by a person such as Dr. Lorenzo <sup>WHO STATED THAT HE SAID THEM BRUTALIZING THEM STANDING IN</sup> or <sup>CHIEF STEVENS SAID</sup> struck sitting in an auto who alleged has hit a <sup>THEIR</sup> woman. <sup>THIS</sup> This man is always attacking the policeman <sup>CHIEF STEVENS SAID</sup> and always is being <sup>CHIEF</sup> brutally uncooperative or resisting arrest. He explained his attitude toward Negroes as reasonable. Negroes present a special problem that they tend to create/explosive atmosphere wherever they are involved.

Their handling is particularly preceded with caution and in effect, the

- ✓ JE-7-A RACE RELATIONS; POLICE VIEW: WORSE AFTER RIOT
- ✓ JE-1-D POLICE COMM. RELATIONS: POLICE OVER-CONTROL
- ✓ JE-8-A POLICE MALPRACTICE: ADMIN. MANDATES EFFECTIVE ONLY AT TOP

352 -

S-5

use of kid gloves is extended. A question here as to complains of ineffective service, with statements that the squad crew would respond only to so many calls at the same time. Their facilities were limited. Servicing to the white and black communities was equal. When asked if it was bad generally, he answered that he could use more men and equipment. In reply to the question was there a dual structure for arresting blacks and whites? <sup>!!</sup> he indicated that more blacks were being arrested because they violated the peace more frequently, and in effect too there were more blacks present in the inner-city core. He added that respect is not due in excess to those who break laws and if a certain ~~of~~ culture is breaking more laws, it is hard for the individual policemen to distinguish between granting him the social respect that is due and feeling <sup>toward</sup> him as an enemy which he has to watch and scrutinize and supervise.

A-1-F POLICE; VIEW OF NEGRO VIEW OF POLICE

"DIFFICULT TO ~~BE~~ DIFFERENTIATE BET,  
LAW BREAKER AS CITIZEN & ENEMY"

I.A. 2656

38

(G)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: Dukes  
Subject: Interview with Melvin Smith, Commissioner of Human Relations,  
Highland Park, Michigan

Melvin is the type of individual who is highly intellectual and very competent. He has the background for education, has a M.A.B. from Michigan University. He is a philosopher and a real race man. He ~~trusts~~ <sup>NOTES</sup> the importance of the black community having a higher voice in political representation. He chiefly desires the ~~elimination~~ <sup>ELIMINATION</sup> of police ~~power~~ <sup>CONTROL</sup> or its control by a civilian body, not appointed by the present power structure. He feels that the presence of legal advice to communicate the rights to the lower income groups is mandatory. In addition he desires programs to advise the community of civil activities, to communicate basic ~~actual~~ <sup>EXPLANATIONS</sup> programs in effect in the area. He is for progress and a resurgent toward principles and orderly conduct and basic law. He is for education by stressing the importance of the individual and the potential which lies for the educational person. He states that the present political structure is too filled with power packed politics which uses the common man and his needs as a tool for gaining their specific objectivity. He thinks there is no real intent to give affirmatively, <sup>RELIEF</sup> particularly ~~the~~ social structure as it presently stand doesn't favor the black man nor is it partial or does it give him a say. Specifically, he feels it needs preventive programs, one which will eliminate problems, not

39  
2

5-7

one which are instituted <sup>SUCH</sup> after problems arise.

The pressure in Detroit between administration the police and the people, politicians and the people have to be simplified, particularly the general channels that are used should be <sup>MADE MORE</sup> convenient for the educated and the middle income class and should be altered for the lower class, if he is to be effectively reached.

The communicational methods such <sup>As</sup> radio and television, newspaper <sup>SPOKEN OF</sup> and the subject <sup>IN A COMPACTIBLE FORM</sup> should be augmented whenever possible to get to

that person who commonly does not understand or use these mediums.

<sup>NEW OR</sup> If additional <sup>TYPE</sup> verbiage or what <sup>OTHER METHODS TO COMMUNICATE</sup> is necessary, such should be implemented and attempted into use, to solicit their participation and

their functioning IN THE COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

and community programing. Lack of money in the ghetto schools seems

to be a basic problem which <sup>IS POINTED AT</sup> will not be remedied <sup>BY THE WHITES</sup>

~~of the black problem~~. Generally recreational facilities are given to

the ghetto areas and little is done about constructive education <sup>AT OR</sup>

<sup>THE</sup> quality of education in these areas. This could be a step forward

simply by stressing and giving guidance centers and giving guidance

personnel <sup>OF EFFICIENT QUALITY AT A</sup> on a basic level with that in the white communities.

Most of the things that <sup>ARE</sup> wrong in the neighborhood are tangi-

ble. Most of the facilities are good. It is generally the operators

of the facilities and the purpose of the facilities <sup>WHICH ARE CAUSING PROBLEMS</sup> to which

causes the biggest problems.

Unemployment is tied to the low level of education here in

Detroit and there is a economic barrier which the Negro has to crack

WHICH ARE CAUSING PROBLEMS  
ARE THE  
TO MANAGE  
OBTAIN

before he can maintain admittance into the acceptable status of American life. Basically he isn't educated, so he isn't allowed to make the big money. Without the big money, he can't compete with <sup>or enter</sup> the white standards, <sup>of acceptance</sup> and he will be continually isolated away from the basic activities and the basic structure of Americanism. It is <sup>as judged by the</sup> <sup>white man</sup> rarely seen in this community or any other Negro community that of a black man of significance <sup>is</sup> <sup>CONNOTATED WITH A HIGH COMMERCIAL</sup> <sup>FUNCTION</sup> <sup>position</sup> <sup>OR</sup> <sup>AS SOUND</sup> commercially. Why is this, is it because of the basic level of activity or his mentality. Most of these thoughts have arisen in the middle income class persons mind and he is beginning to realize the chips are stacked against him. <sup>IN THIS MOST PREVIOUS</sup> <sup>ASPECT.</sup>

I. A. 22

S-9

(6)  
Detroit

Interviewer: John J. Ursu

Interviewee: Mr. Ed Simpkins, Vice President, Detroit Federation of Teachers

We were directed to Mr. Simpkins by Leon Atchison (A.A. for Rep. John Conyers). Mr. Simpkins is a Negro who attended school in Detroit and who has taught in the senior high school system. He is approximately <sup>5</sup>38 years old.

The Detroit Public School System is feeling the shock waves of the black revolution. In April 1966, the students at Northern High School, which is overwhelmingly Negro, staged a demonstration lasting several weeks, the purpose of which was to protest inferior educational opportunities for inner-city students. While the Detroit team was in that city, the students at Knudsen Jr. High revolted and inflicted heavy damage on that new school facility.

Mr. Simpkins is very critical of the Detroit school system and believes that it is almost an irrelevant factor in shaping and preparing young people. The school system especially fails the average student. The schools are hopelessly overcrowded, and, although the ideal classroom size should be 20-25 students per class, the best the teachers could bargain for in their new contract was a maximum of 39 students per class. The system operates on a present budget of \$14<sup>2</sup><sub>0</sub>,000,000, and Simpkins says that \$40,000,000 more is needed. The System's building program has a budget of \$37,000,000 and will shortly have \$15,000,000 more. This is enough for about two new high schools or four elementary schools and hardly sufficient to meet the needs of the community.

Furthermore, many present buildings are obsolete and must be replaced

✓ III-1-A EDUCATION, QUALITY OF: "FAILS AVERAGE STUDENT"  
✓ III-1-A EDUCATION, QUALITY OF: BUDGET \$40 MILL UNDER



with no resulting increase in total facilities. Under present circumstances, the upper schools cannot handle all the students "fed in" from the elementary schools, and there is a definite "push out" practice being followed.

VI-1-A EDUC. QUALITY "PUSH OUT" PRACTICE  
Simpkins described the standard problem of finding adequate teachers for the inner-city schools. Teachers like to live close to their duty station, and they take the first opportunity to transfer to schools outside the poor Negro areas.

VI-B-III, POVERTY PROGRAMS, IV. VIEW OF: "A TEASE"  
Mr. Simpkins said that the young inner-city Negroes are a disenchanting class. Poverty programs have been nothing more than a tease and the city has even experienced cut-backs in the poverty funds it had. Black people who had been taken into a program too often had to leave and this made them very angry.

Young Negroes have a great distrust of governmental leaders and, indeed, of the government itself. They especially distrust the federal government. The war in Vietnam is a strong factor in shaping their attitude, and they sincerely believe that it is meant to destroy colored people. Negroes who generally like military service hate it now because they are opposed to fighting a war they do not believe in.

Simpkins said that if these youths have certain far left views, one could legitimately attribute them to Negroes' close contact with social and poverty workers. He believes that community workers are generally to the left of the President, and they plant ideological seeds in the young minds which they confront.

The beginning of a cure to the unrest is more complete integration of Negroes in all facets of school staffs. Black activists must be permitted to teach in predominantly black schools, and black admin-

VI-1-A POVERTY PROGRAMS: LEFTIST VIEWS OF YOUTH  
RESULT OF FROM SOCIAL WORKERS



istrators must be placed in those schools. Under present conditions, the black community is like a society living under colonialism. The black community must receive a transfer of power to govern rather than being governed by strangers. Finally, the young people must have an honest guarantee of worthwhile jobs awaiting them if and when they finish school. Such people, in Simpkins' view, do not work to destroy their society.

The teachers' union has worked to improve the content of curriculums as they related to black history and culture. Attached to this report <sup>as EX. A</sup> is a copy of the new contract between the Board of Education and the Union. See Article III, pp. 3-4 of that document. The Union also distributes the attached booklet which lists books for young people on Negro life and history.

Evaluation

Mr. Simpkins is intelligent, informed and articulate. He is well aware of the shortcomings of the school system and he is willing to express his views. If the Commission wishes to hear from someone connected with the system in a non-administrative capacity, I recommend that this gentleman be called.

- ✓ II N. CONDITIONS COLONIALISM-LIKE SOCIETY
- ✓ II-2 N. CONDITIONS, EMPLOYMENT: YOUTH; ~~TO~~ JOB GUARANTEE
- ✓ III-1-A, EDUCATION QUALITY- RAISED BY AFT (TEACHER UNION)

I.A. 16

S-12

G

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: The following report is based on an interview with Mr. Richard L. Simmons, presently the Assistant Director and soon to be the Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development, which is the Detroit anti-poverty program

In discussing the background of the Detroit disorder, Mr. Simmons indicated that in his opinion the police department had improved somewhat over the last several years. However, the policies of the leadership, particularly Commissioner <sup>Quarles</sup> ~~Jurarden~~, never seemed to get down to the street. He felt that these policies were often blocked by the upper echelon of the police department which is composed of old line career officers. It was his opinion that the tactical mobile units which were introduced two or three years ago within the Detroit police force was a very good idea. In the early days he felt they had some excellent people and that they handled the situations <sup>in</sup> which they were involved in very well. However, the idea was so successful at the outset that the police department then tried to turn half of the force into tactical mobile units. This, of course, permitted many bad eggs to get in, and the effectiveness of the tactical <sup>mobile</sup> ~~mob~~le unit has diminished.

When asked about the number of Negro police officers, Simmons stated that he thought there were approximately 200 out of 4,500 officers. He stated that it was not easy in the past for Negroes to get a job on the police force, that it isn't very easy today, and in addition many Negroes do not want to join the force today. He advised me

II-1-C POLICE QUALITY: IMPROVED; ~~POLICE~~ DOESN'T FILTER

that 20 years ago when he got out of the Army he wanted to join the Detroit police force. He took and passed the written examination but he did not pass the oral examination. He states that this sort of tactic is still used to keep many of what he would term otherwise qualified Negroes off the police force. People are denied jobs for having minor arrest records or unpaid traffic tickets, or because they simply do not evidence the "right" sort of law enforcement attitude. Simmons told me that it is now considered a sort of betrayal for a Negro to join the police force because the Detroit police department is viewed as an enemy force in the Negro community.

In addition, it is possible today for educated, intelligent Negroes to obtain jobs in private industry.

Mr. Simmons stated that police-community relations <sup>are</sup> were not ~~im-~~  
<sup>improved</sup>proved by the fact that there is a feeling in the Negro community that law enforcement is virtually nonexistent in crimes involving one Negro against another. It is his feeling that this derives from the fact that the police know that they are not liked and they are simply slipshod in investigating any crime involving one black man against another. He advised me that a year or so ago a grant had been obtained from either OEO or the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance at the Department of Justice to run an institute on police-community relations for the benefit of the Detroit police department. Approximately 1800 police officers attended the institute. He stated that many educators, sociologists, penologists, and just plain residents of the black community in Detroit attended, ~~and~~ participated and lectured at the institute.

II-1-A POLICE COMPOSITION: N. DISCRIMINATION

II-1-A POLICE COMPOSITION: N'S ON FORCE = BETRAYAL

II-1-B POLICE, N. VIEW OF: "LAW" NON-EXISTENT

S-14

It was his feeling, however, that the short duration of this particular institute reduced its effectiveness. It was not continuous. However, a new grant had been obtained and an institute was to commence on August 1. However, the disorder of late July caused a postponement of that institute.

He stated that the black middle class is starting to view the police department in the same manner as the low-income Negroes. In this regard he mentioned an incident involving a Judge Davenport, who sits on the Recorder's coroner's court in Detroit. It seems Judge Davenport was stopped in the early morning hours in a white area of Detroit and questioned by police officers. When he refused to identify himself he was arrested and taken downtown. Of course, once there it was discovered that he was a judge and he was released. This particular incident got a great deal of publicity and awakened the Negro middle class to what can happen to any of them as long as their skin is black. It should be noted here that as Simmons tells the story, Judge Davenport had refused to cooperate with the arresting officers because they were discourteous.

In the area of employment, Simmons stated that the situation was not good and that there were very few jobs of any significance which were available to the unemployed Negroes in Detroit. He did, however, talk about some jobs which were available in programs being run by the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources Development in the field of urban beautification, which paid approximately \$2 per hour but for which they were able to find few takers. He feels that this may be due to the fact that there is a high level of pay in private employment and this makes it

II-1-E POLICE, W. VIEW OF: MIDDLE CLASS, LOWER SAME  
II-6 UNEMPLOYMENT : LOW PAY, PUBLIC JOBS

difficult to get people to take low pay jobs. He thinks that there might be an ego problem involved here in that when all around one is going well and one can only get a menial job, one tends not to take the menial job. He also thinks that part of the unemployment problem may be due to the fact that it is very difficult to instill proper work habits in people after long periods of unemployment. He illustrated that as follows: many Negroes were able after long-term unemployment to obtain jobs but were out of work habits so after a few days <sup>they would</sup> ~~it was~~ <sup>start</sup> hard to come to work late and after several days of tardiness they are fired.

With regard to jobs and schools, Mr. Simmons stated that many employers place emphasis on where an applicant earned his high school diploma. He thinks that it is much more difficult for a person with a high school diploma from one of the predominantly Negro inner-city schools to obtain <sup>a</sup> jobs because ~~the~~ employers have already determined that a high school diploma from those institutions does not necessarily mean that the holder ~~of that diploma~~ has a high school education. He stated that the quality of education in the inner-city schools is declining and he would lay much of the blame at the door of many old-line principals who are opposed to any change in the curriculum or method of instruction. He also stated that the teachers in the inner-city schools are scared to death of the students. The students talk tough and have been known to attack teachers on some occasions. He referred to an incident which occurred while the team was in Detroit, that incident being the destruction of most of the windows in Knudsen Junion High

III-6 UNEMPLOYMENT - N. WORK HABITS POOR (DISUSE)  
III-2 EMPLOYMENT (QUALIF) - EMPHASIS ON HIGH SCHOOL LOCATION  
III-1-C EDUCAT. FACULTY - FEAR STUDENTS

School. Mr. Simmons told me that there had been vandalism at the school the weekend before and that the incident of the students kicking out most of the windows of the high school and otherwise damaging the building may have been sparked by the fact that the evidence of the vandalism of the prior weekend had not been cleared away. He put it somewhat as follows: "The students came in on Monday morning and saw that the building had been partially destroyed and simply decided to go ahead and complete the job."

Simmons advised me that the last time an increased millage proposal was on the ballot it was opposed by the Rev. Albert <sup>Clage</sup> Clay and his followers on the grounds that the school system was not going to <sup>do</sup> right anyway. Simmons stated that <sup>at</sup> Clay had a pretty good thing going prior to his opposition to the millage and started to lose power thereafter. However, this decline in power has been reversed by the recent disorders. He now states that the Negro middle class is starting <sup>to ally with</sup> CLEAGE, having realized that very little in the way of progress has been made by peaceful demonstrations and negotiations.

On the question of adequacy of welfare payments, Mr. Simmons was of the opinion that they were totally inadequate. He stated that up to January of 1967 the payments were \$120 for a woman and one child, with \$20 increments for each additional child <sup>and</sup> with a maximum payment of \$240, no matter what size the family. In January of 1967 this was changed, but he doesn't know exactly how.

On housing Mr. Simmons stated that there was a great deal of slumlordism in the inner city of Detroit. He mentioned particularly

II-2-B CIVIL RTS. N. VIEW: MIDDLE CLASS INFLUENCED BY MILITANTS

III-13 Welfare UNADEQUATE

S-17

Real Estate Company  
the Goodman Brothers as the second biggest landholder in the city of  
Detroit. <sup>are</sup> its holdings exceeded only by those of the city of Detroit it-  
self. ~~Goodman Brothers own~~ <sup>of this</sup> much slum property, <sup>is composed of</sup> much of it cold water  
flats renting for \$70, \$80, \$90 per month. Mr. Simmons referred to the  
fact that the city of Detroit lives or dies on what happens in the auto-  
mobile industry. In this regard he referred to the fact that in the  
late 50's when automobile sales were down there was a significant loss  
of population in the city of Detroit to such an extent that many public  
housing units became vacant and one building was closed down completely.  
However, that sort of situation does not exist today and the housing  
market is very tight. The problem is aggravated by the fact that there  
is a considerable in-migration of Negroes from the rural South who make  
it profitable for people like the Goodman Brothers to continue to operate  
slum housing with a minimum of upkeep.

In describing what occurred in July, Mr. Simmons told me that  
there was a task force set up by the Mayor which was a sort of early  
warning system. One of the jobs of this task force was to combat rumors  
in the black community. In other words, if it became known to someone  
that a rumor was circulating in the neighborhood which might possibly  
set off violence, members of the task force were to go into that neigh-  
borhood and to give community residents the factual picture of what  
had or had <sup>not</sup> occurred. Mr. Simmons did not mention how many times this  
task force was called upon to engage in this sort of activity and I  
neglected to ask him. However, he advised me that on the morning of  
July 23 he received a call at 6 a.m. from some member of the task force

- B2 - HOUSING - SLUM LANDLORDS, GOODMAN BROS.
- B-03 [REDACTED] TASK FORCE TO COMBAT RUMORS
- B-10) RIOT EMBRY, MAYORAL TASK FORCE NOTIFIED (23 JULY)



advising him that trouble had started on the west side. He then got in touch with other members of the task force and advised them that he was proceeding to the west side to do whatever he could to bring the disturbance under control. He told me that he and some members of his staff went to the central community action center. From there he walked down 12th Street at about 7:30 a.m. and talked to people who were gathered at various spots along 12th Street. He said things seemed to be under control at that time. However, word was already passing around that the police were not shooting looters. When this sort of information became widespread, "the youngsters had a field day." Simmons told me that there was a meeting at the 10th Precinct stationhouse late <sup>early</sup> Sunday afternoon or evening attended by community residents and the Mayor and some members of the police department. Simmons stated that most people there complimented the Mayor on how the police had handled the situation. Only the Negro businessmen complained that more force had to be applied in order to bring the disturbance under control.

Mr. Simmons stated that some sensationalized news accounts of the extent of damage in Detroit gave the picture that the entire city had been devastated. He mentioned the fact that during the course of the disorder and shortly thereafter people talked about <sup>me-</sup> half a billion dollars in property damage. He states that the figure now being mentioned as the extent of property damage is approximately \$65,000,000 rather than half a billion. Mr. Simmons conceded that while fire damage had occurred over an extremely wide area, there were no instances of entire city blocks being leveled.

(preceding page)  
III-E-5 RIOT, NEAR CONTROL (23 JULY) NO SHOOTING ORDER EFFECT  
III- RIOT, (DAMAGE) \$65,000,000



INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION

Mr. Simmons is a Negro in his late 40's or early 50's. While he appeared to be frank and open in our discussion as far as it went, I am of the opinion that he was and would be very reluctant to vigorously criticize the city administration since he is an employee of the city in his present position. He has been employed in the local anti-poverty program since the spring of 1965 and would perhaps make a useful witness insofar as the progress of the anti-poverty program is concerned. He also might be able to provide useful testimony as to the history of race relations in Detroit between the race riots of 1943 and the present day.

I.A.19  
S-20

3

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dobranski

Subject: Interview with Walter I. Stecher, Budget Director, City of Detroit, and Richard Strichartz, Coordinator, Major Development Team on October 18, 1967

Mr. Stecher was interviewed for the purpose of finding out how the riots of July 1967 <sup>have affected</sup> affects the city's financial operation,

either in the sense of requiring emergency appropriations or <sup>by requesting</sup> ~~in~~ changing the budget for the next fiscal year. <sup>changes in proposed</sup>

Mr. Stecher said that <sup>the city</sup> ~~the budget department~~ has just requested that City Council approve a \$9 million emergency bond issuance. This money is to be used for the following purposes: The increased pay roll cost during and after the riot, especially <sup>for the</sup> in the payment of overtime; ~~damages~~ property damages; replacement of expendable supplies <sup>used during the riot, e.g., drugs and ammunition</sup> that were used up, for example the emergency reserves of drug and ammunition; to <sup>replacement of</sup> replace lost revenue, <sup>resulting from the shutdown</sup> for example, the bell <sup>of certain city operations such as the Detroit Zoo; and the purchase of</sup> Isle was forced to close down during the riot, the Detroit zoo also shut down. Finally the money is to be used for purchasing special equipment <sup>for</sup> to the police and fire departments. <sup>which was sought for</sup> ~~Equipment which they~~ did not have during the riot and which they could have used. This equipment consist of ~~armorments~~, communications equipment, and additional automobiles.

Mr. Stecher pointed out, <sup>that current budget did not provide the city</sup> ~~the city did not have the funds under~~ <sup>with funds to meet these expenses</sup> the current budget to make additional new purchases. Seventy-five percent of this year's budget, <sup>was</sup> ~~has been~~ appropriated for pay roll use

and almost all jobs are currently filled. This means that very little money is left over for emergency use.

Mr. Stecher pointed out that the riot provided the city with new and different perceptions and recognitions of the problems. <sup>" These</sup> requests will be reflected in the budget/for the coming fiscal year. <sup>For example,</sup> ~~the riot provided that the~~ of the new perceptions ~~in the police departments, communications system~~ <sup>for example,</sup> In the last two years ~~the~~ city had spent a couple of million of dollars <sup>the last two years providing the police with what they believed to be</sup> on what they thought was one of the best communication systems in the country. However, <sup>the riot revealed</sup> they discovered during the riot, that the system was totally inadequate to meet <sup>the</sup> their needs <sup>of the department.</sup>

Mr. Stecher pointed out that in his request for the emergency bond issue, <sup>(approximately \$2,000,000)</sup> a good deal of the requested money was going for additional police equipment such as <sup>ammunition</sup> ~~ammunitions~~, helicopters and airplanes, etc. He <sup>said</sup> says the city has <sup>in being</sup> been criticized for emphasizing too much on protection of the community and not <sup>enough</sup> attention paid to alleviating the social causes that produce riots. <sup>However,</sup> Mr. Stecher <sup>replied,</sup> said we will not solve these social problems over night, so in the meantime we need the traditional police equipment to suppress these riots whenever they break out.

Attached hereto as Exhibit ~~No. A-1~~ <sup>is</sup> a copy of the budget department's <sup>detailed</sup> request for an <sup>the</sup> emergency \$9 million dollar emergency bond issue. ~~broken down into specific needs.~~

Also interviewed on the same date <sup>at</sup> the suggestion of Mr. Stecher, <sup>I also interviewed</sup> was Mr. Richard Strichartz. Mr. Strichartz is coordinator of the Mayor's Development Team. He also acts as liaison between the

IV-1-J (riot) POLICE PROCEDURE, EFFECTIVENESS

REVISION RE: COMMUNICATION MERTNS

city and the new Detroit committee.

When ~~Senator Brooke recently visited the city~~, Mr. Strichartz <sup>that he spent much time</sup> said ~~a good deal of this time was spent~~ with Deputy Executive Director Victor Palmieri, <sup>during Senator Brooke's recent visit to Detroit</sup> and gave him a good deal of material. He did however turn over some additional material to me which is attached hereto as Exhibit No. 2. <sup>B</sup> He <sup>further</sup> also pointed out that on October 26th, the Mayor was going to <sup>make a presentation of</sup> present the findings of his Development Team, and that ~~the Commission would be put on the distribution list~~, that five <sup>of</sup> copies would be mailed to Executive Director Dave Ginsburg.

~~attached~~ This material consists of an inventory + list of priorities set up by the New School Committee, <sup>memos</sup> a ~~memo~~ from Mr. Strichartz to J. L. Hudson of the legislative proposals to be considered at the Special Session of the State Legislature, and a ~~letter~~ copy of letter from Mayor Cavanagh's Governor Romney concerning the proposed Basic Property Insurance Act.

Evaluation: "I did not speak to Mr. Strichartz long enough to give <sup>any</sup> evaluation.

Mr. Stecher was unable to comprehend why the emergency bond request might be attacked. The fact that the city was planning on using \$2,000,000 of the \$9,000,000 requested for ~~to~~ purchase surplus police equipment to wage a moderate-size war seemed to be lost upon him. He was wholly ignorant of the fact that the fundamental need in the Detroit Police Department is a change in attitude and the wild purchasing of armaments.

I. B. 5

S-23

G

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Tom Popp

Subject: Interview with Mr. Horace Sheffield, <sup>administrative assistant to Nelson Jack</sup> who is a senior executive <sup>Edwards</sup> of ~~at~~ the United Auto Workers in Detroit, on October 12, 1967.

Horace Sheffield is a Negro, who told me that if there had been a higher proportion of Negroes on the police force, the riot might have <sup>been</sup> nipped in the bud. He felt that the riot was mostly hooliganism ~~in his words~~, that police action was appropriate and necessary to deal with this kind of element, but that more Negro policemen are needed. The police administration, Mr. Sheffield told me, has to remove some needless blocks to <sup>Negro applicants,</sup> applications by Negroes to the police force for employment therein. Mr. Sheffield stated that there are many Negroes who want to be policemen but that they are barred from the force by various simple things such as having had a traffic ticket or even such simple things as having had a parent with a police record. Sheffield feels that there is a conscious effort being made by the police department to restrict <sup>the entrance of</sup> Negroes from working in the department. He <sup>feels</sup> felt that one of the reasons why the riot ~~had~~ happened is that the density of population <sup>in</sup> of the 12th Street area is too great. There <sup>are</sup> is too many people with nothing to do who are milling around out in the streets and that "this kind of incident could have happened in any neighborhood where <sup>the density of</sup> ~~this had~~ population was so high." <sup>been the case.</sup> Another problem, of course, is full <sup>Negro</sup> employment of people

II-1-A POLICE COMP. OF N. KEPT OUT CONSCIOUSLY

I-6-D RIOT, N. CONCEPT OF DENSITY, MILLING OF 12TH STR

S-24

- 2 -

~~who live in Negro areas and this is~~ something which the United Auto Workers has supported for quite a long time. The UAW has also supported the various aspects of the poverty program and has <sup>long</sup> felt the urgency of <sup>such</sup> support: ~~ing full employment and the poverty program for a long time.~~ Mr. Sheffield feels that only now is the Federal government beginning to realize the urgency of these things; ~~and he defended the United Auto Workers as having defended them for a long time.~~ <sup>he</sup> He feels that the problem requires massive <sup>financial</sup> federal intervention, ~~with a great deal of federal money.~~ <sup>says</sup> He said that the Federal government has to recognize the problems and do something, ~~Mr. Sheffield feels that the Federal government has to~~ realize what it and white society as a whole have done to the Negro people. There has to be money spent to improve the neglected education which Negro children have gotten. Sheffield feels that with \$20 billion, we could wipe out poverty all together in this country in a few years. I asked him how he felt the Federal government ought to be spending that money and for the most part his reply was, "Well, everyone knows the problem. It is just a matter of getting the Federal government to put the money in. We all know how it is supposed to be spent." ~~It is just a matter of getting the money."~~ The only specific suggestion he <sup>makes</sup> made, ~~aside from the vague one of needing money,~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ that the policies of the Detroit Board of Education need to be supported through Federal funds; ~~that~~ the Board is committed to a quality education for all children in Detroit, but it <sup>has not</sup> ~~doesn't~~ have the money to carry on this

kind of program, <sup>money</sup> and it needs ~~it~~ from the Federal government. In talking again about the riot itself, Sheffield feels that the people who did not participate deplored the incidents which took place during the riot. Most Negroes, Sheffield <sup>tells</sup> ~~told me~~, himself included, recognized that law and order are <sup>is</sup> the best safeguard of their rights, ~~which they have~~. <sup>During a</sup> And ~~the~~ breakdown of law and order ~~he said~~ <sup>those</sup> all the rights are gone. We ~~that is~~ [the United Auto Workers and the Negro leadership in general] have been trying to show the value of the ballot as a political weapon, Mr. Sheffield <sup>says</sup> ~~said~~. "Most Negroes shun violence as a way out of the situation, ~~he told me~~. We can't forget, however, ~~he said~~ that this is not a racial problem; ~~but that~~ poor white people manifest the same kind of characteristics as do Negroes when they are deprived of the means of economic independence. The only difference is that white people don't seem to rise up en masse to protest the circumstances. The white people in the same situation don't seem to move." ~~It was, in other words, Sheffield was saying, an economic riot rather than a racial one.~~

THE POLICE, IN VIEW OF LAW & ORDER ARE BEST SAFEGUARDS

Sheffield is a militant-sounding Tom. He is an old-line Baptist preacher type who has been middle-class for so long he has forgotten. He ain't ready.



I. C. 20

41



T-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: *WILLIAM H. TOLERBER - SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT*  
Interview with William Tolerber ~~(EPT)~~ (continuation of preceding tape)

*Mr. Tolerber - residence on the city of Highland park  
meets, and will then work and then call them - he says that he  
SOCH*  
His children still ~~were~~ without food. He therefore ~~and knowing that~~

~~it was only Saturday~~ went to the welfare for temporary relief. The first day he couldn't get to the receptionist. The next day he ran into the difficulty of seeing the allocated case worker in his physical setting. He then on the third day returned and was told that he couldn't get relief unless he came and saw a Mr. so-and-so. He ran back to the Salvation Army who gave him \$10 for more food ~~and~~ the Salvation Army later ~~forced~~ <sup>INTERCEDED TO</sup> the welfare to see the man ~~at~~ that day. He was then admitted to service and even at this time was told he couldn't receive an allocation of food unless he picked it up in person on the next day, ~~which~~ <sup>W. DAY</sup> happened to be Monday, when he was suppose to report ~~to~~ <sup>FOR</sup> a job. When he explained the situation to the person in charge and balanced off the effect of having to come back that Monday at the same instance be at his job, he told that he had to be there to pick up the food himself. He then was so frustrated he decided that he would attempt to go to work and see if he could ~~borrow~~ <sup>BEG</sup> some food ~~IN THE~~  
**MEAN WHILE**  
He did this and subsequently managed to get an advance and was then taken off the spot. However, presently he is nursing a deep grudge against this agency and seems to carry it so strongly that he is going around the neighborhood and demonstrating and doing everything possible

*it is possible  
to get  
more  
money  
from  
the  
welfare  
department  
and then  
use it  
to  
pay  
for  
food.  
He then  
went  
to  
the  
Salvation  
Army  
and  
they  
gave  
him  
\$10  
for  
food.  
He then  
went  
to  
the  
welfare  
department  
and  
they  
gave  
him  
an  
advance  
of  
\$10.  
He then  
went  
to  
work  
and  
did  
not  
show  
up.  
He  
then  
went  
to  
the  
welfare  
department  
and  
they  
gave  
him  
an  
advance  
of  
\$10.  
He then  
went  
to  
work  
and  
did  
not  
show  
up.  
He  
then  
went  
to  
the  
welfare  
department  
and  
they  
gave  
him  
an  
advance  
of  
\$10.*

42  
2

T-2

to make other persons aware of the condition. In fact, he is now  
presently a Black Nationalist.

L.C. 4

V-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: The following report is based on an interview with Mary Valentine the Public Relations Director of the West Central Organization, popularly referred to in Detroit as WCO

WCO is a rather militant multiracial organization which is funded by private sources. Its executive director, Mr. Lorenzo Freeman, was trained by Sol Alenski.

In discussing the background of the riot in Detroit, Mrs. Valentine wanted to talk first about police brutality and a long history of such brutality. She referred to an incident in 1965 involving a young Negro teenager, named Howard King, who was allegedly beaten by the police and suffered a broken hand and ribs. This beating took place in the 2nd Precinct station house after the prisoner was handcuffed and allegedly subdued. After the beating the prisoner was taken to a hospital where his hands and ribs were bandaged but not set in a cast. Sometime later this young man came to WCO, complained of the treatment and also of recurring pain in his hand. He was taken to a hospital where his hand was rebroken and properly set. Mrs. Valentine told me that she went with the family to see Police Commissioner Juarden and told Juarden what had happened. Prior to hearing any statement from the complaining witness, she states then Juarden denied that any such thing had happened. Mrs. Valentine <sup>told us</sup> ~~stated~~ that this particular incident had been witnessed by a Negro patrolman named Kenneth Johnson. Johnson had reported the

~~MEMO~~ V-1-jj - Pow. Str., Pol., Brutality - N. Teenager beaten 1965

V-2

incident to his superiors and had ~~made known the fact that this incident~~  
~~also informed~~ had occurred to the local chapter of the NAACP. The police department,  
however, had taken no action on these complaints. It was only after the  
young man and his mother came to WCO that things started to happen.

After the visit to Juarden's office Mrs. Valentine states that she was  
visited by Kenneth Johnson and a white patrolman, at which time Patrol-  
man Johnson advised her that she should not have used his name when re-  
porting the incident to the Commissioner because he would only get in  
trouble. She told me that she berated Patrolman Johnson at that point  
for not having raised hell himself to get something done about this inci-  
dent. He and the white patrolman<sup>left</sup> A few days later Patrolman Johnson  
returned to the offices of WCO alone and advised Mrs. Valentine that he  
had been considering the things that she said to him on the prior visit  
and was now willing to testify against the patrolman involved in the  
incident.

A police department investigation of the matter was instituted and  
the patrolman involved in the beating, whose name was Parker, was brought  
up on charges before the trial board. His trial resulted in a six-month  
suspension. However, Kenneth Johnson, the Negro patrolman who testified  
in that trial board proceeding against Patrolman Parker, was also brought  
up on charges before the trial board on the allegation that he had per-  
jured himself in the course of Parker's hearing. Johnson's trial re-  
sulted in a 15-day suspension and reassignment to beat duty. Johnson  
later stated that as soon as news stories started to appear indicating  
that he had witnessed the beating and was prepared to testify against

V-1 - Pow. Str., Pol. — N. officer harassed by Fellow Officers  
After Testifying Against Wh Officer

- 3 -

V-3

Patrolman Parker, clippings of these articles were tacked on the bulletin board in the 2nd Precinct where he was assigned with his name underlined. He says that he was continuously harassed by his fellow officers and that <sup>the</sup> his tires on his personal automobile were slashed while on the Precinct parking lot. He asked for reassignment to the 7th Precinct, which reassignment was granted, but soon after the reassignment articles started to appear on the bulletin board in the 7th Precinct with his name underlined <sup>and</sup> with various other ~~sordid~~ racist comments attached. He again asked for reassignment, this time to the 10th Precinct, where apparently the harassment did not abate.

Mrs. Valentine stated that this incident typifies the manner in which the police department attempts to protect its own and also what would happen to anyone on the inside who dared <sup>s</sup> testify against an officer in a police brutality case. Mrs. Valentine gave me a copy of a small booklet entitled "West Central Organization Self-determination," which deals with the work of WCO. Included in this book, which is attached hereto and marked Valentine Exhibit A, is a reprint of <sup>a</sup> the newspaper account dealing with the harassment of Patrolman Kenneth Johnson. <sup>ff</sup> Mrs. Valentine stated that the gravamen of the entire problem in Detroit is human dignity. She stated, "They have to stop treating us like things and start treating us like people."

Mrs. Valentine <sup>told me</sup> stated that there is an urgent need to find more jobs for youngsters and that a solution to this particular problem could have a dampening effect on the riot fever which she still thinks prevails in the city of Detroit. While speaking of jobs, Mrs. Valentine

V-3- Pow. Str., Man. Coun't <sup>Detroit</sup> Urban Renewal Aggravates Housing: WCO

- 4 -

V-4

referred to an occasion when some white man told her that Negroes did not want to work. He based this conclusion on the fact that he had opened some sort of factory in a Negro neighborhood and was unable to find employees. She stated that the man was offering wages of approximately \$1 an hour.

She also referred to the fact that many Negroes had lost their jobs during the July disorders because they were incarcerated for several days and <sup>were</sup> unable to get to work.

She characterized the urban renewal program in Detroit as a scandal. She stated that it had seriously aggravated the housing problem in that many housing units were being destroyed and ~~that~~ very few were being built. One of the prime ~~targets of the~~ activities of WCO is to halt the urban renewal program in the area in which it <sup>(WCO)</sup> is working.

On the subject of communication between the races, Mrs. Valentine stated that there is no willingness on the part of the city government to consult with low income Negroes about what should be done in their community. She thinks that the most vital role that could be played by the present "black leaders" would be an insistence that the white power structure start talking to black militants. It is her feeling that the majority of the Negro community is behind Rev. Cleague but that the Negro clergy and professionals are not yet in camp. She stated that she had personally been unable to persuade the Baptist Ministers Association to support WCO in some of its activities. <sup>¶</sup> She advised ~~me~~ us that open housing had been a subject of discussion in Detroit for some time. However, it is her feeling that passage of an open housing law

II-1- Comm. & Rel., Comm. Comman. - city gov't. not consulting N.  
VIII- Organizations - N - WCO: Majority N. Behind Rev. Cleague.

would be nothing more than a psychological victory. She states that she personally cannot afford to live in Bloomfield Hills even if she has the opportunity to purchase a home there. It is her feeling that Negroes would be quite happy generally to stay exactly where they are if the police and the power structure would leave the black community alone.

It is Mrs. Valentine's opinion that the black man has been systematically emasculated by the white man. She cites the factor of joblessness and also the fact that black wives and children often have to watch their husbands and fathers being verbally and physically abused by police. <sup>The men are</sup> ~~and being~~ unable to strike back <sup>because</sup> ~~except on~~ fear of loss of life. <sup>are</sup> She states that the news media ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> irresponsible in that ~~it will~~ <sup>they</sup> play up violence and distort statements of black leaders in an attempt to make it appear that the leaders advocate violence.

#### INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION

Mrs. Mary Valentine is a Negro who appears to be in her early 40's. She is quite outspoken and quite militant although in a very non-violent sort of way. In the course of the interview on two occasions she talked to Conrad <sup>Mallet</sup> ~~Mallard~~, an assistant to Mayor Cavanaugh, and berated him about some conduct on the part of the police department. She stated at one point that she had not given up hope that a solution to the problems could be arrived at through negotiation but that such hope was fast fading. She is extremely angry <sup>with</sup> ~~at~~ the police department and made continuous references to the tendency of white police to treat Negroes as things rather than as people.



I.C. 14

r-6

9

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: Dukes  
Subject: Edward Vaughn

Edward Vaughn is a militant and a member of the black nationalists.

-HE FEELS IT IS NECESSARY TO

HAVE THE BLACK MAN CONTROL HIS FUNCTION - PARTICULARLY HE MUST BE IN CONTROL

of the black ghetto, ~~and~~ the separation of the black man and the white man, <sup>IS IMMINENT AND EVENTUALLY HE HOPES HIS ACTION WILL</sup> ~~to~~ cumulate into a black state. I asked Mr. Vaughn if

he felt this black state would be situated in the United States and I was told that no matter where it was situated it would have to be a black state. He indicated that the riot had been caused by the have-nots against the haves; but that in the next one, the riot would be brought about by the black man against the white man to bring about reforms. I questioned him about the extent of

reforms that were necessary; he said THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE

FOR THE REFORM TO BE REASONABLE AT THIS TIME

<sup>AND THERE WAS NO</sup> way of avoiding the inevitable, and the inevitable was that anything the white man gave the black WAS TRIFLE AND VALUELESS. He pointed to the effect of 100 years of receiving from the white man and the social and economic value that it had to the black man as being nil. I mentioned to him if he thought there was any solution to the dilemma faced by the black and white man; he said, no, only if the white man gave the black men what he needed, and this he wasn't

10  
~~2~~

V-7

going to do. When questioned as to what would be satisfactory  
He stated nothing. It was too late,

I.A. 23

W-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Wilson

Subject: Report based on an interview with Mr. Stanley Webb who is the Coordinator for the High School Study Commission in Detroit

Mr. Webb advised me that there has been a long history of police brutality against the black community in Detroit. He also told me that there had been 300 complaints of police brutality growing out of the recent disorder. However, many of these complaints cannot be investigated because the officers involved wore no badges and the license plates of the squad cars involved were covered over with tape. Even had the officers been identifiable, Mr. Webb thinks that there would have been little or no investigation. He bases <sup>this conclusion</sup> this on the fact that someone advised him that Inspector <sup>Heffernan</sup> Hefanan, who is in charge of the Citizens Complaint Bureau, had said to someone that the Commissioner, <sup>Ray Girardin</sup> Major ~~Riordan~~, did not want complaints investigated too strenuously because he was trying to rebuild the morale of the Detroit Police Department and felt that any vigorous investigation of complaints by the Citizens Complaint Bureau would hurt morale.

As an example of how protective the Police Department was of its own, Mr. Webb referred to the Algiers Motel incident. He told me that a citizens tribunal had been held at the United Church of Christ, ~~which is~~ Rev. Albert Cleague's church, to try the officer involved in the Algiers Motel incident. It was Mr. Webb's contention that if 20 percent of the testimony he heard during the citizens tribunal was

I-8-A POLICE-CITIZEN DISTURB.

LONG HISTORY OF BRUTALITY

true, all of the officers involved should have been held for murder. He also stated that it was virtually impossible to have any <sup>of the</sup> enlightened policies made at the top implemented at the street level because the career police officers who actually run the Department are opposed to any sort of change. Mr. Webb told me that the concern in the black community was not so much whether or not they could expect law enforcement in their community but rather a concern <sup>for</sup> of whether or not there was someone who would protect the black community from the police. The police, he feels, are universally viewed in the black community as the enemy of the people. Webb stated that he is hopeful that the New Detroit Committee will take <sup>up the issue of misconduct by</sup> on the Police Department in an attempt to correct some of these abuses. In that regard, he mentioned to me that an evaluation of the Detroit Police Department is being conducted by a fellow named Branstedder from Michigan State. The study is being conducted on behalf of the New Detroit Committee.

W-3

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson  
From: Mr. Wilson  
Subject: Continuation of the Stanley Webb interview.

Mr. Webb stated that, in his opinion, the situation would be much improved in many cases if there were no police at all visible in the black community. In this connection, he referred to the visit to Detroit of Rap Brown on September 2, 1967. Brown spoke at the Dexter Theater on Dexter Street. Webb told me that there were approximately 3,000 people in and around the theater, and that the block in which the theater is situated had been roped off. There was a traffic officer at one end of the block, re-routing traffic around the block, which had been closed to traffic. At some point people started throwing bricks and bottles at the police officer and he simply left the scene. Webb told me that there was no further trouble, except for a white reporter being pushed into a plate glass window. He was apparently uninjured and was helped from the crowd by two Negroes.

On the subject of education, Mr. Webb referred to the recent flare-up at Knudson Junior High School. He stated that Knudson was an almost completely black school with a white principal, a situation which exists in many of the predominantly Negro schools in Detroit. He told me that many of the white principals expressed concern for the students, but their actions belie that concern. It is his opinion that these principals are more interested in being

✓ 71-E [REDACTED] POLICE, N. VIEW OF:  
(POLICE) BETTER NOT TO BE SEEN IN N. COMM,

W-4

liked than they are in teaching the students. He also referred to the boycott at Northern High School last year, during which one of the principal demands of the students who were boycotting the school was the removal of the white principal. He advised me that statistics show that achievement levels in black schools are three to five years behind those in white schools, but the white principals seems to think that things are OK. He says that the superintendent of schools has tried to raise the status of Negro educators; in this regard, he said that recent high-level promotions within the school system had gone about 50-50 to blacks and whites. He also stated that many people in the black community feel that the schools reflect the attitude of the white society; that is, that Negroes are uneducable. The result of this, he feels, is a feeling on the part of many Negro students of hopelessness and personal worthlessness. It is his opinion that this sort of frustration on the part of black students contributed to the disorders which commenced on July 23, 1967.

Because of many criticisms of the Detroit public school system, the mayor several months ago appointed a commission to study the Detroit high schools. Mr. Webb is coordinator of that commission. In addition to the commission, which is to study the overall situation in the high schools of Detroit, there were appointed study committees for each individual high school. Some of the reports of the individual study committees have been completed. Mr. Webb gave me copies of the completed reports, along with a great deal of other information on the Detroit public school system. This information is attached to this

~~THE~~ EDUCAT. ADMIN. DEMAND W. PRINCIPAL REMOVED AT NORTHERN H.S.  
~~THE~~ EDUCAT. QUALITY N. LEVEL 3-5 YRS. BEHIND  
~~THE~~ EDUCATION QUALITY SCHOOL ATTIT. OF UNEDUCABLE N.

*E. H. White  
should be out  
in last form*

report and is herewith enumerated in form of exhibits to the Webb report. Exhibit A is the final report of Northeastern High School Study Committee, dated October 1967. Exhibit B, Final Report of the Northwestern High School Study Group, dated April 1967. Exhibit C, Central High School Study Committee, Final Report, dated July 1967. Exhibit D, Final Report of Southwestern High School Study Committee, dated September, 1967. Exhibit E, Final Report of the Southeastern High School Study Committee, dated April 1967. Exhibit F, Final Report of the Osborne Study Committee (no date). Exhibit G, entitled "Interim Report of the Northwestern High School Study Group", dated October 1966. Exhibit H, entitled "Murray Wright -- A Critical Study of a High School Complex", dated October, 1966 to August, 1967. Exhibit I, entitled "A Comprehensive Evaluation of the McKenzie High School," dated May 24, 1967. Exhibit J, entitled "<sup>Finney</sup>Pheney Junior-Senior High, Final Report", dated June, 1967. Exhibit K, entitled "<sup>Dady</sup>Pheney High School; An Assessment of Status and Needs", compiled during July, 1966 through May, 1967. Exhibit L, entitled "Report of the Redford High School Study Committee," dated June 29, 1967. Exhibit M, entitled "Interim Report of Northern High School Study Committee!", dated June, 1966. Exhibit N, entitled "Memo From the Sub-Committee on Vocational Education at the Northern High School", dated June, 1967. Exhibit O, entitled "The Kettering High School Study Committee, a Report of Findings and <sup>R</sup>commendations", compiled between October 1966 and June 1967. Exhibit P, entitled "Final Report, Cody High School Study Committee", dated June, 1967. Exhibit R, entitled "<sup>Chadsey</sup>Shadzy High

School Study Committee, Final Report", dated April 1967. Exhibit S, entitled "Cass-Tech High School Study Committee Final Report," dated June, 1967. Exhibit T, entitled "Charge to the Detroit High School Study Commission", dated May 16, 1966. Exhibit U, entitled "Preliminary Guidelines Adopted by the Detroit High School Study Commission," dated June 15, 1966. Exhibit V, entitled "Findings and Recommendations (Abridged) of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on School Needs", dated November, 1958. Exhibit W, entitled "Findings and Recommendations of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities", dated March, 1962.



W-7

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson  
From: Mr. Wilson  
Subject: Continuation of the Stanley Webb interview -- from  
tape number 18.

Exhibit X, entitled "1962 Age-Grade Study at Northeastern High School".

Exhibit Y, entitled "Summary of Personnel Data as of October 28, 1966".

Exhibit Z, entitled "Building Capacity Related to Enrollment for  
September, 1966, Senior High Schools".

Exhibit AA, entitled "Total Cost of Services Provided Indigent Students  
from the 62-63 School Year to 65-66 School Year".

Exhibit BB, entitled "Statement of Educational Objectives".

Exhibit CC, entitled "Annual Report on Federal Programs". - 1965-66

Exhibit DD, entitled "School Service Areas for Science and Arts  
Curriculum, Grades 10 through 12".

Exhibit EE, entitled "Size of Classes in the Various Senior High  
Schools, October, 1965".

Exhibit FF, entitled "Open School Transfers Processed in 1965-66 at  
Senior High Schools."

Exhibit GG, entitled "Pupil-Teacher Ratio for Second Semester,  
Senior High Schools"

Exhibit HH, entitled "Statistical Abstracts of Post-School Plans of  
June 1966 Graduating Class"

Exhibit II, entitled "Enrollment Trends Revealed in New Enrollment  
Data"

W-8

Exhibit JJ, entitled Estimated Current Expenditure Per Pupil in 1965-66 based on average daily membership of the five largest ~~public~~ U. S. public school systems.

Exhibit KK, entitled "Pupil- Counselor Ratio as of June 22, 1966".

Exhibit LL, entitled "City-wide Promotions and non-Promotions in Senior High Schools".

Exhibit MM, entitled "Median Size of Senior High School Classes, 1949 thru 1965".

Exhibit NN, entitled "Science and Arts Curriculum, Grades 10 thru 12".

Exhibit OO, entitled "Achievements and Aptitudes of Detroit Public School Pupils as Measured by Tests, 1961 thru 1965".

Exhibit PP, entitled, "School-by-School Distributions of Junior and Senior High School Pupils Aptitude Tests Scores".

Exhibit QQ, entitled, "Socio-Economic Educational, Occupational and Racial Data".

Exhibit RR, entitled, "Racial Count, Noninstructional Personnel".

Exhibit SS, entitled, "Racial Distribution of Students and Contract Personnel in the Detroit Public Schools, dated December 1965".

Exhibit TT, entitled, "Courses Offered by Detroit High Schools, 1965-66

On the subject of housing Mr. Webb stated that he believed that realtors in the Detroit area had at least <sup>a tacit</sup> attempted agreement that Negroes would not be sold housing in certain communities. In connection with rehabilitating the black community, <sup>Webb</sup> Black stated that a banker named Parsons of the Bank of the Commonwealth had proposed some years

N-9

ago that the slum lord be ousted, that the slum tenements be gutted and rebuilt and then turned <sup>over</sup> to black's. He stated that he would be willing to <sup>make</sup> loans to black people for such renovations at low interest rates. He suggested that the city buy out slum lords. This <sup>made</sup> proposal was approximately four years ago and nothing has been done to implement it.

He also advised me that Rev. Albert <sup>Cleage</sup> ~~Boyer~~ was preparing or had ~~has~~ prepared and presented to the city government a plan for the rebuilding of Twelfth Street, which was heavily damaged during the recent disorder. He also told me that James <sup>Boyer</sup> ~~Boyer~~ had a group that wanted to take over the Virginia Park urban renewal project which includes the Twelfth Street area. <sup>sp</sup> Boyes group wants to handle the whole thing from planning through letting of contracts and supervision of reconstruction. This proposal is apparently before the Common Council at present and has not been approved.

Commenting on another aspect of the recent disorder, Mr. Webb stated that in some instances property <sup>was</sup> protected by individuals who had been befriended by property owners. In this connection <sup>he mentioned</sup> a group of juvenile delinquents who had been given uniforms and a meeting room by the liquor store owner on the east side. During the disorder, he stated that these youngsters, or young adults, sat in front of the property and protected it from would-be looters and arsonists. He told me, however, that the police contend that there is a rising crime rate in that particular area of the city and the police attribute it to these youngsters and to an organization called

W-10

the Cracow ~~Street~~ Gang which I was told is an old line juvenile gang in the city of Detroit.

In regard to present conditions, Mr. Webb stated that the only moving group among black people in Detroit <sup>is</sup> was Rev. Cleage's Citizen's City-Wide Action Committee. It was his opinion that this group was quite vocal on the issues. He did state, however, that the West Central Organization had been very much concerned with excessive shows of force by the police department, after the riot and had complained about this to the police commissioner.

W-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Nelson

From: Mr. Wilson

Subject: Interviewer's evaluation (Continuation of Stanley Webb interview)

Mr. Webb is a Negro who appears to be in his early thirties. He is the co-ordinator for the high school study commission which is presently doing a study of the Detroit high schools. He is extremely knowledgeable about the public school situation in Detroit and would make a valuable witness as to what is going on in the educational system in that city.

G

I.A. 24

W-12

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

- 2 -

To: X Mr. Wilson

From: Walter Duke

Subject: Interview with Roger Wilkins U.S. Assistant Attorney General.

Mr. Wilkins is a black man who in the past has functioned in the Justice Department and other associated activities connotated with the administration of justice. He tends to believe the remedy of the rebellion is the strengthening of the communicational lines to the have-nots who have a deep sense of non-value toward social concepts which, in effect, are OWNERSHIP - OF <sup>AND THE PERMANENCE OF LAWS</sup> property. They don't have the property. Thus the laws or the obedience for the laws aren't present. It isn't important to a man who has nothing to protect the interest of those who have. His chief aim is to receive that which has importance -- food, if he is starving; housing, if he is <sup>IN NEED OF</sup> shelter; status, if he is placed outside the <sup>EXTS</sup> contacts of the social structure. Their means to this end are either legal or unlegal with no significant emphasis placed on either method. Violence might be <sup>THE</sup> his indication of the extremities of <sup>THERE</sup> his needs, wherein the middle class man seeks social reform and social acceptance, the lower class man seeks justice or attainment of basic needs. HIS NEEDS ARE <sup>IS</sup> more extreme <sup>AND</sup> in his desires ~~and will~~ <sup>RESULT IN</sup> show more extreme & VIOLENT ACTS. The functions of the lower income person seems to be that he does not believe in that which is coming from above, only in that which he takes or that which he has presently. He has lost belief in the mystic form of real

principles ~~xx~~ and will respect only that ~~x~~ which he feels and believes is convenient. The social order, therefore, is constantly changing, and he resists that which is firm and basic. Give him the facilities which will turn back his principles to that which is basic, give him the leisure and the acitivity of responsibility and you will have simplified the complexities that surround this individual,

I.C. 17  
W-14

25- (G)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: Walter Dukes  
Subject: Interview with John Watson, Detroit, Michigan

John Watson is the editor of the Inner City Voice, one of the extreme element papers advocating justice for <sup>the</sup> black race and justice for lower <sup>the</sup> ~~class~~ <sup>INCOME</sup> man in the Detroit city area in Michigan. This is a new edition, just getting off the ground, and it was curious to follow their comments and their particular aims in the circumstances which are prevailing now in Detroit. Mr. Watson as an individual seems to look forward to conflict. He challenges the causes of the down-trodden, but particularly communicates examples of racial injustices. He is <sup>LORENZO</sup> ~~A~~ line<sup>p</sup> with another individual in the community called Dr. J. Lorenzo, who ~~are~~ exceedingly active; ~~even~~ <sup>to</sup> the extent of witnessing any type of atrocities that are occurring to Negroes, or challenging the city fathers for injustices which are administrated through their functioning, taking complaints to court, ~~and~~ <sup>all</sup> these means seem to be advocated through the legal mechanism. Mr. Watson states that he is soliciting armed conflict to avoid the futility of efforts demonstrated <sup>in the past</sup>. He figures by doing such he can gather all those who have seemingly been victimized by police or other elements in <sup>to a</sup> the power structure, and will attempt to set the factors of a race against race to stress the injustices of the white man. By tending his editorial toward ethnic reasoning <sup>OR</sup> ~~of~~ race issues, he figures that in the future he will demand that the only ultimate issues <sup>WILL BE THE</sup> ~~will~~, that <sup>A</sup> black men

IN-1-A MILITANT ORGAN:  
"INNER VOICE" TO ARM N. RE: POL.



should fight to gain more of what he deserves. He looks forward to this ~~time~~ in that he said that it is the first step in the ultimate causation of true humanitarian principles being brought forth here in the United States. His everyday function is as an editor, but he is extensively voicing in private outside of his association with the paper these views, <sup>A</sup> although there is no immediate organizational/structure core or core led by Mr. Watson, he seems to be the dedicated and seemingly tiredless type of individual. Mr. Watson was questioned as to what he felt would be a proper setting for the Negro and the white man in Detroit, and he states that only when the common man can be accepted for what he is and dealt with as he should be dealt with, can there be peace among the social structure in Detroit. He will use all the means he can to bring political pressure, to bring economic pressure, or just to bring power and strength against the organization to correct these evils to narrow the gap between the races, but he feels that the incidents of violence is the quickest means to obtain this end. Presently he is attempting to diminish the effect of the police authority as many of his former compatriots and friends have voiced. He will do this, if necessary, by appealing to the poor man, the middle class man who has been victimized, even in the recent riots. If this does not work, he will move on to try ~~to~~ through legal political action. Eventually, if this doesn't work he will attempt to have the city charter revoked, and in case this is not possible, the ultimate, he says, will be to fight to gain ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~view~~ of the end.

I. C. 15

W-16



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Dukes

Subject: Interview with Jackey Wilson; Detroit, Michigan, Oct. 24

Jackey Wilson ISA civil leader with outstanding talent for oratory, is a member of Form 66 and <sup>THEIR</sup> ~~a~~ chief expressionist; chief orator. He is revolutionary minded, and immediately stated that there was no affirmative structure which is in existence which could solve the Negro problem. He tends to feel that the Negro problem is A CULTURAL one; where in the black man is not invited into the inner activity with the white man. The white man has placed a geographical barrier between himself and the black man and all SOCIAL or economic or educational ~~of housing~~ BENEFITS WILL not eradicate this barrier unless it is the ACTUAL GIVEN UP OF WHAT THE WHITE MAN HAS. This he will never do. The concept of physical destruction to achieve THIS END IS PRESENT MAINLY ~~but~~ professes bitterness towards police References ~~pointed out~~ AS CRIMINAL AND INHUMAN the brutality during the civil disorder. He CITED for example a woman being beaten in the police station but when questioned as to particular NAME, none was forthcoming. When asked for witnesses, He refused to comment ~~show~~. However he stated the overthrow of the existing power structure by any means, including violence. To take control of black ghettos. He tends to feel that this can be achieved by all the downtrodden BRANNING ~~to~~ in the black society, and building them into a class and a voting block,

I-N-B RACE POLY N. VIEW  
" OVERTHROW POWER STRUCTURE ANY WAY "  
JACKY WILSON

which will replace the existing GOVERNMENTAL bodies. He feels that numerical factors are on his SIDE and that there is no relief forthcoming FROM THE existing structure, and therefore, it must be torn down. \_\_\_\_\_ better; his tendencies go \_\_\_\_\_ stating that arms are necessary for the black man; possibility be to the present environment in Detroit, \_\_\_\_\_ and that noone else will protect him. \_\_\_\_\_ Rev. Cleve, Cleve

NEW INTERVIEW

\_\_\_\_\_ the most outstanding leader CIVIC AND MILITANT LEADED black man in

Detroit has a history OF REFORM IN housing, education, and

POLITICS the Detroit area. He is a church pastor and

there FORE GETHERS mostly the highly religious and moder ATE

PLUS MILITANT people into his FOLLOWING ranks. These rank are also being

increased BY RACIST and particularly elements of the

black nationalists. He seems to keep control over HIS FOLLOWING

through a church organization, HU FOR control OF THE

ghetto BY THE BLACK communities and reform WITHIN THE existing agency SOCIAL

CULTURAL & POLITICAL operation. He professes that replacement of the existing structure

IS DESIRABLE if the form ONLY was entered FROM WITHIN IS NOT forthcoming.

He seems to tend to be FOR MAKING honest attempts TO REACH

person; TO CHANGE THAT WHICH NEEDS BE CHANGED that it is up to the black man HOWEVER actively TO DO HIS

PART TO TRULY

CHANGE HIS SITUATION IN HIS OWN situation. SITUATION social and economic areas. Particularly,

the use of threats of violence IS BELIEVED HE THREATENS TO USE a strong political

force are his IMMEDIATE AIMS; his present argument is to

\_\_\_\_\_ aim the Negro at every possible DEFICIENCY IN

his social structure and DEMAND AND WORK FOR progress.

17-B RACE, REL, N. VIEW  
OVER THROW SYSTEM W/ ARMS - JACKY WILSON

I.C. 24

W-18

(G)

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson  
From: James Raschard  
Subject: Interview with Michael Ward

Today was this writers second visit to the service station owned by Mr. Ward. Reluctant at first to discuss the riot incident, Ward feels the presence of investigatory, research and evaluation teams has had a disconcerting effect in the <sup>Detroit</sup> black community. While disclaiming personal involvement, Mr. Ward is <sup>in</sup> accord with the ever increasing militant posture <sup>of</sup> the black community. A brief profile follows.

Born in North Carolina, graduated from high school, served in the United States Army during World II. Moved to Detroit in 1948. Since then has acquired a service station franchise which carries a \$17,000 inventory. Owns three houses, two of which are investment properties located in the disturbance areas. Mr. Ward does not live himself in the community.

Mr. Ward feels that <sup>although</sup> Detroit offers great advantages to the enterprising Negro, <sup>it</sup> totally ignores the ghetto-based <sup>poverty stricken</sup> Negro who <sup>neither</sup> is ~~not~~ educationally nor motivationally prepared for insertion into the mainstream movement. His experiences during the civil disturbances are accounted as follows:

Mr. Ward's place of business is on the corner of 12th and

COMM-REL., FACE REL.

~~ST-7-D~~ ~~MAAM~~ ~~MAR. ATTL.~~  
INCREASING MILITANT POSTURE

Philadelphia Streets. Generally, a round <sup>the</sup> clock operation. According to Mr. Ward, ~~the usual distain of authority by~~ <sup>The usual distain of authority by</sup> young people was augmented by the lack of police arrests and the permissive attitude of the police force. "The Police, Commissioner, prior to the appointment of Ray Girardin, was tough and he had his men cracking heads in the neighborhood."

According to Mr. Ward, however, concurrent with Commissioner Girardin's entry, a local newspaper began a series of articles emphasizing a rising juvenile crime rate and deploring the lack of detention homes to house the non-adult offenders. Mr. Ward feels that such news stories coupled with the softening posture of the police force generated a lack of respect for the patrolmen assigned to those sensitive areas.

Regarding the initial action leading to the full scale riot, Mr. Ward feels the Police Department could have contained and/or subdued its initiators at Clarmont Avenue. He questions the non-use of tear gas as the preliminary crowd disperser. Mr. Ward recalls watching the rioters take the initiative in the face of police hesitation. He recalls watching from his office the unmolested <sup>marauding</sup> vandalism of the ~~marauding~~ youths and subsequently, the adults.

Mr. Wards feels the precipitation for the disturbances began in 1963. First, the increasing population densities, ~~the~~ ~~and~~. Secondly, a high unemployment rate and finally, the break- down of communications with <sup>agencies</sup> ~~agencies~~ which should or could been the ameliorators.

IV. RIOT, COMM. CONCEPTS  
163 BEGAN CONDITIONS



G

I.B. 8

2-1

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

20-

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Walter Dukes

Subject: Interview with Howard Zinn, historian

Mr. Zinn discusses the pattern of American racial history. He believed the black man is defending himself because no one else will. No permanent good change will be instituted unless it comes from within the black community. He states you change society on the basis of force, pressure and power. Riots won't do anything except to wake us all up a bit. *They are however a necessary element* It isn't until this energy is focused on or against a social order that effective relief is given. Power structure and social structures must be crossed to effect the total end. Political action has to be consolidated so as to begin to get something done. If scholarship tells us anything it is that scholarship isn't enough. If force tells us anything it is that force isn't enough. Mass media needs to communicate. *Truth* The middle class black man thinks and feels that he is in the right. *until everyone else thinks so our society is on a confactual path*

I.A. 20

(SCHOOLS)

~~2-2~~  
Z-2

Detroit

Interviewer: John J. Ursu

Interviewee: A. L. Zwerdling, Esq., Member of the Detroit Board of Education

Mr. Zwerdling is the senior partner in the law firm of Zwerdling,

Miller, Klimist & Mauer, 3426 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

He is a labor lawyer and was associated with Walter Reuther in the 1940's.

He was elected to the seven member Board of Education for the Detroit

School District in 1964, after running with two other successful candidates (Stewart and Mills) on a liberal-activist platform.

In the State of Michigan, school districts have been established as independent ~~xxx~~ subdivisions of the State, and <sup>thus,</sup> the Detroit district is no part of the City government. Members of the district school Board serve on a part-time basis and without compensation. The chief, full-time administrator is the Superintendent who is appointed by the Board. Zwerdling says that there is no clear-cut division of authority between the Board and the Superintendent, and policy decisions bounce back and forth between the two.

One of the most important functions performed by the Board relates to the raising of funds. The Detroit school district receives about 10 % of its revenues from the federal government, 40+% from the State, and 40+% through millage taxes on property within the district. The school district does not have the power to levy taxes, and proposals to increase millage assessments must be approved by the people on a referendum. Recent attempts to persuade the voters to approve increases have been unsuccessful.

✓  
III-1. EDUCATION: FUNDED

FED (10%), STATE (40%), CITY (40%)



~~4-5~~  
2-3

Mr. Zwerdling believes that the ills of the Detroit Public School System could be cured if the district had the money to devote to their cure. One great obstacle is that the people simply do not care to provide enough money for education. A second problem is Michigan's millage arrangement. A suburban school district is likely to have within its boundaries more taxable property per pupil than does the Detroit district. Students in the more posh Detroit suburbs then will necessarily have more per capita dollars spent on their education than their fellows in the city. Zwerdling believes that since each district is part of the State, such unequal treatment is unconstitutional, and he left <sup>me</sup> with the impression that a law suit is planned to test the entire millage-funding system.

Zwerdling says the Board is committed to achieving a fully integrated school system. They are not impressed with moves to have black schools run by blacks for black students. He claims that the Detroit system has the highest percentage of Negro administrators and teachers of any major city. He also claims that the Board is more progressive than it has been in the past and that the citizens of Detroit are highly involved in the functioning of the school system.

#### Evaluation

Mr. Zwerdling is an able spokesman on matters of general policy relating to the city's public schools. However, he does impress one as having knowledge of a scope that is limited by his part-time position in the administration. I do not believe he could add anything of great significance to the Commission's understanding of Detroit's public schools, and I, therefore, would not recommend that he be called.

I.A.401

G

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Bernard Dobranski and ~~John J. S. S.~~

Subject: Interview with William L. Cahalan, Wayne County Prosecutor,  
interviewed on October 12, 1967 in Detroit, Michigan

Mr. Cahalan has been Wayne County Prosecutor since January 3, 1967. Prior to that he was engaged in the private practice of law for approximately ten years. Before entering into private practice, he had spent five years as an Assistant Prosecutor in the Wayne County Office. The County Prosecutor's office now employs 73 assistant prosecutors. Mr. Cahalan believes that the office is grossly understaffed. (This works out one prosecutor for approximately every 53,000 people.) His office prosecutes cases before Circuit Court Judges of Wayne County and also the Recorder/Court Judges of the City of Detroit. Last year in the City of Detroit alone, 7,000 felony cases and 20,000 misdemeanor cases were handled by his staff. During this year's riot, 4,000 felony cases and 2,000 misdemeanors were handled by his staff. This clearly illustrates the magnitude of the problem that was facing the prosecutor during the 1967 riot.

Mr. Cahalan then outlined ~~for~~ the procedure that is followed in Wayne County from the time a person is arrested until he is brought to trial. Before the court will issue a warrant, the prosecutor has to recommend

7-6 JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF

4000 FELONY CASES } RIOT  
2000 MISDEMEANOR }

C-2

- 2 -

that a warrant be issued. The police first bring in a write-up of the alleged crime. The prosecutor's office then determines if probable cause exists to believe that a crime was committed. It also determines what crime, in fact, was committed and ~~also~~ determines what crime to charge the accused with. After the warrant is issued, the prisoner is then arraigned. In felony cases, the prisoner has an opportunity to request a preliminary examination by an examining magistrate. At this examination, the prosecutor <sup>h</sup> gives ~~just the facts.~~ His job is to show sufficient evidence of a crime in fact committed in this jurisdiction and probable cause that the defendant did commit the crime. ~~If he is successful, the defendant is then bound over for trial. The formal indictment is then prepared.~~ In felony cases, after the preliminary examination is held, the person is bound over and <sup>an</sup> information is prepared. The defendant then is arraigned on the information. At this arraignment, he is given an opportunity to plead guilty or innocent. If he pleads innocent, he is then bound over for trial.

Mr. Cahalan ~~then~~ explained ~~to us~~ how his office prosecuted cases during the riot period. The day the riot broke out, Mr. Cahalan was not in the City of Detroit. By the time he arrived, the head of his Criminals Division ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> already ~~got~~ seven of the best assistant prosecutors to ~~begin~~ handling the riot-related arrests. Police were bringing in prisoners by the carload, Mostly, these were people who had been caught looting. His staff

66-11-RIOT-LOOTING

PRISONERS MAJORITY

2

63

immediately selected the right charge to bring against the <sup>looters</sup> ~~defendants~~. This charge was entering without breaking with the intent to commit larceny. Mr. Cahalan was quite proud of his staff's ability to select the right charge. He said ~~very easily~~ <sup>very easily</sup> they could have been confused and charged <sup>looters</sup> ~~them~~ with breaking and entering which <sup>in most cases</sup> would have been <sup>an</sup> ~~improper~~ <sup>charge</sup>. The next problem was getting the prisoners arraigned. Although the riot broke out on a Sunday, a Recorder's Court Judge, Judge Leonard, was on duty that day as per usual court practice. He stayed on duty all day Sunday and was joined later <sup>that day</sup> ~~Sunday~~ by Executive Judge Brennan. Although attorneys were not available for arraignment on the warrant, attorneys were available to every prisoner at the preliminary examination.

<sup>According to Mr. Cahalan, the officials were</sup>  
~~The city and county was~~ faced with a serious problem of housing the prisoners. It was the responsibility of the county sheriff to house the prisoners after they have been arraigned on the warrant. The city and county facilities were quickly exhausted. It became necessary to bus the prisoners to the state penitentiary at Johnson, Michigan, the Federal penitentiary at Milan, Michigan, and also to set up emergency facilities at the <sup>Belle</sup> ~~Bel~~ Isle bath house. Mr. Cahalan pointed out that although the Prosecutor's office was not responsible for the housing of prisoners, his office did, in fact, concern itself with the housing problem.

The first few days, the prosecutor's staff and the <sup>judges</sup> ~~court~~ spent all their time ~~just~~ arraigning prisoners on the warrant. The judges felt that,

C-4

under the circumstances, <sup>it was desirable to</sup> set very high bonds. Mr. Cahalan said he cannot take credit for making recommendations of high bonds. However, if he had had an opportunity to make <sup>any</sup> recommendations, he would have recommended that high bonds be set. He believes that high bonds were reasonable under the circumstances. He pointed out that state statutes point to three things to be considered in the setting of bond: the seriousness of the offense, the past record of the accused, and the likelihood of his appearing for trial. Mr. Cahalan <sup>admitted that</sup> strongly believes ~~that to commit~~ the crime of entering without breaking with the intent to commit larceny is not ordinarily a serious crime. However, in the context of the situation that existed during the July riots, it was, in fact, a serious offense. "Crimes are not committed in a vacuum and one must look to the circumstances surrounding their commission." He also pointed out that when things were back to normal all bonds were re-

viewed by the courts. <sup>If the defendant were had no previous record and if the crime of entering without breaking was not a serious one, his bond was substantially reduced.</sup>

Mr. Cahalan pointed out that in the beginning the Record Departments <sup>now</sup> were faced with an overwhelming task. <sup>It was</sup> They were forced to borrow people from the <sup>Windsor</sup> Windsor, Canada Police Department and also to take advantage of the facilities and services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in trying to identify the accused. Mr. Cahalan pointed out that approximately one-half of those arrested during the riots had no previous record. The other one-half had serious criminal records. By serious, he means arrest and conviction for a felony. ~~No middle ground existed -~~ <sup>Virtually no middle ground existed -</sup> either no record at all or a serious record.



It JUSTICE ADMIN. OF

1/2 NO RECORD; 1/2 SERIOUS

C-5

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson

From: Bernard Dobranski

Subject: Interview with William L. Cahalan, Wayne County Prosecutor, interviewed in Detroit, Michigan on October 12, 1967

*Mr. Cahalan also pointed out that*

After the records of all the accused were obtained, the prosecutor's staff began matching the records with the police write-up. If no serious

record existed, we recommended that the person be released on his per-

sonal recognizance. On the <sup>the</sup> Thursday or Friday after the riots began, he

presented to the Recorder's Court Bench a bushel basket containing 2,500

cases for review. These were cases in which he recommends <sup>and</sup> the release

on personal bond. Mr. Cahalan believes this is one of the finest things

his office did during the period. He has not yet made this public because

he fears that the whites in the community who originally supported the high

~~bond policy would become antagonistic if they found out that the bonds were~~

later reduced and the people released.

*1) I-6-A, JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF BAIL POLICY  
29 JULY, 2500 RELEASED ON PERSONAL BOND*

Mr. Cahalan believes that the quality of law enforcement was very

high during the riot period. There was a gap of approximately ten days

between arraignment on the warrant and preliminary examination. How-

ever, this was due to the overloading of the facilities. Approximately 25%

of those people arraigned on the information <sup>pleaded</sup> ~~pleaded~~ guilty. Approximately the

same percentage that <sup>pleaded</sup> ~~pleaded~~ <sup>at the</sup> ~~on~~ arraignment on the information in

non-riot periods. <sup>POLICY</sup> Mr. Cahalan believes that the courts, the police department,

*FEAR W. RE: LOW BAIL KNOWLEDGE  
I-6-A - JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF BAIL POLICY*

*I-6 JUSTICE, ADMIN. OF 25% PLEAD GUILTY*

C-6

and the prosecutor's office should all be commended for the manner in which the arrests were processed. As further justification for the high bond policy, he pointed out that the prosecutors and the judges did not have the past records, if any, of the accused at the time they were being arraigned on the warrant. All the judge had to go on was the seriousness of the offense.

Mr. Cahalan then discussed the handling of homicide cases arising out of the riot period. <sup>off the</sup> Approximately 43 homicides his office has now ruled on 33. In six of the homicides, warrants have been recommended. <sup>against seven</sup> ~~Seven warrants have been recommended.~~ <sup>individuals</sup> In 20 of the homicides, his office has ruled that the police or national guard were justified in <sup>their</sup> ~~their~~ action. As to the remainder, his staff has been unable to obtain any evidence or information concerning them. The following <sup>men</sup> homicide warrants have been issued: two homicide warrants against two white police officers for their action in the Algiers Motel during the riots. Patrolman August has been charged with first degree murder, <sup>+</sup> has been bound over for trial. Patrolman Paley had also been charged with first degree murder. This charge, however, was dismissed by the court. The prosecutor's office is now appealing the dismissal. Also, one conspiracy warrant against a police officer has been issued arising out of the Algiers Motel incident. The prosecutor's staff recommended the issuance of a warrant against a Negro private guard who killed another Negro during the riots. This warrant was ~~knocked out~~ <sup>dismissed out</sup>

IC-6 JUSTICE ADMIN OF  
RULING ON 33 OF 43 HOMICIDES



0-7

the preliminary examination. The prosecutor has recommended the issuance  
of a warrant against a white citizen who attacked and killed a Negro during  
the riot. The man has been charged with first degree murder and has been  
bound over. Two Negroes who killed one white police officer have also been  
bound over on first degree murder charge. <sup>Similarly,</sup> A Negro who killed a white  
Australian visiting the City of Detroit has also been bound over and charged  
with first degree murder. <sup>Thus, the prosecutor's office has recommended</sup> ~~This amounts to the recommendation of the~~  
~~the~~ issuance of seven warrants for six homicides.

Mr. Cahalan pointed out that the following steps must be taken or the following preparations must be made to handle another disturbance like that which occurred during July, 1967. The first is that auxiliary facilities to house prisoners on a moments notice must be obtained, ~~and prepared for~~. An adequate computer system must be installed so that the prosecutor, the police, <sup>the</sup> and judges know where the ~~things are and so~~ past records, if any, of the accused can readily be obtained. The third suggestion of the prosecutor is that when a person is arrested, he should be given a five cent postcard and a pencil so that he can tell his family where he is. Each time he changes location, he should be given an additional five cent postcard and pencil. <sup>Mr. Cahalan stated that he discovered there were not</sup> We ~~found out~~ during the riot that we ~~didn't have~~ enough phones <sup>to enable the prisoners</sup> ~~to make available to each prisoner a phone~~ to inform <sup>their</sup> his friends and relatives of <sup>their</sup> his whereabouts. Even <sup>if</sup> ~~if we had had~~ an adequate number of phones <sup>listed, said</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>prisoners</sup> still would have been unable to get through because of the severe overload on the telephone circuits. Fourth, Mr. Cahalan believes that serious

Mr. Cahalan,

7



consideration should be given to Evelle Young's suggestion of a few years ago. Mr. Young, District Attorney of Los Angeles County, suggested that arraignment on the warrant be suspended until order was restored. Mr. Cahalan pointed out to us that the purpose of arraignment on the warrant is to set bond and if we are going to set bonds too high for the prisoners to meet, why go through the subterfuge of setting at all. Why not just let them languish in jail until order has been restored? Mr. Cahalan admitted that

legislation would have to be enacted to make this procedure possible. *He did not believe that this suggestion presented any serious constitutional problem.*

Mr. Cahalan believes that the conduct of the judiciary during the riot *was 100% very, very good and he ~~100%~~ supported their efforts.* He does not

believe that Judge Crockett, a Negro Judge on the Recorder's Court, followed a different bail practice from the other judges. Mr. Cahalan believes that in the final *statistical* analysis, the handling of prisoners by Judge Crockett and the rest of the judges will *turn out to have been* quite similar.

*Evaluation:*

*Mr. Cahalan was a ~~most~~ articulate defender of the courts' practices during the riot. He prefers to ignore, however, the constitutional problem that these practices presented. Aside from this, however, he appears to be a <sup>reliably</sup> aggressive prosecutor.*