

In the aftermath of the Detroit rebellion, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed an eleven-member National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by Illinois governor Otto Kerner. The commission released a report in February 1968 that delineated the factors contributing to the outbreak of racial violence throughout the country. The commission warned that America was "moving towards two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." In the report the commission took pains to lay responsibility for the urban explosions at the doorstep of a racist white society. In speaking of the ghetto, the report charged that "white institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it." Few of the report's recommendations were implemented.

1. "A Proposal by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for the Development of a Nonviolent Action Movement for the Greater Chicago Area"

Known as the Chicago Plan and dated January 5, 1966, this was the SCLC's working document for its Chicago campaign, to be conducted in conjunction with the Chicago-based Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCCO).

Chicago is a city of more than a million Negroes. For almost a century now it has been the northern landing place for southern migrants journeying up from the Mississippi Delta. It was the Promised Land for thousands who sought to escape the cruelties of Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee; yet, now, in the year 1966, the cycle has almost reversed. Factories moving South, employment and opportunities on the increase, and recent civil rights legislation are rapidly disintegrating the cruelties of segregation. The South is now a land of opportunity, while those who generations ago sang, "Going to Chicago, sorry but I can't take you," now sink into the depths of despair.

Educational opportunities in Chicago, while an improvement over Mississippi, were hardly adequate to prepare Negroes for metropolitan life. A labor force of some 300,000 have found little beyond low paying service occupations open to them, and those few who possessed skills and crafts found their ranks rapidly being depleted by automation and few opportunities for advancement and promotion. In 1960 Negroes, who represented twenty-three percent of the population, accounted for forty-three percent of the unemployed. This was not including the thousands of new migrants and young adult males who were entering the laboring market, but who had not yet made their way to an unemployment office, knowing full well in advance that only a few dirty jobs were available to them.

Those few Negroes who were fortunate enough to achieve professional and managerial status found themselves victimized in their search for adequate housing. Two distinct housing markets were maintained by Chicago real estate interests, carefully separate and controlled; and those who were able to make what should have been a living wage, found that they had to pay ten to twenty percent more on rental of homes, purchase of property, and insurance and interest rates than their white counterparts.

Langston Hughes asks, "What happens to a dream deferred?" But these dreams were not deferred, they were denied and repudiated by vicious though subtle patterns of exploitation. So the dreams do not "dry up like raisins in the sun." They decay like sun-ripened oranges that are devoured by worms and birds until they fall to the ground, creating a rotten mess. But centuries ago Victor Hugo proclaimed that, "When men are in darkness there will be crime; but those who have placed them in darkness are as much responsible for the crime as those who commit it." And so the social consequences of our repudiated dreams, denied opportunities and frustrated aspirations are very much present.

Chicago is not alone in this plight, but it is clearly the prototype of the northern urban race problem.

PAST APPROACHES

During the past two years there has been a conscientious and creative attempt to dramatize the evils of this system of northern segregation by the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations. CCCO and its member groups have worked in a united action program and through independent organizational activities to call attention to the various sore spots in Chicago society. Negotiations have taken place with the school board, city officials, labor movement, real estate interests and many other points of power in the high command of Chicago metropolitan life. These efforts represent the foundation stones upon which any movement must build. The CCCO "Get Rid of [Schools Superintendent] Willis Campaign" is as significant as any campaign ever organized in this country. A similar campaign held in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Louisville, Kentucky, or Atlanta, Georgia, would have indeed met with unparalleled success in the area of school desegregation; but before the Goliath of Chicago their efforts made only limited impact.

The problems of Chicago, indeed the problems of the northern city, demand something new.

THE SCLC PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

In our work in the South two principles have emerged. One, the crystallization of issues, and two, the concentration of action.

In Birmingham we confronted the citadel of southern segregation. In 1963 not one aspect of Birmingham community life was desegregated. In approaching this complex segregated society, the issue was simplified deliberately to: Segregation. Early newspaper critiques challenged the simplification and offered a thousand rationalizations as to why such complex problems could not be dealt with so simply and suggested a hundred more "moderate, responsible" methods of dealing with our grievances. Yet it was the simplification of the issue to the point where every citizen of good will, black and white, north and south, could respond and

identify that ultimately made Birmingham the watershed movement in the history of the civil rights struggle.

The second point was the concentration of action, and we chose lunch counters, a target which seemed to most social analysts the least significant but one to which most people could rally. It was a target wherein one might achieve some measure of change yet which sufficiently involved the lines of economic and social power to a point beyond itself—to the larger problem.

The concentration of action led to an immediate local victory at the level of the lunch counter, but pointed beyond the lunch counter to the total problem of southern segregation and produced a ten-title legislative victory on a national level in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

THE PROBLEM IN CHICAGO

For the past months the SCLC staff has been working in Chicago trying to apply the SCLC philosophy to the problem of Chicago. Their work has been concerned with strengthening community organizations and recruiting new forces to join in a nonviolent movement, but they have also given a great deal of thought to the crystallization and definition of the problem in Chicago in terms which can be communicated to the man on the street, who is most affected. The Chicago problem is simply a matter of economic exploitation. Every condition exists simply because someone profits by its existence. This economic exploitation is crystallized in the SLUM.

A slum is any area which is exploited by the community at large or an area where free trade and exchange of culture and resources is not allowed to exist. In a slum, people do not receive comparable care and services for the amount of rent paid on a dwelling. They are forced to purchase property at inflated real estate value. They pay taxes, but their children do not receive an equitable share of those taxes in educational, recreational and civic services. They may leave the community and acquire professional training, skills or crafts, but seldom are they able to find employment opportunities commensurate with these skills. And in the rare occasions when they do, opportunities for advancement and promotion are

restricted. This means that in proportion to the labor, money and intellect which the slum pours into the community at large, only a small portion is received in return benefits. [James] Bevel and our Chicago staff have come to see this as a system of internal colonialism, not unlike the exploitation of the Congo by Belgium.

This situation is true only for Negroes. A neighborhood of Polish citizens might live together in a given geographic area, but that geographic area enters into free exchange with the community at large; and at any time services in that area deteriorate, the citizens are free to move to other areas where standards of health, education and employment are maintained.

As we define and interpret the dynamics of the slum, we see the total pattern of economic exploitation under which Negroes suffer in Chicago and other northern cities.

1. Education: \$266 per year is the average investment per Negro child; per white pupil it is \$366 in the city of Chicago. Suburban communities spend anywhere from \$450 to \$900 per pupil annually. Hence, slum education is designed to perpetuate the inferior status of slum children and prepare them only for menial jobs in much the same way that the South African apartheid educational philosophy does for the African.

2. Building Trades Unions: Building trades unions bar Negroes from many employment opportunities which could easily be learned by persons with limited academic training.

3. Real Estate: Real Estate Boards restrict the supply of housing available to Negroes to the result that Negro families pay an average \$20 per month more in rent and receive fewer services than persons in other neighborhoods.

4. Banks and Mortgage Companies: Banks and mortgage companies charge higher interest rates and in many instances even refuse to finance real estate in slum communities and transitional communities, making the area easy prey for loan sharks.

5. Slum Landlords: Slum landlords find a most lucrative return on a minimum investment due to inefficient enforcement of city building codes as well as inadequate building codes, over-crowding of living space, and a tax structure on slum property which means the more you let the building run down, the less you pay in taxes.

6. The Welfare System: The welfare system contributes to the breakdown of family life by making it more difficult to ob-

tain money if the father is in the household and subjects families to a dehumanized existence at the hand of an impersonal self-perpetuating bureaucracy.

7. Federal Housing Agencies: Federal housing agencies will not insure loans for purchasing real estate in Negro communities and make little or no money available for financing any low-cost housing or renovation of present housing.

8. The Courts: The courts are organized as a tool of the economic structure and political machine. Judges are political appointees and subject to political influence.

9. The Police: The police are little more than "enforcers" of the present system of exploitation and often demonstrate particular contempt for poor Negroes, so that they are deprived of any sense of human dignity and the status of citizenship in order that they may be controlled and "kept in line."

10. The Political System: The established political system deprives Negroes of political power and, through patronage and pressure, robs the community of its democratic voice in the name of a Democratic Machine.

11. The City Administration: The city administration refuses to render adequate services to the Negro community. Street cleaning, garbage collection and police protection are offered menially, if at all.

12. The Federal Government: The federal government has yet to initiate a creative attempt to deal with the problems of metropolitan life and the results of the past three centuries of slavery and segregation on Negroes.

CONCENTRATION OF ACTION

There are two possible ways to concentrate on the problems of the slum: one would be to focus on a single issue, but another is to concentrate all of our forces and move in concert with a nonviolent army on each and every issue.

In the South concentration on one issue proved feasible because of a general pattern of state and local resistance. However, in Chicago we are faced with the probability of a ready accommodation to many of the issues in some token manner, merely to

curtail the massing for forces and public opinion around those issues. Therefore, we must be prepared to concentrate all of our forces around any and all issues.

MOBILIZATION OF FORCES

Presently our movement constitutes the member organizations of CCCO and the staff resources of SCLC. Some time has been spent strengthening and orienting these present forces, but they must be supplemented immediately by additional power factors which will help us organize and raise issues before the entire Chicago community.

Foremost among these power factors is the church. The church constitutes a ready ally for a nonviolent movement, because basically we are raising questions of human rights for those who are numbered among the children of God but who have been denied these rights by the structures of our society. This has already begun through the work of Jesse Jackson, Rev. Clay Evans and three Baptist Ministers Conferences.

During the month of January an effort should be made to involve every minister in the city in at least an informational meeting concerning the plans for a nonviolent movement in Chicago. This can be accompanied through meetings with existing ministers conferences, convocations at seminaries in the area, and special efforts to reach the Roman Catholic community through the Catholic Interracial Council and the offices of the Archdiocese.

Students in the fifty-one colleges in the Chicago area are another potential force for the movement. We must also count the entire Negro high school population as an available force to be mobilized. This mobilization should be carried out by concentrating first on key area schools (areas to be defined) with the understanding that contacts are being made in other schools who may be organized for supporting action in a few days time.

There should be approximately 100,000 unemployed Negroes in the city of Chicago, a considerable percentage of these would be young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Many of these are in gangs or are drifting idly from corner to corner. This group must [be] mobilized into an action unit, prepared to

demonstrate whenever the occasion seems tactically important. Their organization must be in their own behalf and must focus on meaningful employment and training opportunities through which they might achieve active participation in our society.

In two or three selected neighborhoods, household units must be organized into some type of union to end slums (or householders union, tenant union, or community union). These neighborhoods would be organized on a door-to-door basis to bargain collectively with landlords and the city in an effort to change the conditions which create slums. It would provide protection against eviction and exploitation and help resolve many immediate problems, but its main function would be to band together to demand that the conditions which create slums be ended. This would be a tremendous power in dealing with both political and economic factors which affect life in the slums.

Some explorations are under way in Longdale, East Garfield Park, Kenwood and Englewood.

DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH TO ACTION

In our present understanding of the nature of slums and the nature of a movement, the task of developing an action program which involves the whole of Chicago and encompasses many issues should not be too difficult. From the bases of power, which are discussed in the previous section, we will have the forces which can be mobilized to dramatize issues as they occur.

During the first phase of the movement organization and education are the primary purposes. This will be done largely through mass meetings, neighborhood rallies and work shops and should continue through the month of February. Demonstrations must also be thought of as educational and organizational tools and there may be some occasions which call for demonstrations. When this is the case, it must be clear that the purpose of the demonstration is to dramatize and so define this incident as one link in the chain of economic exploitation which occurs in slum life.

Phase 2: By the first of March, community response and live issues should have evolved to the point where some consensus has

been reached around specific targets. At this point we should be able to develop the detailed day-by-day strategy which would seek to demonstrate the total chain which enslaves us. Demonstrations should be scheduled at points which should reveal the agents of exploitation and paint a portrait of the evils which beset us in such a manner that it is clear the world over what makes up a slum and what it is that destroys the people who are forced to live in a slum.

Phase 3: By the first of May we should be ready to launch the phases of massive action, but just as no one knew on January 2, 1965, that there would be a march from Selma to Montgomery by March of that year, so now we are in no position to know what form massive action might take in Chicago. However, as we begin to dramatize the situation, we will be led into forms of demonstration which will create the kind of coalition of conscience which is necessary to produce change in this country.

OBJECTIVES

Our objectives in this movement are federal, state and local. On the federal level we would hope to get the kind of comprehensive legislation which would meet the problems of slum life across this nation. At the state level, we should expect the kinds of tax reforms, updating of building codes, open occupancy legislation and enforcement of existing statutes for the protection of our citizens. On the local level we would hope to create the kind of awareness in people that would make it impossible for them to be enslaved or abused and create for them the kind of democratic structures which will enable them to continually deal with the problems of slum life. Among these would be active community organizations, a coordinated and powerful civil rights movement, religious institutions which are prepared to minister to persons in urban society as well as to the structures of that society. We would also hope that from this would emerge several pilot projects and institutions which might be of some permanent significance.

There are very few cultural, recreational and vocational facilities available to youth in this country to match the kinds of sports pavilions which exist in other countries of the world. One need

only think of what it would have meant to Harlem and the whole world had New York's Lincoln Center been constructed between Central Park and 125th Street. A whole region would have been reclaimed. Perhaps the city of Chicago might be influenced to devote a similar portion of its resources to the cultural and recreational life of its underprivileged youth and centers like Lincoln Center in New York or Opportunities Industrialization Centers of Philadelphia might be outgrowths of our years of movement in Chicago.

2. Demands Placed on the Door of Chicago City Hall by Martin Luther King, Jr.

July 10, 1966

REAL ESTATE BOARDS AND BROKERS

1. Public statements that all listings will be available on a nondiscriminatory basis.

BANKS AND SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS

1. Public statements of a nondiscriminatory mortgage policy so that loans will be available to any qualified borrower without regard to the racial composition of the area.

THE MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL

1. Publication of headcounts of whites, Negroes and Latin Americans for all city departments and for all firms from which city purchases are made.

2. Revocation of contracts with firms that do not have a full scale fair employment practice.

3. Creation of a citizens review board for grievances against police brutality and false arrests or stops and seizures.

4. Ordinance giving ready access to the names of owners and investors for all slum properties.

5. A saturation program of increased garbage collection, street cleaning, and building inspection services in the slum properties.

POLITICAL PARTIES

1. The requirement that precinct captains be residents of their precincts.

CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY AND THE CHICAGO DWELLING ASSOCIATION

1. Program to rehabilitate present public housing including such items as locked lobbies, restrooms in recreation areas, increased police protection and child care centers on every third floor.

2. Program to increase vastly the supply of low-cost housing on a scattered basis for both low and middle income families.

BUSINESS

1. Basic headcounts, including white, Negro and Latin American, by job classification and income level, made public.

2. Racial steps to upgrade and to integrate all departments, all levels of employment.

UNIONS

1. Headcounts in unions for apprentices, journeymen and union staff and officials by job classification. A crash program to remedy any inequities discovered by the headcount.

2. Indenture of at least 400 Negro and Latin American apprentices in the craft unions.

GOVERNOR

1. Prepare legislative proposals for a \$2.00 state minimum wage law and for credit reform, including the abolition of garnishment and wage assignment.

ILLINOIS PUBLIC AID COMMISSION AND THE COOK COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID

1. Encouragement of grievance procedures for the welfare recipients so that recipients know that they can be members of and represented by a welfare union or a community organization.
2. Institution of a declaration of income system to replace the degrading investigation and means test for welfare eligibility.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. Executive enforcement of Title I of the 1964 Civil Rights Act regarding the complaint against the Chicago Board of Education.
2. An executive order for Federal supervision of the nondiscriminatory granting of loans by banks and savings institutions that are members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.
3. Passage of the 1966 Civil Rights Act without any deletions or crippling amendments.
4. Direct funding of Chicago community organizations by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

PEOPLE

1. Financial support of the Freedom Movement.
2. Selective buying campaigns against businesses that boycott the products of Negro-owned companies.
3. Participation in the Freedom Movement target campaigns for this summer, including volunteer services and membership in one of the Freedom Movement Organizations.

3. "Agreement of the Subcommittee to the Conference on Fair Housing Convened by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race"

This is the text of the agreement reached on August 26, 1966, between the Chicago Freedom Movement and the city of Chicago.

This subcommittee has been discussing a problem that exists in every metropolitan area in America. It has been earnestly seeking immediate, practical, and effective steps which can be taken to create a fair housing market in metropolitan Chicago.

In the City of Chicago itself, the policy of fair housing has been established by the clear statement of purpose in the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance enacted in 1963. It provides:

1. It is hereby declared the policy of the City of Chicago to assure full and equal opportunity to all residents of the City to obtain fair and adequate housing for themselves and their families in the City of Chicago without discrimination against them because of their race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.
2. It is further declared to be the policy of the City of Chicago that no owner, lessee, sublessee, assignee, managing agent, or other person, firm or corporation having the right to sell, rent or lease any housing accommodation, within the City of

Chicago, or any agent of any of these, should refuse to sell, rent, lease or otherwise deny or withhold from any person or group of persons such housing accommodations because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of such person or persons or discriminate against any person because of his race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in the terms, conditions, or privileges of the sale, rental or lease of any housing accommodation or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith.

The subcommittee has addressed itself to methods of making the Chicago Ordinance work better, the action which can be taken by various governmental groups, the role of the Chicago Real Estate Board, and how to make further progress towards fair housing in the months ahead. It would be too much to expect complete agreement on either the steps to be taken or their timing. Nevertheless, the representatives at the meetings have undertaken specific and affirmative measures to attack the problem of discrimination in housing. Carrying out these commitments will require substantial investments of time and money by both private and public bodies and the wholehearted effort of many Chicagoans of good will, supported by the cooperation of thousands of others.

In the light of the commitments made and program here adopted and pledged to achieve open housing in the Chicago metropolitan community, the Chicago Freedom Movement pledges its resources to help carry out the program and agrees to a cessation of neighborhood demonstrations on the issue of open housing so long as the program is being carried out.

The subcommittee believes that the program can be a major step forward. It has confidence that this program, and the more extensive measures bound to flow from it, will achieve the objective of affording every resident "full and equal opportunity to obtain fair and adequate housing without discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry."

The participants in this conference have committed themselves to the following action:

1. The Chicago Commission on Human Relations is already acting to require every real estate broker to post a summary of

the City's policy on open housing and the requirements of the Fair Housing Ordinance in a prominent position in his place of business. To obtain full compliance with the Fair Housing Ordinance, the Commission will give special emphasis to multiple complaints and will follow up on pledges of non-discrimination resulting from prior conciliation proceedings. The Commission will increase its enforcement staff and has already requested budgetary increases to support a significantly higher level of effective enforcement activity. This will include year-around inquiry to determine the extent of compliance in all areas of the City, but without placing undue burdens on any broker's business. The Commission will initiate proceedings on its own motion where the facts warrant. It will act on all complaints promptly, ordinarily initiating an investigation within 48 hours, as is now the case. In order to facilitate proceedings on complaints, it has changed its rules to provide for the substitution of attorneys for Commissioners to preside in conciliation and enforcement hearings. Where a formal hearing justifies such action under the ordinance, the license of an offending broker will be suspended or revoked.

The City will continue its consistent support of fair housing legislation at the State level and will urge the adoption of such legislation at the 1967 session of the State Legislature.

2. In a significant departure from its traditional position, the Chicago Real Estate Board announced at the August 17 meeting that its Board of Directors had authorized a statement reading in part as follows:

As a leadership organization in Chicago, we state the fundamental principle that freedom of choice in housing is the right of every citizen. We believe all citizens should accept and honor that principle.

We have reflected carefully and have decided we will—as a Chicago organization—withdraw all opposition to the philosophy of open occupancy legislation at the state level—provided it is applicable to owners as well as to brokers—and we reserve the right to criticize detail as distinguished from philosophy—and we will request the state association of Real Estate Boards to do likewise but we cannot dictate to them.

While not willing to dismiss its appeal from the decision of the Circuit Court of Cook County upholding the validity of the City's Fair Housing Ordinance, the Board has committed itself effectively to remind its members of their duty to obey the ordinance and to circulate to them the interpretation of the ordinance to be furnished by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. The individual representatives of the Board also committed themselves to join other realtors to participate in a continuing organization, should one be formed, to promote effective action implementing the principle of freedom of choice in housing.

3. The Chicago Housing Authority will take every action within its power to promote the objectives of fair housing. It recognizes that heavy concentrations of public housing should not again be built in the City of Chicago. Accordingly, the Chicago Housing Authority has begun activities to improve the character of public housing, including the scattering of housing for the elderly across the city, and initiation of a leasing program which places families in the best available housing without regard to the racial character of the neighborhood in which the leased facilities are provided. In the future, it will seek scattered sites for public housing and will limit the height of new public housing structures in high density areas to eight stories, with housing for families with children limited to the first two stories. Wherever possible, smaller units will be built.

In addition, in order to maximize the usefulness of present facilities and to promote the welfare of the families living in them, a concerted effort will be made to improve the opportunities for satisfactory community life in public housing projects. In order to achieve this improvement the participation of all elements in the surrounding communities will be actively enlisted and utilized.

4. The President of the Cook County Board of Commissioners has advised the chairman of the subcommittee by letter that the Cook County Department of Public Aid will make a renewed and persistent effort to search out the best housing for recipients available within the ceilings authorized by the legislature, regardless of location. Each employee of the Department will be reminded that no recipient is to be prohibited or discouraged from moving into any part of Cook County because of his race, color or national origin. The Department will not be satisfied if recipients live in

less satisfactory accommodations than would be available to them were they of a different race, color or national origin.

Department employees will be instructed to report any discriminatory refusal by real estate brokers to show rental listings to any recipient to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations or the State Department of Registration and Education through the Chief of the Bureau of Housing of the Public Aid Department. Department employees will also encourage recipients who encounter discrimination in dealing with brokers to report such experiences to the same agencies. The Chief of the Bureau of Housing will maintain close follow-up on all matters that have been thus reported.

5. The Urban Renewal Program has had some success in achieving stable residential integration in facilities built in renewal developments, with the cooperation of property owners, property managers, community organizations, and neighbors to that end. The Urban Renewal Program will devote itself to producing the same results in its relocation activities and will earnestly solicit the support of all elements of the community in the City, County and metropolitan area in these efforts.

In relocating families, the Department of Urban Renewal will search out the best housing available regardless of location. Each employee of the Department will be reminded that no family is to be prohibited or discouraged from moving into any part of the Chicago metropolitan area because of his race, color, or national origin. Department employees will be instructed to report any discriminatory refusal by a real estate broker to show listings, to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations or the State Department of Registration and Education through the Director of Relocation. They will also encourage families who encounter discrimination in dealing with a broker to report such experiences to the same agencies. The Director of Relocation will maintain a close follow-up on all matters that have been thus reported.

6. The Cook County Council of Insured Savings Associations, by letter, and the Chicago Mortgage Bankers Association, at the Committee meeting on August 17, 1966, have affirmed that their policy is to provide equal service and to lend mortgage money to all qualified families, without regard to race, for the purchase of housing anywhere in the metropolitan area.

7. Assistant Attorney General Roger Wilkins, head of the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice, has advised the chairman of the subcommittee that the Service will inquire into the questions raised, under existing law, with respect to service by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation to financial institutions found guilty of practicing racial discrimination in the provision of financial service to the public. While the matter is a complex one, it will be diligently pursued.

8. The leaders of the organized religious communities in the metropolitan area have already expressed their commitment to the principle of open housing.

The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, which is co-sponsored by the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Chicago Board of Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, pledges its support to the program outlined and will enlist the full strength of its constituent bodies and their churches and synagogues in effecting equal access to housing in the metropolitan area for all people. They pledge to:

1. Educate their membership on the moral necessity of an open and just community.
2. Urge owners to sell or rent housing without racial restriction.
3. Support local real estate offices and lending institutions in their cooperation with this program.
4. Cooperate with and aid in the establishment of responsible community organizations and support them in the implementation of these programs.
5. Undertake to secure peaceful acceptance and welcome Negro families prior to and at the time of their entrance into any community.
6. Use their resources to help make housing available without racial discrimination.
7. Establish, within 30 days, one or more housing centers, with the assistance of the real estate and housing industry and financial institutions, to provide information and help in finding suitable housing for minority families and to urge them to take advantage of new housing opportunities.

9. The representatives of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, the Commercial Club, the Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce, Chicago Mortgage Bankers Association, Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council, and other secular groups represented in these discussions recognize that their organizations have a major stake in working out the problems of fair housing. Each such representative welcomes and pledges support to the program outlined in this report. Further, each undertakes to secure the support of his organization and its members, whether individuals, corporations, locals or groups, for the program and their participation in it, including education of their members on the importance to them of fair housing throughout the Chicago metropolitan area.

10. The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race will initiate forthwith the formation of a separate, continuing body, sponsored by major leadership organizations in the Chicago metropolitan area and built on a nucleus of the representatives of the organizations participating here. This body should accept responsibility for the execution and action programs necessary to achieve fair housing. It should be headed by a board consisting of recognized leaders from government, commerce, industry, finance, religion, real estate, labor, the civil rights movement, and the communications media. Its membership should reflect the diverse racial and ethnic composition of the entire Chicago metropolitan community.

The proposed board should have sufficient stature to formulate a strong and effective program and to provide adequate financing and staff to carry out that program. To the extent of available resources, it should carry forward programs such as, but not limited to, the convening of conferences on fair housing in suburban communities to the end that the policy of the City of Chicago on fair housing will be adopted in the whole Chicago metropolitan area. There must be a major effort in the pulpits, in the school systems, and in all other available forums to educate citizens of the metropolitan area in the fundamental principle that freedom of choice in housing is the right of every citizen and in their obligations to abide by the law and recognize the rights of others regardless of race, religion, or nationality. The group

should assist in the drafting of fair housing laws and ordinances. It should make clear the stake that commerce, industry, banking, real estate, and labor, indeed all residing in the metropolitan area, have in the peaceful achievement of fair housing. The group should emphasize that the metropolitan housing market is a single market. The vigor and growth of that market is dependent upon an adequate supply of standard housing available without discrimination. The group should promote such practical measures as the development of fair housing centers after the model now being established by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race. The group should in the immediate future set up specific goals for achievement of fair housing in the Chicago metropolitan area. Finally, the board should regularly review the performance of the program undertaken by governmental and non-governmental groups, take appropriate action thereon, and provide for public reports.

Although all of the metropolitan areas of the country are confronted with the problem of segregated housing, only in Chicago have the top leaders of the religious faiths, commerce, and industry, labor and government sat down together with leaders in the civil rights movement to seek practical solutions. With the start that has been made, the subcommittee is confident that the characteristic drive of Chicagoans to achieve their goals, manifest in the Chicago motto of "I Will," will enable the Chicago metropolitan area to lead the rest of the nation in the solution of the problems of fair housing.

Respectfully submitted,
THOMAS G. AYERS,
Chairman

4. Interview with Linda Bryant Hall

Linda Bryant Hall, a Chicago native, was a member of the Congress of Racial Equality in 1966 when the Southern Christian Leadership Conference began to work with the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations. This is an excerpt from a 1989 interview with Hall by the Eyes on the Prize production team.

INTERVIEWER: How did you feel when Dr. King came to Chicago?
LINDA BRYANT HALL: Well, when I first heard that Dr. King was going to come to Chicago, I was elated. I said, Oh, my gosh, Chicago is going to get involved in all of this. You know, Dr. King has got a powerful following, a powerful message, and he's going to bring it to Chicago to help with the movement here. We sure need it. I was looking forward to his coming.

INT: Now, what were the differences between the southern communities and the northern community that he was coming to here in Chicago?

L.B.H.: Well, I didn't really understand how different the communities were until he came and the people he brought with him, I got a chance to meet them, and see what kinds of people they were. In the South I got the impression that that community was more monolithic. After he came here, it was quite obvious—at least to me—that this was a more diversified community and the tactics were going to have to be a little different here. What happened is that when he came in, I think what he tried to do was to try and take that kind of style he had operated with in the South and just plant it down here in Chicago, as if it worked there, it would work here, too. Not taking into consideration the differences that would be here.

... We had blacks who lived in Chicago public housing, we had blacks who lived in very poor slum areas, and we had blacks who lived on Chicago's gold coast—one of the richest communities in the world. But they all had a commonality: They all needed Dr. King here to help their voices be heard. All of us wanted Dr. King to come. I mean, to this day, I realize that I was a very lucky person to get to meet him, and know him.

INT: ... So, what is the difference between what King is used to doing in the South and what he is faced with here in the North in terms of the diversity and the largeness of the black community here?

L.B.H.: ... Each community had an organization already existing and each community had a plan and each community had their own kinds of goals set. We were working together in a group called Triple CO [CCCO], headed by Al Raby. At that time, we had just decided that we need an umbrella group. And, therefore, we came up with Triple CO, and all the community groups got

together, and tried to pool our resources. When King came, though, what he wanted to do was just work with that one umbrella group. And then not understand that each group within that group had a program of its own—had leaders of its own, had its own kind of direction that it was going in; but we all had a common goal. But we needed somebody like King. We needed him to lend us his strength, to lend us his name. And we wanted him to come and join our movement—not come in and lead it, because we already had leaders. So, when he came in to try and discount what was already here, I think, he offended quite a few people.

INT: Give me a sense of problems you had with Dr. King basing his movement in the church, as he did in the South.

L.B.H.: . . . In Chicago—as I said—there are people who are very diversified. And some people in Chicago didn't even believe in churches, didn't believe in God; I mean, they were avowed atheists; and for someone to come in now and ask them to come into the church and follow his movement through that mechanism, it didn't wash so well with a lot of people. And then, too, the churches might have—in Chicago—represented something different from what they did in the South. In Chicago, the churches, many of the black churches—not all of them—many of them had very close connections to the political machine. The political machine supported many of the churches. I mean they did so much as buy the pews where the people sat. They provided the church with a storefront. They provided the minister, in some cases, with a salary. So for him, now, to turn to the community people who had been fighting against this kind of setup and say, Come and follow me—you know, it just wouldn't go over.

INT: When you heard Stokely [Carmichael] issue that call for "Black Power," what did that mean to you as a member of CORE?

L.B.H.: When I heard Stokely stand up and say "Black Power," and he said it with so much force, and he wasn't ashamed to say it, and he said it with so much energy, that I knew that that was what I needed . . . that was the call I needed to adhere to. And so many others of us in CORE, at the same time, felt that way. He said it in a way that it said, I'm not ashamed of it. Yes, that's what I want. Put it right out here on the table, you know; this is

what it is, this is what it's about: "Black Power"—let's pick that up, and deal with that. And they thought it was a challenge to those in the movement who were less militant . . . to either deal with that, or to step out and say, I'm not backing it, one way or the other. But it was an exciting time for us, because we felt, yeah, these people all over the country are feeling just like we're feeling right here; they want "Black Power."

INT: What role did organizations like CORE, which are more militant, play in getting King to be more militant?

L.B.H.: Groups like CORE made Dr. King, I think, more militant—kept him more to the left than he probably would have been if we had not been around. Whenever we decided we were going to do something very radical, such as our march into Cicero, that made Dr. King have to say, Well, maybe it's not such a bad idea—because Dr. King was not going to denounce us, as we were not going to denounce him. We had to show unity, even though we were at different points. So when we decided that we were going to do something very militant, like support "Black Power," Dr. King and his people, they had to look at "Black Power" and say, What is this? Is this something good here; is this something that we ought to be looking at? . . .

INT: When Dr. King called off the march [to Cicero on September 4, after the open housing agreement had been signed], how did you feel?

L.B.H.: When he called off the march, we were surprised; we were shocked. This is the march we looked forward to. The other marches were nice. But the one in Cicero had special meaning for us. The Cicero community has been a very hostile community to blacks for years—ever since I can remember. And I looked forward to the time that I could march down those streets in defiance of all those people there. When I was a little girl, we were told never go to Cicero—and, especially, don't go there by yourself. So when Dr. King said he wasn't going to march in that neighborhood, I said, My gosh, well, what's it all about? This is the neighborhood to march in. They've been known to have "toughs" in that neighborhood, and even some gangster connections there. But we were saying, you know, we're talking to all of those white bigots, and whether they're Mafia people, or whether

they're just, ah, some white hecklers, we want them to know, yeah, we're going to come to Cicero; Cicero's got to yield, too, like the rest of the country.

So when we decided that we were going to go that morning when we gathered for the march, we had made this big statement, saying we were going to defy Dr. King and march to Cicero. Well, that took a lot more than just conversation to do. So we got in the park at the gathering point, where we had announced to the city in public press releases, we were going to march. There were practically more reporters than there were people; there were about six or seven of us who showed up to go on this march, and we just knew we were going to fall flat on our faces, and just, this is going to be the ultimate in embarrassment. We waited around, we were supposed to start I think about twelve o'clock; we waited around and waited around and waited around until, finally, we had to go. And it became obvious: no more people were going to come. Just at that point, I think the community almost felt sorry for us—the community people: They started to show up. Well, these were the people who lived adjacent to Cicero, too. So they sort of knew the relationship of Cicero with Chicago; and especially with Cicero with blacks. And so they started to fall in line. We hadn't knocked on anybody's door. We hadn't leafleted that neighborhood; we had not done all of the kinds of community organization things that it takes to get this kind of march going; but, yet, and still these people just sort of started to come out of their houses. They had been sitting in cars watching, you know, the reporters and the newspeople around, the cameramen and all, and they were watching. But then the kids were playing basketball, they decided to come, go with us. I guess what happened is that everybody really was just tagging along to see who was there and what was going to happen.

As we got into Cicero, the hecklers got so bad that everybody decided, well, you know, I'm not going to let my people go over there and maybe I need to go with them. I think it was sort of a groundswell. The next thing I knew it was just at least a couple of thousand people going into Cicero. And once you got in there, you couldn't come back by yourself, so you had to stick with the march. So as we got into Cicero, we noticed that the National

Guard had been alerted, of course. [Chicago CORE president Bob] Lucas had promised the city that there was going to be no violence. Now, how he could promise somebody there was going to be no violence, I don't know. But that's the only way they were going to give us the permit to march. So we decided we would go on and tell them, yeah, nobody's going to riot, nothing's going to happen; and in fact, on our part, nothing did happen. When we got there, we noticed that all of the bayonets and the guns that were out were aimed at the marchers and not at the hecklers. The hecklers were throwing bottles and rocks and spitting and calling us all kinds of filthy names and doing some other things that I wouldn't even repeat. But what happened is that people became so excited and [there] was a closeness in that march. Even the Chicago police, I think, saw some of the things that were going on and felt that those things were unjust, and they decided, for the first time—Chicago police did not beat the marchers, did not throw the marchers around. Chicago police decided to protect us. Because, it was obvious who the National Guard were there to protect; they were there to protect Cicero and those people who were heckling us.

INT: How was the character of the Cicero march different from Dr. King's . . . marches in Chicago?

L.B.H.: Well, Dr. King's marches in Chicago were usually made up of movement people. This march was community people. These people had not attended any workshops on nonviolence; they had not listened to any lectures on love and loving your fellow man and all; they were just people who were angry about what was happening and wanted to do something. And when they all decided to go on this march, and people started to throw bricks and bottles at us, a couple of people caught the bricks and threw them back, threw rocks back; they even would jump in-between a lady sometimes. Women who were on the march were very protected. . . . These people were saying, you know, Yeah, we're going to come to Cicero and we're not going to go limp. We're going to march through Cicero, and we're going to march to the point that we said we were going to march to, and we're going to come back. And that in itself was a triumph, because people just didn't do that in Cicero.

5. "Profiles of Disorder . . . Detroit"

This is an excerpt from the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. President Lyndon Johnson had appointed the eleven-man commission—known popularly as the Kerner Commission for its chair, Illinois governor Otto Kerner—on July 27, 1967, before troops had been pulled out of Detroit. The commission issued its report in February 1968.

On Saturday evening, July 22, the Detroit Police Department raided five "blind pigs." The blind pigs had their origin in prohibition days, and survived as private social clubs.

Police expected to find two dozen patrons in the [fifth] blind pig. That night, however, it was the scene of a party for several servicemen, two of whom were back from Vietnam. Instead of two dozen patrons, police found 82. Some voiced resentment at the police intrusion.

An hour went by before all 82 could be transported from the scene. The weather was humid and warm . . . and despite the late hour, many people were still on the street. In short order, a crowd of about 200 gathered.

On 12th Street, with its high incidence of vice and crime, the issue of police brutality was a recurrent theme. A month earlier the killing of a prostitute had been determined by police investigators to be the work of a pimp. According to rumors in the community the crime had been committed by a Vice Squad officer.

At about the same time, the killing of Danny Thomas, a 27-year-old Negro Army veteran, by a gang of white youths, had inflamed the community.

A few minutes after 5:00 A.M., just after the last of those arrested had been hauled away, an empty bottle smashed into the rear

window of a police car. A litter basket was thrown through the window of a store. Rumors circulated of excess police force used by the police during the raid. A youth, whom police nicknamed "Mr. Greensleeves" because of the color of his shirt, was shouting: "We're going to have a riot!" and exhorting the crowd to vandalism.

At 5:20 A.M. Commissioner [Ray] Girardin was notified. He immediately called Mayor Jerome Cavanagh. Seventeen officers from other areas were ordered into the 10th Precinct. By 6:00 A.M. police strength had grown to 369 men. Of these, however, only 43 were committed to the immediate riot area. By that time the number of persons on 12th Street was growing into the thousands and widespread window-smashing and looting had begun.

By 7:50 A.M., when a 17-man police commando unit attempted to make the first sweep, an estimated 3,000 persons were on 12th Street. They offered no resistance. As the sweep moved down the street, they gave way to one side, and then flowed back behind it. A shoe store manager said he waited vainly for police for two hours as the store was being looted. At 8:25 A.M. someone in the crowd yelled "The cops are coming!" The first flames of the riot billowed from the store. Firemen who responded were not harassed. The flames were extinguished.

By mid-morning, 1,122 men . . . had reported for duty. Of these, 540 were in or near the six-block riot area. One hundred and eight officers were attempting to establish a cordon. There was, however, no interference with looters.

Numerous eyewitnesses interviewed by Commission investigators tell of the carefree mood with which people ran in and out of stores, looting and laughing, and joking with the police officers. Stores with "Soul Brothers" signs appeared no more immune than others.

A police officer in the riot area told Commission investigators that neither he nor his fellow officers were instructed as to what they were supposed to be doing. Witnesses tell of officers standing

behind saw-horses as an area was being looted—and still standing there much later, when the mob moved elsewhere. A squad from the commando unit, wearing helmets with face-covering visors and carrying bayonet-tipped carbines, blockaded a street several blocks from the scene of the riot. Their appearance drew residents into the street. Some began to harangue them and to question why they were in an area where there was no trouble. . . .

By that time a rumor was threading through the crowd that a man had been bayoneted by the police. Influenced by such stories, the crowd became belligerent. . . . Numerous officers reported injuries from rocks, bottles, and other objects thrown at them. Smoke billowed upward from four fires, the first since the one at the shoe store early in the morning. When firemen answered the alarms, they became the target for rocks and bottles.

At 2:00 P.M. Mayor Cavanagh met with community and political leaders at police headquarters. Until then there had been hope that, as the people blew off steam, the riot would dissipate. Now the opinion was nearly unanimous that additional forces would be needed.

A request was made for state police aid. By 3:00 P.M. 360 officers were assembling at the armory. At that moment looting was spreading from the 12th Street area to other main thoroughfares.

Some evidence that criminal elements were organizing spontaneously to take advantage of the riot began to manifest itself. . . .

A spirit of carefree nihilism was taking hold. To riot and to destroy appeared more and more to become ends in themselves. Late Sunday afternoon it appeared to one observer that the young people were "dancing amidst the flames."

In the midst of the chaos there were some unexpected individual responses.

Twenty-four-year-old E.G., a Negro born in Savannah, Georgia, had come to Detroit in 1965 to attend Wayne State University. Rebellion had been building in him for a long time. . . .

When a friend called to tell him about the riot on 12th Street, E.G. went there expecting "a true revolt," but was disappointed

as soon as he saw the looting begin: "I wanted to see the people really rise up in revolt. When I saw the first person coming out of the store with things in his arms, I really got sick to my stomach and wanted to go home. Rebellion against the white suppressors is one thing, but one measly pair of shoes or some food completely ruins the whole concept."

At 4:20 P.M. Mayor Cavanagh requested that the National Guard be brought into Detroit. . . . The first troops were on the streets by 7:00 P.M.

At 7:45 P.M. the mayor issued a proclamation instituting a 9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. curfew. At 9:07 P.M. the first sniper fire was reported. Following his aerial survey of the city, Governor [George] Romney, at or shortly before midnight, proclaimed that "a state of public emergency exists" in the cities of Detroit, Highland Park, and Hamtramck.

By 2:00 A.M. Monday, Detroit police had been augmented by 800 State Police officers and 1,200 National Guardsmen. An additional 8,000 Guardsmen were on the way. Nevertheless, Governor Romney and Mayor Cavanagh decided to ask for federal assistance.

Shortly before noon the President of the United States authorized the sending of a task force of paratroopers to Selfridge Air Force Base, near the city.

As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee (PNAC). With professional help from the Institute for Urban Dynamics, they had organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood. In order to meet the need for recreational facilities, which the city was not providing, they had raised \$3,000 to purchase empty lots for playgrounds. Al-

though opposed to urban renewal, they had agreed to co-sponsor with the Archdiocese of Detroit a housing project to be controlled jointly by the archdiocese and PNAC.

When the riot broke out, the residents, through the block clubs, were able to organize quickly. Youngsters, agreeing to stay in the neighborhood, participated in detouring traffic. While many persons reportedly sympathized with the idea of a rebellion against the "system," only two small fires were set—one in an empty building.

During the daylight hours Monday, nine more persons were killed by gunshots elsewhere in the city, and many others were seriously or critically injured. Twenty-three-year old Nathaniel Edmonds, a Negro, was sitting in his back yard when a young white man stopped his car, got out, and began an argument with him. A few minutes later, declaring he was "going to paint his picture on him with a shotgun," the white man allegedly shot-gunned Edmonds to death.

Mrs. Nannie Pack and Mrs. Mattie Thomas were sitting on the porch of Mrs. Pack's house when police began chasing looters from a nearby market. During the chase officers fired three shots from their shotguns. The discharge from one of these accidentally struck the two women. Both were still in the hospital weeks later.

At 11:20 p.m. the President signed a proclamation federalizing the Michigan National Guard and authorizing the use of the paratroopers.

Within hours after the arrival of the paratroopers the area occupied by them was the quietest in the city, bearing out General [John L.] Throckmorton's view that the key to quelling a disorder is to saturate an area with "calm, determined, and hardened professional soldiers." Loaded weapons, he believes, are unnecessary. Troopers had strict orders not to fire unless they could see the specific person at whom they were firing. Mass fire was forbidden.

During five days in the city, 2,700 Army troops expended only 201 rounds of ammunition, almost all during the first few hours.

after which even stricter fire discipline was enforced. (In contrast, New Jersey National Guardsmen and State police expended 13,326 rounds of ammunition in three days in Newark.) . . .

General Throckmorton ordered the weapons of all military personnel unloaded, but either the order failed to reach many National Guardsmen, or else it was disobeyed.

With persons of every description arming themselves, and guns being fired accidentally or on the vaguest pretext all over the city, it became more and more impossible to tell who was shooting at whom. Some firemen began carrying guns. One accidentally shot and wounded a fellow fireman. Another injured himself.

On a number of occasions officers fired at fleeing looters, then made little attempt to determine whether their shots had hit anyone.

Prosecution is proceeding in the case of three youths in whose shotgun deaths law enforcement personnel were implicated following a report that snipers were firing from the Algiers Motel. In fact, there is little evidence that anyone fired from inside the building. Two witnesses say that they had seen a man, standing outside of the motel, fire two shots from a rifle. The interrogation of other persons revealed that law enforcement personnel then shot out one or more street lights. Police patrols responded to the shots. An attack was launched on the motel.

Although by late Tuesday looting and fire-bombing had virtually ceased, between 7:00 and 11:00 p.m. that night there were 444 reports of incidents. Most were reports of sniper fire.

In all, more than 7,200 persons were arrested. Almost 3,000 of these were picked up on the second day of the riot, and by midnight Monday 4,000 were incarcerated in makeshift jails.

Of the 43 persons who were killed during the riot, 33 were Negro and 10 were white. Seventeen were looters, of whom two were white. Fifteen citizens (of whom four were white), one white National Guardsman, one white fireman, and one Negro private guard died as a result of gunshot wounds. Most of these deaths appear to have been accidental, but criminal homicide is suspected in some.

Two persons, including one fireman, died as a result of fallen power lines. Two were burned to death. One was a drunken gunman; one an arson suspect. One white man was killed by a rioter. One police officer was felled by a shotgun blast when his gun, in the hands of another officer, accidentally discharged during a scuffle with a looter.

Action by police officers accounted for 20 and, very likely, 21 of the deaths. Action by the National Guard for seven, and, very likely, nine. Action by the Army for one. Two deaths were the result of action by store owners. Four persons died accidentally. Rioters were responsible for two, and perhaps three of the deaths; a private guard for one. A white man is suspected of murdering a Negro youth. The perpetrator of one of the killings in the Algiers Motel remains unknown.

Damage estimates, originally set as high as \$500 million, were quickly scaled down. The city assessor's office placed the loss—excluding business stock, private furnishings, and the buildings of churches and charitable institutions—at approximately \$22 million. Insurance payments, according to the State Insurance Bureau, will come to about \$32 million, representing an estimated 65 to 75 percent of the total loss.

By Thursday, July 27, most riot activity had ended. The paratroopers were removed from the city on Saturday. On Tuesday, August 1, the curfew was lifted and the National Guard moved out.

6. "A Man's Life"

Roger Wilkins

Roger Wilkins was director of the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service (CRS), serving under Attorney General Ramsey Clark, during the period this excerpt from his 1982 autobiography describes.

Something happened that night [shortly after the early-July Newark rioting] that Eve and I could not control. We started talking about Newark, about the deaths of the black people there and the wanton use of force against them. We talked about our sense of betrayal, our sense of outrage at America. The more we talked, the more intense Eve and I became about our judgment that the late fifties and the early sixties hadn't changed America after all. This generation of white Americans just couldn't take the humanity of poor black Americans seriously. Our words came tumbling out of us.

We were not attacking Ramsey [Clark] as he sat on our couch sipping a brandy. He agreed with much of what we were saying. He was just the catalyst for the expression of our despair. It took about two hours before it all ran out of us. Then we had a little more brandy and sat there quietly, suffering in the gloom of our vision of America. About eleven, Ramsey rose to go home. We watched him walk across the quiet street. The tall slender frame of the Attorney General of the United States was stooped. His head was down and his jacket thrown over his shoulder. He walked that way until he reached his old Oldsmobile convertible, got in and drove away.

Eve and I felt terrible. We had invited our friend over for a peaceful evening. Instead, he had received a load of our pain. We felt sorry for him. We felt sorry for our country. . . .

A few weeks later, on a Sunday night, Jim Madison, the head of the conciliation division of CRS, called me to say that his field man in Detroit had reported that trouble had erupted earlier that night when a cop had shot a black at an unlicensed drinking place, or "blind pig," in the middle of the black section of town.

"How bad is the trouble?" I asked. "How widespread?"

"We don't know that yet," he replied.

"Well, report it to the situation room at the Department," I said, "and let me know what else you hear."

I heard nothing more from him before I went to bed that night, but at about five the phone rang. It was Ramsey.

"We've had a pretty bad night in Detroit. Governor Romney has been on the phone with the President several times asking for federal troops. The President wants us at eight. We'd better meet in my office at six-thirty."

Warren Christopher, the brand-new Deputy Attorney General from California, was in Ramsey's office that morning, as were John Doar and George Culberson, my deputy. As in so many other crises, we sat there in that small corner office where Ramsey worked, just behind the grand one he used for ceremony, with insufficient information to make the judgments we knew had to be made. George and I reported the fragmentary information we had collected from the field. Widespread burning and looting and shooting, a few deaths. We didn't know how many or which side they were on.

Ramsey had similar information. In addition, he had the President's accounts of his conversations with Governor Romney. Though Romney wanted federal troops, he was unwilling to make the necessary declaration that the situation was beyond the state's control. What he hadn't said, of course, was that he was planning to run for President on the Republican ticket in 1968 and he didn't want such an admission on the record. The President, on the other hand, didn't want to use extreme measures unless emergency conditions really warranted them.

I stood up and rubbed the head of Lincoln that Ramsey kept on a window sill as I often did when we were squeezed into an awful corner. There's got to be some better way to run a country than this, I thought as I stared down at the gathering morning traffic at the corner of Tenth and Constitution.

When it was time to go over to the White House, Clark, Doar, Christopher and I went. Culberson went back to the office to try to collect more information on what was going on in Michigan. We were directed to the Cabinet Room and a couple of minutes after we settled in our chairs, the President came in with Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense. The President went over the

information he had and described his dealings with Romney. He wasn't very charitable about the Governor's behavior so far, which he characterized as a bit hysterical and substantially uninformed. During the middle of the meeting, Cyrus Vance, who had just resigned as Deputy Secretary of Defense because of a serious back problem, walked into the room.

Then Johnson went around the room and asked everyone for an opinion. I thought we shouldn't send any troops in until we could get some high-level civilians on the ground to see what was really going on. Others thought the President couldn't wait that long for fear of inviting the charge that he had fiddled while Detroit burned. After a little more discussion, the President announced that he was going to send a civilian team in to head the operation. Vance would lead the team, which was to include Christopher, Doar and me, from Justice, and Dan Henkin, a press spokesman, from Defense. He would send the 82nd up to Detroit, but they would be stationed outside the city, at the Michigan State Fair Grounds, until we civilians decided that they were needed.

Then Johnson delivered a fierce monologue about what he didn't want to happen. If the troops were ordered into Detroit, he didn't want them walking around with loaded guns unless their commanders thought there was a sufficient emergency for them to carry them. No bayonets. No bullets.

"I don't want my troops shooting some ni—" he glanced sharply at me and stopped. Then he started again, "—some pregnant woman."

Then he pulled a phone from its cradle by his chair under the cabinet table, handed it to Ramsey and had him call Governor Romney to inform him of the plan.

As we were being dismissed, the President touched my arm, looked at me for a long moment and then said, "Have a safe trip, Roger."

It was his way of saying that he was sorry that he had almost said "nigger" in front of me. I was amused, because I was sure it was one of the mainstays of his uninhibited vocabulary.

At the door of the Cabinet Room, John Doar and I paused to use the phone there to start the arrangements for our trip.

"Who are you taking with you?" John asked me.

"Nobody," I answered. "I already have a man there. If I get

there and find I need other people, I'll send for them. Who're you taking?"

John mentioned three names. I knew the first two, but I asked about the third.

"Who's Jesse Queen?"

"Don't you know Jesse Queen?" John said. "He's a Negro, but he's soft-spoken and he takes orders well."

I just looked at him and then turned to the phone to tell my office that I wouldn't be in that day.

Smoke was rising from Detroit when our plane flew over it. There were plenty of flames licking high as we came down the freeway on our way to police headquarters at 300 Beaubien.

"It's a great town if you're a fire buff," Christopher told Ramsey later on the phone.

We then met with Governor Romney, Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, the head of the Michigan National Guard, and the police superintendent. They didn't know what to do. They had no moves planned. We were astonished to learn that the Guard Commander had thousands of troops in reserve, despite Romney's assertion that federal troops were needed. What was the level of violence, we wanted to know. Well, they didn't exactly know. The fire department was reporting a high incidence of sniper fire. So was the National Guard. It was dangerous out there. A blanket curfew had been imposed. Liquor stores were closed for the duration. They didn't know what else to do. I had never seen as impotent a group of men in my life. It was clear that the whole thing was in our hands.

When the troops got on the ground, Cy decided to bring them into town to patrol the east side of the city, freeing the Guard and the local and state police to handle the west side, where most of the action had occurred. What we needed most at that point was information more reliable than the hysterical reporting of the fire department about the level of violence in the city. I was the community-relations guy. I was the guy with a field man on the ground. I was it. My job was to go out and get the smell and the feel of the city, find the significant blacks, take their

temperature and forge the links between our group and the black community.

The pattern of our days was set. We would get to our headquarters in the police department by seven-thirty, eat lunch at our desks and go back to the hotel at about five-thirty. We'd clean up and reassemble in the Vances' suite—Gay Vance was there with Cy—for cocktails. Since bars and liquor stores were closed, Mayor Cavanagh had provided Cy with a good supply of booze. Then we'd have dinner together in the hotel dining room. At about seven-thirty, we'd leave Gay Vance—a gracious, charming and attractive lady—and go back to work at headquarters. Everybody but the duty man—we took turns at that—would break at twelve-thirty or one to go back to the hotel to sleep. The man on duty had to stay at the office all night to handle any emergencies and to wake the rest of us if all hell broke loose.

The cocktail-dinner break became a ritual. It was the one oasis in a long and grubby day. We always did it together. We all looked forward to it.

When I made my rounds of the city at night, it was eerie. There was no traffic on the streets, and the city was very dark, because the National Guard and the police had shot out many of the street lights for cover. There were armed checkpoints all over the city. There is no experience quite like being stopped at gunpoint by armed and uniformed men in the middle of an American city. I would ride with my field man, who was also black, in his civilian car. As we approached checkpoints I would pull out my leather-encased Justice Department identification, hold it out the window and call out "Department of Justice." I was not going to risk being shot by a scared kid with a rifle in his hands.

I saw no evidence of the sniping that the fire department talked so much about. Occasionally, there were gunshots, but invariably, when we checked them out, we found they came from some trigger-happy Guardsman who had just shot out a street light. There was danger in the streets, though, and it came from the forces of law and order. I quickly learned that I was safest on the east side of town where the disciplined Army units were on patrol. The west side was downright frightening. The Michigan Guard was made up of white country kids who didn't know the city and

were scared of blacks. If they hadn't been so dangerous with loaded rifles in their hands, they would have been ludicrous with those baby faces under their battle helmets. Moreover, Michigan State Police were pretty rough customers, and the Detroit Police had a long-standing reputation for brutality against blacks.

One night I was riding out on one of Detroit's main west side arteries, with two black staff members, when a convoy of seven state and local police cars went screaming by in the opposite direction. They screamed at us to get off the streets because there was sniping in the direction from which they had come. We headed for the sniping, but didn't see any. Finally, we decided to cruise down a side street to see what was happening when the convoy caught up with us, lights flashing and sirens screaming. They flagged us down at the corner of a large avenue, just as an old white Buick with a black man and woman in the front seat and two black children in the back turned into it.

"Come out of the car with your hands up," somebody shouted at us with a bullhorn.

The three of us came out of the car, credentials out, hands up shouting, "Department of Justice, Department of Justice."

We found ourselves surrounded by more than twenty armed white men aiming loaded rifles, shotguns and pistols at us.

"You're curfew breakers. What the hell are you doing on the streets?" a rough voice demanded.

"Department of Justice, Department of Justice," we kept yelling.

The blacks in the other car hadn't come out immediately, and I saw and heard cursing men go in after them and the ripping of clothing. The cops hadn't responded to our identifying shouts and shouted obscenities at us behind raised rifles.

Thirty-five years old and dead at the corner of Grand River and Joy Road, I thought. My father had died when he was thirty-five.

After the longest, stillest moment of my life, the cop who was in charge understood what we had been yelling. He motioned for his men to lower their firearms and stopped the others from snatching the people out of the Buick. It turned out that the man in the Buick had a special pass to be out at night because he did essential work at a G.M. plant, and his wife and two children had picked him up there to take him home. The officers apologized

to us and told us they had to be careful, but advised us to get off the streets because they were so dangerous.

We got back in our cars, and the old Buick, which had a broken spring in the rear, went on off down Grand River, spewing exhaust fumes in its wake.

"Motherfuckers," I heard the man yell as his car limped on down the street. When I got back to headquarters, and made my report, including that incident, the three-star general who was in charge of the troops looked at me for a long time and then said, "Jesus, Roger, you're lucky to be alive."

Echoes of Los Angeles. The Detroit police killed a lot of black people during the Algiers Motel incident that night.

Detroit was full of black consciousness and intellectual ferment in the summer of 1967. A number of the major black thinkers lived there. One of them was the Reverend Albert Cleage, who started as a Congregational minister, but who by that time had renamed his church the Church of the Black Madonna. He was one of the black people I thought it important for Vance to meet if he were to have a full understanding of what was going on in the city. It was ironic that Cleage, one of the major apostles of black consciousness, was a very light-skinned man with light eyes.

Vance masked his surprise when Cleage met him at the church door. The two men were cordial to each other and got on easily. After they had talked for a while about the problems of blacks in Detroit, the minister offered to show Vance through his church.

"What denomination are you?" Cleage asked.

"Episcopalian," Vance replied.

"Oh, it's about the same," Cleage said.

Some black-consciousness thinkers felt that whites had done a terrible psychological thing to blacks by giving us a white god. During the riot, somebody had gone onto the grounds of a white monastery located in the heart of the black west-side area and had painted the face and hands of a statue of Jesus a deep, rich brown. Cleage chatted about such things with Vance as he headed him down the aisle toward the back of the church. When we got there, Cleage turned us around. Since I knew what we would see, I watched Vance's face. It blanched and his mouth dropped open. Above the altar of this church, where a stained glass window might have been, was a huge oil painting of a Madonna against a

background of deep blue. She was holding a baby. Both she and the baby had Africanoid features and were shiny black.

"Very impressive," Vance managed to say.

"Yes, I think so," Cleage said.

In addition to restoring order, we tried to put a group of prominent and powerful whites together with a representative group of black leaders so they could begin a process of improving the lives of the poor blacks in the city. Everybody told us that the key to such an effort was Walker Cislser, then head of the Detroit Edison Company. Cislser was said to be the mover who made things happen in Detroit.

One afternoon, after John Doar and I had spent the day at the federal prison in Milan, Michigan, interviewing people who had been arrested during the rioting, we learned that a meeting with Walker Cislser had been arranged. He had invited Mr. Vance to the Detroit Yacht Club for dinner.

"The Detroit Yacht Club?" I asked John, who had taken the call.

"Yes," John said. "I thought you ought to know that."

The Detroit Yacht Club was notorious among Detroit blacks. It didn't allow them to eat there.

"We're going to dinner there tonight. I thought you ought to know that," John repeated. "And I think Mr. Vance wants you to call him at the hotel."

So, I called Cy at the hotel. He asked how it had gone at the penitentiary, and I told him. He then said he'd see me back at the headquarters later in the evening. Everybody else in the group went to Cislser's dinner at the Detroit Yacht Club—as part of a mission that had black people, their lives and their aspirations, at the center of it all.

But many good things came out of Detroit. Cislser and some others helped form the New Detroit Committee, which still exists as part of the National Urban Coalition; it has done many constructive things in the city over the years. The auto companies opened up a number of jobs and instituted innovative training programs. Henry Ford became deeply involved over a long period of time in the affairs of the inner city. After a while, the embers cooled, the troops went back South, and we returned to Washington.

On one of our last nights in the city, John Doar and Warren Christopher decided that they wanted to join me on my nightly rounds to make sure that the city was now as calm as I had been reporting it to be. We got a driver and a car from the federal motor pool and set out. The driver, who was black, was clearly reluctant to be out on those eerie streets at night, but he had no choice. Christopher sat up in front next to him, and Doar sat behind him. I sat in the back behind the driver.

At the first checkpoint we reached, the Guardsman approached the car from the passenger side and he could see Christopher and Doar. He asked politely for their credentials and passed us through quickly. At the next checkpoint, the Guardsman approached from the driver's side, and he could see only two blacks. Perhaps because the car had federal motor pool markings on the door, perhaps because there were white men in the car, and perhaps because I was tired, I was sloppy. I didn't have my credentials in my hand as he came up to the car and I reached inside my suit pocket for them as he was standing there. Suddenly I felt cold steel on my neck.

"Don't move another muscle," the Guardsman said.

I froze with my hand in my pocket. Doar and Christopher quickly identified us, and the man removed the muzzle of the gun from my neck. Months later Christopher remarked at a meeting how different it was when the car had been approached on the black side from how it had been when approached from the white side. I was glad he remembered.

On one of our last nights in the city, when things had calmed down, I arranged to have dinner with my college roommate Dr. John Loomis and his wife, Suane. I met them at the home of one of her affluent relatives, who was also a doctor. The major north-south arteries on the west side were typical slum-commercial and had been hit very hard in the arson and the looting. Yet a number of the east-west streets between these major arteries contained some of the finest housing then available to black people. Suane's relatives lived on such a street only a few blocks each way from some of the major devastation areas. Before we went out to dinner, the relatives, John, Suane and I discussed the riot. It was going along quietly when the lady of the house, who had many diamonds on her fingers, turned to me and demanded:

"What is it that *they* want?"

I looked at her for a long time. This was the kind of middle-class Negro that I'd been running from all my life. Diamonds on her fingers, Cadillacs in her garage, and brown skin stretched across her strong boned face. What do *they* want?

"Jobs and dignity, I guess," I replied.

"Well, there's not much dignity in burning and looting," she replied haughtily. I closed my eyes. I had to go through this with white people all the time.

"No, I suppose not," I said without opening my eyes, "but I guess there's also not much dignity in sitting there quietly while the society chokes the life out of you and your children."