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	2	CHAIRMAN KERNER: The Commission will please come
	3	to order.
	4	We are very happy to have with us today Mayor Cavanagh
	5	of Detroit, Michigan, with his personnel. I would call upon
	6	Mayor Cavanagh to take charge of the presentation of such
	7	matters as they wish to place before the Commission here.
	8	The various documents, films, charts, that you have
	9	here we would like copies and marked as exhibits so that they
	10	may go in the record to support your statements as they are
	11	being made. We would appreciate your working with Colonel
	12	McKenzie on that for the identification for the purposes of
	13	the record. Mayor Cavanagh.
	14	STATEMENT OF
	15	THE HONORABLE JEROME P. CAVANAGH, MAYOR OF
	16	DETROIT, MICHIGAN; ACCOMPANIED BY ROBERT P.
	17	ROSELLE; RAY GIRARDIN; RICHARD STRICHARTZ;
	18	PHILIP RUTLEDGE; HERBERT LOCHE; THOMAS ANGOTT;
	19	JOHN NICHOLS; ANTHONY RIPLEY; FRED J. ROMANOFF;
	20	ARTHUR JOHNSON; REVEREND ROBERT POTTS; ALVIN
	21	HARRISON; RON HEWITT; CONRAD MALLETT; BERNARD
	22	WINCKOSKI; RICHARD MARKS; and NORMAN DRACHLER
	23	MAYOR CAVAHAGH: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman
	24	and members of the Commission. First, let me express on
	25	behalf of not just myself but the people of our community
		•

391 our pleasure at the fact that this Commission has been appointed and as what we perceive the nature of this Commission to be. It is regrettable, however, that by virtue of circumstances many of which I think are beyond our control, occasions our appearance here today to be testifying as to what happened in our city. I would like to take for a moment, and for the purpose of the record principally introduce to you people that have accompanied me here today before the Commission. Starting on my right is Mr. Richard Strichartz, who is the Coordinator of our new development team, which is doing the planning necessary as a result of this riot. Next to Mr. Strichartz, on his right, is Dr. Norman Drachler, the Superintendent of our Detroit Public School System. And next to Dr. Drachler is Mr. Arthur Johnson, who is the Deputy Superintendent of the Detroit Public School System. Next to Mr. Johnson is Mr. Philip Rutledge, who is the Chairman, Director, I should say, of the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources Development, which operates our poverty program. Next to Mr. Rutledge is the Reverend Robert Potts, who is a member of the New Detroit Committee, but als interestingly enough is the Rector of a church, which was located right in the heart of the original location of this riot down on 12th Street. And next to Reverend Potts is Mr. Richard Marks, who is the Director of our Commission on Community Relations. Seated here on my left is Mr. Robert Roselle, who

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IS MY PRINCIPAL EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT. Next to him is our Police Commissioner, Mr. Ray Girardin. Next to him is the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. John Nichols. Next to Mr. Nichols is the Executive Assistant to the Commissioner, Mr. Hubert Loche. Next to him is Mr. Thomas Angott, one of the members of our fire commission. Seated back here is Inspector Bernard Winckoski, in charge of the research and planning for our Detroit Police Department. Next to Mr. Winckoski is Mr. Ron Hewitt, who is the field manager of a neighborhood conservation office, which is located down on 12th Street and an office which had been operating and operated during the course of the riot. Next to Mr. Hewitt is Mr.Alvin Harrison, who is a member of the new Detroit Committee and also associated with the neighborhood legal services in Detroit.

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And certainly, all of these gentlemen are here to assist this Commission in answering any questions which you might have or assisting me in the presentation today.

I would like to preface my remarks to this Commission this morning by pointing out that this is not the first time I have appeared in this city or before any major public forum to speak about the great crisis in the American cities, or for that matter, in my own City of Detroit. It is a fact that for the last five years, better than five years, I have repeatedly raised my voice and warned that the American cities are in a mbh/s

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great state of crisis, so deep and I think so abiding that our national destiny is threatened. A year ago I had the opportunity to tell the Ribicoff Committee that we must make sure that everyone in this Nation begins to think about the larger questions, begins to realize that the warfare on our city streets is just as important to our national destiny as some consider the warfare in Southeast Asia, and this same theme was echoed last fall in an address I made when I was privileged to serve as President of the National League of Cities. I have served on a number of commissions and committees appointed by both President Kennedy and President Johnson and I recall very well back in 1963 pointing out to the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment officials at their national convention that the cities face such a tragic situation that it is really nothing less than a national shame. And again, last fall the same theme was emphasized to the Conference of National Organizations. I said that our treatment of Negroes has been a national disgrace. I believed it then, I still believe it, that our laws and our customs and our attitudes are changing now but I would only hope then that they change fast enough to match the impatience of so many forgotten Americans.

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So, Mr. Chairman, I have said repeatedly at the White House and before various committees of the Congress that we are really at a time in our country's history when the cities should be breaking out of their shackles, but I would mph/6²³² 528

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have to say with all candor to you and the members of your Commission that they are not. And, I think it is acknowledged by many objective observers that Detroit has used Federal programs with great effect, that it has had by many standards some degree of progressive leadership, certainly in our school system, and I hope in our city hall and its relations with the Negro community are among the best in the country.

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In an interesting study just released over the weekend of school systems in six cities, done at the Center of Urban Education in New York City, Detroit was cited, "as having the most open participatory system encouraging wider public participation", and that same study highly praised the policies of school superintendent Drachler, who is with us today and I am sure will have some further comments about the school's relationship with the problem under discussion. But still we have to conclude that we have not, all of us, representing our city, have not done enough.

I had an opportunity two months ago in Hawaii to speak to the United States Conference of Mayors of which I was then President and I said that our problem is quite clear, that the great social and physical programs for rebuilding the cities and upgrading the quality of American life are still largely regarded in this country as frills and that instead of moving up the cities on the national scale of priority,

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we seem to be slipping. And in the spring before NIPA, the National Institute of Public Affairs, I did say that everything in the nation is not going to be all right. My words that night were that I do not mean to preach blood and thunder but there is a good deal of thunder that can be heard and blood even in April had already been spilled, and since that night in April, much more blood has been spilled. So, I think one of the questions that certainly has to be posed today before this Commission and during the course of your hearings, I would submit, Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of the Commission, is really how many more warnings does our Nation need? And I think how many times more must mayors and many other public officials go before the Congress and before the Administration before the leaders of this Nation, with the very simple message, that all of us are in this urban boat together and that the boat frankly, is full of holes. And I would like now to turn briefly our attention to the Detroit problem. I think we probably should begin with a very brief description of Michigan and Detroit and maybe even a brief bit of Michigan riot history, unfortunate as that might sound. First, of Michigan's approximately eight million citizens, roughly ten About 70 per cent of all the Negroes in per cent are Negro. the State live in the Detroit metropolitan area where roughly half of the state's population is centered. Detroit's Negro population today in the city itself is estimated at over

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600,000 of a population of 1.6 plus million.

Detroit is, like many other cities, as I am sure you know, surrounded by a very extensive group of suburbs. There are about 200 separate units of government in the metropolitan area. And the suburbs now contain the bulk of the metropolitan area population and only a very handful have any Negro residents, very slight.

Detroit is a flat city, as most of you know, divided roughly in half by a street known as Woodward Avenue, and much like Los Angeles, is primarily filled with single family homes.

Back in 1943, Detroit was the scene of a major race riot, maybe the major race riot in contemporary American history but it was a riot of an entirely different nature than that which occurred just a couple of weeks ago in Detroit. In 1943, some 34 people were killed and property damage was limited to about \$2 million. It lasted two days and finally was put down by Federal troops sent by President Roosevelt. But it was characterized by mobs of whites and Negroes attacking individuals and crowds of the other race. Frequently individuals were chased by mobs and badly beaten or killed and it was sparked by many false rumors, particularly in the Negro community, and there were instances of pitched gun battles between both mobs and police.

And in recent years, there have been other out-

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breaks of a racial nature in a number of Michigan cities, including cities like Lansing, the capital of Michigan, and Benton Harbor, located over on the western part, across from the City of Chicago, as you know, Governor. And for the most part, during these years Detroit has remained quite calm, particularly compared to some of the things which have happened in other major cities.

Back in August of last year, 1966, police arrested four men for loitering at the intersections of Pennsylvania and 10 Kercheval, out on Detroit's lower east side, and a crowd at that point of about 75 to a 100 people gathered and windows 11 were broken, although there were no verified instances of 12 looting, it was assumed there was. There was some attempt 13 at fire bombing. None of it succeeded and there was no 14 15 sniping and police reinforcements at that point converged upon the area and at 10:00 p.m., our Police Department organized a 16 sweep of the area and dispersed the crowd. The police were 17 on full alert, four-man scout cars patrolled the area very 18 intensively and the outbreak was in an area of only minor 19 stores and largely single family homes. There were a number 20 of small instances the first night and few arrests were made. 21 The next night the streets had been cleaned by our Department 22 of Public Works and the stores boarded up and thank goodness, a 23 good summer rain began to fall, and civilian police, their 24 peace patrols, were active and the second night there were some 25

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43 felony arrests by our Detroit Police Department. There were no deaths, a few injuries and the arrests totaled just under 60. By the end of the third night, August 11th, things were very quiet. And early in the incident a car was stopped with several people inside who were members of what was popularly characterized as an extremist Negro organization and the car contained a considerable amount of guns and ammunition, was heading for the Pennsylvania Kercheval neighborhood. And a detailed study of this Kercheval incident so-called, has been submitted to this Committee as part of our overall report. I merely mention this as background in the great difference between what happened a Year ago, for which the city was acclaimed, and what happened just this year.

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And with this brief background, I would suggest, then, we direct our attention to the tragic events in July, starting on July 23, 1967.

I think it should be emphasized, though, that from the beginning, that both the incident last year in Detroit and this year's tragedy are really not just Detroit happenings, so-called. They are part of a national picture of deep discontent in the American cities today and if I had one point I desire to emphasize to this distinguished Commission it would be that point, because the explosion that ripped Detroit had many points of origin over a long, long period of time. It has had its links with events of recent years in this city,

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Washington, D. C., and Birmingham and Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in Jackson, Mississippi, in Cambridge, Maryland, in Kansas City, Missouri, in the Watts district in Los Angeles, in Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant, New York City, on the southside of Chicago, and yes, even in the cotton field of both the great states of Louisiana and Texas.

The fact is that up to date, in 1967 alone, there have been disturbances as you know, of major proportions ranging from minor incidents to riots in 59, 59 cities in the United States, cities, I might add, containing almost half the 10 population of the United States. -- in the east, in the south, 11 midwest, southwest, and far west. And some of these eruptions 12 were far more violent than others. Last year the count was, 13 as I recollect, some 37 cities. And there has been no discernible 14 relationship between the location or degree of violence in these 15 disorders to social or economic or governmental factors. If 16 there was a pattern, it was sort of a crazy quilt pattern, and 17 it is clear from our experience that you cannot extinguish a 18 single flame in a general fire. You have to extinguish the 19 entire fire and in the process dampen down all the sparks 20 and ignition points because the explosion in Detroit was 21 really just one flame in what might be termed a nationwide 22 fire. A spark fell in Detroit and ignition took place. Newark 23 seemed to set the sparks flying but the elements of the combus-24 tion was there, even before Newark. And Detroit itself in 25

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turn dropped sparks on about half a dozen other Michigan
cities in that same week. But the elements of the combustion
were still there for many, many years.

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Every city, it is true, has its individual aspects, its strengths and its weaknesses, and we thought in Detroit that we were in a stronger position, at least in terms of human relationships, than many other cities, and many outside observers agreed that we were and I believed that we were, and still do. But the difference, and this is important, I think, wasn't deep or fundamental to forestall the catastrophe which happened in that city. We certainly in Detroit discovered to our sorrow that we were not in fact, in the words of Donne, an island. We were part of these nationwide eruptions, and the places where they occurred were almost incidental, just as the incidents which ignited them were almost also accidental.

There is a widespread belief that the rioting in Detroit was the work of conspirators, that the police needed more power to crush rebellions and that the great social programs which had enjoyed some degree of success in that city are now bankrupt failures. And, I would say from the evidence that we now have that the influence of conspirators was very, very slight, small.

I would say certainly that our city, like every city, needs more police officers, but that our present laws generally

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are adequate to cope with the riot situations. And I would say that the social programs are still very relevant and still badly needed, and in the remarks to follow, I would hope that we would be able to touch on these matters, but it is important, I think, to understand from the beginning that there are no single answers or easy assumptions to make about Detroit's riot. Such unfortunately simplistic approaches are all too often part of American thinking today.

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The basic issue in Detroit is the same issue which is really bringing this nation to its most frightening domestic crisis since the Civil War, and it is really in many ways the same Civil War issue, race, around which most of this rioting swirls.

But, before getting maybe to this larger picture, we would like to take a look at least for a few moments, to some of the factors involved in Detroit's riot. The riot began spontaneously and fed really on the images of about a 100 other cities. It quickly exploded beyond the capacity of the local police to handle and literally, and figuratively, just roared right out of control. It did not start, as some might assume, at least we do not believe that it did, from a specific justified grievance in the Negro community. There was no overt act of police brutality.

The riot began with a rather ordinary raid at 3:45 a.m., which would be Sunday morning, July 23rd, on an illegal

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after-hours drinking establishment known as the Blind Pig, in Detroit. I could not really explain to you -- maybe our Police Commissioner could -- where that term derives its meaning and apparently it is unique to Detroit, but the Blind Pig is something rather well-known in Detroit. It is an illegal after-hours drinking establishment and it was on this street known as 12th Street, a street very busy with a lot of celebraters on Saturday night at an hour, and the crowd was jovial as these 83 people who were arrested in this Blind Pig were being transported to the police station. There is no record at least that the police were unduly rough or profane or impolite in handling this particular series of arrests. It took an hour to get all of those arrested into paddy wagons and during that time -- the reason it took that long, by the way, was because normally in these kinds of raids, there are no more than 15 to 25 people drinking, but for some unexplained reason there were 83 that night. The police Captain miscalculated the amount of equipment he needed to transport these people and it took an hour instead of normally taking 15 or 20 minutes to transport the 83 people. But the crowd did grow to about 200 at that point, which is 4, 4:30 in the morning, and as the last police car was leaving the scene, with the last of these defendants, a stone or a brick was thrown through the rear window of that particular police scout car. The police didn't stop but they drove away, and .of course,

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this really wasn't the first time this summer, any summer for that matter, that a large group had congregated during an arrest or a raid but this time the crowd didn't go home. It was an extremely hot night, I might add. Instead, it began to loot some of the nearby stores on 12th Street. Other police cars arrived and were stoned and they left at that point without making arrests. And a detailed sequence of the riot events will be presented to the Commission later in the course of this submission.

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10 And, I think it might make some of these things more 11 understandable, but at this point let me make just a couple 12 of personal observations. I certainly don't propose today, and I cannot nor would I affirm that everything I did or 13 which was done in my name or by virtue of whatever authority 14 I possess as the Mayor of the city, during the hours of 15 destruction and violence was in every respect the best that 16 could have been done. I say that most candidly. Hindsight 17 is always a very great instructor and I have, as all of us 18 at this table, learned much from the most desolating days 19 in our city. Yet, I cannot honestly say that today, under the 20 circumstances of the hour and with the information that I had 21 at that time, with rumor, by the way, having almost as much 22 authority as fact, that I could have done much better than 23 that which I did. 24

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Moreover, I am not sure that even such improvements

as hindsight might recommend would have made any great major difference in the results. The question might be asked, could the Milwaukee pattern be applied to Detroit or should it have been? Perhaps, but it is interesting to observe that it rained hard in Milwaukee the next night after that first night as it did in Detroit in 1966 when we had trouble and in both instances the rain greatly dampened the danger, and yet it rained at the same time in Newark without any appreciable effect.

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The main object of our city's efforts to head off summer riots had been to remove instances of community friction. I set up a 24-hour Mayor's summer task force early in the summer, late spring. It was organized to keep an eye on trouble spots and to report danger and deal promptly with grievances and dispel rumors. For example, just three weeks before the riot, there was a very unusual multiple car accident at a nearby intersection. 19 people were hurt in that accident and word quickly spread that an injured Negro man was denied a place in the crowded ambulance and that his seat had been given to a white woman who had been less seriously injured. And city employees quickly picked up this rumor and found out the truth -- the white woman in fact, was pregnant and spread this word throughout the nearby community and that particular incident died almost as quickly as it started.

Also along with the summer task force in the Mayor's office, the city had a wide range of summer activities at some 589 different recreation locations with in the city, an increased number of swimming pools in operation, full range of poverty programs which included employment, job training, work experience, family counseling and similar programs. Of course, none of these programs, it is true, were in operation early Sunday morning when the Blind Pig was raided. It should be pointed out that in just about every instance these programs were funded at levels well below the recognized need in the city.

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Later, I am going to ask Dr. Drachler, who will comment more fully upon the broad range of programs that the Detroit public school system had in which we had over 100,000 children in summer school or in some organized activity about which he will speak.

Also a package of summer programs had been funded, Mr. Chairman, but these programs were late in starting because of a delay in funding and didn't go into operation until July 17th, six days before the riot. The Labor Department also 20 had funded under the Urban Areas Employment program a massive 21 drive for employment among slum dwellers. However, this 22 program was not in full operation as yet. The Mayor's Summer 23 Task Force was in operation with an early warning system out on 24 the street, and that early warning system had helped dispel some 25

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rumors, including that one about the 19 people injured in the accident, but it should be noted that there was no advance warning from this early warning system when this particular riot broke out.

The Police Department had a rather well-developed and battle-tested riot plan which had been praised and used as a model by many departments all over the country, and the Department I might also add, was barely recovering from a very bitter labor dispute in which more than a 1000 of the 4600 men in the Police Department had called in sick as part of a work stoppage or strike action. And this could well have had some effect. We have said, or I have said that Detroit's riot didn't start from any specific incident which might arous the passion of a mob and I think it should also be made clear that it is at least my judgment and those of us charged with responsibility in the government of our city that it did not start from the work of revolutionaries who belong to the black extremist movements. Extremist groups, it is true, do exist in Detroit and have for some period of time and they were involved very deeply in this 1966 incident, about which I spoke. But this year from all the information which we have in our possession, they cannot be credited with causing the explosion. In fact, the discussions were among the extremists that 1968 was the year for the city of Detroit. The people out on 12th Street early that Sunday

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morning when this Blind Pig was raided, were people really of no distinct class. There were some drunks and some drifters and some middle class, perhaps even a few wealthy people, some hustlers and petty gamblers and factory workers and some prostitutes. Just a conglomeration of night people out for some vice related activity or something to eat or even maybe ch their way home and all of these people had no direct connection that we know of with any of the extremist groups in the city.

Those who came and increased the crowd to 200 there at the very beginning apparently were residents from a large number of high density apartment buildings right along 12th Street and there is still no evidence that there was a significant number of extremists among this group. Police have since the riot arrested one young man for goading that crowd into action, but for one or two persons to be able to turn a relatively friendly crowd into groups of looters points to the fact that the seeds at least in my judgment, or the powder keg must have been present. There was a common atmosphere which both the extremist and the non-extremist breathe, and that common atmosphere is really the quality of life for many if not for most who inhabit the Negro or Puerto Rican or Mexican-American ghettoes in every city across the country people have a shared experience of slum living, not just by the quality of their housing conditions, but by the quality of their life itself, their living conditions. I mean the

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overall conditions of degradation and disorganization and poverty in which the young, and it is a fact, grow up without any hope of legitimately sharing in the supposedly fruits of a highly wealthy, materialistic society. That affluent society which is within their sight but in every instance almost beyond their reach, and it is this slum atmosphere of the ghetto which breeds and cultures the extremists, the militant haters and the social outlaws and demagogues who regard the violation of the law and violence as really their only way of making their mark and obtaining their share. And, it is this atmosphere 10 which was present on 12th Street in Detroit that early Sunday morning and elsewhere in Detroit on many succeeding hours and 12 days, and as far as our information now goes, it happened to ignite and explode.

Detroit's experience was that there was no single incident and no rallying point. As Bayard Rustin observed just Sunday, I think, in the Sunday New York Times, he said, "Although it may be of some interest to search for a pattern, no very profound purpose is served by concentrating on who struck the match. There are always matches lying around. We must ask why there was also a fuse and why the fuse was connected to a powder keg."

And we can conclude that in Detroit there were many matches lying around, and I would like to take a look for a moment, at what happened when the match was lit. We have a film

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on the early scenes. You will see on the film's first few seconds will give you a taste of the crowd on the street that Sunday morning, about eight or 9:00 o'clock in the morning, and this is not a professionally cut or edited film. It is one that we put together very briefly in the last few minutes, but I think it will give you some flavor, some idea of what was happening out on that street.

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(Comments of Mayor Cavanagh during presentation of film and sound track.)

10 This is 12th Street early Sunday morning, several 11 hours after that Blind Pig was raided. Some of the leadership 12 is attempting to get people off the street. You can see 13 obviously it does not work. The first that were started in the 14 first instance were relatively minor. They soon grew to major 15 fires and our Fire Department arrived and tried to put them out and there was some attempt to protect them by our Police 16 Department. But, as the police would move into one store, the 17 looters would move down the street. This is a group of our 18 riot commandoes that arrived on the scene. You can see obviously 19 there aren't many of them. 20

21During that period of time the -- this shows some22looters .

This is Congressman Conyers attempting to quell the crowd and he was shouted down. Thatis in his district. You see both the Negro and a white woman. The same lady that



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picked up the slip.

This is the next day on another -- that is the principal street in the city, Woodward. The stores are being looted and the police responding.

These are some of the fires that burned both Sunday night and Monday morning. Every piece of fire equipment in the city was used, plus that from 41 other communities brought into the city, all of which was committed to the so-called inner-city fighting fires. The rest of the cities and suburbs were stripped of any fire fighting equipment. That was not generally known.

12 This is Sunday night. Looting and burning that Sunday night. These are scenes of some of the prisoners 13 that Sunday night starting to be brought into our central 14 criminal court, called the Recorders Court in the downtown part of the city. You see no National Guardsmen. They were at that time on duty. The Fire Department had considerable difficulty fighting many of the fires initially because the police were deployed in many other instances of law enforcement. At one point they had to pull out, subsequently the National Guard rode shotgun, so to speak, on every piece of fire equipment that the Fire Department sent out. They had crews of three or four National Guardsmen to protect the fire fighters while they were fighting fire from people sniping 24 and throwing rocks and bricks. Really, the sniping started

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mbl?/22 411 1 more Monday than it did Sunday. Sunday it seemed to be burning 2 a lot of buildings and looting. 3 As the riot continued Monday, the sniping started on 4 these relatively low-rise buildings along 12th Street. They 5 are two and three story buildings. You see some of the 6 magnitude of the fires and the tremendous job that the Fire 7 Department had. They performed heroically. Two firemen were 8 killed as a result of the riot. A number, of course, injured. 9 This is a scene at the state fair grounds, as the 10 Federal troops arrived. That is Monday night. We sent our 11 transit system buses out to Southridge Field to bring in these 12 troops. They didn't have the mobility to get into the city WARD & PAUL 13 since they were airborne troops. 14 More scenes of fires. Here is one National 15 Guardsman guarding the fire truck. This is at our principal general hospital, Emergency 16 17 Hospital, in downtown. Next, police headquarters. This is a man that was shot. 18 This is a scene from one of our main streets showing 19 the smoke rising over that section of the city. This aerial 20 shot is not too good, but that was Monday evening when 21 some of the fires were still burning. You can see their 22 000 relationship to the downtown section. Some were still burning 23 25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 2 and many were started Monday. The Fire Department had its $\mathbf{24}$ biggest response, I think, Monday night. You can see, when it 25

mph/2% (202 007) 00044 412 1 is described as Berlin in 1945, what it did look like. 2 The stores were looted and whole blocks burned out. 3 This is on the east side. It spread Monday night to the 4 east side of the city and when the Federal troops came in, 5 they occupied the east side of the city and the National Guard 6 stayed on the west side. That is along 12th Street again, showing the 7 extent of the fire damage. Maybe Grand River which is a 8 street very near 12th Street. I had the opportunity to fly over 9 the city at 8:00 o'clock Sunday night in a helicopter and it 10 looked like, well, the most desolating thing I ever have seen]] or hope to see. 12 WARD & PAUL The signs as you can see, didn't always work. 13 This says "black, don't burn". You can see what 14 happened. 15 That concludes the film. 16 Mr. Chairman, there was no attempt here to put 17 together a professional sequence of events. Just to give you 18 some idea of the desolating nature of the fires and the rioting, 19 burning. You have seen some pictures, heard some of the sounds 20 of the rioting. It obviously is neither the most dramatic or 21 complete picture of what went on but it does, I think, give 22 25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001 you some realistic sense of riot action. 23 The early pictures of the rioting and looting, the 24 beginnings early Sunday morning, show an extremely high 25

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25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001

percentage of young men particularly. We will submit to you, as a matter of fact, they are part of your folder, pictures at the very back, copies of news pictures taken at that time, and you will see mostly young men out on the streets there. That is 12th Street there at the very back of your folder. And, there are really two sets of pictures. One of looting, the other of some damage. But the first five or six pictures show the rioting and the looting as it started early Sunday morning and if you look at them, you can see that most of the people in those pictures are male, practically all of whom are young people.

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The statistical data which also forms part of the presentation which you have there, indicates that over 50 per cent of those arrested during the course of this riot were under the age of 25. They were between the ages of 17 and 25. Then you have to add into that close to 600 young people that were arrested that were under 17. So, you have of the total number arrested, a figure roughly 55 to 60 per cent being under the age of 25. There are some pictures which indicate that and we will briefly allude later in the presentation to some of the statistical data which I am sure you will be interested in. But these young men are really the fuse, I think. For the most part they have had no experience to really productive work and they have no stake really in the social arrangements of our life as you and I and most Americans understand it. For

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the most part, I think they have no foreseeable future except maybe a future among the hustlers and the minor racketeers, and for the most part they are cynical and here hostile and they are frustrated and angry, and sometimes they are not even sure what, at least at a system which as far as they see, has included them out, and at the same time they are filled with a very curious mixture of bravado and youth and a code of behavior which is generally hostile to authority. And the extremist, of course, always turn up after these things start. They are what I would call the unchosen leaders of potential rioters. When a substantial number of people in a community come to feel that law and order is their enemy and their oppressor, that community is in danger, and such groups exist in most of our American cities today. In our case it seems clear that it was not until looting really became widespread and was joined, I might add, by both white and Negroes alike with almost a cardinal like spirit at times, that the riot really got out of hand, and at that time it was not just the young rebels any more. They led, but they were followed by housewives and well-dressed men in good cars, and you can see many young children, seven, eight, nine, ten years of age, visiting those stores. Some of these men, by the way, interstingly enough, had stood for a time protecting some of these stores and yelling at the looters but then gave up and joined the looting themselves.

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Again, I would emphasize that it is our judgement that there was no specific justified grievance which sparked the outbreak. The city had made a maximum effort to use all its possible resources over a long period of time to lessen tension among the races and improve housing though I don't think we did far enough in the field of housing and I think our administration, I would candidly admit if I had to in this room, and I would, had been deficient in estimating the need, the housing needs particularly in the low income areas of our city in the first few years of our administration, and we have tried to make up in the last year and a half for this, but it is a long, slow, difficult process.

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13 But certainly, in the field of education and jobs for 14 young Negroes, a great deal of effort had been made in our 15 community. But it is obvious that what we did could not 16 prevent a significantly large percentage of our population 17 from probably feeling alienated enough to violate the laws that you and I live by, society's laws. But the powder 18 keg that these young men ignited is really the social background 19 20 and this social background is simply that for the overwhelming majority of the Negro population, oppression and segregation 21 are still too much a part of life, and it is true that there 22 have been changes in these patterns in recent years, and I 23 think in Detroit among most of the northern American cities, 24 these changes have been perhaps most meaningful and the most 25



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far ranging, but despite this, it is still abundantly clear to me and to many of us that significant number of Americans, the American white middle class, has never accepted the Negro as a neighbor, as a fellow worker, or as a contributing member to American society. And this sort of constant arms length treatment does feed back, and I don't think you should make any mistake about it, does feed back through the entire fabric of the Negro community and creates the social background of estrangement and frustration that makes up this large powder keg.

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And, for those who feel that the total answer to this situation, to the dangers whose manifestations we have seen, is simply more guns and clubs and force, I would say that they are wrong and they are catastrophically wrong.

Of course, the increased availability and certainly the more effective use of peace-keeping forces is very vital and extremely essential, but for those who cherish the thought that the situation nationwide can be dealt with simply by sterner measures of force and repression are really deluding themselves.

Repression without channels of release is a Molotov cocktail. It takes only one match to set it off and then its destructive effects as we have seen here on this film, can spread everywhere.

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I am not sure how much there is to be learned from

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a prolonged consideration of the fine details of the actions taken or not taken under the riot conditions. To speculate on what might have happened if a particular action had been taken at a particular moment is at least in my judgment, rather vain a nd without major significance.

What if a particular policeman or a particular National Guardsman had done or had not done a particular act at a particular moment and what if a certain looter had done or not done a certain action at a certain moment, such as breaking a window or snatching the first loot out of that store window.

What if, in fact, the police had refrained from raiding that Blind Pig early Sunday morning and if there had only been, say, 50 people inside that after-hours drinking establishment instead of 83 and if the police action, instead of taking an hour, had taken only 15 minutes which was the time required, that hour, for the crowd to gather.

I think to ask and answer such questions is really in many ways sort of useless and certainly in my judgment, it is almost as useless to suggest that if yesterday was Saturday instead of Monday, today would be Sunday rather than Tuesday and none of us would be sitting here at this hearing.

However, I think that a broad examination is important and does lead, Mr. Chairman, to important conclusions. For example, there is no question about the fact that the

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National Guard does need much more training and much greater degree of integration as this Commission, I see, has already recommended. And, until these recommendations are implemented, the National Guard really cannot be considered very effective force in these kinds of situations. And, I do have some suggestions which I would like to make toward the end of this presentation.

First, let me just turn for a moment to a concise sequence of events in the course of the riot which is "B". Rather than run through them all, I think I might just highlight a couple of them because they form part of the record. But, at 3:30 Sunday morning, this Blind Pig was raided. And the first rock about 5:10 was thrown and the police began to gather, staging at a hospital not far from the riot area. The street patrol strength of the Detroit Police Department at that point was at its lowest. It is almost like Pearl Harbor, because our crime rate in the city on Sunday morning is lower at that period of time than any period of time, 24-hour period of time of any other day in the week. And most of the crime is relatively slight. And to put our maximum force on the streets six or seven days a week of necessity, at least up until that point, the number of police throughout the city on the street at that period of time was very, very slight, compared to the maximum capability of the Police Department. .

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419 That afternoon, about 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon, skipping along on Sunday afternoon, we had already for several years had plans with the Michigan State Police and the National Guard through the Governor's office, and so on. We had met repeatedly. We had made plans for mobilizing them, so that afternoon about 2:00 o'clock I requested that the State Police come into the city. There were supposed to be about 35ϕ available within 45 minutes or an hour. It turned out, as it always does in those situations, and I am not saying this in any critical sense at all, instead of taking 45 minutes or an hour it took about three hours for these men to mobilize and get in. The reason for my first request to be made to the State Police is because they are professionally trained police officers and have a greater degree obviously, of professionalism, which they could respond more quickly to the situation.

However, I was also cognizant of the fact that in our state police in the State of Michigan, there is not one Negro, not one in the entire state police force. So, this has to be a consideration of mine when we ask for outside help and at the same time we don't really know how serious the situation is, and I would have to say that even at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon, I didn't know we had the kind of full blown riot which we had. The information that I was receiving was mixed information. I was first at the Mayor's Summer Task Force

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command post in city hall, right in the Mayor's office, then moved to the police command post, at police headquarters, a few blocks away. But as I said, rumors at that point took on sort of authority of fact and you had to make judgments on the basis of the rumors and the facts that were coming to you at that point.

I don't say that in any way as a defense or none defense for any action I took or should have taken. But, at 2:00 o'clock the request was made and it wasn't until a couple of hours later the state police started to come in. But it was about 4:00 o'clock, a little after 4:00, when we requested the help from the National Guard, and since there was some mobilization of National Guard on a Sunday anyway, the day when they normally train, and there are several armories right in Detroit, on the perimeter of Detroit, they were more readily available, a couple of battalions, and they moved into the city within the space of a couple of hours, too.

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The Governor -- earlier that evening, at about seven o'clock or seven-fifteen, I put a curfew on Cincinnati, effective nine o'clock, nine until five-thirty in the morning. This subsequently was superseded by the Governor's emergency proclamation which he made about nine-thirty or ten o'clock, if I recall correctly, and that emergency proclamation not only put a curfew on but it prohibited the sale of gasoline, and we had earlier that day, from the very first, the police department closed up on a voluntary basis all the bars and liquor We closed down some of our stores in that whole area. principal parks, and by the way, one of the reasons we did that, an island park in the middle of the Detroit River was that the last race riot in 1943 started on that island and it is extremely difficult -- it is a large island, as you know, about eleven hundred acres -- extremely difficult to police, and we were very fearful that there would be an outbreak there. So that island was closed at ten o'clock in the morning. I am skipping over many of the things that the police did in the first instance.

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20 That Sunday night and on into Monday morning we had 21 indicated publicly that we were hopeful that the normal business 22 could resume in the downtown area which was about four or five 23 miles away from the riot area, even though Sunday night there 24 had been a couple of isolated incidents happen in the downtown 25 area of a couple of major clothing stores that were broken into.

WARD & PAUL

422 rb-2 Phone (Area 202) 623-4266 1 If anyone was unfortunately enough to sell Italian knits 2 seemed to get broken into at least along some of those major 3 streets in downtown Detroit. But we had requested that morning , about eight -4 thirty in the morning, the Governor and I joined in a tele-5 gram to the President asking for deployment of Federal troops, 6 and I am sure you are as familiar as I am, having read the 7 paper, those things which occurred during the course of that 8 night, on what constituted a request and what did not, and I 9 will be happy to respond to questions on that, but I am not sure 10 that at least at this point in time it would serve any purpose, 11 even though I have some fixed opinions on it. 12 WARD & PAUL I just want to be certain you under-CHAIRMAN KERNER: 13 stood that. At this time it is not a fact-finding hearing, we 14 are seeking background information. 15 MAYOR CAVANAGH: For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I 16 will pass over it. 17 But the Federal troops did arrive late that afternoon 18 and they were stationed at Selfridge Air Force Base which is 19 about 22 miles outside the city. Mr. Vance, representing the 20 President, as you know, came in to the city with General 21 Throckmorton, met with the Governor and myself. 22 About five 25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001 o'clock that evening we toured the riot-stricken areas. I was 23 most anxious to have the deployment of Federal troops at that 24 point. I recognized the fact that Mr. Vance felt, representing 25

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WARD & PAUL	1	the Federal government, that an independent assessment should
	2	be made by himself, and that was made during the course of that
	3	evening. Subsequently roughly around ten or eleven o'clock
	4	in the evening, the use of Federal troops was authorized. This
	5	was Monday night, and at that point, as I pointed out earlier,
	6	the rioting and burning started to break out on the east side
	7	of the city, east of Woodward. The lower east side. So the
	8	decision was made by General Throckmorton to deploy the air-borne
	9	troops, 1011 and 82, on the east side and the National Guard
	10	and the west side, points out roughly the east side of the
	11	city, using this map.
	12	MR. ANGOTT: This area right here.
	13	MAYOR CAVANAGH: East of Woodward, which is the
WARE	14	principal street, north and south.
	15	Well, the National Guard, as I say, was Federalized
	16	and Throckmorton did move in with the troops and meanwhile there
	17	was an increasing number of arrests, just a staggering number.
	18	We have the number here. Over 5,000. But the detention facilities
	19	and even the court process just staggered, and the court process
	20	figuratively broke down. The criminal court judges started to
	21	sit around the clock. Arraignments and bail were set very high
	2 2	for most of the initial prisoners because the courts made the
.C. 20001	23	determination not to allow them back out on the streets in the
25 K Sireet, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001	24	midst of this rioting. But, for example, our county jail, which
	25	is located in the downtown section right across the street from

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Youth Home which has room for 120 people had up close to 600. We had to ship prisoners prior to any examination or anything, after they were arraigned, ship many to this Jackson State Prison and we had problems in doing that. We had to convert all sorts of the public facilities and it was not very satisfactory, frankly, for anybody, certainly not for the prisoners, many of whom were arrested even for minor violations like And about fifty per cent of those that violating a curfew. were arrested, by the way, had previous arrest records. Fifty per cent had not. These are figures that you have in your report. Unfortunately we do not as yet have, but we will be happy to submit, and I am sure you will be interested in it an analysis of those that had jobs and those that did not have jobs. One of the papers did a rough survey on the average income of the rioters but they just spoke or addressed themselves to those that were arrested that had jobs. They said their average income was \$117 a week. But that isn't the real question. The question is, the answer to it is I think how many of those arrested had jobs and how many not.

police headquarters has room for 1200. They had 1900. The

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We would be very interested in CHAIRMAN KERNER: 21 those figures, analysis. 22

MAYOR CAVANAGH: We are trying to develop that. 23 The tremendous crush of prisoners and defendants and court 24 work has just placed an almost unbelievable strain upon the 25

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records process of our police department, but as soon as we develop it, we will be happy to submit it to you.

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Without going through all those days of the riot which are explained in this, the highlights, so-called, the sequence of events, let me just turn to the end of what we call the sequence of events highlights and give you some general figures, which is just before this blue cover, light-blue cover.

In a week, or in eight days, from Sunday, the 23rd of July, to Monday, July 31, which is roughly a week, seven or eight days, noon on Monday, there were some 1682 fires in the city. There were 6892 people arrested. A total of 386 treated for injuries. We have no idea how many more were injured that were never treated in hospitals. By that day there were 40 people killed. That has been increased now to 43. Just last night another man died, making the 43rd fatality of this riot.

16 After that blue cover there is a far lengthier detailed 17 sequence of events that I will not bother to go into at this 18 point, but we first have the highlights of the sequence and then 19 the sequence itself.

Then we go to an orange cover which has some statistical data I am sure the Commission will be interested in, not all of which I would propose to get into right now. But it breaks down the charges made against the males that were arrested during that week's period of time and the kinds of things with which they were charged, and of course the majority were charged

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25 K Street, N.E., Wathington, D.C. 20001
rp-9-92) 628-4266 426 with three major categories, one, entering without breaking, 1 which is looting, or breaking and entering a business place, 2 and violating curfew. This represents about 60 per cent, I 3 would say, of all those arrested that week, were arrested for 4 one of those three charges. And the same figures would obtain 5 for the women that were arrested during that period of time. 6 7 There were 6345 men arrested and 862 women. But there is one 8 category I know that the women are duite high in, relatively 9 higher than the men, and that is larceny from a building, which means that once the building was broken, the women entered and 10 took goods there. There is this analysis of prior police 11 12 records of persons arrested and I do not submit that that WARD & PAUL necessarily is conclusive of anything. It is just that at the 13 14 time that was really all we had to do, all we had the ability 15 to do, was to ascertain from the arrest records whether they had been arrested in the past or not. This is not convictions, I 16 emphasize, it is arrests, and about half were under 25, as I 17 say, and then you have to add to that another 622 people who were 18 under the age of 17 that were arrested. 19 There is a lengthy breakdown on juveniles that were 20 detained during this race riot and their age, their race, and 21 the charge that they were accused of, the crime, the offense 22 D.C. 2000 that they were accused of. The interesting thing is that I 23 Washington think the highest percentage of whites arrested were arrested 24 for looking and there were many instances of both Negroes and 25

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427 Phone (Area 202) 629-426 rb-7 whites arrested in the same store, teamed up together. Some 1 of the stores in the downtown area particularly. And there 2 were whites arrested for sniping, sniping at our police officers 3 down on the street or anyone that was down on those streets. 4 We arrested a number of whites for that purpose. 5 Let me now just try and come to some conclusions 6 here for you, and as I have said, we have attempted in the past 7 to move as effectively and as swiftly as we could to use existing 8 Federal programs. Last August in this testimony before the 9 Senate Operations Subcommittee, the Ribicoff Committee, 👘 🚿 l 10 I submitted some details of the Federal grants received or 11 pending during the period of time from July 1, 1962, to July, 12 WARD & PAUI 1966, which can serve as part of this record. 13 We had requested very briefly \$581 million in Federal 14 funds. There had been granted \$169 million in Federal funds 15 for various programs. There was \$391 million still pending, 16 and we were denied some \$20 million. Detroit has been as active 17 a city in the Federal-city relationship as any city in the 18 country. Since that time, since last Summer, \$61 million in 19 additional Federal grants have been received in a variety of \bigcirc 20 programs, from expansion of health services for residents of 21 poverty areas to urban areas job contracts, the urban areas 22 25 K Street, N.E., Wathington, D.C. 20001 employment. The summary is attached. 23 There has been a great deal done, but there is so 24 much more to be done, and in reviewing the testimony of the 25

428 bone (Area 202) 628-426 rb-8] Ribicoff hearings for presentation here today, I came across 2 something that I said in response to a question I think of Senator Javits or Senator Ribicoff, I am not sure which one 3 it was. But I said, "I know how inadequate so many of our 4 programs are, and this is why I find it difficult to accept 5 compliments," compliment apparently had been paid to Detroit 6 because I know right down on the streets that as much as we try 7 we really don't get down to the streets. In all of our 8 agencies and among all of our people we really aren't too sure 9 that is happening. We do have programs to combat poverty. 10 Youth employment, adult employment projects, manpower development 11 skills, training centers, juvenile delinquency control activities." 12 ward & paul I think as administrations go, certainly we have tried hard to 13 listen to the people on the streets and translate their views 14 into some kind of programs that mean something to people. 15 Community Relations programs have been backed by some very strong 16 executive order and there have been some very special incentive 17 training, different than a lot of communities, for police 18 personnel. But it is clear to me, particularly now after that 19 terrible week of rioting, that despite our rather massive 20 efforts, and I say massive in relation to maybe some other 21 communities, that, number one, there is certainly an underclass 22 1000 in our urban society who have not been reached and for whom 23 Washington, D.C. 24 $\|$ there are few programs which touch them and give them any 25 adequate degree of hope. Since the riot, I might add that a 25 K Sii

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number of very specific steps have been taken to meet the emergency needs obviously of the riot victims, including a provision for food and shelter and clothing and the like, and I might add that the private agencies and individuals have responded magnificently to meet these needs. Mr. Strickarts, who is the general counsel of Wayne State University, an urban university located in Detroit, used to be on my staff and is former city Comptroller, has come back to head up this effort on behalf of the city, on leave from Wayne State University, and this was the Mayor's Development Team that we set up. But I think we have to throw away the textbooks as we now do the planning because we had followed the textbooks, so-called, a figure of speech. We have to increase our efforts to involve the community as we do this planning, even though we had developed some advocacy planning techniques out in neighborhoods, and so on. And we have to find some way that we haven't found really to reach the more militant as well as many of those who have given us the hope. And we have to work with the Citizens Resources Committee which we set up called the New Detroit Committee headed by Joseph L. Hudson, Jr., who is president of a major department store. But that isn't simply, notwithstanding some of the criticism that has been rendered against the composition of committee, it is not simply a blue ribbon committee. It has a number of neighborhood people on it, a number of people that have to be classified as extremely militant

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people that have never been connected with amy official or 1 semi-official governmercal or quasi-public effort in the past. But in everything that has been said today, I hope we have emphasized the role that the Federal government has in helping to create what I term the "livable city." But local government certainly has a role and a responsibility and even exceeding 6 some of the things that we might be doing now, there is increasing evidence of an awakening in the state halls, although it is slight, I might add, and by businessmen, since we are here in the privacy in this room, yet on the record, we have to say that 10

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I am not saying this in partisan politics in any way because 12 it is true under both Democratic and Republican administra-13 ions, the Legislatures have never really responded in any way 14 to the needs of the urban areas. And I am not just talking about 15 Detroit. Grand Rapids, Flint, and some other places as well. 16

Michigan, which is principally an urban state, and

I think we have to take some very firm measures to 17 assure the maintenance of law and order and we have to meet the 18 emergency needs which are caused by the extensive damage running 19 into hundreds of millions of dollars and to relieve the suffering 20 of the innocent victims of the riot. Get rid of this old 21 syndrome that people sometimes down here say let's not reward 22 rioters. I think that is absurd, frankly. There is no talk 23 about ewarding people that riot. But it is like saying let's not 24 treat tuberculosis, to those that are afflicted by it. I just 25 do not think it has any sense in logic or in purpose.

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We have to eliminate the causes of civil disorder. and to restore law and order in our communities, to modernize our techniques, number one, for dealing with mob action, adopt some of the latest scientific devides that really re-vamp our plans for dealing with civil disorder by planning for more effective and fluid governmental response and towards this end, Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I requested planning assistance from the Secretary of the Army, who probably is the repository of more, at least in a governmental sense, operational planning talent than any other agency in the country, and I have attached a letter to this which indicates what we had asked for. And I would support certainly Federal legislation which would grant aid directly to the cities in training, equipping and paying police officers. There is need I think for a police force, an expanded police force, in most of the major cities in America. I made this suggestion a couple of weeks ago.

18 There has been some favorable response to it and I think it has some sense. I think in many ways this suggestion 19 20 of locating additional police in all of our major cities in 21 in the country, ten or twelve major metropolitan districts 22 in which most of the population is located, I think they ought to be trained and paid for by the Federal establishment, a 23 thousand maybe additional men, but attached to the local police 24 departments that can be used or mobilized and Federalized when 25

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there are problems in any city. But I think it really gets at two things. It helps to maintain law and order and gives to police departments additional men, material and money which normally they would not have, yet there still is a Federal interest, and that is that you have a highly professional trained group of men that is available immediately to be pulled from Detroit to Cleveland, or into Chicago, let's zay, or something of that kind.

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I think merely giving the National Guard an additional week or two of riot training does not really get at this problem and the problem as I see it is twofold.

I have asked our Governor, just within the last few 12 days, and he has not had an opportunity to respond to, consider 13 the formation of special National Guard riot battalions, to 14 be located in the metropolitan areas, maybe two or three in 15 each of the major metropolitan areas in the state. Probably 16 that many might not be needed in all of the metropolitan areas. 17 To provide skilled and speedy response to civil disorders. In 18 other words, train these battalions specially but make sure 19 they are located in Detroit or Grand Rapids so they can respond 20 quickly. But I think this is another thing that I would like 21 to propose today for your consideration and eventually when you 22 make recommendations, I think the recommendations, I would most 23 respectfully suggest, ought to take on this sort of cast, and 24 that is that we have to face ;up to the need to consider and 25 and the second second

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accept a somewhat new principle on which to base both Federal programs and approprations. The principle, and I might be controversial, although I do not think it should be, the principle of reparation for a longstanding injustice dating back generations preceding ours.

As the distinguished Mayor of your principal city, Governor: Kerner, said to me yesterday, that the Mayors are bearing the brunt principally of generations of neglect, that what is happening in the American city today is not the fault of any one mayor or one person. It is the fault of not even just the people that are living today, but of generations preceding us. And I am speaking now about the injustice of great discrimination and the denial of equal education, equal vocational professional opportunity for advancement and progress. This has gone on for years and is still with us, whether we like to acknowledge it or not it is a fact. And the price that they have paid for these generations of injustice is almost withou 'calculation.

Now, I think the Nation must begin to make reparation for the deeds of not just of our own but of past generations and this principle of reparation is not a new one, you know. It is recognized rather clearly in international law. In recent years the West German Republic made very substantial deliveries of both goods and equipment to many countries in Europe and most recently to Israel in the name of not just the living but the dead as well. And F am not talking about

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1 just individual reparations in money. Even in international 2 reparations the world has learned by some very bitter 3 experience that money alone neither pays for the injuries of the past nor buys a secure future. I am talking about 4 reparations in the form of very special work training programs 、5 and special educational programs, special community construc-6 tion and reconstruction programs involving and including both 7 housing and business, involving efforts not just by government 8 but by business and private public organizations, by the 9 schools and the universities. 10

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And this requires something else that many of us 11 have spoken about for a number of years, and that is a re-12 ordering of our national priorities, and this is not said in 13 the form of a cliche. Place the needs of our cities high 14 enough on this national agenda which we have, although at 15 times we do not recognize we have it, so that this reparations 16 principle can have some meaning and some effect, because it is, 17 and I am sure we would not find any disagreement in this room, 18 it is just as important if not more so, but it certainly is just 19 as important, Mr. Chairman, to our national destiny that we 20 deal with the causes of the warfare out on the streets of the 21 big and small cities in America as it is to conduct a war in 22 any part of the world, whether it be in southeastern Asia or 23 any place else. And I think in doing some of these things we 24 have to reorganize, too, the Federal establishment, the 25

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and the agencies, to make them far more responsive to urban needs and to assure really a coordinated effort which emphasizes innovation.

I think we know now finally, after the Detroit experience, as I said, it certainly should receive and I hope it does receive as sort of a watershed in American history, the turning points, should be the turning point, either backwards, which is a possibility, or moving forward really into a greater age of hope and action, I might add, not just hope.

We have to write really a new textbook for the 10 two Americas that we are faced with in every city in the country. 11 Block grants, e.g., to cities would provide flexibility and 12 fix responsibility where it belongs, to write in the community. 13 But the funds available must be of a magnitude which will have 14 some kind of an impact on the problems. To propose to conduct 15 a war on all the influences which blight our urban society 16 today, with a bow and maybe a couple of arrows, will merely do 17 something none of us wants, heighten the tensions and lead to 18 further explosions. 19

I think we have to learn much more about our problems It is pathetic and encourage urban research and innovation. to me and I am sure to many that we should spend so much money on attemtping to find cures for the ills of our body and yet have done so little in many respects to seek cures for the 24 ills of our urban society, and they are ills. I think we have 25 ۰.

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rp-16 10-16 823-4268 436 to engage in a massive program to encourage private enterprise] to create jobs in the areas and train slum dwellers and a lot 2 3 of political people, including myself, talking about it all 4 the time but I really think it is the obligation of the national 、 5 administration, notwithstanding whatever party it might be, to 6 point out the areas where the pivate sector should be moving 7 and to propose the specific tax incentives and the tax credits or the vast amortization of the various enterprises in the 8 Today in the Federal legislation we provide tax credit 9 slums. for those private enterprises that use pollution control devides 10 for example, but we have not provided any similar credits for 11 business investments which can help to eliminate the pollution, 12 WARD & PAUL 13 the worst pollution, and the stifling of the human spirit. And 14 for those who would not otherwise be employed in this country, 15 and there are many of course, there is a need I think to emphasize the very legitimate role of the public employer as the 16 17 employer of the last resort, which would be principally the 18 United States governmentbut it would also be the state and local 19 governments. But the government with the greatest resources 20 should indeed by the employer of last resort. I think that 21 should be -- that should go right into the fabric of whatever 22 program this country develops. 25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 2000 23 There are many things that we could detail which you know better than I do which should be done to make our cities 24

more beautiful and more habitable but cities just do not have the

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funds to begin to do all that must be done. Yet I think they can provide some very meaningful jobs for those who will not be able to get a job in the private market. This could be done certainly in a reconstruction and urban Public Works Act, not the usual kind of Public Works Act, all of which is needed, of course, but we found from experience in the last accelerated Public Works Act, Detroit I think was the most active city in America, more active than most of the states, in developing various programs under the accelerated Public Works Act but we found it did very little as far as hardcore unemployment. It 10 did provide badly needed public facilities in our communities. 11 I am not questioning that, but it was a bonanza to the private 12 contractors and the urban construction industry and building 13 trades people.

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So I think that we an develop and design a reconstruc-15 tion and urban Public Works Act which would combine training 16 with the public sector activities and designed principally to 17 emphasize employment of the ghetto area residents and having 18 them rebuild the areas that have been devastated as well as 19 rebuilding those areas, most of which are blighted. And in a 20 variety of ways, something that frequently is not talked about 21 but is an extremely serious problem in in every big city or smaller 22 city, we should make it possible for our Nation to use the 23 potential female labor force by, for example, creating a network $\mathbf{24}$ of day care service centers for children which will use the time 25

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r.p.- 18 18 438 to advantage by giving some real meaningful experience instead 1 of just caring for them. It is interesting to observe I 2 think the last time I looked in our city, not unlike probably 3 most cities, the Negro female unemployment was about 38 per 4 cent, if I recall correctly, of the eligible work force in that 5 community, and relatively little if anything is being done 6 7 nationally and in many instances locally built. I think we 8 have to take steps, too, to provide insurance and reinsurance 9 to those willing to invest and live in the so-called high-risk 10 areas that the insurance companies have designated, American 11 ghettos. The State Insurance Commission here has estimated 12 there is about a \$144 million property loss as a result of 13 the Detroit riots. Our fire department estimates it will 14 probably be closer to \$200 million. But only \$84 million of 15 this was insured, according to the State Insurance Commissioner 16 Getting insurance to rebuild or create a new environ-17 ment in the slums will be increasingly more difficult now than 18 ever and the private lending institutions, the private banks 19 will admit privately if they were reluctant in the past it is 20 almost absurd to think they are going to put money today into a 21 12 street area that has been devastated in the manner in which 22 it has. 25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 200 23 So disaster insurance and reinsurance I would mention 24 is presently availble for crops in this country and for loss 25 from national disaster, and it should be extended certainly to

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cover riot damage.

I think we have to assure to each child in America, too, that he will get the same quality education. It must be of high quality no matter where he lives, whether it be in slums or suburbia.

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The urban school situation, with all deference to many of the innovative things that have been done in Detroit, I think most of us would agree, like the condition of life in too many of the American cities, borders at times upon being disgraceful because it emphasizes the inequality which Public education has to be affluence has made possible. both quality and equal education. I think, too, Mr. Chairman, there should be established an urban development fund in this country and urban development corporation to create finally the function underpinning and the management capabilities needed to create the livable city. The funds could be a revolving one which encourages the investments in low-cost housing, ih technological innovation, slum area based industries and creative solutions, but it should be a risk-taking activity and should lean much more heavily than we ever have, because we have not leaned hardly at all, upon the real genius of American enterprise to support their investments through the use of this Urban Development Corporation, the encouragement of new firms in 24 Negro business enterprises in slum areas certainly would provide employment, reduce tensions, stimulate personal ambition among 25

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1 Negro youths and provide a more stable community base. The 2 needs for decent housing is probably the most obvious. At 3 the same time, probably the least talked-about in America. 4 It is estimated if I recall correctly that we need about \$2 5 ر million new housing starts a year. Last year we had fewer than at any time in the history of America since 1946. Less 6 7 than 800,000. Most of these in the middle-income or upper middle-income areas. A low-cost housing program which 8 emphasizes home ownership is needed and it must be designed 9 in so way, and I believe that it can, to make it possible 10 for people on welfare to make payments. The technology 11 exists. The barriers created by the building trades will just 12 have to be overcome and they can't be overcome unless they 13 Fits and starts could be done loc-11y are overcome nationally. 14 but it has to be done nationally, and this involves making 15 the necessary subsidy that will have to be provided. The 16 health problems of the slum dwellers just are not being met 17 by existing medical facilities. The vast expansion of neigh-18 borhoods comprehensive treatments and emergency care in 19 centers I think will tend to eliminate the existing inbalance. 20 The deep resentment, too, it was interesting for me to observe 21 while watching the film, credit offices and small loan offices, 22 they all went in that neighborhood. 23

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24There is a deep resentment of those that take ad-25vantage of the slum dwellers' lack of sophistication in handling

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money and in selling shoddy goods and overcharging for what he gets. That is a great source of discontent.

I think a consumer services and consumed protection program which is tailored to eliminate this situation is badly There is an urgent need, too, I might add, Mr. needed. Chairman, I think for a census to be conducted of the major cities in American in order to reveal the facts about unemployment, delapidated housing. I know traditionally big cities have been sort of opposed to census being held other than once ever ten years but recent studies have indicated very clearly that the census made in 1960, for example, which was similar to the census made in 1960, missed counting particularly a number of males, Negro males, because no serious attempt was made to find them down in the slum areas and the ghettos. So I think that to achieve above all else, Mr. Chairman, the goals which I have just set forth, required something more than the Congress merely appropriating a little more money which I think they obviously should do, but I think the first step, and I think we have to recognize this, it requires really a great mobilization of public opinion through the exercise of leadership by the President of the United States, the National Administration, and the great weight of his office.

I am convinced of one thing. We can form all the 23 urban coalitions we want of mayors and civil rights leaders, 24 labor leaders, businessmen, distinguished governors such as 25

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yourself, and we can try to persuade the Congress to appropriate more money for some of the existing progfams and it really is not going to get at the heart of this thing until we have really, I almost hate to use the words, it is the only one that comes to mind immediately, but a really crusade mounted and kd by the President of this country. And I think then and only then, in some of the things we have talked about today, really being accomplished. We have gone over a great deal of material here this morning quickly, but my purpose here was to inform you to some degree of the needs of certainly Detroit but really the needs of America's cities that have been dramatized in a tragic way which the riots which you have been commissioned to investigate, because the cry from that ghetto cannot go any longer unheeded, I do not believe.

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While some may think they have responded to this cry, some of us thought so, the response has been small and slow in relation to the magnitude of the needs. You have learned I am sure this morning something about Detroit, its people. We have described the riot. We have attempted to identify the causes. We have tried to convey the great sense of urgency This urgency I think has which really possesses all of us. to grip not just people in the cities but has to grip this Nation and this Nation's leaders and the conscience of this Nation which we have made some specific recommendations to aid you in meeting the President's charge to this Commission. We

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have tried to answer these three basic questions, what happened, why did it happen, and what can be done to prevent it from happening again and again?

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And our recommendations I think place great emphasis on the last of these three very important questions. Detroit, like a lot of cities, has been called a city of hope in the past, hope that the problems of the cities could be solved and that the urban spraw could be managed. I might say that hope still lives even in that city, even after this very tortuous process that it has been through. But fulfilling 10 that hope is not just Detroit's problem, because I think it 11 is the Nation's problem. It will take an aroused Nation, 12 mobilizing all of its recources to solve this problem and it 13 exists coast to coast and border to border. 14

I was interested in reading just a few days ago that Stokely Carmichael had called me an idiot from the sanctity of Havana, for saying that the Negro problems could be solved in the capitalist society. I still maintain that it can be solved and I think that we have to do it because really, and this is not just idel rhetoric, the future of this Nation and the balance of the twentieth century hangs in the balance by what we do today and really in many ways what this Commission recommends to the President of the United States. You have a rare opportunity that has not been given in contemporary American history to my knowlege to any other group of men or women to make the kinds of impact upon our country on our

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T.L-54 Phone (Area 202) 628-4266	l	society that needs to be made, to turn this country around,
	2	and to use a colloquialism, to turn it on, and this is why
	3	we are here today and we most urgently and respectfully
	4	submit to you, Mr. Chairman, and members of your Commission,
	5	this presentation which we have just made.
25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001 WARD & PAUL	6	'. Thank you.
	7	. CHAIRMAN KERNER: Thank you very much, Mayor
	8	Cavanagh. I think we might take a ten-minute recess at this
	9	time and then reconvene in ten minutes.
	10	(Recess.)
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