FIGHTING
ON THREE FRONTS

Peoples College
APPENDIX

FIGHTING ON THREE FRONTS: SELECTED DOCUMENTS

I. The Atlanta Crisis: The Murder of Black Children

Chicago Defender
Chicago Defender
Chicago Defender
Workers Viewpoint
Chicago Metro News
BNYAC Newsletter
Guardian
The New Yorker
BNYAC Newsletter
Workers Viewpoint
Chicago Defender
Chicago Support Committee to Stop
Children's Murders
Fundraiser for the Children of Atlanta

Chicago Defender
Memorial Service - Fernwood
Memorial Service - Cross Currents
Tables on Socioeconomic Data - Atlanta
Black Enterprise
Chicago Weekend
New York Times Magazine
"The Dream Dies"
Dick Gregory Speaks on Atlanta

Chicago Defender
New York Times
Chicago Sun Times
Chicago Tribune
Chicago Tribune

II. The Chicago Crisis: The Cabrini Projects Struggle

Collection of Articles
All Chicago City News
All Chicago City News
Push Press Release
Sun Times
Chicago Tribune
Sun Times
New York Times
Daily Illini
Information Distributed by Tranquility
Chicago Sun Times
Chicago Tribune
Chicago Tribune
Testimony by R. Brzeczek
Chicago Defender

January 6, 1981
January 6, 1981
February 31, 1981
March 30, 1981
April 18, 1981
April 1, 1981
March 30, 1981
May 2, 1981
Leaflet
Leaflet
Leaflet
May, 1981
April 17, 1981
January 6, 1981
February 26, 1982
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March 5, 1982
March 8, 1982
March 28, 1981
March 28, 1981
March 28, 1981
March 28, 1981
April 2, 1981
April 2, 1981
April 14, 1981
April 15, 1981
III. The Demonstration and Police Violence: April 18th

- Tranquility Press Release
- Tranquility Leaflet - Evictions
- Tranquility Leaflet - Evictions
- Tranquility Petition - Youth Worker
- Tranquility Petition - Evict Byrne
- Tranquility Leaflet - Demo
- Byrne's Leaflet - Demo
- Tranquility Leaflet - Demo
- Sun Times

April 9, 1981

IV. The Major Demonstration: May 2nd

- PC Letter for Coalition
- PC Draft Leaflet
- Coalition Letter to Speakers
- Letter for Marshalls
- DM's Marshall Summation
- Coalition Press Release
- Coalition Press Release
- Form Letter Response to Callers
- Timbuktu Newsletter
- Marshall's Checklist
- Leaflet and Sticker
- Speech

March 30, 1981

V. The Fight Against State Repression

- Record of Proceedings
- Record of Proceedings
- Motion to Dismiss
- Memo of Law in Support of Motion
- Record of Proceedings

July 6, 1981
August, 1981
September 15, 1981

VI. Fight Against Opportunism in the Movement

- Building Unity for the Revolution
- Bullet by Bullet
- Letter From B.D. and Friends
- Reply to B.D. and Friends
I. THE ATLANTA CRISIS: THE MURDER OF BLACK CHILDREN
Federal suit filed in missing children case

ATLANTA — The head of a committee concerned with the cases of 15 missing and dead children has filed a $1 million federal court suit accusing Mayor Maynard Jackson and Atlanta police with harassment.

The Rev. Earl Carroll, founder of the committee to stop children's murders, said in the suit filed Dec. 31st that Jackson and police officials are violating his civil rights to privacy and liberty by keeping him under constant surveillance that amounts to a form of "arrest."

Carroll, 45, a self-styled born-again Christian with no formal ministerial background, said he is being "harassed" by police because he brought the cases to the public eye before officials were willing to admit that there was a problem. The associate pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist Church said in the suit that 12 policemen working three eight-hour shifts with teams of four persons have kept him under surveillance since about Sept. 12.

Police officials refused to comment on why Carroll was being followed.

Meanwhile, tracker Don Laken's trained german shepherds, who were given scents from clothing belonging to four children still missing, have found several items in the past two days that Laken believes could be linked to the cases. The items—a knife, a rock splashed with a red substance, and bits of tiles—were found near Lincoln Cemetery.

The knife and rock were turned over to police for analysis along with two sticks that "looked like pegs or stakes and two pieces of white tile" that the dogs seemed particularly interested in, Laken said.

Fifteen black children between the ages of 7 and 15 from the city's low-income neighborhoods have disappeared since July 1979. Eleven have been found dead.

In the past few months, police and volunteer searchers have covered miles of sparsely populated and overgrown areas of the city in a search for traces of the four missing children and clues as to the killers with little success.

The cemetery site, in Northwest Atlanta, was orginally pinpointed by Psychic Pat Gagliardo of Norwich, Conn., who said she had a vision of Abraham Lincoln and then a vision of a small black child.

When shown a map of Atlanta, the psychic told searchers to go to Lincoln Cemetery. On the first search, she accompanied them and directed the dogs to a location where a bloody boy's T-shirt and a man's windbreaker were found just below the ground surface.

Although authorities say the two items were not related to the cases, the dogs have returned to the area several times. In addition, city excavation equipment was sent to the cemetery after a child's black shoe was found.
New clue in child slayings?

Bible quotes intrigue Atlanta police

ATLANTA — Searchers for Atlanta's missing children said they were intrigued by a mysterious abandoned house where children's shoes were found along with axes, shovels and two bibles nailed open to the Old Testament book of Isaiah.

"One was open to a passage from Isaiah," said search team leader Katherine Whetstone. "It was about mixing blood and murders. They were literally nailed to the wall."

City Councilman Arthur Langford, a search organizer, said the old wooden house in the Adamsville section of southwest Atlanta was "really strange." But Langford said there was no firm indication that any of the missing children had been there.

Langford has organized volunteer teams on weekends to help police find clues in the case. Since July 1979, 11 black children from low-income areas have been found dead and four are still missing. All were between the ages of 7 and 15.

"We really don't know, but we're checking it out now," said Langford. "We can't let anything go unchecked."

Langford said police searched the house Saturday afternoon and that he expected a report Sunday night on potential evidence gathered at the scene.

"Two rooms smelled like decaying flesh and one had several mattresses in it," said Ms. Whetstone, whose work with the Langford search parties dates back to the first Saturday foray which turned up the only body found by the volunteers.

She said the smell was similar to what she recalled from the area where the body of 7-year-old Latonya Wilson was found last October.

She said other items found at the scene included two hatchets, some children's shoes and clothing, and adult and children's bicycles. The items were turned over to police for checking.

David Westbrook, owner of the house, said he had rented it but did not know where the tenants had gone. He said they left behind their possessions.

Searchers also found a pile of bricks in front of a fireplace in the house, with a hole about 10 to 15 feet deep dug below the area. The hole was empty.

The two bibles, both King James translations, were nailed to the wall with four nails driven into the upper-center of the two pages. Both bibles are opened to the Book of Isaiah, a Hebrew prophet who lived in Jerusalem about 700 years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The larger bible is opened to the passages from Isaiah 1:14 to 3:25 Verses 14-15 read: "Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: They are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them."

"And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood."

In chapter 2, verse 6, occurs this quote: "Therefore, thou hast forsaken thy people the House of Jacob, because they be replenished from the east, and are soothsayers like the Philistines, and they please themselves in the children of strangers."

Also in chapter 2 is the famous quotation: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their swords into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The smaller bible is opened to chapters 15-17 of Isaiah which deal with the Lord's anger against the kingdom of Moab and the city of Damascus.

United Press International
Atlanta mayor meets with governor

Missing youth found; new curfew considered

ATLANTA — A 15-year-old black youth reported missing to Fulton County police was found safe Monday at the high school he attends.

Atlanta police said Anthony Gates, reported missing by his mother Sunday, was found safe at Roosevelt High School.

He was last seen Friday night leaving home to attend a basketball game.

Gates was found before his case was formally turned over to a city police task force assigned to investigate the disappearances and slayings of 17 black Atlanta children.

In other developments Monday:

Mayor Maynard Jackson asked for further state aid in the investigation of the missing and murdered children.

The city council considered an ordinance imposing a 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew for children 14 and under, with stiff penalties for parents of violators.

Gov. George Busbee met with Jackson at the Capitol Monday and later told reporters the state would study Jackson's request. The investigation into the slayings has cost the city more than $500,000 in overtime and other expenses.

"Mayor Jackson has brought to me some budget requests that we are exploring through our budget offices, due to the extreme demand imposed on police resources," Busbee said.

Busbee earlier assigned Georgia state troopers to traffic duty in Atlanta, relieving regular police forces to concentrate on more violent crimes. Last week, Busbee indicated, he was willing to provide whatever police enforcement assistance he could.

Chicago Defender
Tuesday, February 3, 1981
Gov't Sides With Child Killer

The Fight to Protect the Community

Imoja

Techwood Houses is the largest project in Atlanta, Georgia. It is also one of the oldest project in the United States. 5400 people, black and white, live in the Techwood Houses. During the past year, Techwood and other communities in Atlanta have been living in fear for their children. Twenty black children have been found brutally murdered.

On Friday, March 20th, a press conference was held at the Techwood Community Center to announce that residents of Techwood were forming a community patrol, since the Atlanta police had failed to protect the black children from the maniac(s) who prey on them. The Atlanta police were at the press conference and promised their cooperation while stating that it was perfectly legal to carry weapons in the patrol's efforts to protect their community.

No sooner had the police announced their cooperation when they arrested Chimurenga Jenda and Gene Ferguson for carrying a .22 calibre rifle without a license. Jenda and Ferguson, recognized leaders of the Techwood community, were later released after posting $2,200 and $2,000 bonds, respectively.

Cops Arrest People, While Murders Unsolve

In the last few weeks, the police have stepped up their harassment of the Atlanta black community. The movement to stop the child murders is growing at a rapid clip and is now at a political crossroad. Most people instinctively suspect government involvement. All that is needed is a catalyst to pinpoint the target. The self-defense organizers in the Techwood Homes are boldly charging genocide, accusing the government. They are organizing the masses to take matters into their own hands.

The government is desperately afraid that Techwood will capture the people's sentiments, not only in Atlanta but around the country. The police are spending much of their time, not looking for the murderer(s), but arresting people and trying to intimidate the community.

Don't Come Back

Following the arrests of Jenda and Ferguson, Techwood residents continued the community patrols the following day. This time, Jerome Gibbs was arrested for carrying a side arm on the patrol. While Gibbs was being held at the Atlanta Police Department, the residents of Techwood were holding an Atlanta police car hostage—the price for its release was the release of Jerome Gibbs from the hands of the police.

The people of Techwood had literally thrown themselves under the pig-mobile to stop it and once stopped, community people surrounded it, refusing to let it go. Jerome Gibbs was released on his own recognizance. Techwood residents pushed the car into the streets yelling, “Good-bye and don’t come back!”

More Arrests at Rally

On Sunday, March 22nd, a program and rally was to be held at 3 o'clock at the Techwood Community Center on the situation in Atlanta. At 2 o'clock, Modibo Kadali and two others went to the Center to prepare for the 3 o'clock program. At approximately 2:20pm, Atlanta cops arrived at the Center with an arrest warrant for Modibo and arrested him for carrying a concealed weapon.

When told of his arrest, Mary Thompson went to the police station to find out what was going on. She was told that he was not there. It normally takes ten minutes to drive from Techwood to the Police Department. Yet it was not until 4:10pm that Kadali was known to be inside. Ms. Thompson stayed at the station until it was confirmed by Ass't Police Chief Elgin Bell that Modibo was in custody.

As Ms. Thompson headed back towards the Community Center, she was followed by a police car. The car cut her off and the cop asked for her driver's license.
MAY 9
DEMONSTRATION IN ATLANTA

Initiated by: Techwood Tenants Association;
Rob Carter Self-Defense Committee;
May 9 Mobilization Committee

DAY 608
Since the first child
continued from page 1

license. She refused. When asked other
questions, she said she wasn't answering
any questions and promptly walked away

The rally at the Community Center
continued. About 80 people attended the
rally. When told of the harassment of Ms.
Thompson by the police and the arrest
of Modibo, Mrs. Marion Green, whose
husband is President of the Techwood
Tenants Association, suggested that the
rally take to the streets and to the police
Department.

Stomped Police Department
Seven cars and a pick-up truck
formed a caravan with about 80 people.
Running red lights, the people arrived
and stormed right inside the Police sta-
tion. Chanting, "Let Modibo Go," and
"1, 2, 3, 4-We Won't Take This Shit No
More--5, 6, 7, 8--Atlanta Police Had Be-
ter Get Straight," the people demanded
the release of Modibo. It was now
5:45pm and still Modibo was not
charged, which made it impossible to ar-
range bail.

At 6:15pm, bail was set at $2,900.
He was charged after 4 hours in custody
with 5 crimes. He was charged with ob-
structing justice, carrying a concealed
weapon (which he had a license for), dis-
orderly conduct, resisting arrest and inci-
ting children to lay down in front of a

Modibo sent a letter of solidarity to
the demonstrators, asking them not to
worry about him but to make sure that
the community patrols continued. The
demonstrators broke into applause at the
brothers strength. He also asked how
come millions of dollars was being sent to
El Salvador while the "hankerchief heads"
had to beg and crawl for a million dollars
from Ronald Reagan.

After heavy agitation by the groups
inside the police station, they decided it
would be in the best interest of the police
if the community kept reacting to their
harrasions and bogus arrests. With this

in mind, the demonstrators left chanting,
"Free Modibo, Free Modibo!" at 8:15pm.

Community Control Continues
Regrouping at the Community Cen-
ter, the whole day was summed up and a
plan for the continuation of the commu-
nity patrol was mapped out. After about
an hour the meeting broke, with some of
the organizers gathering at the Green's
house. At 8:45pm, word was received
that Modibo was released on his own re-
cognition.

Modibo, a cab driver, was headed to-
wards the Green's home in his cab, when
the police tailed him and picked him up
again, half a block from his destination.
Hearing the sirens, Chimarenga Jenda and
Mary Thompson ran toward the police
cars and were promptly arrested. They
were charged with disorderly conduct and
obstructing a police officer, and released
early in the morning. Modibo was driven
around the block and released.

At a dinner in honor of the people
who search the woods for clues to the kil-
ler(s), Atlanta Police Chief George Napper
blasted the Techwood Tenants Assoc.
as being a big threat to the community.
He said that the police was using great
manpower in monitoring its activities
and that it was mostly outsiders instiga-
ting the residents. He said that the police
were interested in working with the
community. All were bold faced lies.

Demonstrate on May 9th
The residents of Techwood have
asked the American people to demon-
strate on May 9th for national support.
They have vowed to continue their com-
nunity patrols and are determined to
point out how the police are harassing
and arresting members of the Techwood
Houses.

The Peoples United Against Gov-
ernment Repression and Klan and Nazis have
also called for local events on April 11th,
national day of protest, in support of the
the Techwood residents and as a way to
build for the May 9th demonstration. ☐
By Lee Paige

The sad but true story of the mass murders in Atlanta, Georgia still weigh heavily on the consciousness of everyone in the country, particularly the black community. Many observers are saying that the killings are not isolated cases but part of a sick and sorted conspiracy to wipe out the black population, some even go so far as to say the murders are part of some fiendish plot to conduct genetic experiments using the bodies of the young black victims as guinea pigs.

Now there is yet another new slant in a news story that has literally gripped the attention of the entire nation. The FBI, which is participating in the ongoing investigations of the 23 murders, is now allegedly saying that...
On Friday March 13, more than 20,000 Harlem residents and people from all over New York came out to express their solidarity and support for the families in Atlanta and to protest racist violence being committed against Black people across the country. (As seen in picture above) The march clearly demonstrated that the spirit of resistance and struggle in Harlem is very much alive. More information on the Atlanta murders on page 3.
Atlanta: 'Your struggle is our struggle'

Regardless of who is killing the children of Atlanta, Black people around the country know that ultimately issues of racism and class are involved. This point was made clear by Patricia Wagner of the Organizing Committee for a Candlelight Vigil for Atlanta Families during a speech to thousands of people in New York, including the mothers of two victims, March 13. Here is the text:

We are here to express our solidarity, our love and our unwavering support to the families of Atlanta. We are here because our community feels your loss and your sorrow as our own. We are here because your children are our children. We are here to ask you to carry this message back to Atlanta: that Black people in New York and other concerned people are ready and willing to help you.

We are here tonight because we in Harlem have been the victims of the many forms of violence this system perpetuates against poor and oppressed people. This system which celebrates and exalts greed and profits places no value whatsoever on human lives, particularly when those lives are Black. It is a system that uses billions and billions of taxpayers' dollars to make weapons and war or to bail out the Chrysler Corporation. It is a system that is putting tremendous amounts of resources into going to El Salvador and other places around the world to oppress other freedom-loving people, that can put a man on the moon, that wiretaps, bugs and uses all kinds of advanced electronic technology to harass people working to improve the conditions of their lives but cannot or will not find the murderer of 21 Black children.

We charge this government with creating a climate of depravity and violence which allows this type of atrocity to occur. A wave of backwardness, hate and racism is sweeping across this country. This is the historical context in which the Atlanta murders are taking place. So Atlanta is not isolated from Buffalo, (N.Y.) where Black men were killed and their hearts were cut out, or New York City, where Black men were killed, or Boston, where 13 Black women were raped and murdered, or Salt Lake City, where innocent joggers were killed.

Atlanta cannot be separated from the rising incidence of police violence and murder against our people. Atlanta cannot be separated from the economic, social and psychological violence that our people and our children are subjected to on a daily basis. The closing of our hospitals, the destruction of our communities, the killing of our young people with drugs and the denial of jobs and necessary services to our people are all manifestations of a sick and dying system that is shifting its crisis onto our backs.

The media and others will try to separate Atlanta from what is happening to Black people across the country. They will bring up side shows and diversions to turn our attention away from the real issues. They will even try to blame the victims themselves. But we will not be diverted. We know that the issue is that 21 young Black lives have been taken, that one is missing and that the murderer has not been found.

COMMUNITY DEFENSE

We will not be diverted and we understand the real issues because the ground we stand on today we have stood on many times before. In 1917, right here in New York, 15,000 Black people marched silently down 5th Avenue to protest the lynchings of thousands of Black people in this country. In Birmingham, (Ala.) we mourned and protested the murders of four Black girls praying in church.

Malcolm X said that when the government proves itself unwilling or unable to defend Black lives and Black property, it is time for Black people to defend themselves. Community defense has never been as important an issue as it is today. We must become organized from block to block, from community to community, from city to city. Our young people have a very important role to play in this. We can no longer depend on the police, the FBI, the city, state and federal governments. In too many cases, they have been co-conspirators.

This system has not learned that we have never been and will not be intimidated by violence or racist hysteria. These tactics have always been used in attempts to prevent us from struggling for our fundamental rights as human beings. We have always gathered strength and unity from our losses and our sorrow. We stand here tonight with our lights and our green ribbons, symbols of hope and our renewed commitment to life and the pursuit of human dignity. We must oppose all forms of violence committed against our people. Tonight we stand strong and united with the families in Atlanta to demand that the murderer be found and that the barbarity of Atlanta never be repeated.

20—APRIL 1, 1981—GUARDIAN
Children

The trees on the median of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Boulevard overhang the pavement, and at night the high street lights shine through the branches in splotches, like street lamps in a small town; it struck us as a great street to play in on spring evenings, if it were always closed to traffic, as it was the other Friday. That night, the air was so warm it seemed fitting for people to bring little children out to the event that had closed the street—a candlelight march and vigil held by the Harlem community to show support for the families of the children killed in Atlanta—and while the area at the corner of 110th Street was filling with people, we saw toddler-size children in canvas-sling strollers, smaller children astride their fathers' shoulders and bobbing above the heads of the crowd, and slightly older children running to climb up on the median and then jump down, or fooling around with midget penlights they'd been given instead of candles. Everyone had a snippet of green ribbon pinned to a lapel, or a length of green tied around a sleeve, armband-style—grosgrain, satin, curling-type gift tie, or heavyweight yarn—sometimes fastened with a green-lettered pin saying “SAVE OUR CHILDREN.” And nearly everyone carried a candle. A loudspeaker somewhere around 111th Street jumbled words into the air unintelligibly, and most people then lit their candles. We overheard three middle-aged neighbor women in dark Sunday coats, all with candles in tall glass tumblers, discussing the latest news from Atlanta in sad and outraged tones; one had heard from a sister there. A pretty black woman wearing a white shirt with a thin green bow at the neck knealt before her eight-year-old son and lit his candle, adjusting it carefully in its glass holder. “Now, you keep this straight up,” she said.

At about seven o'clock, the mass of people—between ten and fifteen thousand, we learned later—began to move up the boulevard, stopping every few yards as the people ahead paused for traffic lights. Couples walked hand in hand, as if out for a stroll alone, unclasping their hands to cup their palms around their candles when they reached the breeze of the cross streets. Someone pointed up: candles in the windows of the big apartment blocks. After 120th Street, the trees on the median thinned out; at 121st, two women in their twenties stood at the curb, arm in arm and close together, yelling angrily, “Save our children! Save our children!” By the curb of the median, a white man in a maroon down jacket bent over a stroller and held a bottle of formula for his son while the marchers flowed around him in an oxbow. At 126th Street, a woman whose candle had burned down to a stub blew it out, walked along while she waited for the wax to cool, then put the stub and the paper it was attached to in her pocket.

At around 132nd Street, a rushing noise came up from behind—people chanting—and soon the words became clear, and the pace quickened. Then the whole crowd was striding up the boulevard, some people clapping their hands and varying the rhythm: “Save our children now—save our children! Save our children now! Save our children!” Two young men with their elbows linked jostled up from the rear, nearly running, and called their “Now!” each time at the top of their lungs as the crowd wheeled east into 135th Street like a tractor trailer. There it piled up, stopping when it came on the people who were already standing in the street and on the sidewalks, waiting for two mothers who had come from Atlanta to begin to speak. The block was full of the lights of candles, and down at the Lenox Avenue end spotlights were directed at a flatbed truck, where the speakers would stand. On the south side of the street, atop a ten-foot-high chain-link fence that guarded the Y.M.C.A. playground, three teen-age boys balanced, holding a long white banner whose block letters condemned the killings.

Shortly after everyone had gathered, Patrice Wagner, from the Harlem Coalition of Community Organizations to Stop the Murders of Atlanta Children, which had organized the vigil, took her place on the truck bed and welcomed the mothers—Camille Bell, whose son Yousef had been the fourth child to disappear, and Willie Mae Mathis, whose son Jeffrey had been the sixth—and put into words the community's grief and anger; all the candles on the block waved in the air, and she had to call out for a full minute for people to stop the chanting. After that, all the while she and Mrs. Bell and Mrs. Mathis spoke the crowd stayed mostly silent, so it was strange to hear—coming from somewhere, it was hard to tell where—a continuous metallic sound, as if someone with a transistor radio tuned to a ballgame were threading his way up and down the street. As the sound came alongside, we saw what it was. A thin, long-limbed man in an olive-drab jacket and a watch cap strode along the sidewalk, twisting and turning not to bump into anyone, and kept up a steady patter through an electric bullhorn turned to the lowest volume, so you could hear every word distinctly and still hear everything the women up front were saying. “Watch out for your babies,” he said, over and over. “We are a multitude, so keep your babies by the hand. If you have lost your child, or if you find a child who might be lost, go around to the Schomburg Library, on the corner of Lenox and 136th Street, where a lost-child center has been set up. Keep an eye on your babies.” Four kids leaning on a parked car at the curb exchanged glances the first time he went by, and burst out giggling; and we felt off balance, too—all that evening, even when the shouting crowd spun so fast around that corner, we hadn't seen one child look frightened.
Blacks Across Country Respond to Atlanta Murders

2000 people rallied at the City Hall in Chattanooga, Tenn., 1000 people marched in Cincinnati, 600 attended a memorial service in Baltimore, and Black and white students rallied at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Mo. Other memorial services took place in Tuskegee, Ala., and Greenville, N.C.

In Atlanta itself, about 200 people marched from the Georgia State Capitol to Morehouse College where they rallied. In addition, Black residents in Philadelphia and other cities have begun a campaign to wear green ribbons to express concern over the murders.

A national march and rally to protest the murders is scheduled to be held in Atlanta March 15. The Moratorium on Murder and Terrorism is being organized by the Association of Christian Student Leaders, a national interfaith, interracial student group, and the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change, headed by Coretta Scott King.

Rev. Les Carter, a spokesperson for the protest in Atlanta, told the Guardian that they expect “at least 5000 people” to attend. He said that busloads of people are expected from cities in the Midwest, the East Coast, and the Youth. (For more information on the protest, call the King Center at 404-523-0630.)

The mass actions have occurred in many black cities to address the national significance of the Atlanta murders, which many believe are racially motivated and cannot be separated from the attacks against Blacks in other cities and the growth of right-wing and racist ideology in the U.S. in general. This message was succinctly expressed in a sign carried by an Atlanta protestor March 1 which read: “Atlanta’s problem is America’s problem.”

Atlanta police are apparently no closer to solving the disappearances and murders since the department’s 35-member special task force began its investigation last fall. In response to national pressure to do something, the Reagan administration has sent a federal task force and two dozen FBI agents to Atlanta and provided other technical assistance to aid the investigation, but has not sent badly-needed federal funds.

As the police inquiry goes nowhere, the list of victims grows. Police Feb. 26 added the name of 16-year-old Patrick Rogers to the list of murdered children covered by the task force, bringing the total number murdered to 19. Two remain missing. Since the first of this year, the disappearances and murders have occurred at a rate of one every two weeks.

As the police had previously said that Rogers, who received a blow to the head and was thrown into an Atlanta river last December after he had been missing for several weeks, should not be added to the investigation because the youth’s death was not similar to the other murders. Rogers now becomes the second murdered Black youth whose case police have added to the inquiry after previously denying a connection (Guardian, March 4).

Police still refuse however to add to the inquiry the case of 14-year-old Cynthia Montgomery, who was found strangled in an abandoned Atlanta motel Nov. 15.

Meanwhile, Atlanta police Feb. 27 put out an alert for a blond-haired white man who was seen driving a car equipped with police-type roof lights and who tried to pick up children the day before. But Beverly Harvard, a spokes-

woman for Atlanta Public Safety Commissioner Lee P. Brown, told the Guardian March 3 that the police “only want to question him” and that “no reason to assume that he is connected with the murders.”

The Atlanta police have been criticized for the task force’s lack of progress in the investigation, which began only under mounting pressure from tense and angry Black residents. Black and white critics have censured the police for, among other things, originally setting up the task force with inexperienced investigators and for failing to even consider racial motivation, either by an individual or group, for the murders.

Just as disturbing to Blacks in Atlanta and nationwide has been the racist treatment of the disappearances and murders by the national media. Many of the major influential newspapers have suggested in their articles that residents of Atlanta’s oppressed Southwest neighborhood, where most of the victims lived, are to blame for the disappearances and deaths of their own youths.

In this racist reportage, the newspapers have specifically suggested the youths were “vulnerable” because of their “unstable” one-parent family backgrounds and their status as “streetwise hustlers” who took odd jobs for their survival or who were looking for “good times on the street.”

Other articles have made unsubstantiated charges that the youths may have been killed by members of their own immediate or extended families or that neighborhood drug-related revenge was involved. In addition, media articles have suggested, without a hint of evidence, that the killer is Black.
Nat'l Atlanta protest set for Washington

The enormous national "Save Our Children" movement, which forced President Reagan to appropriate $1.5 million to assist the search for the killer(s) of 20 Afro-American children, is gearing up for a national rally in Washington, D.C.

The Atlanta Committee to Stop Children's Murders has scheduled the mass rally for Memorial Day, Monday, May 25, to protest the murder and abuse of children across the nation.

Rev. William Mimson, a volunteer worker in Atlanta helping to organize the action, said mothers of the 22 slain and missing Atlanta children will hold a news conference here on Thursday to announce the rally. Organizers of the action, designated as "Rendezvous with Life's Fate," are negotiating with the U.S. Parks Service for use of the Lincoln Memorial for the massive action, he said.

Already, he continued, members of the committee have met with David Livingstone, president of District 65, UAW in New York City, "who pledged his full support." Sod did Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 and a leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

A statement by mothers of the slain and missing children released Thursday said: "Our desire is to build a monument for our children that is more than a tombstone...to positively combat further abuses against all children."

The statement said that the rally in Washington had been called to press for development of programs to eradicate child abuse, to press for counseling services for families of missing and murdered children, and to demand a computer identification network nationwide to help identify more than 50,000 missing children in America."

In addition to demonstrations in Atlanta, which have involved over 6,000 people, other mass actions in the past few weeks to press the Reagan Administration for more action on solving the murders include:

- 15,000 people participating in a march and vigil in Harlem on March 13.
- 1,000 people marching in Newark, New Jersey on March 8.
- Another 1,000 people marching at the same time in Newark, in a labor demonstration for women's equality which made a point of stressing the centrality of the struggle in Atlanta.

There is considerable activity throughout the country — from hundreds of thousands, possibly millions of people wearing green ribbons, to organizations passing resolutions of support, to mass demonstrations and church services. Atlanta's children are on the minds of U.S. working people.

Continued on page 23
The Respiratory Care Department at St. Frances Xavier Cabrini Hospital, 811 S. Lyle St., has raised $510 for the families of the children killed in Atlanta. Members of the department made green, red and black ribbons during their lunch time and after work which other hospital employees and community residents received when they made a donation for the Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference fund. Busy making ribbons are (from left) Sammie Lanning, Gloria Taylor, Evelyn Guzman, Betty Balentine and Betty Hill. Other members of the department who made ribbons, but are not pictured are Shirley Moore, Juanita Triplett and Berdice Richardson.
Stop the Murders of Black Children in Atlanta

The horror of 21 Black children's murders in Atlanta has now gripped the entire nation. For months, the death toll mounted. The authorities and the media dismissed the slain youth as "street kids" and denied that any pattern or extraordinary situation existed in Atlanta. It was the actions of women like Camille Bell and her Committee to Stop Children's Murders that made them recognize that murders are stealing the lives of Atlanta's Black youth.

Benefit Brunch $10 Donation at Door

Cross-Currents Cultural Center 3206 N. Wilton

April 4th  11am to 1pm
The horror of 21 Black children's murders in Atlanta has now gripped the entire nation. For months, the death toll mounted. The authorities and the media dismissed the slain youth as "street kids" and denied that any pattern or extraordinary situation existed in Atlanta. It was the actions of women like Camille Bell and her Committee to Stop Children's Murders that made them recognize that murders are stealing the lives of Atlanta's Black youth.
FUND RAISER

FOR THE CHILDREN OF ATLANTA

TO DATE, THERE ARE NOW 24 CHILDREN FOUND SLAIN IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. WE WOULD LIKE YOUR COOPERATION IN THE HELPING OF THE FAMILIES OF THE DECEASED CHILDREN. WHY NOT SHOW YOUR SUPPORT BY PURCHASING ITEMS FOR THOSE SPECIAL OCCASIONS AT HAND: MOTHER'S DAY- MAY 10th, BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATIONS, OR WEDDING ANNIVERSARIES. ALL PROCEEDS WILL BE DONATED TO HELP THIS WORTHY CAUSE.

THE FUND RAISER WILL BE HELD AT: ADVENTURAS

ADDRESS: 8926 SOUTH LOOMIS AVENUE

DATE: SUNDAY - APRIL 26th

TIME: 12 NOON - 8:00 P.M.

*ALONG WITH BLACK AND GREEN RIBBONS*

*WHY NOT BLACK AND GREEN SPIRIT IN DONATIONS*

(VARIOUS ITEMS WILL BE SOLD, SUCH AS JEWELRY, COLGNE, NUTRITIONAL FOOD BARS, SPECIAL GIFT BOOKLETS, HOME PROTECTION ITEMS, ETC, ETC, WILL BE AVAILABLE.) ITEMS ARE AVAILABLE FOR ORDERING.

*OUR GOAL FOR THIS MONTH IS $3,000, WITH YOUR COOPERATION, WE CAN DO IT!*
NAACP plans candlelight rites for Atlanta children

The Chicago Southside Branch, NAACP, in cooperation with WBMX Radio, will conduct a Candlelight Memorial service for the slain Atlanta children, Easter Sunday evening, at 5:30 p.m., in the sanctuary of St. Mark United Methodist Church, 8441 S. St. Lawrence Ave.

Among the civic and religious dignitaries invited to attend are: Mayor Jane M. Byrne, His Eminence John Cardinal Cody, Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago; Hon. Julian Bond, president of the Atlanta Branch, NAACP; Georgia State Legislator; and Dr. Ruth B. Love, new Superintendent of Chicago public schools.

Outstanding gospel artists Albertina Walker and Vernon Oliver Price will render their favorite gospel recordings.

The 60-voice Chancel Choir of the St. Mark United Methodist Church will render music for the occasion. The public is invited.
1. Processional.

2. Scripture Reading: Psalm 139.

3. Opening Prayer, Rev. John Parker, New Life Baptist Church.

4. Black National Anthem: "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

5. "What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are Black?"
   ...a poem by Margaret Burroughs.


7. Dr. Manfred Byrd...the father of our children.

   Ald. Niles Sherman, 21st Ward.


11. MRS. VERUS TAYLOR and MRS. CARRIE BELL,
    founders of the committee to stop children's murders.


13. Offering.


15. Benediction.

CANDILEIGHT MARCH TO EUCLID PARK
RETURN TO EDUCATIONAL BUILDING FOR RECEPTION.
Benefit Brunch in Support of Atlanta Committee to Stop Children's Murders

April 4, 1981
Cross Currents Cultural Center, 3206 N. Wilton

introductions by
Julialynne Walker - Attorney, Legal Assistance Foundation, Member of National Lawyer's Guild and United Legal Workers

music by
Big Time Sarah and Erwin Helfer
with Ben Sanders on Drums

speakers
Venus Taylor - Founding Member of Committee to Stop Children's Murders, Atlanta, Georgia

SPONSORED BY:
Citizen's Party of Illinois
National Lawyer’s Guild - Chicago Chapter
New World Resource Center
Women Organized for Reproductive Choice

Cover by Dino Ewing
## Tables on Socioeconomic Data

(See Introduction 146 to Chapter II)

**Source:** 1960 Census Data

### Atlanta SMSA

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* Census tract F-83.
IN THE NEWS

Death In Atlanta

July 28, 1979: A woman scavenging for discarded cans finds the bodies of two black children 150 feet apart in a wooded area in southwest Atlanta. One body is identified by police as Edward Hope Smith, 14, a victim of gunshot wounds. The other body is badly decomposed, but several months later authorities conclude that it is the body of 13-year-old Alfred James Evans. The probable cause of death is strangulation.

Thus began one of the most chilling episodes in American criminal history: 19 black children murdered as of March 2, 1981 and two others missing.

Theories about the identity of the killer or killers have been advanced by everyone, from law enforcement authorities to mystics invited in as special consultants to aid the investigation. Still, after months of weekend searches by volunteers for bodies and evidence, there are no suspects.

Camille Bell, mother of nine-year-old Yusef Bell, who was found strangled to death in November 1979, heads the Committee to Stop Children Murders. She contends Atlanta authorities took too long to begin an intensive investigation. "They were so concerned about the city's image that they didn't get concerned about what was happening to the kids."

Atlanta's public safety director, Lee P. Brown, says the city has done all it can: "I could look back and say maybe we should have created the task force of local, state, and federal authorities earlier. But the task force has stopped the homicides."

The task force was reorganized last February.

As the death toll has mounted, several elements of the mystery have emerged as patterns that may aid the investigation.

• All but two of the victims, who ranged in age from 7 to 15, were boys. None of the victims appeared to have been sexually molested.

• The victims, all of whom lived in poorer neighborhoods of the city, have been found along a continuous connecting route around the city. Chet Dettinger, a private detective in Atlanta, told BLACK ENTERPRISE that the intricacy of the pattern, following main roads, and avoiding congested areas, indicates that the murderer is familiar with the different areas of the city.

• Besides close range in age of the victims, another similarity is in family background (most were from single-parent homes). It also is notable that 8 of the 19 were strangled or otherwise asphyxiated. Criminologist Fred Crawford of Atlanta's Emory University told BLACK ENTERPRISE that the strangulation used to kill at least two of the victims is typically used by police and the military.

The killer's ability to evade detection for so long, said Emory University psychiatrist Lloyd Baccus, does not suggest someone "grossly psychotic or totally irrational." Baccus theorizes that the killer is a quiet individual living a subdued lifestyle, who probably would be described by his or her neighbors as a "nice person."

—Lovett S. Gray
Our Children Are The Future

There is something especially frightening about the rising toll of black children killed in Atlantâ (see In The News). Children are the most defenseless human beings, and any attempt to understand the kind of mentality which would prey on them is difficult, especially for those of us fortunate enough to be parents.

Children are our future, and when they are attacked, our hopes for the next generation are attacked. What sharpens our concern is a sense that the slaughter of black children in Atlanta is only one manifestation of a broad range of attacks on black people in recent months.

Our news reports are filled with stories of increasing Ku Klux Klan activities, sniper attacks, and bloody, racially inspired murders. When these overt acts of violence are placed against a background of growing conservatism and racial animosity, we find reason for alarm.

I find myself wondering whether we are expected to witness a replay of the horrors to which we were subjected in the days when our validity as human beings and as American citizens was the subject of serious debate.

In the 1960s, black college students said, “Enough!” and set into motion a train of events with an outcome we could not have imagined in our greatest flights of fancy. We saw the ugly side of America: the high-powered hoses turned on women and children, attack dogs and nightsticks loosened on fallen men.

We also learned the depths of our own dignity: little kindergarten children walking tall between rows of armed soldiers there to protect the children against the frenzy of white southerners determined to maintain their traditional way of life. We saw our black elders take to the streets to demonstrate their determination to sit wherever they wanted on the bus. Our determination electrified men and women of good will everywhere. Laws were passed. Custom was set aside in the interest of domestic peace; and the most overt signs of injustice faded from the public view.

A few voices pointed out the continuing injustices and inequities of our political and economic system, but our attention had shifted to other issues: Vietnam, the women’s movement. Those of us who argued that serious problems continued to exist were accused of refusing to concede how much better things were for black people.

But if conditions improved for some of us in a position to benefit from new opportunities, they remained the same for a large and growing segment of the black population. And once again, because they were most vulnerable, the plight of our black children served as an accurate barometer of the work still ahead of us.

The Civil Rights Movement lost much of its steam when the issues became more complex. Outright segregation was replaced by subtler economic and class issues. Redneck racists were no longer turning us away at the door. Bureaucrats armed with thick volumes of regulations played the same role.

But just because an issue has become more complex does not make it unfathomable. If nighthawks no longer take away our children, our terror as parents can be no less. Whether our children learn to read and write, go to college, get a job, and become productive members of society depend on policy makers whose concerns and experiences are far from our own.

Our cover story this month, “The War on Black Children,” points out that overt violence is just one of the forces at work against a better future for black children.

Seventeen years ago, President John F. Kennedy said in a speech: “The Negro baby today has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter and the prospects of earning only half as much.”

In 1981, the odds are still against black children: Dropout rates for black teenagers are twice as high as for whites. The odds of finishing college and becoming a professional are half as good for blacks as for whites. Proportionately more black children are born to teenage mothers than white children. More black children are in institutions. And black children receive far less medical treatment than white children.

If we look at these numbers as factors that will affect the future of millions of black children, we begin to understand how they combine to take a toll that far exceeds the level of overt violence which makes murder the leading cause of death among black teenagers.

There has been much debate in recent years about the commitment of the black middle class to issues that affect the black poor. “We are not out of the woods because some of us have two cars, a big mortgage, and several charge accounts,” warns Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children’s Defense Fund. “Any black person who thinks this way is courting danger and jeopardizing our children’s future.”

I say “Amen” to that. Wherever we live, whatever the state of our pockets, we can share a concern for our children. Our cover story points out that middle-class parents have the same concerns about current political and economic conditions and their impact on their children as do the poor. The importance of quality education is one of the most pressing subjects on which we all agree.

When I was attending public schools in Brooklyn, New York, my parents made it their business to participate in the local PTA, to take bus rides to Albany to lobby in support of the schools, and, of course, to keep our noses buried in the books. There was no question in their minds that education was the key to upward mobility. That remains true today.

We have an obligation to make the public schools work for our children, too. We must make the schools responsive to the needs of our children. To do that, we must press the politicians, the Administration, and other parents to join in the struggle. We must make the future of all black children a priority. They are our tomorrows.
The abduction and murders of over a score of black children in Atlanta have chilled the hearts of black parents throughout the nation. The killing of black children has also drawn national attention to a phenomenon that has much broader and more devastating dimensions than those cases imply. The War on Black Children takes many forms. Homicide is only one aspect of the violence waged against the most defenseless segment of our society by individuals, institutions, and the economic reality of black life in America.

A black teenager has more than one chance in ten of getting into trouble with the law and is five times as likely as a white youth to be killed. In fact, homicide is the greatest killer of young black men in the United States. In 1976, more than half of the people arrested for murder were black.

But there are other forms of violence directed against young black children. There is the institutional violence of poverty, hunger, and poor health.

"These facts of inequality add up to a national and human disaster," says Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based child advocacy organization. "We can write off these children only at our peril. Not only is a fair start and a chance in life every American child's birthright, it is in every American's self-interest to assure it."

Any discussion of black progress is dampened by the reality of growing up black in America. The gains of the black middle class are overshadowed by the losses of the black poor and by the continuing expansion of a black underclass.

Yet, even those considered to have achieved middle-class comfort and success admit concern about their children's futures.

"At a time in the past we thought they'd do better than us," says Jim Murray a publicist at NBC's corporate headquarters and father of three children, aged five, three, and one-and-a-half. "But that's presumptuous to think that black children have the same chances as our generation."

Thomasina Reed, a Los Angeles attorney agrees: "It will be harder for my daughter than it was for me." She gives ten-year-old Djamila every possible enrichment—dance lessons, music, acting, gymnastics. She sends her to an integrated "magnet" school for high-achieving students. But Reed wonders if that is enough.

"I don't know how I can prepare her for the negative attitudes of whites," she says. "As long as I can afford it, I'll try to give her as much opportunity as possible."

Nolan Davis, author and feature writer for the San Diego Union, considers his teenage children third-generation middle class, but he is concerned. "The future is going to be harder because of the changing nature of the black middle class," he says. Davis explains that for the black middle class of the fifties, being a postman or a teacher was a good thing. He remembers his family as "upwardly mobile, living in what they called a 'nice' neighborhood. They had ambitions of their own and struggled to buy a house and hold onto a job. But growing up holding a job didn't mean as much to me, and I was able to be more concerned with the creative impulse. And now my children take self-expression for granted. They're concerned about mastering the technology of the future. We're liberal; they're conservative politically and morally. They don't dance as much as we do. What moves us doesn't move them. Survival and continuity as a black family are important to us; but that does not seem to be so for them. Our parents struggled for economic survival. We struggled for creative survival. The struggle for our kids is to survive with the new technology."

But is "struggle" really the right word? Conservative economist Thomas Sowell believes that the children of the black middle class "have it made," at least as far as having certain opportunities available to them. Sowell, a Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, charges

By Pamela Douglas
Homicide is the greatest killer of young black men in the United States.

Jim Murray and family: will his children have the opportunities he had in the 1960s?

that the children of the middle class “no longer understand what the struggle is about. They’ve lost all sense of where their opportunities come from.”

Sowell, an outspoken opponent of all affirmative action programs, fears a “racial backlash the likes of which we’ve never seen” because of counter-productive policies, like quotas. . . . Our children will have reason to curse what they [black political leaders] have done. And when the backlash comes, he warns, “being a member of the middle class won’t mean anything.”

Of course, not all scholars see our children’s future as quite that hopeless. William Julius Wilson, author of The Declining Significance of Race and chairman of the sociology department at the University of Chicago, admits that programs like affirmative action can open opportunities for the middle class, without helping the poor. But unlike Sowell he does recognize affirmative action has had some impact. “Blacks would not have made the progress they’ve made now without it,” he says. Wilson also asks that we apply the same energy to help solve the problems of the children of the poor, who represent almost half of the nation’s black families. This may be the greatest challenge facing the next generation.

Dearich Hunter, a bright 15-year-old student in Brooklyn, New York, wrote in Newsweek magazine that he divides his world into “ducks” and “hard rocks.” The ducks are kids who go to school every day and even want to go to college. They’re suckers, he believes, “wasting their lives waiting for a dream that won’t come true.” And they’re the ones who get ripped off by the “hard rocks,” the kids who have given up on school, on jobs, on hope.

Hunter, who considers himself to be a “duck,” says, “The problem with most ducks is that after years of effort they develop a negative attitude, too. If they succeed, each one can say he did it by himself and for himself. No one helped him and he doesn’t owe anybody anything, so he says, ‘Let the “hard rocks” and the junkies stay where they are.’ ” “Maybe the only people left with hope are the only people who can make a difference—teens like me. We, the ducks, must learn to care. At my age, I’m not sure I can handle all that. Just growing up seems hard enough.”

But the poverty that creates the despair of the “hard rocks” is real. Two out of every five black children are on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). The national average AFDC payment for a mother and two children is $241.35 per month, which amounts to $2.60 a day per person. Of black families with earned income, one in every four earns less than $5,000 per year. A Portrait of Inequality, a study recently released by The Children's Defense Fund, concludes: “No conceivable projection of the trends of the 1970s could ever lead to equality of income with whites in our lifetime.”

But what of the “ducks”? What of the children who are strivers and achievers? Despite the gains we experienced after the civil rights era and the affirmative-action programs that helped many of us enter college and get scholarships, jobs, promotions, and business loans, our children are growing up in an era of narrowing options, surrounded by distrust. Many will enter the adult world lacking the sufficient skills or education needed for jobs in the fast-growing high-technology industries. Other jobs will be firmly held by adults who, themselves, are struggling to survive.

Young people are repeatedly threatened by anti-youth attitudes which often take the form of economic denial. For instance, growing tax-reform movements are threatening to cut back essential services like schools and health care, and people are voting down school-bond issues. When today's youngsters enter the workforce, they will encounter the attitude again when even unions will be loyal to their members and shut the doors to new apprentices.

A few, of course, will slip through the ever-narrowing passageway into the professions. Many will not. The US Labor Department's Occupational Outlook Handbook sees millions of college graduates whose only option will be to take blue-collar jobs by 1985, when more than 10 million new college graduates will compete for 8 million openings in jobs traditionally held by degree holders.

If employment is taken as a measure of
progress, the statistics for black youths show how far we have yet to go. According to the US Department of Labor, the unemployment rate for black youths is about three times the white rate; in many inner cities, more than 60 percent of blacks under 25 years old cannot find jobs. A black high school graduate has a greater chance of being unemployed than a white grade school dropout. And the unemployment rate for black college graduates is almost twice that of whites who never went to college, and it is almost no better than the rate for white high school dropouts.

The latest trend among conservatives is to deny these figures as a way of de-emphasizing the need for jobs programs for young people. But a provocative new study by the National Black Child Development Institute refutes conservative arguments in a report called "The Status of Black Children in 1980." It describes the real options—or lack of options—young black people face when they look for a job:

"Most unemployed youths are not lazy idlers, nor are they students casually looking for work to supplement their incomes. Instead, youth unemployment is chronic; those youths who are out of work are extremely likely to have been job-searching for extensive periods of time with little to no success."

"In fact, most youth employment consists of young, out-of-school youths who average over 30 weeks of unemployment. Black youths are less likely than whites to switch jobs and usually have lower salary requirements. Similarly, the widespread theory that minimum wages keep employers from hiring youths is somewhat compromised by the fact that almost 25 percent of all non-supervisory workers are exempt from minimum-wage status, the highest proportion ever."

The picture looks grim, but we are rediscovering the black community as a source of job opportunities.

Black business people can still capitalize on a link with the black community by providing goods and services that white interests shun. Small businesses in the US generated some 7 million new jobs during the 1970s, in contrast to 600,000 new jobs from the corporate sector. And the mammoths have been ineffective in serving personal, human needs.

In the labor-intensive, people-to-people businesses, like child-care centers, programs for the elderly, food and health services, home and auto repair companies, opportunities exist to hire local people who may lack formal training, but who have valuable human qualities to contribute.

In the 1980 riot area of Liberty City, Miami, black businesses were totally absent from this mostly black community. The sidewalks were described as "desolate," compared to the bustling Cuban neighborhood just blocks away. The black youngsters of Liberty City had no resources for training and employment and they lacked role models among relatives and neighbors. This picture is mirrored in poor communities across the country, often because businesses fear so-called "ghetto" locations as high risks. But in the future, enterprising young blacks may find their success by returning to what some black nationalists proposed in the 1960s—to build a base "back home."

Of course, times are hard "back home." Some 600,000 babies are born each year to teenage mothers, and a disproportionate number of them are black. The mothers often lack adequate counseling on nutrition, education, and parenting skills, and know little of good health care. Among these children of children, black babies suffer from ailments caused by malnutrition at twice the rate of whites.

Today's sick, badly nourished babies may become tomorrow's adult social casualties who, if permanently unable to support themselves, could prey on our children and our children's children—unless black adults who now have the knowledge and the interest to do so intervene.

The Chicago-based Unified Delinquency Intervention Service (UDIS) is doing just that. During the past six years, UDIS has intervened on behalf of youngsters by serving as a big-brother "advocacy" program and has provided family counseling, vocational education, tutoring, residential alternatives (such as locked group-homes), wilderness stress programs, monitored job placement programs, and an Intensive Care Unit (an emergency, locked-bed ward).
It's a fine line—the moment when a young person is in enough trouble to be put in jail, but not so far along that he or she can't be helped. But often, it's not enough, and the intervention may come too late.

Because black children are becoming growing statistics in the nation's criminal courts, publicity surrounding their crimes exacerbates a widespread fear of all black teenagers. Black children are being arrested for violent crimes at almost seven times the rate that white children are and are arrested for serious property crimes two times more often than whites. Once arrested, black youths are more likely to be incarcerated in high-security juvenile institutions and even in adult jails, where half a million children are warehoused with adults and given up as "unsalvageable."

Danny J. was one of UDIS's losses. Last year, Danny appeared in juvenile court for a hearing at which a judge was to decide whether or not to try him as an adult for stealing a watch. If tried and sentenced as an adult, Danny, who is small and looks younger than his 17 years, could spend three to five years in an adult prison. There, he would receive no schooling or learn no trade that might lead to a job. If the judge let him be tried as a juvenile, he would be sent to a facility where he would attend classes for about a year.

The state's attorney approached Danny's attorney to make a deal: If Danny would plead guilty, he would be sentenced as a juvenile.

In the courtroom, Danny faced an elderly white man in a flowing black robe, who towered over him from a kind of throne behind an immense desk. Behind the boy, two white marshals with guns on their hips stood poised to whisk him "upstairs." The state's attorney and the public defender began their incomprehensible technicalities, as Danny and his family waited to hear how his life would be decided.

As the hearing progressed, Danny listened to a chronological list of his past activities—characteristic of the ills that beset many black kids in cities—he didn't attend school regularly, he hung out with
known gang members, he'd never found a job and had no prospects, and, finally, he'd begun to steal and resisted arrest.

The verdict came down: remanded to the department of corrections until his 21st birthday, or probation. Quickly, the two white marshall's took Danny out the door that led "upstairs." His sister saw that he had left his coat behind and ran after him to give him his gloves, too. Her eyes were full of tears that did not fall. Outside the juvenile court building, snow had fallen. It was a week before Christmas.

Danny J. is part of the turbulence that has led to a public outcry to "do something." But what? Both liberal and conservative voices are screaming for the dismantling of the present juvenile system. Liberals feel that the alternatives to incarceration haven't worked because they haven't gone far enough in helping change family patterns and economics. Conservatives feel that the danger to society from young "hoodlums" is more important than the rehabilitation of these youngsters, so they recommend placing youngsters in secure jails, including adult prisons, at ages as young as 13.

Neglect is expensive: It costs nearly $20,000 a year to institutionalize one child. The bitter irony is that a fraction of that amount might have provided their families with the well-being to help eliminate the chain of events leading to crime.

"The problem," Professor William Julius Wilson points out, "is the sharp increase in the number of impoverished female-headed homes—the underclass families. Nearly 78 percent of all poor black children under 18 live in homes headed by women. The problem is not so much the absence of the father as it is their poverty. They are permanent recipients of welfare, and unless a serious program of economic reform is introduced, these children will be permanently trapped."

The magnitude of the phenomenon is a new trend that has been termed the "feminization of poverty." But a partial solution would be to provide the opportunities for these women to acquire job skills—to help them regain their sense of self-esteem, the loss of which is passed on to their children. But even if a program of full employment existed, few mothers could take advantage of it without day care centers.

But in the present political climate, it is unlikely that the government will do it. The futures of both poor and middle-class black children may truly be in the hands of the black middle class of our generation.

Professor Wilson cites the lack of attention to such legislation as the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill, which would have provided jobs to the most needy. "I went to one meeting on it," Wilson says, "and hardly anyone showed up. Compare that with the attention given to the Bakke case. People are looking after their own narrow self-interests. I wish the middle class would give the same degree of attention to programs that uplift the black poor. Now blacks should support Congressmen Conyers' and Hawkins' efforts to press for full employment. Blacks who have the education and professional clout should organize and lobby for legislation that will bring about economic reform. "Society is not going to function with a permanent underclass," says Wilson. "But a major program of economic reform could eventually eliminate poverty in the United States; it could even happen in our children's lifetime."

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**CHILDREN LIVING IN POVERTY**

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<td>13.0</td>
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<td>11.7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>41.6</td>
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**INFANT MORTALITY**

(Percentage of deaths per 1,000 infants under 1 year)

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<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>NONWHITE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportionate decline in 28 years</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>54.4</td>
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Source: US Department of Health and Human Services; 1978 data subject to revision.
Youth In The Labor Market

High rates of unemployment constitute one of the most pressing economic problems facing the United States today. And to a considerable extent, blacks and other minority-group members are carrying an excessive part of the burden of joblessness. Yet, very little is being done to solve it, and the drive of the Reagan Administration to cut the federal government's budget may make the situation worse.

At the end of 1980, there were 7.8 million workers unemployed in this country and 1.6 million of them were teenagers. Young people constituted 8.5 percent of the civilian labor force, but they held only 7.5 percent of the jobs and accounted for 20 percent of the total unemployment.

The overall unemployment rate was 7.4 percent at the end of 1980. However, it was 17.8 percent among 16- to 19-year olds and 37.5 percent among black youths. Behind these ratios were 1,610,000 jobless teenagers—of whom 1,234,000 were white and 376,000 were blacks and members of other nonwhite minority groups. So, while black teenagers represented 1.0 percent of the nation's civilian force, they held 0.6 percent of the jobs and made up 4.8 percent of the total unemployment.

The reasons why young people suffer disproportionately from high rates of joblessness are numerous and complex. Many black teenagers are victims of continuing racial discrimination and the legacy of segregation. Isolated in the ghettos of large cities, these youths are cut off from many of the jobs that are available in the suburbs; lack of information means many of them do not know how to go about finding work.

But we must also face the fact that many teenagers—even those with high-school degrees—enter the labor market with little command over the basic communication skills. Indeed, a large proportion find it difficult to read, write, and figure well enough to perform even entry-level jobs in commerce and industry. In many cases, this is the fault of the poor schools they attended. Nevertheless, possession of basic skills will become an even more pressing requirement in the years ahead.

The federal minimum wage is also a handicap for young people looking for jobs. One cannot state dogmatically that the minimum wage causes the high level of unemployment among teenagers; however, the best evidence collected by economists indicates that the minimum wage is a contributing factor.

The statutory minimum wage is now $3.35 per hour—raised from $3.10 effective January 1 of this year. The new minimum wage is about one-half the average paid in all of private industry. It is just over two-fifths of the typical wage paid in wholesale and retail trade and about 55 percent of the average in the service sector of the economy.

At the beginning of this year, 5.5 million of the 98 million workers in the United States were receiving the minimum wage. Most of the adults who were at that level most probably earned what they were paid. However, many businessmen find that many low-skilled employees contribute barely enough to cover wages and other costs of putting them on the payroll.

This is especially true of teenagers who are just beginning their work careers. We ought not to be surprised by this fact. After all, as newcomers to the labor market, teenagers have had no opportunity to acquire skills. We should also realize that most mature workers learned much of what they know through on-the-job training. This is true even of college graduates who enter the marketplace with a degree but with little practical experience.

For a number of years, I have favored a lower minimum wage for teenagers. I would set it at 80 percent of the minimum wage for adults. This ratio would produce a youth wage today of about $2.70 per hour. An employer would be able to pay this beginning wage to those persons in the 16- to 19-year-old range.

A sub-minimum wage for teenagers is opposed by organized labor and civil rights groups. Last winter, the mayors of New York City and Los Angeles gave their support to the idea. There is also strong support for it in Congress and the Reagan Administration. Consequently, some form of a differential wage for teenagers may be enacted some time in the next few years.

In the meantime, we need to expand public expenditures to help provide young people with skills to compete successfully in the labor market during the current decade. This need was recognized by the Carter Administration. In the last budget sent to Congress in January, former President Jimmy Carter renewed his proposal to institute a special youth-training and employment program. To finance the effort, he requested an appropriation of $1.2 billion. The proposed youth initiative empha-

Black teenagers are 1.0% of the labor force, but hold only 6% of the jobs and represent 4.8% of the unemployed

sized the mastery of basic arithmetic and literacy skills.

The federal budget for the 1981 fiscal year provides $9.0 billion for manpower programs: This amount is intended to underwrite 1,164,000 service years—representing an average cost of $7,736. The youth components of these existing programs call for spending $2.5 billion to support 393,000 service years. Thus, the average cost is $6,453.

The Reagan Administration has embarked on a course which will result in sizable reductions in federal spending for virtually all manpower programs. The special youth program will probably be among the casualties.

The per capita outlays for manpower programs may seem high when viewed in isolation. However, they should be seen as investments in human resources which are likely to yield substantial returns in the years ahead. These would accrue not only to young people who would acquire the skills needed to be more productive workers, but also to the society as a whole.
DURING THE past 20 months Atlanta's tragic case of 20 murdered and two missing black children has become the focal point and in some cases top priority for media coverage for news organizations throughout the world.

Many of the media members have made the crisis front page headline stories or top stories in their broadcast. In the print media headlines of the largest point size have proclaimed such sentiments: "Atlanta Held Hostage" as "Killings Continue," "Blacks Deny Riot Threat in Wake of Teen's Death," and other sensationalized headlines.

Furthermore, some have even reported that racial tension in Atlanta is at its highest level because the prevailing thought seems to suggest that a non-black faction or factions are responsible for these heinous crimes.

The big problem, states one editorial from a mid-western newspaper, is that I do not believe it would have taken this long to find the killer or killers if the victims were white.

Another northern publication implies that this rash of killings targeted at the black community is a "measure being utilized by the city's white community to discredit its black administration."

ALL OF these accounts and others have given a number of citizens outside of Atlanta and Georgia a totally different, if not slanted version of the factual occurrences in the city.

While refuting many of the allegations made by the various media it will not be refuted that tension does reside among the citizens of the community. However, these tensions are not of racial or violent nature.

In every instance the black and white communities have pulled together in a valiant effort to bring to justice the perpetrator(s) of these crimes.

To be sure, anger and disgust are present, but all of this anger, disgust and frustration is focused upon those person(s) who've taken the lives of the city's children and by virtue of these acts threaten the future of the city's remaining youth.

While support from the entire community has been overwhelming, via financial contributions to aid in the investigation and to aid the families of the slain children, other support has also been established by members of both the white and

FOR INSTANCE, programs addressing themselves to the mental needs of the city's youth, some who have experienced unfortunate mental frustration due to the crisis, have been established throughout the metropolitan area in an attempt to allay the fears harbored by the kids and their parents.

Moreover, city officials and other community leaders have cautioned their constituents to refrain from suggesting all these crimes are racially motivated in order to avoid racial, "polarization in this most strenuous situation." In one instance a mid-western newspaper columnist stated in a March 12 edition of his paper that neither Reagan nor the government of Georgia had provided any assistance.

There is a lot of rhetoric— the U.S. is discussing some funds but none of this date, been forwarded," the article said. On March 5, the Federal government allocated $479,000 to the city to provide after school care for the children in those areas where most of the crimes occurred. Too, it will provide counseling for parents and housing of deprived youth. Moreover, on March 11, Georgia Governor Busbee signed a contract allocating over $200,000 to the city to cover soaring overtime costs.

FINALLY, it would be remiss to say that all of the members of the media have misconstrued the crisis in Atlanta, for this is not the case.

A number of mediums have taken extreme caution in efforts not to practice overt sensationalism: on the other hand, however, some news agencies have not been totally accurate in reporting the affairs surrounding the crimes, causing persons outside of the city to construct different and sometimes horrifying portraits of the situation.

In the future it is hoped that the continued coverage of these activities, while not covering up, should be more careful and attempt to accurately relay the accounts in the city.

Relay to readers that Atlanta has pulled together and has become a family of one in an all-out charge to not only apprehend the responsible person(s) but also in efforts to strengthen as well as further the development and character of the city's youth.
THE INVESTIGATOR
Leading the Hunt in Atlanta's Murders
By M.A. Farber

Lee P. Brown, Atlanta Commissioner of Public Safety

In two years, 26 black youths have disappeared; the bodies of 25 have been found — murdered. And it is police commissioner Lee Brown's heavy duty to oversee the task force investigating these appalling deaths.
By M. A. Farber

ike so many of Atlanta's black children today, 15-year-old Jo-Jo Bell often boasted that "no kid snatcher was going to get me." But last March 2nd, after looking for work at a fast-order fish restaurant near his home in southwest Atlanta, Joseph disappeared. On Easter Sunday afternoon, April 19, his mud-caked, decomposing body was pulled from the South River, in neighboring DeKalb County. The body, snagged on fallen branches at a bend in the narrow river, was discovered by a couple enjoying the lush green foliage along a bike trail. It was clad only in gym shorts. Jo-Jo Bell, who was suffocated before being dumped in the river, became still another victim of a tragedy that, with relentless regularity, knocks the breath out of a bewildered city.

The table near the entrance to Northside High School's gymnasium is laden with brightly printed posters, bumper stickers and pamphlets that say "Take a Minute, Save a Child" and "Help Keep Our Children Safe — Reward Up to $100,000." The adults filing in pick up the materials and head for the folding chairs. Most of the crowd is young and most of it, like the neighborhood around the school, is white. Off to the side, his hands in the pockets of his beige suit jacket as he chats with reporters and waits for the television cameras to be set up, is a tall, solidly built, light-complexioned black man. The woman who introduces him says he is here to discuss "the situation in our city." For the fourth consecutive night, Lee P. Brown, Atlanta's 43-year-old police commissioner, is addressing a community meeting, trying to balance reality against the need to offer hope; trying to cap the city's mounting fear.

There is only one "situation" in Atlanta — the disappearance of 23 black children and three slightly built young men in their early 20's since July 1979. Twenty-two of the children and the three black young men have been found murdered, perhaps half of them or more slain by the same killer. The deaths are coming faster and faster now, with the young men accounting for three of the last four bodies discovered. But with no arrests, and with the murders being mourned by a nation surfeited on violence, Lee Brown — himself the father of young twin girls — is under pressure that few of his colleagues in criminology will ever know.

Every time a mother goes to pieces at a funeral, every time vigilantes arm themselves with guns or bats, every time the monied barons of Peachtree Street reassert the city's sturdy, progressive image, every time Maynard Jackson, the city's first black Mayor, appeals for faith in the police and declares that Atlanta is "not about to crack," the pressure builds. When President Reagan committed up to $1.5 million in March to help pay for Atlanta's investigative task force and said that all Americans pray that "this nightmare will soon end," the pressure for results intensifies. And no one feels it so much as the reserved, scholarly ex-police sergeant who heads Atlanta's finest.

This is Lee Brown's case, and his cru-

Atlanta police, searching for clues that might shed light on the city's murdered and missing children, removed this box of items from a vacant house in January.
The body of Aaron Jackson Jr., 9, is carried from a river bank in November. Many of the victims have been discovered in secluded areas off major highways.

The body of 13-year-old Timothy Lyndale Hill, the 21st victim, is wheeled into the morgue. Until his body was found and identified, he had been listed as a runaway.

Police Chief George Napper (left) with Deputy Chief Morris Redding, head of the special investigative task force. On the wall are sketches of possible suspects drawn by psychics.
At a memorial service for Yusef Bell in November, his brother Jonathan, 12, recites a speech. The 9-year-old boy’s body was found the year before.

Erected by an Atlanta resident in 1979, this sign decries crime in a city where the police are "underpaid, underequipped and underequipped."

In March, a vigil and march, sponsored by the Harlem Coordinating Committee to Stop the Atlanta Murders and led by the mothers of two of the murdered children, was held in New York.
cible. He assigns the personnel and equipment for the task force, now composed of more than 50 police officers and civilians from Atlanta and nearby law-enforcement agencies. He approves the investigators' strategies; he deals with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has put nearly 40 agents on the case. And he arranges for the mental-health and educational programs designed to ease the anxieties, but increase the caution, of Atlanta's youngsters.

"It all centralizes in my office," says Brown, who, as Commissioner of Public Safety, heads the city's fire, corrections, civil defense and police departments. "I'm not out there telling the field men how to beat the bushes on the child murders. But, ultimately, I'm responsible for all that goes on."

The first black American to receive a doctorate in criminology, Brown enjoys a superb reputation nationally. "I'd place him among the five best police commissioners in the country," says Patrick V. Murphy, president of the Washington-based Police Foundation. Brown's rise began in the mid-1960's, when, as a young police officer in San Jose, Calif., he developed a widely acclaimed community-relations program. Brown was soon chosen by Portland State University in Oregon to head a new department of criminal justice. In 1975, he was named Sheriff of Multnomah County, which includes Portland. And in 1977, when he had drafted a National Urban League anticrime proposal to President Carter and was scheduled to be deputy director of the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Brown was lured to Atlanta to reform a police department torn by conflicts over race, political meddling and personalities.

His work until now has been eclipsed by the bodies of the 23 boys and young men and two girls found in Atlanta's woods, rivers and abandoned buildings in the last 22 months. Since the children who are dying are black, and since the city is two-thirds black and its municipal government, more than any other in the country, is controlled by blacks, Brown is under particular scrutiny by members of his own race. To many of them, as to many whites, he is something of an enigma. "It's hard to read Lee Brown," remarked an official who

Police Chief George Napper (left) with Deputy Chief Morris Redding, head of the special investigative task force. On the wall are sketches of possible suspects drawn by psychics.
has observed him closely. "He's glib, he has the facts, but, beyond that, you can't tell the real depth of his ability. You wish he'd let you get a glimpse now and then of what's inside."

More elusive still is the case that dominates Brown's life. The task-force headquarters is located in a low-slung building a few blocks north of the gleaming office towers and shops of Peachtree Center. The building once housed an automobile showroom and has large plate-glass windows. But, now, those windows are completely painted over, so that no passer-by can glimpse what's inside. The public hears and reads about dog hairs and synthetic fibers recovered from some of the children's bodies, without knowing the significance of the evidence. It hears about psychics and bounty hunters who come to town to crack the case, and don't; about Guardian Angels from New York who offer their services, and get a mixed reception; about "super-cops" from other cities who fly in to offer advice, and fly out again; about tips that seem promising, and don't pan out; about cars that may be suspicious, and aren't found. It hears about arrests of men in other states who might be connected to the case, and are later deemed not. It hears about arrests, stemming from the case, of crank callers and child molesters.

But it doesn't hear about the arrest of the killers. Last month, William H. Webster, the director of the F.B.I., caused an uproar by saying, in Washington, that four of the child murders were "substantially solved." Atlanta officials were put out by the "casualness" of Webster's "overstatements" and were furious, the next day, when an F.B.I. agent in Macon, Ga., told a civic club that the four had been killed by their parents because they were considered "nuisances." The F.B.I. soon backtracked. However, the incident underscored the belief of many law-enforcement officials and forensic scientists in Atlanta that only some of the killings are the result of a "serial" or "pattern" murderer and that others are the kind of random child deaths that Atlanta and other cities always have — the kind that are usually solved.

"I think you ought to be able to catch somebody," says Griffin B. Bell, who came back to his Atlanta law practice...

Responding to the killings, Chimurenga Jenga, a community activist, addresses a group he formed to patrol the Techwood Homes Housing Project.

Sandra Broughton teaches her son, Sean, 9, to fire a .35-caliber pistol while his 11-year-old sister watches.
Brown: ‘If I had the elements to make an arrest, I’d make an arrest. There are no hidden agendas. But nobody is going to make an arrest just to take the heat off, and if anybody in my command even thought of that, I’d fire him. We must have a system with a semblance of justice."

On the evening of May 21, 1979, a year after he became Commissioner, Brown was filling in for Mayor Jackson at an awards ceremony in a theater in the well-to-do Buckhead section of the city. As he was reading a proclamation, he fainted and slumped to the stage. He had been working day in and day out, and he was exhausted. When lung tests at the hospital also showed that he was smoking too much, he gave up cigarettes altogether. But no sooner was the Commissioner out of the hospital and back on his feet than a man scavenging for redeemable aluminum cans in Atlanta’s isolated Niskey Lake area made a discovery that, in time, would change Brown’s life and the life of a city of 425,000. For just as Brown, the son of a fruit picker whose schooling ended in the third grade, had reached the pinnacle of his profession after years of study and struggle, he was caught up in one of the strangest and most heart-rending episodes in the annals of American crime.

At first, the man searching for cans on July 28, 1979, thought he had come upon the remains of a dead animal. But, moving closer, he noticed black trousers, a belt and the torso of a black boy who would turn out to be 13-year-old Alfred Evans. Lacking other physical signs, medical examiners assume that Evans had been asphyxiated after disappearing from his southwest Atlanta home on July 25. In the 90-degree heat, a sickening odor of decomposition hung over the dump. But the smell was not so much from Evans as from still another body, lying in underbrush 150 feet away. Edward Smith, a 14-year-old who was last seen leaving a skating rink near his home in southwest Atlanta on July 20, had been shot to death with one bullet that passed through his body.

This was the beginning — two cases, linked by the locations of the bodies and differing, in that respect and others, from the eight or so child murders that occur each year in Atlanta. While these victims, like the 26 the task force is investigating, are often young black males, the crimes are usually committed in the heat of passion by relatives or acquaintances, the bodies are found with dispatch and the cases are “solved” quickly. For example, two months after the Evans and Smith deaths, an 8-year-old black boy was shot to death and, the same day, an uncle of the victim was charged with the crime. Some months later, a black youth of 16 was fatally shot and, within hours, his sister was arrested.

On Nov. 5, 1979, however, the police were confronted with the skeletal remains of Milton Harvey, found in a remote section of East Point, a community immediately southwest of Atlanta. The 14-year-old had disappeared a month earlier while bike riding near his home in northwest Atlanta. The cause of his death could not be determined. Three days later, another body was discovered, that of 9-year-old Yusuf Bell, whose death became the fourth unsolved murder of a black child since July of that year. Yusuf, who was not related to Joseph Bell, whose body was found two weeks ago, had been strangled to death before being secreted in the maintenance shaft of an abandoned schoolhouse. He was last spotted running an errand for a neighbor.

There were no puzzling deaths of black children between November 1979 and March 1980, and the police, at that time, saw “no common denominator” in the unsolved cases. However, in the spring of 1980, the suspicious disappearances or deaths resumed, reaching a total of 12 by July. Mothers of some of the slain children organized a Committee to Stop the Children’s Murders, publicly challenging the quality of the police work on the cases. And Lee Brown, looking for a better means of focusing the police investigation, decided that July to form a task force composed of one sergeant and four investigators. Still, the murders continued. By the end of 1980, an ever-expanding task force was probing the disappearances of 17 black children, 13 of whom had already been found murdered.

The situation has only worsened this year. Already, nine boys and young men have disappeared and been found slain in 1981, and the police have recovered the bodies of three children who were missing in 1980. With the exception of one boy, whose body had mild abrasions, none of those on the task-force list appear to have resisted their killer. Toxicological tests at autopsy showed that none of the victims who were children — generally poor, from broken homes, accustomed to scavenging for a dollar and small for their ages — were drugged or given alcohol. None had been mutilated and none, according to the results of oral, rectal and other examinations, had been sexually assaulted.
assaulted. But law-enforcement officials and forensic scientists have not ruled out sexual attraction as a possible motive in the 10 or more cases that, in the past six months, they have come to believe are the work of one killer, one whom they fear may be feeding upon the publicity surrounding the case. Some of the more recent victims, who have been strangled or suffocated, have been found disrobed down to their underwear. Only 23-year-old Michael McIntosh, found on April 20 in the Chattahoochee River, was naked. Brown says the task force has no idea at this stage whether killers of the children are responsible for the murders of the young men. "We're trying to figure out what this development means," he adds.

From some of the recent bodies, as well as from the clothing and remains of some of the earlier victims, the Georgia state crime laboratory has retrieved similar synthetic fibers and natural hairs, perhaps belonging to an Alaska husky dog. The fibers and hair may contribute little to apprehending a killer, but they could help convict one.

Meanwhile, authorities are now scouting for a middle-aged, light-skinned black man with long hair who was reportedly seen driving around in a green station wagon last month with a youth who was subsequently found dead in an abandoned apartment building. Task-force members are also studying fingerprints lifted in the apartment, although the prints may be those of derelicts who take shelter in the building.

Several months ago, Brown revamped the leadership of the task force, installing Morris Redding, an Atlanta deputy police chief, as its director and Inspector J. R. (Robbie) Hamrick of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation as its investigative coordinator. The 40-year-old Hamrick, a former intelligence officer and agent on the G.B.I. major-crimes squad, was head of the agency's Atlanta office before his appointment as supervisor of G.B.I. field operations. He was lent by Gov. George Busbee, who was said to be increasingly concerned about the progress of the child-murders investigation. The strengthening of the task force, which had been led by W. J. Taylor, an Atlanta police major with a background in community relations, has tempered, but not squelched, criticism of the special unit.
number of law-enforcement officials say the task force, a racially mixed group drawn mainly from the ranks of the Atlanta police department, is "overwhelmed" with tips and information, and short on experienced homicide investigators. "There's a void of investigative competence at the highest levels of the Atlanta police, growing out of the dissonance in the department over the last decade," says an official of a community adjacent to the city. "Brown's doing his best, but it will take years to correct."

Privately, officials tell stories of inept surveillance of suspects, insufficient analysis of data and inadequate interrogation of witnesses in the current investigation. "There's been a lot of nonsense associated with this tragedy, from the brandishing of reward money on television to the trampling of volunteers through woods looking for bodies and evidence," says a source close to the F.B.I. in Atlanta. But volunteers are not the only people trampling through the woods here. "One day," recalls Dr. Joseph Burton, the DeKalb County medical examiner, "I had to inspect the bones of five dogs, a deer and a pig's hind quarters. Everybody who finds a bone now thinks he's got something."

The child-murders investigation has also been marred by jurisdictional disputes among the agencies cooperating with the task force. In January, Dr. Robert Stivers, the medical examiner of Fulton County, which includes Atlanta, threatened to press charges against F.B.I. agents and state lab technicians for "disturbing" the scene where a body was found. "We're just fed up with it," Dr. Stivers said. In March, when some law-enforcement agencies around Atlanta complained of losing their "independence" to the task force, Brown agreed to modify a proposal for investigative control over cases in which children's bodies were found outside the city limits. "We were bound to have some problems," Brown says, "but we're meeting them and we're trying everything that carries any promise. I make no apologies for the members of the task force. They are dedicated and diligent." Even the task force's use of a psychic — a move that was ridiculed by many people, including parents of some of the slain children — is defended by Brown: "If it doesn't hurt, and it has any potential, we're willing to try it."

Dr. Julius Debro, an Atlanta University professor who sees Brown often, says the Commissioner has "aged 20 years in the last few." But if anyone, he says, can hold this investigation together and see it through, it is Brown. Brown's own view is that no one could have prepared for this crisis, just as no one can steel himself for the death of yet another.
Coretta Scott King and, to her right, the entertainer Ben Vereen leading a solemn Atlanta march in the young victims' memory.

For a quarter of a century after World War II, while Atlanta was forging its position as the financial, commercial and transportation hub of the Southeast, its police department was run by the much admired Herbert T. Jenkins, an Atlanta institution at a time when the prevailing color of politics had yet to change from white to black. An autocrat who could make a sergeant a captain one day and a captain a sergeant the next, Jenkins hired the city's first black policemen — although, for years, they could patrol only black neighborhoods and were not allowed to arrest whites — and enforced the city's policy of peaceful school desegregation.

One thing Jenkins was unable to do was name his successor. In 1972, Mayor Sam Massell passed over Jenkins's choice, Assistant Chief Clinton Chafin, and gave the job to John Inman, an assistant chief friendly with the Mayor's brother, Howard. Inman was dogged by allegations that he had mixed with hoodlums and was taking his cue as chief from Howard Massell. More importantly, Inman was also a target of Maynard Jackson, then the city's Vice Mayor, who, like many other blacks, considered Inman a racist who condoned police brutality, a charge the Chief and his supporters vehemently denied. After Jackson was elected Mayor in 1973, with 95 percent of the black vote and 22 percent of the white, he tried to replace Inman with Chafin, who is now the police chief of Fulton County. But Inman refused to give up his quarters, surrounding himself for a time with rifle-toting members of Atlanta's Special Weapons and Tactics team. The Mayor responded to this first challenge to his authority by establishing a new post, Commissioner of Public Safety, over Inman, who later retired. As commissioner, Jackson picked A. Reginald Eaves, a black college friend active in Democratic politics in Boston, where he supervised a jail and was also administrator of the Mayor's Office of Human Rights.

Within weeks of his installation in August 1974, Eaves demoted or transferred scores of Atlanta police officers; some, backed by the predominantly white Fraternal Order of Police, went to court, alleging reverse discrimination. But, on the bias issue, blacks had got to court first. In 1973, the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, noting that blacks made up 51 percent of Atlanta's population but only 22 percent of its police force, demanded redress. With the suits languishing in court, and the force divided along racial lines, the hiring of new officers was restricted and the size of the force, as high as 1,700 in
1975 dwindled to 1,100.
Eaves was credited with increasing the proportion of black officers to 33 percent; but, in 1978, as a result of testimony in the discrimination suits, he was implicated in a police promotion scandal. Two prominent lawyers, appointed by the Mayor to investigate the matter, concluded that Eaves had “expressly authorized” cheating by a select group of officers, mostly blacks, on the 1975 promotional examinations. Eaves, now representing a heavily black district on the Fulton County Commission and a serious contender in the Atlanta mayoral race this year, denied any wrongdoing. But Jackson, after much waffling, forced him out as police commissioner and, in May 1978, replaced him with Lee Brown. The Mayor had considered Brown for the job in 1974, but then Brown seemed too “quiet,” lacking “bravado.” Now he seemed just right.

Lee Patrick Brown was born on Oct. 4, 1937 in Wewoka, Okla. When Lee was 5, his family piled their belongings onto a truck and, following the Okies’ route, headed for California. In the San Joaquin Valley, Lee’s father worked as a picker on the grape farms around Fowler, south of Fresno, and Lee’s strong-willed mother, Zelma, found steady employment as a restaurant cook. Young Lee, who during the summers made some money “pitching” watermelons or sacking potatoes, went to school in Fowler, where only a handful of the 400 high-school students were black. An above-average student and a four-letter athlete, he was a football scholarship to California State University at Fresno in 1955. “When a friend signed up for courses in criminology, I signed up, too,” he says. “But I stayed with it.”

Brown married a fellow student, Yvonne Streets, and qualified as a police officer in San Jose, the second black officer hired. Between 1960 and 1964, Brown “did everything you do as a cop”—directed traffic, walked a beat, drove a patrol car, worked undercover in drug and vice enforcement, investigated crimes. In 1965, Brown was promoted to sergeant in the juvenile bureau. He was also elected president of the San Jose Peace Officers Association. The next year, as assistant to the chief of police, he developed one of the earliest formal programs to improve relations between police and minority groups. “We did some pretty unorthodox things,” says Brown, “like helping people organize rent protests or get utilities or get jobs and scholarships.”

Meanwhile, Brown received a master’s degree in sociology at San Jose State University and a Ph.D. degree in criminology, in 1970, at the University of California at Berkeley. In 1975, as Sheriff of Oregon’s most populous county, he decentralized the police force into geographic “teams” and initiated a restrictive policy on the use of deadly force. But it was Brown’s long-held ambition to run a major police department in a city with a significant minority population.

In 1977, Brown wrote a position paper that the National Urban League hoped would form the basis for an anticrime message to Congress by President Carter. The message did not come to pass, but the paper distilled much of Brown’s thinking about crime and minorities: In Brown’s view, crime cannot be controlled by a system that fails to apprehend most criminals, fails to mete out equal justice to those caught and fails to rehabilitate those imprisoned; any successful strategy must include a massive, sustained attack on the “root problems” of unemployment, inadequate health care, substandard housing and discrimination. In this context, says Brown, the police must be “community activists” who facilitate “non-violent change.”

In conversation, Brown tends to be matter-of-fact about his own encounters with discrimination. “Race,” he says coolly, “is relevant in America. In my own profession, you won’t find a city of any size where the mayor is white and the police chief is black. And that’s not by choice of the blacks.”

In early 1978, after Brown had moved up to the position of director of Multno-(Continued on Page 88)
Brown eases his 6-foot 2-inch frame into the high-backed chair of his office in downtown Atlanta, near police headquarters. The office, with tan walls and rust carpeting, is as immaculate as its occupant. In the center, a coffee table supports a few books on Georgia and annual reports of the departments for which the Commissioner is responsible. The blinds behind Brown’s sprawling desk are drawn, cutting the noise from the interstate highway five stories below.

“When I came here in 1978, the police bureau was at a standstill and there was no respect for the chain of command,” says Brown, who is paid $49,800 a year. He ticks off the changes he has instituted: The discrimination suits were settled, enabling the police to resume hiring and to plan for a promotional examination this summer; of the 1,270 officers now on the force, 42 percent are black; the department was revamped administratively; police operations were further decentralized around “natural neighborhoods”; community-relations efforts were broadened and a “call screening” program was started to help the police react speedily to the most serious crimes.

Not all went well, however. Among other things, salaries are still low, among the lowest of large police forces in the South. Brown was criticized for naming as chief George Napper, a former college professor and crime analyst who had no on-the-beat police experience. Griffin Bell, serving as an informal adviser on crime to Mayor Jackson, suggested there was still a need to “depoliticize” the department.

In 1979, Brown’s first full year as Commissioner, Atlanta’s crime rate soared. Homicides numbered 231, a 60 percent increase over 1978. But last year, while the nation’s crime rate rose 10 percent, and the South’s 11 percent, according to F.B.I. reports, Atlanta’s inched forward only 1 percent. Despite the increased number of child murders, the homicide rate in 1980 declined 13 percent.

The Commissioner leans forward in his leather swivel chair, shifting the weight of his 215 pounds. “If it weren’t for the deaths of these children,” he repeats almost apologetically, “we would have a success story.”

Brown’s day begins about 6 A.M., after five or, on a good night, six hours of sleep. The Commissioner lives in a turn-of-the-century frame house in Atlanta’s West End with his wife and four children. Yvonne Brown, who occasionally sings at benefits, is a former librarian. The Browns’ 11-year-old twins, Jenna and Robyn, are sixth...
cases — such as a series of sex-related child murders in Michigan in 1976 and 1977 and, more recently, a series of rape slayings of elderly women in Columbus, Ga. — are never solved.

Brown bristles at the suggestion, advanced by some local law-enforcement officials, that the police already have enough evidence to make arrests in connection with some of the child deaths. "I tell you that if I had the elements to make an arrest now, I'd make an arrest. There are no hidden agendas. But nobody," he snaps, "is going to make an arrest just to take the heat off, and if anybody in my command even thought of that, I'd fire him. We have to have a system with a semblance of justice.

Since most of Brown's day is taken up with matters pertaining to the child slayings, he delegates a larger share of his usual business to subordinates; asks for more oral, rather than written, reports, and makes increasing use of outside consultants for advice on departmental affairs. "I'm not afraid to ask for help when I need it or when I'm pressed," he says. Brown foregoes lunch, unless it is placed before him at a business or community function. By late afternoon, he has discussed personnel and various safety matters with Chief Napper and talked on the phone to John D. Glover, the agent in charge of the Atlanta F.B.I. office, and to Mayor Jackson, whom he briefs regularly on the status of the task-force investigation, which has already cost Atlanta more than $1.5 million.

"Brown," says Jackson, who is ineligible to run for a third term, "was a real coup for Atlanta. Hiring him was a decision I have never regretted." At 5 P.M., the Commissioner is whisked a half-mile to police headquarters for his daily meeting with senior commanders. Though some officers consider Brown ineffective and "academic" — a commissioner who merely preaches fairness and consistency — his reputation among the troops seems rather solid.

"He has the respect of the ranks," says one sergeant who joined the force in 1962. "He's intelligent and he doesn't make off-the-wall statements."

At 6 P.M., Brown is back in his office, reviewing proposals for the mental-health and safety program for Atlanta's children, for which he has secured a $979,000 grant. And, by 7:30 or 8 P.M., he is off to another meeting, usually with a black community group that wants to know about "the situation." "The black community will never be satisfied until the killers are caught," says the Rev. Joseph E. Lowery, president of the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "And it will take years to eradicate the problems between the police and black people here. Just naming a black police commissioner won't do it. But I've been with Lee Brown at many meetings in the black community, and people have confidence in him. He's not a tough cop — he's a gentleman cop. Sometimes I wished he'd kick over a chair or slap his fist on a table and say, "By God, we're going to catch those killers. But that's not his style."

If he's lucky, Brown gets home at 10:30 or 11 P.M., time enough perhaps to unwind with a glass of chablis and a game of chess with his son. "Pat doesn't discuss the details of the case with me or the children; he wouldn't think that was professional," says Mrs. Brown. "Whenever they ask him, he simply listens and tells them to be logical in their thinking. He has tremendous drive, my husband. But he also needs a rest — a time, like anyone else, to regroup. I keep telling him to take a hotel room for a couple of days and just sleep. But he only smiles, and goes back to work."

Shortly before midnight, Lee Brown opens his briefcase and starts to pore over documents about Fire Department training, the financing of a new jail and the feasibility of a secret-witness program for the police department. Also awaiting him is a draft of the forthcoming report of the National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal Justice, of which he is chairman. Maybe some weekend — again, if he's lucky — he will have time for one of those family talent shows where he stands on a box and imitates Billy Eckstine and makes up stories where he throws imaginary monsters across the sky.

About 1 A.M., Brown slips upstairs to bed. In downtown Atlanta at that hour, police recruits and others are keeping the late watch at task-force headquarters, answering phones, clacking out reports, planning for the next day. Under lights that never go out, they search and wait for "the one bit of information" that might begin to unravel the awful mystery that has pained the city for so long.
BY JOE KLEIN

The first two bodies were found on a blistering Sunday in July 1979. Both were boys. One had been destroyed by a shotgun. It was impossible to say how the other, found only 150 yards away, had died. Much of the “evidence” had been eaten by wild dogs; the rest was bloated and ruined by the summer heat.

The discovery was noted inconspicuously at the bottom of a weekend crime report in the Atlanta Constitution: two bodies had been found by the police near Niskey Lake. Later, they would be identified as Edward Hope Smith and Alfred James Evans, and their names and faces would become familiar to all of Atlanta and much of the nation. But at first—perhaps, appropriately—they were just two corpses, anonymous and unnoticed.

Two black children, dead.

From her window, Camille Bell can see downtown Atlanta shimmering like a mirage, towers of steel and glass—the New South in all its glory. She can see construction cranes raising concrete sheaths, new hotels with vaulted, majestic lobbies, fountains and hanging plants; air-conditioned and encapsulated, a world apart.

Closer to home, there are vacant lots and shattered glass, the rotted wood-frame houses and ravaged, crumbling housing projects of Mechanicsville. The triumph of the New South is a dimly perceived illusion here; the people of Mechanicsville only venture into that other world as busboys or waitresses, or prostitutes servicing the 18,000 conventioneers who clog the city each week. Most, though, are untouched by the new prosperity. Their lives are bordered by garbage and despair. The knowledge that blacks have taken over the political structure of Atlanta, that they’ve nudged their way into the middle-management of great corporations and created their own suburban enclaves to the southwest and east of the city, is small satisfaction. Upward mobility seems as distant a dream as the shining towers of the new city; in Mechanicsville, hope is rare and fleeting. And that is why Camille Bell and her children are so precious to the community.

... She is a veteran of the civil-rights movement, an intelligent woman who could have done any number of things for herself. Yet somehow—despite all the disillusionments of the 1970s and a broken marriage—she’s managed to retain the same spirit she brought to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee headquarters in Atlanta in 1962. She has remained in the ghetto by choice. “I’m a shoelace—that’s my job,” she says. “I keep this neighborhood tied together. If the electric company turns out someone’s lights, I try to get them back on. When the old lady down the block has trouble getting her social security, she comes to me and I deal with the bureaucracy. I’m good at that sort of thing.”

JOE KLEIN is the author of ‘Woody Guthrie,’ published last October by Alfred A. Knopf.
Much of her energy has been centered on the Paul Dunbar School, which all of her children have attended. She fought to get a program for gifted children into the school, despite the school-board bureaucracy who said, "But there aren't any gifted children in that area."

"We've got retarded kids, don't we?" she replied. "Why not smart ones?"

She won that battle, and her children—who are extraordinarily gifted—have reaped the rewards. There's Jonathan, 12, who won an acting role in a television drama (his wages, which might have gone for food and clothing, were put into a college trust fund); Maria, 9, is another aspiring performer; and also possesses certain toughness and organizational sense ("She'll be a business executive," her mother predicts). And although Tonia's too young yet for school, she's beautiful and alert, and there was Yusuf.

Yusuf was quieter than the others, more deliberate, less glib. "His mind wasn't on childish things," a neighbor would say. "He wanted to be something. He was like Abraham Lincoln," Yusuf was a math and science whiz. He read the encyclopedia for recreation, and his immediate goal was to get a used computer and some spare parts, put the thing together and play with it. "Can you imagine that?" his mother says. "A computer in a house project! But we would have found money for it, one way or another. Had they wanted a computer, he would have gotten it.

Because Yusuf was so solid and trustworthy, many of the older people in the neighborhood would send him to the store—pay him a dime or a quarter to get them a pack of cigarettes or a carton of milk. And so it was on October 21st, 1979, the last warm Sunday of the year, that Miss Pearl—the elderly lady who drove once a week—gave Yusuf seventy cents to get her a box of snuff.

When an hour had passed and no Yusuf, Camille Bell began feeling uneasy. This wasn't at all like him. She checked with his friends. She went down to the store. Yes, he'd been there. About an hour ago. She checked with more friends and neighbors. She began calling the hospitals and, eventually, the police. The cops, who cruise Mechanicsville regularly, said they had not seen Yusuf going into the store; he'd been swinging a stick and kicking a can. "He looked like a vision of the last days of summer," one of the patrolmen said. The only other evidence came from a neighbor woman, an alcoholic, who said that maybe he was just not possible she had seen Yusuf getting into a blue car.

A week passed, and nothing. Camille called an Atlanta Constitution columnist to ask for help; after his story appeared, the newspapers started calling her. They ran pictures of Yusuf and such headlines as POLICE SEARCH FOR GIFTED CHILD. On November 7th, the police found a body—badly decomposed, unidentifiable at first. "That really took me out," she remembers. "I was sure it was Yusuf."

It wasn't. It was Milton Harvey, another black child. He had been missing since early September. The cause of death was uncertain.

They found Yusuf three days later. His body had been dumped into the crawl space of an abandoned elementary school. The cause of death was strangulation—and there were several details that were, in a way, quite bizarre. Apparently the child hadn't been dead for more than four or five days. His clothes appeared to have been cleaned and his body washed. It was almost as if he'd been prepared for death.

When Camille Bell opened the door and saw the woman from the Missing Persons Bureau standing there with tears in her eyes, she didn't need to hear anything, or know anything more. She grabbed Tonia in her arms and went to the neighbors... and for the next several months drifted—shocked, unable to comprehend. She remembers only a few scenes from that time: a convoluted discussion of funeral arrangements, the casket being cranked into the grave—but it was as though she were watching it all on television.

Christmas came and went. That January, the dull ache sharpened—she felt guilt, and then anger. She kept calling the police. Had anything turned up? Were there any leads? The police treated her brusquely.

Camille settled into a strange kind of loneliness. She was surrounded by people, and she continued to do community work. "But I was obsessed by Yusuf," she says. "That's all I wanted to talk about. I talked and talked, but it never seemed to help."

It wasn't that her friends didn't try to comfort her. In fact, they took great pains to shield her from bad news—as when Angel Lamire, a twelve-year-old black girl, was found dead in early March, sexually assaulted and tied to a tree, her panties stuffed down her throat. Not only did he know that nine-year-old Jeffrey Lamire Mathis, who resembled Yusuf in many ways, had disappeared around the same time on his way to the store; a little girl said she'd seen him getting into a blue and white car.

Camille Bell didn't learn about any of that until she met the mothers of those children, a meeting arranged by another "shoelace" in the black community, Mary Mapp, who figured—correctly—that since all of them had lost children, they might have something in common. "We met in early May," Camille recalls, "and there was an immediate rapport."

They remained in touch throughout the spring with late-night phone support. When Eric Middlebrooke found his black child—his late-May, it seemed natural—and include her in their network, when Christopher disappeared on his way swimming pool in early June in a late-June. And when Anthony Carter was found stabbed to death in early July.

By then, seven black children had been murdered and three had disappeared in a year—more than double the usual rates in Atlanta. As Camille Bell related, her bereaved family, she began to realize that they had more in common to each other and to each other. "It's not just, one little face, they all, to each other. But we don't want to know the city, now, do we?"

It is entirely possible, perhaps likely, that the police response was not as rapid or as thorough as it might have been when a white child was involved.

As a city, Atlanta is a testament to the power of public relations. Since World War II, it has grown from a/font/ railroad town into a major financial center larger because of the white people that it was a city of religion, Atlanta, the Deep South. While less efficient towns governed civil rights would work with "big black dogs and carry a white man's lead."

Atlanta demurely advertised itself as "The City Too Busy to Hate." If you're a northerner, you can't help but think of the city, you can't help but think of the city. But it's going to be a great place, and it's going to be a great place, and it's going to be a great place.

There is no real sense of privilege among black middle-class. There is prosperity, and process.
And problems. The police department, primarily, had difficulty keeping up with the city's rapid social and demographic changes; the force remained predominantly site and territory undermanned. When the police began to soar in the late 1970s—at the same time that disputes between department's new black hierarchy and white rank-and-file became public—the business establishment grew jittery. In 1979, homicides rose sixty percent, and suddenly Atlanta had the highest murder rate in the country. After a visiting physician was shot and killed outside his hotel by a manchafed hotel manager, the Wall Street Journal decided to trim its readers, who tend to be enthusiastic optimists, about the perils of life in Atlanta. It was a story that sent shivers through local hoteliers and the mayor's office.

Few people questioned the good intentions of Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown or Police Chief George Napper, both of whom black men with Ph.D.'s in criminology. In fact, it was Brown's scrupulous honesty that had, to a certain extent, created the appearance of a crime wave in the first place; he insisted that his police report every crime a practice that is, surprisingly enough, rare in most American cities especially those that hope to create an illusion of tranquility or the tourist trade). These were groundings that Napper and Brown were just too academic, not realistic or tough enough to run a bigger-city police department. According to some sources, the mayor and others eventually convinced Brown to be more "realistic" about crime statistics—felony rates were down slightly in 1980. In any case, the black children of Atlanta had chosen an impulsive time to start getting themselves killed.

Still, the kids were dying and something had to be done. In early July, the parents of the dead children called a press conference to protest police inaction. When a reporter asked if their group had a name, Willie Mae Mathias blurted, "We're the Committee to Stop Children's Murders." At this point, no one—not the parents, not the police—really believed that the murders and the disappearances were linked. There didn't seem to be any sort of pattern. The bodies had been found all over the south side of Atlanta, and the victims had died in different ways. Angel Lanier was the only one who had been assaulted. Eric Middlebrooks was killed just weeks after he'd testified against three kids in a robbery, and most people figured his death was the result of a vengeance beating. The police suspected that the first two deaths—the bodies found near Usrey Lake—occurred after the kids had stuffed a drug dealer, LaToya Wilson, disappeared, her parents said, when a kidnapper broke in through a window, crawled over her brother's bed, walked past her parents' bedroom and snatched LaToya from her bed, where she was sleeping with her sister—all without attracting any attention. A neighbor said she'd seen someone carrying the girl from the house, but hadn't reported it because she thought it was a family member. Some of the other parents were so skeptical about all this that they refused to include the Wilsons on their committee.

"We didn't mean to imply that there was any one person going around murdering our kids." Camille Bell says. "We were just angry because the police weren't doing anything."

But that's not the way it came across. Public response to the parents' press conference was immediate and sensational. The newspapers proclaimed a RASH OF MURDERS OF YOUNG BLACKS. The police, perhaps still more concerned about public relations than anything else, set up a five-member task force to study the cases. When asked if the deaths were linked, Lee Brown said, "We're not discounting any possibility." And while no one had actually come out and said it, the people of Atlanta reached the conclusion that a madman was on the loose.

On July 30th, Earl Lee Terrell, 10, disappeared.

On August 30th, Clifford Jones, 13, disappeared. He was found the next day, strangled.
pattern? Well, perhaps. Since July 1980, children seemed to disappear every twenty-five days or so. The cause of the last several deaths had been identical: "gentle asphyxiation," said the medical examiner. The bodies had been found in strikingly similar positions; laid out on their backs, arms and legs extended. And, according to several sources, the bodies seemed to have been carefully washed.

But Yusuf Bell had been washed, too. Was it possible that the killer had been at work from the start, but that his efforts had lately been embellished by a grisly rise in the "natural" attrition rate for poor black children in Atlanta—a combination of child abuse, parental neglect, juvenile criminality and sexual perversion?

In mid-November, a fourteen-year-old black girl was found strangled in a motel room, but police said her death was "absolutely not connected" with the others; later, it was revealed that she'd had a prior arrest for prostitution. That same month, a sixteen-year-old boy disappeared from his home. Several weeks later his body was found, strangled, just outside the city. But the police refused to include his case with the others—it was said that he was a suspect in a robbery. Connected or not, these latest cases were further evidence that survival was becoming an increasingly difficult proposition for black children in Atlanta.

The reports of near-abductions, disappearances and suspicious men lurking about became epidemic. As another twenty-five-day cycle came to a conclusion, the black neighborhoods of Atlanta were in panic.

A young girl said that a light-skinned black man had told her to get into his black and white car or he'd kill her, but she ran away.

A hysterical woman claimed she saw a young black boy being grabbed by two men in a brown car, but no child was reported missing.

A ten-year-old black child said that two men, a black and a white, tried to drag him into their gray Cadillac, but held him and escaped. He said he'd been approached by the same men two weeks earlier, in a blue car, and they had tried to lure him with money.

Theories and rumors were ripe.
N othing happened. How could it be? In the movies, something always happens. The case builds to a climax. The killer leaves a fateful clue or returns to the scene of the crime or turns out to be someone really interesting, like the police commissioner or one of the parents. In the movies, the five all-star detectives come to town and break the case (and already, in New York and Hollywood, book and movie projects were in the works based on that very premise). On television, the whole thing transpires in a fixed and reasonable amount of time.

In Atlanta, though, the investigation meandered, the clues were confusing and the killer—if, indeed, there was one—erratic. The city had reached a point where it almost needed something—even horrible—to happen, some further evidence that a killer was out there, that a pattern had emerged and the case could eventually be solved. At an informal meeting of police and media executives in late November, it was decided that it might be best to try to reduce the level of tension in the city. A newspaper editor suggested that the police finally make it clear to the public that all the murders weren't connected, and Lee Brown issued a fuzzy statement to that effect.

The statement wasn't necessary. It is difficult to sustain terror and, as the weeks passed and the "killer" didn't strike again, the anxiety subsided and the city returned to a subdued approximation of normalcy. The number of weekend searches dwindled, and there was talk that the U.S.A.C. was graduating. The body of skeletal remains were found on the south side of Atlanta—just seventy-five yards from the body of Milton Harvey, who had been discovered in November 1979. One of them was immediately identified as Christopher Richardson. It took ten days to determine that the other body was Earl Lee Terrell.

Like a cancer that comes out of remission more virulent than ever, the panic returned and the city slid into a state of continual despair. For the first time, the police could say that at least three of the murders—Richardson, Terrell and Harvey—were definitely linked. It also seemed probable now that whoever had been killing the children had been at work from the start. But still there were no really encouraging leads as to who the killer or killers might be—or even how many of the other murders might also be linked—and the continuing frustration caused tempers to grow short. The police took force

blamed the Missing Persons Bureau for botching the search for Fabie Geter. The medical examiner ordered a new examination of the尸体, the retrieval of the two bodies.

Police Chief Napper reportedly said it was possible now to determine that the killer (or killers) was mobile, and knew the city of Atlanta well.

"I told him this long to reach that conclusion," Camille Bell said, "we're in trouble."

In mid-January, the city spent four days celebrating the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. It was a somber time, filled with a deepening frustration and sense of loss.

"You hear all these white folks worrying about who shot J.R.," said Reverend Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "I don't care who shot J.R. I want to know who shot down Martin's dream.... I want to know who shot the life out of sixteen children here in Atlanta."

On January 15th, Camille Bell found herself sharing the small space at a King birthday rally with Andrew Young, Coretta Scott King and other leaders of the civil-rights movement. Andrew Young, trying to find "a stroke of hope in a mountain of despair," spoke of all that blacks had accomplished during the past twenty years. Mrs. Bell spoke, too, briefly, about the need for blacks to rediscover themselves in Martin Luther King's principles, but nothing she said—eloquent as it was—was as compelling as her very presence on the platform. She sat there, the mother of a slain black child who'd dreamed of having a computer in a housing project, a reminder of hopes wasted and a nightmare that continues.

As this story was going to press, on January 23rd, the body of Terry Poe, 13, was found thirty-five miles from her Atlanta home. He had been missing two days. The cause of death was strangulation.
of San Francisco, the New York subway system and it was not the Klan who injected syphilis into six hundred black men at Tuskegee. Why Atlanta? I don't know except the Center For Disease Control is located there and Emory University is heavy into genetic engineering.

While everyone was looking at Jonestown and Iran, the most important case in the history of the courts is underway in Northern California. The wife of Congressman Leo Ryan, who was killed in Jonestown, is suing the U.S. govt, because they have documented evidence that the CIA was not only there but involved. And if the San Francisco mayor hadn't been murdered in his office, he would have had to go before the grand jury and explain why: all those little black children from the city's foster homes were sent to Jonestown. I bet when the pattern is examined, we'll find it to be the same as the pattern of missing black children in Atlanta.

I've always believed that the alleged skeletons of the black boys in Atlanta are in fact skeletons from Jonestown. I've got folks in the Atlanta Police Dept. who have told me the skeletons they are matching up with the bodies don't match. Tell me why this government would keep some Jonestown skeletons at an army base for over a year and a half and then say they burned them empass. They're going to have to show me.

-Out of the whole Atlanta pattern, only two were girls. Authorities know one of the girls was ripped off by either her parents or someone close to her house. The other girl was tied to a tree, raped and shot. They have no business putting those girls in the pattern. Omitting the girls, you are left with seventeen boys aged six through sixteen. Out of the seventeen boys, sixteen of them were exceptional students. That type of information had to come off a computer 'cause I sure can't tell the exceptional from the non-exceptional students in my neighborhood.

I wanted to know why this racist government would give black people $175 billion to check out sickle cell when most blacks ain't never been to a sickle cell funeral in their life. UCLA did research and discovered a new game in town called interferon. It sells for $2 billion a pint and cures the worst form of cancer. However, their studies found that only mice interferon can be used for mice, that made from dogs could only be used on dogs and that made from humans can only be used by humans. UCLA's research found that the best interferon on this planet for humans has sickle cell in the blood.

They got black folks believing...
KKK teaching children guerilla war tactics

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — A Ku Klux Klan leader says the use of paramilitary training camps is "nothing worse than the Boy Scouts," and children as young as 8 are being taught guerrilla warfare tactics.

"Instead of playing baseball or out kicking a football around they are learning how to survive," said Louis Beam, Grand Dragon of the Texas-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Beam was one of 50 Klansmen attending a "National Leadership Conference" at the Birmingham-Jefferson County Civic Center.

Spokesman claimed 250 Klansmen from 30 states were represented, but no more than 50 took part in a day-long conference and cross burning late Saturday. The Klan has never revealed its membership.
Atlanta Murder Trial Testimony Ends

By WENDELL RAWLS JR.
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Feb. 25 -- Testimony in the murder trial of Wayne B. Williams ended today with his mother saying the authorities had ruined her family, "but they haven't produced any evidence my son is a killer."

Judge Clarence Cooper of Fulton County Superior Court scheduled final arguments for Friday at 9 A.M., with two hours allotted for each side. Deliberations by the jury of eight blacks and four whites could begin in late afternoon.

The jurors, instead of convening in the small jury room, are to deliberate in the courtroom because of the bulky exhibits submitted as evidence. Among them are a eight-foot model of the James Jackson Parkway bridge over the Chattahoochee River, from which Mr. Williams is said to have thrown the bodies of Nathaniel Cater, 27 years old, and Jimmy Ray Payne, 21, the men he is charged with slaying.

There are also a car seat, dozens of maps and charts and scores of photographs of microscopic sections and cross-sections of carpet fibers and dog hairs mounted on sheets of posterboard.

In an abbreviated session today, a parking lot attendant, Henry L. Ingram, a rebuttal witness for the prosecution, said he saw Mr. Williams's parents, Homer and Faye Williams, drive into the lot about 5 o'clock one afternoon last May. Moments later, he said, two young men walked to the car where one of them "snatched open" the door on the driver's side and pulled the elder Mr. Williams out of the car. The father and the younger man "scuffled" in the parking lot, he said.

Mr. Ingram said he later recognized the younger man as Wayne Williams, a 22-year-old self-styled music promoter, when he saw him on television.

The attendant said that the elder Mr. Williams told him that his son had been angry at his refusal to rent a car for a friend.

Anger Is an Issue at Trial

Mr. Williams's anger has been an important issue in the trial, the prosecution trying to establish the defendant's propensity to violence and murder.

The defense, on the other hand, tried to present an ambitious, "carefree, happy-go-lucky, all-American" youth who harbored no rage and was incapable of such destruction.

For the outset, the defense strategy seemed to be to show that Mr. Williams had been framed by a law enforcement community desperate for a scapegoat in Atlanta's ordeal of 28 murdered or missing young blacks in 22 months.

The defense lawyers said the prosecution witnesses were lying about everything adverse to the defendant, that the police and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation had "programmed" their accounts and that other witnesses bore grudges against Mr. Williams.

But against a prosecution case that was based on two items, a splash in the Chattahoochee River when the defendant was said to have been on the bridge and the presence on the bodies of fibers that purportedly came from carpeting in the Williams home, the defense could bring only Mr. Williams's parents to the witness stand to try to establish an alibi for him. And their credibility was cracked by conflicting evidence.

The father, for example, testified that he used the family station wagon on a photographic assignment until 11:30 p.m. on May 21, the evening when other witnesses said they recalled seeing the defendant with one of the victims. But the elder Mr. Williams could not show the assignment listed in his log book, as dozens of others were.

The mother said the fibers found on the bodies could not have come from her carpet, as alleged by the state, because she bought it in 1968 and the state's own fiber analyst said it was not manufactured until 1971. She exhibited photographs purporting to show the green carpet in her home in 1968.

Then the man who sold the carpet to the Williamses said he had not formed his company until 1971 and that he and the carpet installer could identify their signatures on the loan agreement for the carpet. It was dated Dec. 7, 1971.

The defense spent much of its effort trying to refute prosecution implications that Mr. Williams was a homosexual who preyed on young blacks. The prosecution never said that Mr. Williams was a homosexual, but a teen-age witness said he saw Mr. Williams holding hands with a victim and another said the defendant had made a sexual proposition.

This defendant testified in the final days of the trial. On the first day of his testimony, he was calm and assured. The second day he was cool, but positive. The final day he was angry, surly and filled with insults for the prosecutor, the judge and the law-enforcement officials who had trailed and arrested him.

"If you wanted the real Wayne Williams, you've got him right here," he said on the witness stand.
Williams hurt own defense—expert

From Sun-Times Wires

ATLANTA—Convicted murderer Wayné B. Williams jeopardized his defense by barring testimony that he was sexually inadequate, the psychologist who reached that conclusion said Thursday.

Dr. Brad Bayless also said the 23-year-old black photographer was "most definitely" capable of murder "from an emotional standpoint," but could not have acted alone in the string of Atlanta area killings.

"I strongly believe—it's my opinion—that Wayne is not capable of doing this all by himself," said Bayless, a forensic psychologist from Phoenix, Ariz. "There will be others implicated in this down the road."

ASKED IF HE REACHED any conclusions about Williams' motive for murder, Bayless said, "Power. It was power and an obsessive need for control."

Bayless said his testimony would have countered prosecution allegations that Williams had a "Jekyll and Hyde" personality, but he said the defendant's "need to be seen in a positive light" kept him off the stand.

Twenty-eight young blacks were killed over a 22-month period. Williams was convicted Saturday in the deaths of Nathaniel Cater, 27, and Jimmy Ray Payne, 21, and the defense was allowed to link him to 10 of the other killings. Police now say they have evidence tying him to 21 of them.

Bayless helped defense lawyers select a jury and conducted three interviews with Williams to prepare a psychological profile. He said he was told near the end of Williams' sensational nine-week trial he would not be called to testify.

BAYLESS SAID HE would have disputed the testimony of two black teens that Williams made homosexual advances toward them. He said he believes Williams is "asexual."

"In my opinion, I think Wayne is clearly not what you would diagnose as homosexual by any means. He's not bisexual either, and he's not what you would consider as being a heterosexual because he's never had any success with women in his development."

Bayless said, "Wayne didn't like some of the things I was going to say. Wayne, in his need to be seen in a positive light, felt it was detrimental."

But the psychologist said Williams' defense suffered because he did not allow the testimony.
Atlanta wants to know why

By Charles Madigan

ATLANTA — It all had to end someplace. This two-year battle with nightmares of strangled children and bloated bodies pulled from rivers.

It was an absolute heartbreak to live through, a long-running series of murderous events that was overwhelmingly depressing and that cried out for a solution.

At about 6:30 p.m. last Saturday, eight blacks and four whites announced that they had reached a decision.

They said Wayne Williams was a murderer, that he killed Nathaniel Cater, 27, and Jimmy Ray Payne, 21, and dumped their lifeless bodies in the Chattahoochee River!

To the public, Cater and Payne were little more than two ghastly autopsy reports and the opinions of medical examiners.

But Williams was found guilty and sentenced to two consecutive life terms. Police later said he was responsible for 23 of 29 black homicides that occurred in the last two years.

IT WOULD SEEM at this point that all of the loose ends had been tied up. Williams has been elevated to the status of multiple murderer.

The task force that investigated the killings is being disbanded. However, the police department has set up yet another task force that will investigate all city homicides in the future.

But there is no satisfaction in the Williams verdict. In fact, it is about as unsettling as it can possibly be. That is not because Williams was railroaded or a scapegoat, as his attorneys claimed. The jury made a decision based on the evidence.

The problem is that the state has not answered the biggest question of all: Why did this tragedy happen?

Maybe we all watch too much television. Television detectives always have all the answers. They use deduction and tiny snippets of evidence and brilliant logic to explain the most ghastly crimes.

We have watched for the better part of two months now while the prosecution has pursued its case, and the deaths are almost as much of a puzzle today as they were when the firemen were pulling the bodies from the rivers.

WHY DID HE DO IT?

Georgia law provides that a prosecutor doesn't have to show motive to win a conviction, and there was little in the way of motive presented in the state's prosecution of Williams.

Jack Mallard is Fulton County's deputy prosecutor, and he has a mind like a steel trap. He is also so aggressive that his friends have nicknamed him "Blood." This is a man with a finely honed instinct for the jugular, and he displayed his talents well during the Williams trial.

He sent some hints to the jury. He talked about Williams as "Gemini" — a person with two distinct sides. Under Mallard's assault, Williams' Gemini became Jekyll and Hyde.

Lewis Slaton is another smart man, the county prosecutor. He wins many, many more cases than he loses. Count in the plea bargains and Slaton has a 90 percent conviction record.

He told the jury Williams was a "cunning and evil" man, comparing him in closing arguments to Attila the Hun, Idi Amin and Adolf Hitler. The hint was that Williams killed all of these poor blacks in a bid to purify the gene pool.

BUT THAT WAS IN THE courtroom. The one question Slaton and Mallard will not answer today is what they feel about the motive behind the crimes.

Slaton won't talk about it at all. Mallard says the evidence speaks for itself.

The most you can get from them is that Georgia law does not require motive to win a case. Damn that law, because it has robbed society of an explanation that would put these questions to rest once and for all.

It is most disturbing to think of those bodies floating down the Chattahoochee or South Rivers and the weeping parents and pathetic funerals and then to realize no one knows why it happened.

IT HAS INDEED been a puzzle. Just as Slaton said it would be when he opened the case in January. And the pieces did fit together for the jury, just as he said they would.

But he didn't explain in the beginning that one large piece would be missing.

The jury saw the vaguely formed face of Wayne Williams and voted him guilty.

Some fool once said that everyone loves a mystery. But there is no loving the mystery that remains in Atlanta. The police tell us the killer is in prison, and the murders have stopped.

But that unanswered nightmare of a question — why did it happen? — will haunt Atlanta for many years.

Charles Madigan is The Tribune's Atlanta correspondent.
Police have said that Wayne Williams is responsible for 23 murders, but no one can say why he committed any of them.
II.  THE CHICAGO CRISIS: THE CABRINI PROJECTS STRUGGLE
Evicted...

Neighbors watch as five families are evicted from a building at Cabrini-Green Thursday. Eighteen more from other buildings were also scheduled to be the first of some 800 families threatened with eviction by the CHA. (Story on page 3) (Defender photos by John Gunn.)
The People Speak

Let the mayor handle

Cabrini-Green

Dear editor:

Cabrini-Green has been a sore spot for a good many years now. And that sore spot developed into a horrendous cancer. Well, the Mayor has offered to do something about it. Why not, let her alone and await the outcome rather than finding all of the flaws in her plan.

There are few plans that are perfect and few situations that can be entirely wiped clean. However, it is disgusting to hear all of the negative comments about the mayor's efforts. The negative comments and remarks would be in order if those who are making them had themselves attempted to do anything positive about Cabrini, but just the opposite is the case.

Joining those on the negative side seems to be PUSH. It is calling for an end to the evictions—well if those evictions are settling the rules straight, why not have them. Since all of those slayings so far this year have been blacks killing blacks, why didn't PUSH rush in and announce that it was going to help curb this violent situation.

It could have raised loud protests and demanded that action be taken and the place cleaned up. Those in power would have heard and heeded to some of these PUSH demands had they been made.

The point of all this is rather than finding something wrong with everything that is being attempted to correct a horrible situation, these critics should join in the action and come up with something helpful.

The Cabrini-Green project improvement plans need helpers, not hecklers and the black leaders can get in there and add their know-how.

Ortega P. Nelson

Efforts help
tenants, but...

Sheila Washington

Dear Editor:

Voters working and other tenant facilities up to par in the Cabrini-Green housing project are indeed positive efforts, and a great help to the residents there.

However, a mere painting of pretty pictures on the dirty walls will not be the answer to Cabrini's ever-increasing crime and gang-related activities. Tenants in the public housing area need to hope that police enforcement of laws and peace in the community can be a reality, even without the mayor living among them. They want, and need, peace without the powerful body guards who will be there solely to guard top officials. They want to live life like others in other communities.

Because she is not black, is not unemployed and certainly is not poor, the good mayor will face a great task in trying to relate to the residents. As a concerned citizen, I would like conditions to be improved and ordered to stay that way without the mayor moving into the project; because, after her babysitting chore has ended and she returns to her usual routine, Cabrini-Green is likely to return to its unhealthy routine and the residents will again become disillusioned and heartbroken.

Sheila Washington
Today's question: "What do you think of the Cabrini evictions?"

Phyllis Hawkins: "I am very glad that someone is finally trying to do something about the wrong things that have been happening in this project. However, I am not too sure that things will improve after the guards who are looking after the mayor are gone. If we live here without guards, she should."

Laura Bland, housewife: "People who want to live for free are not responsible individuals. I figure that if a person can't pay the rent in Cabrini, as low as it is, then that person can't live anywhere. As for the crime-related people eviction, that's just great—that's the way it should be."

Jeanette Evans: "I feel that people know they have to have some place to live and they should pay their rent, especially when it's as reasonable as it is here. But I think that those people who have children and are evicted should be given help in finding another place to move to."

Tina Arant: "The CHA put on a front for the mayor's sake in the evictions. Their records were not accurate in some of the cases, and a few innocent people were hurt in the process. CHA should be more accurate in things like this. The proper procedure was not followed."
‘Condo’ a familiar word at Cabrini-Green

By DON TERRY

Converting the Cabrini Green housing development into condominiums is a hot topic around Chicago these days.

But for Herbert Welch Cabrini condo conversion is an old and depressing subject that means only one thing: black displacement from the Near North Side.

Welch first moved into the massive development in 1957 when he was 12 Years old. He doesn't live in Cabrini now, but he still works there everyday.

Welch is the director of the Intell-Gents, an all volunteer organization that works with the youth of Cabrini.

For years Welch and scores of other Cabrini residents and activists have said the real estate developers were after the 70 acres of land that makes up Cabrini.

Now with the idea or option, as some people are calling Cabrini condo conversion, is out in the open and discussed on television, in the newspapers and before congressional hearings in Washington, Welch is preparing for a fight. A fight to maintain a black presence in Cabrini Green.

"It will be a big fight if they want to convert Cabrini to condos," Welch said. "The people will fight this. We're fight tooth and nail."

In recent days several powerful Chicagoans including the Mayor, have said that converting Cabrini into condos should be a closely studied option.

Mayor Byrne said at a press conference from the social room of her new Cabrini apartment building on Wednesday that converting some of the buildings into senior citizen housing or condominiums is being studied.

She quickly added that nothing has been decided and that condo conversion is just one of several options for cleaning up the crime in Cabrini Green.

Also Wednesday, time 750 miles away in Washington D.C., condo czar Nicholas Gouletas proposed converting Cabrini Green in testimony before the House Government Operation Subcommittee.

Gouletas was in Washington to testify about the condominium business, which is under attack for its questionable tactics in moving long time residents out of buildings that are to be converted.

Gouletas proposed that Cabrini residents be the first ones allowed to buy their apartments.

"You take it building by building, refurbish the building, and then allow the people living there to purchase at only the cost of refurbishment. This would allow them to have their own building, the pride of ownership," he said.

Welch just laughed at Gouletas' plan.

"The residents of Cabrini can't afford it," Welch said. "And I can't believe that someone is going to be allowed to buy their apartment for the price of the refurbishment."

"What they want to do is move people out of the buildings, using the excuse refurbishing them," Welch continued. "And once they start moving people out then that's it, they won't get back in."

Marion Stamps, another person who works with the youth of Cabrini, agreed with Welch.

"It's a trick. For them to move on Cabrini," Stamps said of Gouletas' proposal. "They know the residents can't afford to buy their apartments."

Nelson Forrest, of the Greater North Michigan Ave. Association (GNAA), agreed with Mayor Byrne, however, that Cabrini conversion should be studied.

He added that he thought converting Cabrini and helping the present tenants to buy would do wonders for the community.

"It's an alternative plan that should be considered with other options for improved living and safety conditions in the Cabrini Green area," Forrest said. "But it will take thoughtful planning to pull it off."

It can't be pulled off legally, however, according to the general counsel for the CHA, who said most of Cabrini's buildings were built in the 1960's using proceeds from government insured 40-year bonds, that CHA was required to retain ownership of the buildings for the life of the bonds.

"But there are lots of ways of getting around that," Stamps said. "If they want to they can find a loophole."

Renault Robinson, a CHA board member, said the whole issue of converting Cabrini Green to condominiums is "ridiculous," and is just "a lot of hot air."

First Robinson attacked the idea that the present tenants of Cabrini could afford to buy their apartments.

"The idea has no real merit," he said. "We have more than 14,000 people over there and more than 90 percent of them live under the poverty line."

"There's no way that the present tenants could afford the cost of paying for a condominium," he continued. "There would also be property taxes to worry about. It's ridiculous to think these poor people could do that."

Robinson also attacked the idea that the real plan is to move the present tenants out of Cabrini, as Stamps and Welch contend, and replace them with whites from the suburbs.

"We (the CHA) have a responsibility to house people who are low income families," he said. "Where would we put all those people?"
Evicted Cabrini residents launch class action

A group of angry, recently evicted Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) tenants plan to file a class action suit against the CHA on behalf of all tenants.

According to the group's attorney, Arthur H. Grant, the case will test the legality of the evictions. Referring to a previous case, he said: "The tenants should have had hearings within the CHA by administrative staff prior to going to court."

According to that case, the procedure for termination of tenants is that the development manager and other employees make every "reasonable" effort to resolve whatever problems are causing the tenant's undesirable behavior. In public housing, the former decision maker, based on the available evidence, is such that in an unexpected case, the only recommendation of the tenant's project manager will request Management to prepare an "expedited termination."
By Jane M. Byrne

The big night of the week in any CHA project, Cabrini-Green included, is always Saturday night, and Jay and I waited expectantly for some kind of fireworks.

But we waited in vain and Jay, showing some disappointment, said he "should have stood in Philadelphia."

In fact, our Saturday night in our new home away from home on the fourth floor at Cabrini-Green was the most pleasant and uneventful of our five nights there so far.

It takes a little adjusting to get used to this new place and I suppose you can say this is a little more true of Cabrini than any other. But whatever, it's finally settling in.

We arrived back at Cabrini early Sunday evening after a day of errands and appearances and decided to "order in" for dinner.

The Greek Isles restaurant on the Near West Side served a delicious takeout dinner of Greek chicken, rice, browned potatoes, and lettuce salad with Greek olives and cheese.

The silver service and the dishes were among the furnishings that Montgomery Ward & Co. provided free for our apartment.

Jay insisted that we light a candle because he thought "candlelight in Cabrini" had a little more class. If there had been a glass of Chablis, you could have mistaken the environment of our repast for a corner in La Tour D'Argent. Well... almost.

Then it was an evening of TV.

If there was any thought on the evening it was discovery of the first two roaches in our apartment since our move-in last Tuesday. They were of a size indicating they must have been force-fed vitamins somewhere along the line.

WHEN WE MOVED IN, Jay arrived armed with four cans of spray insecticide, vowing he would become "the fastest 'gun' in Cabrini with a can of Raid."

So far he hadn't had any occasion to fire a "shot." He missed his big opportunity because he was already asleep. I did what a lot of Cabrini housewives must do: a quick two-step with the bottom of my foot up against the wall.

I have to say that ourroach-free existence certainly is not typical of the rest of Cabrini-Green. Exterminators were busy in the building in and around our apartment for some days before our move-in.

But the major question is always whether the roaches are being exterminated or only moved somewhere else. Another major question—for which I will have an answer very shortly—is whether roaches in Cabrini are so deeply en
cased in the interior cinder-block crevices that they can never be root out without an unacceptable expenditure.

Anyway, right now the score is June 2, Jay 0.

Back to Saturday night. I have spent a lot of time peering out from behind the window shades since I moved in at Cabrini. I have several reasons. I've enjoyed watching the intense level of police activity. Second, the pedestrian count and activity give you an idea of what's going on, if anything.

SATURDAY NIGHT AT Cabrini, hardly a soul was moving on the streets and sidewalks. I saw plenty of blue squad-car lights.

My first peek out from behind the window shades at 7:15 the next [Sunday] morning presented a spectacle that must have been as amazing to the other tenants of Cabrini-Green as it was to me.

A man with a rake and a litter basket was busy raking the entire premises in front of the building at 1160 N. Sedgwick, where we live. I tried to get his attention by knocking on the window to congratulate him, but he was too intent on his work.

When he finished, there wasn't one scrap of litter in the whole block.

Police officials said only a couple very minor arrests were made in the Cabrini area during the night.

Maybe Saturday night in Cabrini-Green will never be the same again. We'll see.
Cabrini-Green flares up again; cops just sit by, charge residents

By DON TERRY

"Cabrini Green is the same as Atlanta. As long as black people are dying the police and the authorities don't care. They don't do anything," said Herbert Welch, a long time activist in the Near Northside housing development area.

Welch said the response of Atlanta's police to the killing of 20 black children there is similar to the response of Chicago's police to the recent outbreak of gang violence in and around the Cabrini area:

slow, very slow.

"If the situation was reversed both here and in Atlanta, with white kids getting killed, the killing wouldn't go on this long at all," Welch said.

According to police, in the last two months 10 people have been shot to death in gang related violence in the Cabrini Green area. Police said several of the recent killings were the result of random shooting and claimed innocent lives.

Thursday police continued their search for two men thought by police to have killed 17-year-old Joseph Myles, who was gunned down Tuesday night less then a block away from two detectives who were standing on the corner of Cleveland and Division.

According to police, the two cops were patrolling the area when Myles was shot by two men. They were too far away to do anything but chase the teenager's attackers.

They lost them when the suspects ducked into a nearby building and disappeared, police said.

Welch, who was driving some kids home from a basketball game, was waiting at a stop light next to the cop's car when Myles was shot.

"There's no way that those guys should have gotten away," he said. "The police could have caught them if they had really wanted to. They weren't that far away."

Welch, 35, who grew up in Cabrini, moved into the huge housing development in 1957, agreed with police that the recent violence is part of a power struggle between rival street gangs.

He disagreed with police when it came to how much the police are doing to control the problem.

"The police said they are doing every-

(Continued on page 47)
Cabrini-Green flares up again

stopping people they know are not involved in gangs, but who are carrying guns to protect themselves, because the police can't or won't.

Marian Stamppps, another long time resident and activist in the Cabrini Green area, agreed with Welch that the police are not doing all they could to stop the violence.

Stamppps contends that the police don't want to stop the violence.

"What's happening at Cabrini is nothing new," she said. "The gangs are a tool to help run the people off the land. The police could deal with the gang situation if they wanted to."

Stampps said the recent gang war in the area is no different from the South Side gang wars of the 1960's in which much of the Woodlawn area was terrorized and burned to the ground.

During the 60's, Stamppps said, black people fled Woodlawn in fear of the massive street gangs. The area now, however, is being redeveloped, especially the section closest to the rich and University of Chicago dominated Hyde Park.

It's not uncommon to see young white couples strolling the area that was once one of the city's poorest and blackest neighborhoods.

Stampps said the same thing is happening at Cabrini and around the city.

The really sad aspect of the present Cabrini situation, Stamppps said, is that the community is sitting on its butt and allowing the problem to go on.

"Community people refuse to deal collectively with the situation," Stamppps said. "People have been manipulated around here. "Cabrini is still a community for too long. We have to stand up and fight this."

Welch, who is also the director of the Intelligents, an organization that works with the youth of Cabrini, said gang violence has been this bad in the area before.

1971 From 1960 to over 40 kids were killed in gang violence, he said.

Welch pointed to '71 period was also a time of black unrest and frustration as is today with "the Madcutter in the White House threatening to cut out or back every social program in the country."

Last summer was also a bad time in the area, he said.

But gang bangers are not Cabrini's only problem, Welch said.

The area is very poor. Over 60 percent of its people are unemployed. Many more are on aid. And there's nothing for the young people of the area to do. There are no movie houses nearby and recreational facilities are scarce.

But the police can only focus on the gang members, the people of Cabrini Green, Welch said, must work on the social ills themselves, because no one else seems to be interested.

As for the police, they arrested and charged a 24-year-old man with the shooting death Monday night of Larry Potts, 21, of 1230 N. Larrabee.

Potts was hit in the back by one of two shots fired into a first floor game room at 1230 N. Burling, where Potts was performing with a band.

Two young girls were also wounded.

Police charged James Lusby, of 1150 N. Segedwick with the shooting.
Mayor declares war on gangs

Mayor Jane Byrne Thursday announced a plan that will be aimed at cutting down crime in different neighborhoods in the city that are being plagued by gang-related crime.

Naming the Cabrini-Green housing complex as one of the target areas, she stressed that the special patrols and strict enforcement of the law will also be put into effect in other areas.

Byrne made the announcement after she, Superintendent of Police Richard Brzezczek and CHA Chairman Charles Swibel, went to Cabrini-Green Thursday and talked to residents. Details of the plan will appear in the Monday Defender.
Cabrini-Green: Black tou

By TONY FORTENBERY

In 1943, Chicago constructed a small community of rowhouses on the Near North Side. It was a new innovation in housing low income families. The city was proud of its new housing area. They called it Cabrini. In 1950, the city added some townhouses. They called them Green. Then it wasn't long before some highrises were added. They called them Cabrini-Green.

Today, the sprawling housing complex stands at 3,581 apartments, with a population of 37,873 residents. The 81 buildings of the area cover 36 acres and shadow the wealthy neighborhood directly east. While people try to avoid standing where they can be seen from windows. The fear is palpable, a daily live-in fear, a real one. Over the past 10 weeks, there have been 10 violent deaths and at least 37 known shootings. The highest in any of the large housing projects.

Police patrol on foot and in squad cars, always in pairs. "This is the easiest place in America to get killed," a patrolling officer told this reporter Thursday. "Last week we took 12 guns out of here. Not just Saturday Night specials, either, but high powered rifles, 357s, you name it. "If you went through this place and army platoon with sufficient weapons."

"Every building here is run by a different gang, but the Disciples are the main faction around here," a gang crimes unit officer said. "Children can't go from one building to another without being stopped and confronted with choices such as which gang they should ride with or to whom should they give their loyalty."

"Believe it or not, they still charge some kids to ride the elevator," a tenant of Cabrini-Green said.

A gang member interviewed for this article told us that most of the shootings and killings have been because some people didn't want to join the gangs and also because of violations within the gang structure — called flagging.

Flagging, he explained, is when a member of another gang - or an undecided youth - tells another group that he is one of them, when really he does not belong or has never joined any gang in the area. This violation could, the gang member said, mean as little as minor injuries or as much as death.

The night this reporter spent at Cabrini-Green he learned of an inside joke that is popular in the gang structure. Firecrackers. Firecrackers are exploded at all hours of the night to frighten the police officers on patrol and "to accustom the residents to the sound of gunshots," one 13-year-old boasted. The noise also disguises actual shots, he added.

This practice of diversion brought this response from Police Officer Samuel Diggs: "That gag, one of these days, will cause a cop to put a bullet between the eyes of some 11-year-old. Then the review board will fire the cop, and some soft-hearted judge will give the cop 10 years for manslaughter.

"Many a night you come so close to killing some of these clowns, it's not funny. Cabrini-Green is really funky duty."

John Woods, active in CHA affairs, said that the problems in the huge complex were not all gang problems. Looking out of his office at Jenner School, 1009 N. Cleveland, he said: "These killings are family arguments, quarrels. There are some drug-related killings. But, for the most part, it's all in the family."

(Tuesday, four youths were arrested at Jenner for shooting at a rival gang member who was on his way to class.)

The apartment that this reporter stayed in for a night at Cabrini-Green was on north Cleveland, and its occupant described his solution to the problems: "They need to tear these things down and let us live like humans again. It's terrible when a few punks have the right to say if you will live or die. Believe me, that's the way life is around here."

At 10:30 p.m., I watched out of the apartment's window, a group of teen-agers passing below. A shot rang from the group. A street light went out. Laughter came from the group below. The street, never very bright, got darker.

The night was young at Cabrini-Green. At 12:15, the police scanner for the area reported an attempted rape in front of a building at Division and Sedgwick. These were only two of many samples of the night to come. And the night was still young.

One resident was asked if police protection was sufficient.

"What can they do? I guess they do their best, but when the sun goes down, they are as scared as we are."

"Night don't really turn into day here. It's always night."

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Dynamite or condo?

Fears haunt Cabrini-Green

By DON TERRY


The visitor to the Cabrini Green Housing Development jerks his head around, scanning the roof tops for any sign of a sniper.

A little girl in pig tails and a red print dress with a Winnie the Poo Bear sewn over her heart is playing with some other little girls. They stop their game to laugh and smile at the visitor.

"That ain't nothing but a fire cracker," says the pig tails and they laugh again.

The visitor, feeling foolish, turns to the well built young man, acting as his guide of the sprawling housing project, and says: "I guess you learn the difference between a fire cracker and a gun shot at an early age around here."

"Yeah, you got to know that in order to survive," says the young man.

In recent days several allegedly gang related shootings have taken place in the Cabrini Green area, thrusting the community into the lime light (TV lights).

Reporters fill the projects and ask: "Are the gangs involved?" "Yes," the people reply, they are, but that's not... Thank you, the reporters say, packing up their cameras, closing their note books and leaving. At least that's what the guide says happens.

"Yeah, we have some gang bangers around here," begins a short man in a Cubs baseball cap. "But so does anywhere else where the conditions are this bad," he says.

Conditions are bad. About 14,000 people, over half of them minors, live at Cabrini. Of the 3,591 families in the project, 2,625 or 73 percent, are on some kind of public assistance. Unemployment is a chronic problem. And the yearly average income for the project is $3,855, according to the latest CHA Statistical Report from 1978.

Many news reports are blaming recently-released-from-prison gang members for the renewed violence.

A few years ago the gangs were quite and violence was down residents say. "A brother could sleep on the hood of his car. It was beautiful. But that's when people had some jobs," the guide says.

Jay Beck, the Cabrini Green area director of the Safer Foundation, an ex-offender job placement and counseling program, says he has knocked on every door in Cabrini telling people about his program. He knows the community and says the gang violence is part of a larger problem.

"Of course gangs are involved," he says. "They operate everywhere in America, why not here? But I blame the violence on the frustration and the deep felt depression over the economy. And, yes, just plain foolishness.

"I hope people won't feel this is a cliche," he continues, "But what we need here is programs and employment. We need ways for people to become productive, to live, not just to survive, but to live."

Al Carter, a thin man in sweat pants and button proclaiming 1980 the year of Charlie Parker, agrees with Beck.

Carter was a supervisor for YMCA funded employment programs, the Chicago Alliance of Collaborative Effort (CACE), which supplied up to 900 summer jobs for Cabrini residents. Carter dates the increased violence to the closing of CACE in 1977.

But the director of the program and a Cabrini Green activist for 15 years, John Stevens, says the gangs violence is connected to much deeper issues than jobs or conflicts over turf. The new violence, Stevens says, is connected to a thirst for real estate, very lucrative real estate.

"Jobs. Sure that's part of it," Stevens, a
Fears haunt Cabrini-Green

(Cont. from page 1)

medium sized man, with a short, gray afro says. "But I don't think that's the real thing causing us these problems. There's a deep seated political factor over here at Cabrini."

"Here look at this," Stevens says. He points to Sanburg Village, a few blocks north, to the John Hancock to the east, to Marina City to the south east, to the Sears Tower in the south, and to two blocks away a row of luxury condominiums.

Cabrini Green is a few minutes from downtown and a block or two from Chicago's chic north side entertainment district.

"The real issue," Stevens says, "is that this is a very valuable area. We're 12 minutes from the Loop. Walking distance really... the powers-that-be want the people out of Cabrini Green so they allow this violence to continue. George Dunne could have these shootings stopped in a minute, but he doesn't want them stopped."

Dunne is ward committeemen for the powerful 42nd ward, Cabrini's ward.

Dunne's secretary said Dunne was on vacation and could not be reached for comment.

Stevens adds: "They don't care about this young man," he says and pats a small boy holding basketball, on the back. "The powers-that-be only care about this ground."

Many residents of Cabrini Green say the same thing.

"The white people in the suburbs is freezing in the winter time. They are tired of spending all that money on gas to get to work. If they lived in Cabrini they could walk to work. Hell yes the white folks want this," says a 20 year resident of the development.

A woman with a bag of groceries says: "They trying to kick us out all but we going to stick around until things are good enough for human beings. We going to make Cabrini better this is our home and we ain't going nowhere."

A young man around 16 years old, says: "The rich white folks want to turn the whole place into condo and kick the black folks out. Before my mama gets kicked out of her place I'll blow the mother up. All the rent my mama's paid she already owns our crib."

Tini Vicini, Public Information Director for the CHA, says there is absolutely no truth to such rumors.

But in the recent past, the idea of converting Cabrini Green into ownership housing has definitely been discussed by powerful people in Chicago, according to urbanologist Professor Pierre de Vise of the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus.

De Vise says the conversion of Cabrini Green was one of the ideas discussed in the 1975 Chicago 21 Plain report.

This report was produced by the Chicago 21 Corporation, a coalition of Chicago businessmen and the late Mayor Richard Daley. The Chicago 21 Corp. sought the extensive redevelopment of the south loop and near north side by attracting wealthy professionals to the area.

"Of course, mod..."
Cabrini-Green: a disaster in its own time

By RONALD TAYLOR

In 1974, the City of Chicago, the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission (ILEC), the Chicago-Cook County Criminal Justice Commission and a host of private agencies spent $22.5 million to make Cabrini-Green a better place to live. In 1977, when the multi-faceted program was nearing completion, officials from the ILEC and CHA among others said Cabrini-Green was safe, and that their plan, called the "High Impact Program" (HIP) was a success.

Reports published in 1977 by the Department of Development and Planning boasted that the public housing development was "safer and more desirable place to live." That was three years ago. In 1980, things couldn't be worse for Cabrini-Green. The 37-year-old development, named after a Catholic saint and labor leader is anything but safe and is facing hard times similar to those when it was called "The Project" after two policemen were shot dead by sniper's bullets from the gallery of one of the project buildings in 1970.

It was events like the sniping of 1970 that brought on initiatives to change the environment of violence, crime and poverty that loomed over the head of public housing in general, and Cabrini-Green in particular.

In 1969, the U.S. government decided it would be wise to combine the efforts of federal, state, and local agencies to work tandem to redirect the "troubled" development in Chicago that needed "to be turned around." Their logic paid off, and from 1974 to 77, Cabrini-Green was turned around. One would even say that the public housing development that housed more than 5,000 people was experiencing a Renaissance, a period of near tranquility.

But, as mentioned before, that was three years ago. What has happened to Cabrini-Green in recent months? Why isn't it safe in 1980 as it was from 1974 to 1977?

Some critics point to the absence of HIP which they say should have lasted longer than its designated three years. Others say they were under the impression that the program did have a life span of more than three years.

The program had five major objectives: reduce crime; increase occupancy; provide security services to residents; enlist social services and aid to residents who ran into trouble with the law; and improve maintenance procedures.

Critics say that if HIP were being implemented in full force today as it was three years ago, Cabrini-Green wouldn't be worrying about the sudden upsurge in gang activity or the shootings that occurred almost two weeks ago when five persons were shot and wounded outside a community development office, and the shooting in which Chicago police officer was wounded after being ambushed as he patrolled the area.

As a result of the program's termination due to lack of funds, "things have, in the last six months, turned around for the worst," according to 20-year resident of Cabrini-Green, John Marlow the 45-year-old father of six and president of Cabrini-Green's Local Advisory Council says that the components of the program have been phased out and "we're trying like hell to get them back, or, get a program to replace HIP."

Marlow has been a resident of Cabrini-Green since the development was first built and when "the telephone wires weren't even up yet." He was elected president of the Central Advisory Council for the Chicago Public Housing Agency in 1972.

"In 1974 things started swinging into action. For the first time in the projects had jobs. Eighty percent of the residents between the ages of 40 to 45 never had jobs before; they just received public aid and benefits from the government. We had 96 residents who were head of households who never had worked before. Now they were working. The program gave them a chance, and they performed."

The program, labeled "experimental pilot" was launched in 1974, and included redesigning and monitoring four selected project buildings for progress.

Each of the project buildings received interior work such as enclosed lobbies, vandal proof mailboxes, polycarbonate glazed safety glass for lobby and door panels, new visitor mailbox, new lighting for lobbies, enclosed telephones, door buzzer system, an apartment door answering service, a 55-man police detail, elevator floor indicators and override controls, elevator speakers and closed circuit TV cameras for monitoring residents and visitor activity.

Another aspect of the program called the "Deferred Maintenance Program," was a monitoring system introduced to evaluate and eventually improve the total maintenance of the development.

A 1977 report published by the Department of Development and Planning looked at prior maintenance of the Cabrini-Green development this way:

Routine maintenance was badly needed for over 3,000 apartments and public spaces. A backlog of 1200 undeferrable work orders existed. Average time to respond to routine maintenance work orders was seven days. Emergency work orders were handled within 24 hours.

On crime and vandalism, the report said:

The estimated cost of vandalism was $1 million dollars annually, half of which was attributed to elevator break downs.

The report stressed the need for repair of the physical condition of the project buildings. It said the dwelling units and the non-dwelling units were structurally sound, but either were in need of maintenance repairs or were subject to vandalism. Grounds and other facilities such as playlots needed rehabilitation.

If the physical condition of the projects were in question then, before Cabrini-Green received funding from HIP, what condition are they in now, three years after HIP?

(Cont. on page 12)
In bad shape according to CHA employees who work around the Cabrini-Green development. CHA has absorbed the HIP program since other agencies have vacated it but is having difficulties funding, and maintaining it.

"CHA is broke, they can't afford to keep repairing TV cameras that keep breaking down. We need help," A CHA official said.

It is feared tenants are facing frustrations that plagued them before HIP came into existence such as elevator malfunction which often saw poor service and frequent breakdowns; fear of personal and family safety; anger at overcrowding and high population density; an absence of adequate supervised group and recreational services for the youth, and a lack of adequate daycare programs.

A Department of Development and Planning official, who asked not to be identified, blames the programs shut down on former President Richard M. Nixon. "Nixon put the 'cabash' on public spending. He cut it off for 10 years."

The idea of HIP was to get the residents to work with the police to fight crime, work with the CHA to close the communication gap between CHA management and tenants, work with the Department of Development and Planning and The Department of Human Services to change the environment and improve the quality of life at Cabrini-Green.

But does that situation exist today?

Not in the shape and form it did just three years ago when the development was receiving a steady flow of funding. But it was good while it lasted, all familiar with the program say.

"It was a long process. Tenants spent a great deal of their time finding out what it was that would make Cabrini-Green a better place to live," the DDP official said. "The problem is that people hoped this kind of housing would blow away in the sand. They hoped public housing would go away. There is not much sympathy for public housing or people in it, but there is prejudice against the poor. Public housing is tremendously expensive."

Public opinion of public housing has always been cool, according to the DDP official. "President Carter seemed to want to turn that kind of thinking around after Presidents Ford and Nixon, but now, he's shying away from it too." Hesitating a moment, the official said, "Looking at what the people put into the program, yes, it was a success. People took charge of their own buildings. Ninety percent of the tenants care about having a safe home. I think Washington forgets that."

Some programs under HIP lasted more than three years...

...still exist today. Others are long gone from the development. "It was better to take the 3-year program than nothing at all," says resident Marlow. "We hoped some other agencies would pick up where the others left off."

According to the 1974 DDP report, the 3-year program was worth it. At the conclusion of the Targets Progress Program, a (TTP) arm of HIP, maintenance response time to routine service requests was reduced from an average of 21 working days to less than 1 working day.

The maintenance effort was improved and tenant attitudes were improved. A decline in vandalism eventually resulted, according to the report.

TIP also added a professional staff of its own composed of CHA personnel to function in manager, fiscal, and community service capacities throughout the development to work with tenants.

Today though, the Department of Human Services is in trouble. From 1974 through 1977 during the height of HIP, DPHS employed 19 service workers to provide services for Cabrini-Green residents. Today the service is down to 6 workers and more cuts are expected.

"Management Outposts" consisting of a three-member resident team employed by the CHA to manage one particular project building was out in place from '74 to '77. Today there is only one member left of the team for each project building.

Chicago Defender
July 12, 1980
Cabrini-Green parents

fight busing program

Bad press, pushy police
fail to dampen spirits

By DAN LA BOTZ

A small but determined band of parents from the Cabrini-Green neighborhood continued their fight to keep their children from being bused out of the community Thursday.

First a boycott and a picket-line, then a march and a confrontation, minor police harassment and harsh words with authorities—though a little struggle, it had all the features of a big one.

The parents are demanding that their children, who formerly attended Sojourner Truth School and SCHOME (preschool), be bused to schools as far as 6800 north. Sojourner Truth has been temporarily closed to remove dangerous asbestos under the Board of Education's asbestos abatement program.

The parents want the Board to let their children go to what was formerly Sexton School and is now the Center for Urban Education (CUE) at 160 W. Wendell (Wendell and Wells). That building, now a landmark, has, however, been turned into a training center for teachers and administrators. Parents feel that was done to keep black children from getting any closer to the white folks who live in the high rises and town houses of the exclusive Near North Side.

The parents, who are boycotting the buses, have been sending their children to an alternative school at 625 N. Hudson in what was formerly St. Dominics Convent and is now being rehabilitated to become a half-way house according to the owners John and Georgia Stevens. Rene Ferguson in a Channel 2 news broadcast implied residents said the school was run by the Disciples, a local gang.

THE CHICAGO DAILY DEFENDER talked to the parents this morning as some were putting their children on the buses and others were boycotting. Norman Henry whose 5-year old daughter Chiquita Henry was about to begin school at Sojourner Truth told this reporter, "We want all of our babies back together here in the community." Another mother, Rachael Parker said, "They're not going on the bus, it's too far."

James Parker, a father of two children who attend Sojourner Truth had the same feeling, "That's too far and they didn't ask anybody's permission. It doesn't make any sense to send the children outside the District when they could keep them here."

But the entire group of boycotters was only about 50 parents and children, and most parents were putting their children on the bus. One mother said she thought it was good that her children got a chance to see something other than Cabrini Green.

Christine Baker, a mother of three students, told this reporter, "I don't have any objection to mine going on the bus, I visited one of my kid's schools, and he has a nice school."

And so, as some mothers put their children on the bus, others bellowed out slogans through a bull horn and tried to build the boycott. Police under the command of Sgt. Heenan clearly attempting to harass the protestors, gave confusing information about their right to picket, and they hinted.
Cabrini-Green parents fight busing program

(continued from 3)

at arrests. But the boycotters were undeterred.

When the buses left, the parents marched in a disciplined phalanx to the CUE singing, "We ain't going to let nobody turn us around."

At the CUE, the former Sexton School, parents told Tom Corcoran, coordinator of the CUE, "We went to bring our kids to school, we want to see the principal. There's room in there for our children."

"But," said Corcoran, standing behind a line of police, "this is not a school."

Corcoran said he would meet with three representatives of the group, but only if they left their children outside. The parents refused to leave their children. It was a stand off.

Again the police, all white, engaged in minor harassment of the black demonstrators. Officer Pindel (badge number 15562) told one young woman, "If you use this bull horn I'm going to arrest you for inciting a riot. We've got hundreds of police on this force and we'll bring 500 of them down here to deal with you."

For the last couple of days, these parents have been sending their children to the alternative school in John and Georgia Stevens building. According to John Stevens, 108 children attended the alternative school Tuesday and 124 on Wednesday. But the Channel 2 news story claiming the influence of the Disciples in the school may hurt future attendance. One woman told me she wouldn't send her child to a school run by a gang.

But Stevens says, "At this moment the parents are taking any support they can get. When the Disciples came to a meeting and heard their viewpoint, the viewpoint of the mothers, they said, 'this is legitimate,' and they supported them. Nobody complained when the Disciples supported the Board and the busing. "The Disciples influence between 2000 and 4000 folks. Think what would happen if they became politically active and involved in a political campaign. That's why nobody wants them involved in this issue."

Stevens said the Disciples are getting local merchants to contribute milk, bread and canned goods for the children at the alternative school, but that the parents are running the school. Asked if a gang soliciting contributions from merchants might not be considered extortion, Stevens said the merchants were willingly volunteering as far as he knew.

Impromptu lessons...

Cabrini Green children do some last minute homework before joining their parents in a rally and protest about the children being bused miles away while their school is temporarily closed to remove dangerous asbestos. (Defender photo by John Gunn)
Start moving tenants out at Cabrini-Green

By DON TERRY

The little boy sat on top of a dresser, dangling his legs over the side, watching the Cook County Sheriff's Department moving men evict his family from their apartment in the Cabrini Green housing development.

The movers piled his mattress on top of a couch they had placed halfway on the dirt and mud of the backyard of 500 W. Oak and halfway on the sidewalk.

The boy's mother ran back and forth between the building and her son: checking on the movers, begging them to be careful and then running back to the boy, telling him that everything was going to be all right.

A burly black mover came out of the building, carrying a box full of canned food. He plopped it down on the dirt and turned to get another part of the family.

As he turned, the wind picked, ruffling his green and black ribbon he was wearing for the children of Atlanta.

"But what about the children of Cabrini?" asked one resident. "Who cares about them? Where these kids gonna sleep tonight?"

Similar scenes were repeated throughout the Cabrini Green project all day. Thursday, as the Sheriff's office began evicting residents.

A spokesperson for the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) did not know how many families will be evicted from Cabrini, which houses over 14,000 people.

The Mayor has said, however, that up to 800 eviction notices will be issued.

Thursday, a spokesperson for the Sheriff's office, said that he and his men were scheduled to move out 23 families.

Originally CHA officials and Mayor Byrne said the notices would go to gang members and their families, in an attempt to wipe out gangs in the area.

The Mayor and police officials have repeatedly said that the recent gang violence at Cabrini is caused by 75 to 100 people.

'Ve ain't no dogs. There's just so much a man can take.' — Cabrini-Green youth as he watched families being evicted from his building Thursday.

According to the Sheriff's spokesperson, however, the vast majority of those tenants evicted Thursday were being moved out because they were behind in their rent.

"I just got this notice yesterday," said Bruce Conn, waving an eviction notice in the air. "They tell me I got to go today. Where am I going to go. I've lived here 25 years. I'm on unemployment now. I don't

(Cont. on page 10)
Start moving tenants out at Cabrini-Green

(Cont. from page 2)
even have a dollar. Where am I going?"

Conn, the author of a 1975 novel about Cabrini, said he was being evicted because Cabrini's manager, Elton Barrett, doesn't like him.

"I sent them my rent money and they keep sending it back," Conn said. "I'm not in any gang. I'm a writer. I'm being evicted because Barrett doesn't like me." Barrett could not be reached for comment.

The Department of Human Services was on the family to move their things to another apartment outside of their residence. The Department also provided temporary housing and storage for families that could not find their own.

"They just throwing people's things in the street like it's nothing," said Laurice Dennis, watching the Sheriff's movers pile up furniture in front of 500 W. Oak.

"It don't make no sense how they doing this," she continued. "They treating people like they dogs. I thought Mayor Byrne was coming here to make sure people were going to be treated right."

On Thursday Mayor Byrne and her decision to move into Cabrini Green was in for a lot of criticism.

"Why is she moving in here anyway," Conn wondered, "She don't need Cabrini. Poor people do."

When Conn heard that the Mayor will only have to pay a pay a dollar a year for her fourth floor apartment in the 1160 N. Segdwick building, he nearly started to cry.

"A dollar. She has to pay a dollar and she makes $60,000. You know how many people could live around here off of $60,000?" he asked. "A couple of hundred at least. Brother that woman is too much."

The evictions completed at 500 W. Oak, the Sheriff's men climbed into a couple of cars and headed for another building around the corner.

"This is just nothing but harassment," said Elise Gray. "Getting the gangbangers out of here is a good idea. But why do this to people who ain't doing nothing?"

"And look at all these police," she continued, looking at three cops watching the furniture stack up. "You used to have to wait forever to get any police to come over here. Now that Byrne is coming they're here. We don't count unless she's around."

Herbert Welch, director of Intell-Gents, watched the movers go in and out of the buildings. He shook his head, "This is crazy," he said. "We have been fighting for years to get CHA to do some of the things they are doing now. Like fixing up the streets and patching up rat holes. They are doing everything we don't. But we never told them to treat people like this."

Alexander Nelson, another member of Intell-Gents, equally with the day's events.

"This is all a media hype. Keep Jane Byrne's name in papers," he said. "She has a flip flop. Now she won't really move into full time, she's just going to a piece at several projects."

"What is this really all about," he continued, "is to cover up her other moves. Like the school board thing."

The sky was getting darker. It looked like rain, but the movers kept moving people out. Often no one was home when the movers arrived, so they left everything sitting in front or back of the buildings.

"This is going to start some real problems around here," said Lee Harris, a resident of Cabrini for 21 years. "People aren't going to take this much longer without saying something or doing something."

On Thursday the evictors went about their business without any trouble. The residents milled around and watched. The police also watched.

However, before the day was over and the movers had finished their court-ordered chores, it was learned that two families had been wrongly evicted and they were moved back into their apartments.

A few young men, their hands in their pockets, their faces looking very hard, talked about the future.

"We going to riot if they keep this s— up," one man said.

"Maybe that's what they want," another offered.

"I don't care. We ain't no dogs. There's just so much a man can take."
BYRNE MOVE TO CABRINI SIGNALS "DENSITY CUT"

"Where will we go?"

As Chicago's media fell over itself praising Jane Byrne's decision to "move" (actually to establish a "second residence" which she will stay in from time to time) to Cabrini Green, Cabrini Green area residents are raising serious questions about what they call "Jane of Arc's" mission of salvation to the projects.

In fact ACCN has learned, from sources close to the city, a five month investigation into methods of drastically cutting the density of population has been quietly going on. The main focus of the "density-cut" will be the high-rises. It is into one such high-rise that the mayor has announced she will move to "study the life-styles" of Cabrini residents. Observers anticipate she will conclude shortly from her "study" that the high-rises must go.

Already drastic measures are being taken to empty out Cabrini Green. Eight hundred evictions, "termination of leases," are already in the process of being delivered to people who are allegedly "harboring gang members or other undesirable elements." In reality, sources say, anyone who has someone living in their apartment who was not listed in the original lease (including relatives) is slated for termination. This may amount to the elimination of up to 2,500 of the project's less than 14,000 people.

Security measures, including an apartment by apartment "weapon sweep," resident identification cards to gain entry to the projects and metal detectors, threaten to turn Cabrini into an armed camp. Suggestions that this heightened security is in any way similar to the kind of security offered well-to-do residents of Lake Shore Drive high-rises are scoffed at by area residents. "On Lake Shore Drive," they say, "police and security guards are there to protect the "And then out we go."

The question haunting area residents is where will 14,000 people find alternative housing in the city with a vacancy rate well below three percent?

The announcement by Byrne supporter, Alderman Tyrone Kenner, that he will move into Robert Taylor Homes is causing a growing rumble among public housing residents that a full scale attack on public housing may be in the works. While admitting freely that density in these projects is much too high, CHA tenant activists contacted by ACCN question the city's ability or serious intent to provide new housing sites.

Continued from page 1

And then out we go.

The question haunting area residents is where will 14,000 people find alternative housing in the city with a vacancy rate well below three percent?

The announcement by Byrne supporter, Alderman Tyrone Kenner, that he will move into Robert Taylor Homes is causing a growing rumble among public housing residents that a full scale attack on public housing may be in the works. While admitting freely that density in these projects is much too high, CHA tenant activists contacted by ACCN question the city's ability or serious intent to provide new housing sites.
Cabrini-Green—Could the Trouble Have Been Stopped Last Summer?

Cabrini-Green — If actions requested by Cabrini-Green and Near North area residents had been taken last summer, the terror and killing going through the area now might have been prevented, according to some community residents. In the wake of 10 killings and over 30 other shootings in the last few weeks, *All Chicago City News* interviewed members of the Tranquility Community Organization and its executive director, Marion Stamps.

"Last summer the same thing was going on that is going on now in the community. The Tranquility Community Organization along with other sisters in this community called a meeting. There are no recreational facilities available for young people so we had to go to the Department of Human Services to get space for a meeting. They said yes, but when we got there we were locked out of the building with the TV cameras in our face. When we asked later why they had locked us out, we were told that the orders came from downtown.

"Then the preachers and the politicians got together. They called a meeting over at St. Matthews Church. They were supposed to meet with the leaders of these different youth groups, but when the TV cameras left, they left. When the youth leadership sat down and said, 'Look we need some jobs, we need some recreational facilities, we need a decent place to stay,' they didn't want to hear it.

"If we had taken some of these brothers off the street and put them in these construction jobs that are going on all over this community, we wouldn't be going through what we're going through now.

"There is a building over on Chicago Avenue that used to be a taxicab stand. We submitted to these preachers and politicians to help the community buy this building and set up a skating rink and a bowling alley. The young people could be responsible to operate this facility. It wouldn't be based on one group against another, it would be a collective effort of all the different factions of the community.

"We also submitted a proposal to them to get a site and set up a program to make shoes, training and involving the youth of the community.

"We told them there needs to be a summit meeting, not just with the different leadership of these youth factions, but with the community,

Continued on page 7
the families of these young kids. We needed to take these young kids and the leadership and put them on a farm somewhere and have a week of orientation and analysis of what they're doing to each other.

"We told them that we wanted to have a unity day. We would get all of these groups together, along with the children and have this big old unity day out here on this lot that everybody's scared to walk on.

"But they threw a monkey wrench into it. We submitted a budget for $1800. They made a commitment to us. But instead of taking that budget through the proper channels, they came back and gave one group some hot dogs one weekend, gave another group some hot dogs and chicken another weekend and gave another group some hot dogs and barbecue on still another weekend.

"The bottom line was that these politicians and these developers run this city concretely. The program that we had brought to them to deal on was a program that was necessary to move towards unity. And they know that once we get unified then the question of who's going to control this land will no longer be a question."

As to the current situation, Ms. Stamps explained that people, acting in fear, are "screaming for more police protection." But Ms. Stamps points out, "The police are part of the problem. To solve the problem we need to look at ourselves. We need to ask ourselves, 'how much have I contributed to what's going on?' We are all responsible for what's going on in this community right now. Either by our actions or non-actions, we are responsible and only the community can change it. If we sit back and think the police are going to solve the problem, then the war is going to escalate."

"The 42nd Ward, in which Cabrini is located," Ms. Stamps explained, "is the home of Jane Byrne, George Dunne lives in the 42nd Ward. Burt Natarus, the alderman, lives in the 42nd Ward. And Jesse White, the state representative, lives in this ward. And in the last few weeks, none of them have said or done anything."

What is behind the politicians' refusal to accept the solutions of the community and to take action on them? The Tranquility Community Organization points to the city's comprehensive plan and the aims of developers like Rubloff and Chadick on Cabrini-Green.

"In the 1960s the city came up with a comprehensive plan that talked about how they were going to systematically remove people from the neighborhood in order to create a new and viable Chicago and bring in a certain White middle-class economic base into the community. And here it is 14 years later and Black folks are still in Cabrini. That means the city's behind in terms of their projection of how this city is going to look in the year 2000."

Tranquility Community Organization leaders, along with activists contacted by ACCN throughout the city, compared the situation in Cabrini now to the situation in Woodlawn 15 years ago. Woodlawn was a predominantly poor and Black community which the powerful men of the University of Chicago had different plans for. Ms. Stamps and other activists maintain that the University of Chicago helped to establish organizations they could control on the one hand, while on the other encouraged the development of gang structures like the Blackstone Rangers. After the wars and burning were over, most of the community had been removed. "If we want to understand what is going on in this community, we need to study Woodlawn," says Ms. Stamps. "It is a question of who is going to control the land."
MARCH 28, 1981

OPERATION PUSH STATEMENT ON THE CRISIS AT CABRINI GREEN HOUSING COMPLEX

Residents of Cabrini-Green housing complex are being treated as though they were incarcerated in prison camps.

The Mayor's move into the complex, contrary to initial impressions that such would prove beneficial to residents there, has been the occasion for escalating police abuse and management insensitivity. As a result Cabrini has become a miniature Soweto where long dormant rules and regulations have been dredged up and technicalities paraded to enforce evictions by the hundreds.

First, the tenants of Cabrini-Green, a housing complex victimized by neglect for years, suddenly find that they are subject to be arbitrarily thrown out of their apartments without notice for infractions of rules many of which housing management has failed to enforce or virtually ignored.

Secondly, tenants moved and promised relocation have no guarantee that their next dwelling units will be adequate or suitable as those from which they were removed.

Third - police abuse and repression against residents has increased with little evidence that protection of the residents is the objective of the increased police activity.

Fourth - there is evidence that the civil rights of CHA residents and residents of the surrounding neighborhood is being violated in attempts to quarantine the projects to give them a glamorous appearance. These actions represent the most blatant hypocrisy in view of the fact that CHA management has been one of
OPERATION PUSH STATEMENT ON THE CRISIS AT CABRINI GREEN HOUSING COMPLEX

the most notorious slum lords. Therefore, PUSH commends and supports the actions of the NAACP in investigating the systematic evictions taking place in Cabrini-Green.

PUSH calls for a halt to summary eviction procedures except where there is clear evidence of danger to the health and safety of tenants, thus warranting such actions. PUSH will meet with families and urge a careful review of all proposed eviction actions and that the least disruption be imposed upon the lives of tenants living within the complex. There is obvious political capital to be gained by the Mayor in this move. There may be real estate speculation involved in the future plans of the projects also.

We appeal to Mayor Byrne to use the influence of her office to insure that tenant rights will at all times be respected and that her move in will not result in another form of terror and repression.

We urge our churches to become involved in this crisis by declaring weeks of prayer and actively undertaking missionary work in that complex. Certain it is that prayer and cooperation alone can bring solutions to the core problems of Cabrini.
Do we reclaim Cabrini—or tear it down?

By M.W. Newman
Sun-Times Special Writer

Can we reclaim Cabrini-Green housing project, that high-rise shooting ground on the Near North Side? Don’t bet on it, even if Mayor Byrne stays there every night.

We can’t just get rid of it; too many innocent people would be dumped into the street.

We haven’t the money to redo the place properly, either. Even if we did, the Chicago Housing Authority already has squandered millions of dollars on “security” gimmicks there, and hardly could be trusted with spending more.

BUT WE CERTAINLY could do something. We could thin out the project and develop a better tenant mix—although that would require management skills seemingly beyond CHA’s present abilities. CHA, Chicago’s biggest landlord, obviously needs to be upgraded if Cabrini-Green is to be uplifted.

And that has to begin with ouster of its chairman, Charles R. Swibel, said CHA’s critic, J. S. Fuerst, assistant director of urban studies at Loyola University. He and Swibel tangled openly at a CHA meeting last week.

Swibel, a wizard survivor, has headed CHA since 1963. A millionaire real estate dealer with a finger in many mud pies, he has outlasted endless bungling and turmoil, including a long court battle over CHA’s penchant for ghetto housing.

But Chuck Swibel doesn’t seem to be marked for eviction, no matter what Jimmy Fuerst says. Swibel is Mayor Byrne’s close adviser. She thinks he’s brainy.
of The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago 1895-1976. "There is no easy solution. I wouldn't put scarce resources into Cabrini-Green, draining the rest of public housing simply because Cabrini-Green is so close to the Gold Coast. We're stuck with the high-rises. I'm not sure there is an answer for Cabrini-Green.

"Of course, there has to be more police protection, better tenant screening and more aggressive evictions. But if we evict a lot of dynamite families, where do they go?"

"We know that high-rises are no good for CHA families. I'd rather see CHA convert some of its smaller high-rise projects to elderly housing. It could be done slowly, relocating a couple of hundred families at a time into other projects. We need more housing for the aged, and it can be racially integrated."

BUT WHAT ABOUT new security measures to catch the shoot-to-kill gangs and plug-uglies of Cabrini? City Hall, for instance, is proposing metal-detecting checkpoints and ID devices to nail armed residents at Cabrini. This notion has limitations. Who is to pay for it? CHA is heading for a frightening cash crisis this spring as its federal dollars run out.

"We already have spent millions on television cameras in the elevators, and they were vandalized; on monitors in lobbies that weren't staffed, on buzzer system," said Bowly.

Regardless, it's evident that the city administration will have to improve security so that CHA residents, now numbering about 140,000, feel secure. At Cabrini, home to more than 13,000 people, that would mean getting rid of the guns and knives and the worst tenants—and keeping them out, while keeping the good families.

WOULDN'T IT be simpler just to knock down Cabrini-Green altogether? It's an idea whose time may be coming. High-priced redevelopment is edging gingerly toward those dozens of ugly brick and concrete buildings a mile from Lake Shore Dr.

Cabrini-Green, in short, squats on potentially hot real estate. If U.S. authorities said yes—they pay the bills—the multi-million-dollar, tax-subsidized project could be torn down, wholesale or gradually. Why not? St. Louis got away with it in the 1970s and destroyed all 33 buildings of the infamous Pruitt-Igoe housing, a $36 million chunker.

But Pruitt-Igoe was such a ruin that it was largely unoccupied. Cabrini-Green has a lot of people. And there's a waiting list for CHA housing generally (the low-rises and rowhouses, not the monster projects). So blowing up Cabrini is an unreal notion—politically, socially, financially, morally."

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IN ANY CASE, Chicago seems to be stuck with Cabrini, one of the many housing messes it created in the Daley mayoral years of the 1950s and 1960s.

The powers that be flung millions of easy-come federal dollars into the creation of thousands of low-rent, high-rise apartment buildings, virtually without planning.

In the hallowed name of slum clearance, projects were designed to stack up America's Untouchables, the black poor known as the Underclass. The buildings, with few exceptions, are stark, sterile, meanly designed and unsuitable for children.

Cabrini-Green, situated in the badlands around Sedgwick and Division, meets most of those criteria. The Robert R. Taylor Homes, the immense housing project on S. State, meets all of them. These monster projects are overloaded with large, one-parent families, often with minors out of control.

"WE'VE MADE OUR bed and now we have to lie in it," said the lawyer Devereux Bowly Jr., author...
Cabrini-Green: do we reclaim it, or tear it down?

"MOST OF THEM [the tenants] are good people," said John L. Petersen, president of Atrium Village, a successful mixed-income and racially mixed development at Division and Wells, two blocks from Cabrini-Green. "It's a small group at is not good. The housing authority has to enforce its own rules, it has to go after the whole milly when there's trouble."

If we got hard-nosed and stayed at war, we could banish some of the gang savages, professional time hawkers, dope and vice dealers, and the big-trouble families.

The city already has started evicting them as a result of Byrne's efforts. Even if mass evictions worked, however, housing authorities would be left with the problem of what to do with the current residents.

FUERST, ONETIME research director of CHA, long has proposed surgery for Cabrini and other CHA slums— including intense screening of applicants and a weeding out of hard-core families. Some cities, he says, sort the worst families into "halfway houses"—or even break them up if necessary.

"When a patient has a gangrenous leg, surgery may be necessary to save his life," Fuertes said. "If the patient in this case, is public housing itself."

He also would cut back the number of people, particularly minors, who swamp the housing and schools. (About 7 out of 10 people in Cabrini are 19 or under.) "Break up giant projects into smaller ones," he says, "with some apartments sold as co-ops, some enlarged [for good, large families], and some altered into various kinds of community facilities. Improve the adjacent neighborhoods and schools."

Fuertes's reforms also include racial integration of some of the better projects.

PUBLIC HOUSING was born in the Depression years. Chicago's first few projects, such as Jane Addams on the Near West Side, were low-rise and rather pleasant, and still are about the best CHA has. But basically, public housing has been poverty architecture, designed to keep the poor in their place.

Most white people never wanted it anywhere near them, a major reason why it has been ghettoized. And there has been white violence in the projects as well as black. Rioting hit Trumbull Park Homes near the Wisconsin Steel Works in 1953 when a black family moved onto what was then all-white turf.

Those were the days when racial integration, with unofficial quotas, was practiced in many projects. That ended in a flurry of political deals in the 1960's. About 95 percent of CHA family housing now is black-occupied, although many whites could qualify and would welcome rents averaging $60 a month.

THE MAJOR phases of Cabrini-Green emerged during the high-rise postwar years. Federal bureaucrats who passed out the money, as well as the local commissars and their architects, seemed fixated on massive, look-alike clusters resembling prisons with fenced galleries.

Looking ahead and assuming fresh funding some day, could Cabrini-Green be redesigned and humanized? Yes, says Walter A. Netsch Jr., one of Chicago's best-known architects.

More than 10 years ago, he studied St. Louis's Pruitt-Igoe project, but never had the chance to test his ideas. They ranged from shaving off 8 stories to making it a million-dollar project. It would take guts to do all this, but it could be done.

"The basic ideas could work here," said Netsch, "as long as blacks understand this is not an effort to dislodge them. Cut up the buildings into smaller ones, because the elevator service is deplorable. Reduce exposure to strangers. Divide each building into parts, add elevators and stairs, stabilize some of the taller buildings and substitute lower ones. Give the buildings individual identity. Paint them in different colors. "It would take guts to do all this, but it could be done."

"The CHA staff isn't large enough or competent enough to know what's going on," said Bowly.
'Dumping' of families into project is charged

By Betty Washington

The Cabrini-Green housing project has been a "dumping ground" for troubled families, making it fertile for the growth of social ailments, says a former manager of the development.

Hugh Osborne, for years a Chicago Housing Authority employee, and manager at Cabrini in 1951 when 65 percent of the tenants were white and 35 percent were black, charged in an interview that "Cabrini was used as a dumping ground for severely troubled families. There was no screening of tenants. It's because of this that many of the problems at Cabrini exist."

He now works for Operation PUSH, but was deputy human resources commissioner under former Mayor Michael A. Bilandic, and briefly headed the department prior to Mayor Byrne's election.

Gus Masters, CHA's executive director, denies that the authority moved problem tenants to Cabrini but said the agency, with 600 vacant apartments in the development during the mid-1970s, did accept a large number of young women.

"We started admitting women as young as 20 who'd applied for housing and were eligible. All this contributed to [the problem], but the people were screened," Masters insisted, adding that CHA has been sued for refusing to rent to some families.

"As a result of renting the vacant apartments, our income went up, and for two or three years, things were pretty good," Masters said. "It's just been in the last couple of years that it's been going back down. That's been coincidental with the early release program [of state prisoners]. We were weeding out some of the bad ones, a lot of guys who went to [prison]. Now, many of them have been released and are back here."

A 1976 STUDY by Arthur Young & Company that looked at federally funded security programs under way at Cabrini-Green reported that unemployment and crime were the two major concerns of residents, and related joblessness to criminal activity.

"Unemployment appears to be the single most important problem," the study said. "Because of the apparent relationship between unemployment and the high crime rate, we believe this gap should be given immediate attention."

Except for jobs supported by temporary federal grants, no other sources of employment were identified.

Although the study did not deal directly with gang crimes, it did discuss possibilities for curbing crime at Cabrini-Green by dispersing youths throughout the development. It also examined the possibility of assigning tenants to apartments in a manner that would "minimize the crime rate."

THE ISSUE IN BOTH cases was what to do about problem families, the same concern that apparently led Mayor Byrne to suggest re-assigning apartments to protect non-problem families from troublemakers.

The Arthur Young study, prepared for the city's Development and Planning Department, concluded that such manipulation would be "perceived as conflicting with the value of freedom of choice."
Police chief hails Cabrini-police detente

By Philip Wattley

COOPERATION BETWEEN police and residents of the Cabrini-Green housing project has improved greatly since police activity was intensified in conjunction with Mayor Byrne's move into the project, Police Supt. Richard Brzezek said. Residents of the large Chicago Housing Authority development on the near North Side have "more confidence in the police," he said. "The situation was so desperate in the past that citizens were not sure of the support of the police."

That attitude has changed since he ordered a special tactical unit, and other police units, into the area to curb the frequent violence at Cabrini-Green. Brzezek said.

THE POLICE superintendent said the additional manpower will be maintained at the housing project until crime there is brought down to within normal limits.

Lt. Dominic Rizzi, new commander of the police force at Cabrini-Green, said officers have received about a dozen anonymous calls from project residents since he took over March 30.

As a result of the calls, he said, five investigations are under way, all in connection with allegedly illegal activities involving firearms or narcotics. He said the calls also led to the arrest about a week ago of a man who had a gun in the trunk of his car at 1159 N. Cleveland Ave., in the project.

Since March 30, police at Cabrini-Green have arrested 161 persons, recovered 19 guns, and turned over to parents dozens of juveniles seized as curfew violators or for being absent from school without permission, Rizzi said.

GANG-RELATED VIOLENCE has come to a virtual standstill since the police buildup and most of the gang members "apparently have moved out," he said.

Rizzi said the increased police presence at Cabrini-Green includes 47 patrolmen in the buildings of the complex, which houses about 14,000 persons. There are also 30 policemen in a tactical unit and several dozen other policemen from the Chicago Avenue District, and such units as Special Operations, Gang Crimes, and Youth.

Previously, all police in the area were on foot patrol, which cut down on police response time, Rizzi said. Now, however, the Cabrini-Green police force includes eight mobile units six three-wheeled motorcycles, a marked squad car, and a squad car (paddy wagon)—all of them used for patrol.

THE IMPROVEMENT in the welfare of residents since police efforts were intensified is easy to see, Rizzi noted. "When I walked around the project when I first came here, it was like a graveyard," he said. "The people were afraid to come out. They were frightened by the random shootings and sniper fire."

"But we put a stop to that, and last weekend the kids were all over the place. They were singing and playing basketball and riding bikes, and mothers were out walking their children. Everyone is much more confident and feel secure."
Condo conversion urged at Cabrini

By Ellen Warren
Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON—The sprawling Cabrini-Green housing project should be converted to condominiums, the head of the nation's largest condo-conversion firm recommended to Congress Wednesday.

The public housing project, the centerpiece of a national debate, should be refurbished and offered for sale as condominiums, Cabrini-Green residents said. The ones who are willing to go to work—at only the cost of the refurbishment, said Nicholas S. Gouletas, chairman of the Chicago-based American Invsco Corp.

Believe me, some of those people would go out, take jobs ... have them own their own units. You will find out that they care for the units. They love their units.

Gouletas's suggestion came in response to a question from a member of the House subcommittee on commerce, consumer and monetary affairs, which had called him as a witness in its continuing investigation of the condo phenomenon.

The advantage of the Cabrini-Green conversion plan, Gouletas testified, would be to place the buildings on the tax rolls and to create a sense of pride for the owners.

"There is a pride," Gouletas said. "I don't know if you can put a dollar figure on it, but there is a pride in ownership, of having something that is yours."

Rep. Eugene V. Atkinson (D-Pa.), noting Byrne's move to the Near North housing project, asked Gouletas to address "rumors or rumors that maybe you have a plan in that particular area."

Atkinson asked Gouletas to formally submit his condo-conversion plan to the subcommittee.

"I would love to," the dapper businessman declared. He told the panel that his proposed Mediterranean "building with residents of each of the housing raised moved to another building in the project while the rehabilitation was under way.

"Refurbish the buildings up to the units—and safe," he said. "Then allow people that are living in the project, the ones who are willing to go to work...to purchase only the cost of the refurbishing.

"Hold that deed for a couple of years, make sure they will fill their obligations, then turn it over to them."
CHICAGO, April 1 — Mayor Jane M. Byrne emerged this morning from her new home away from home in the Cabrini-Green public housing project here and announced that she and her husband, Jay McMullen, had spent a "lovely" and "very quiet" first night at the violence-torn, predominantly black complex.

At a news conference in a small, freshly painted and scrubbed "social room" on the first floor of the building, which is about a mile from her regular Gold Coast apartment, Mrs. Byrne, wearing a lavender suit, said that she and her husband had wiled away the evening watching the Academy Awards presentations on television.

The television set was on loan from Montgomery Ward & Company, as was the rest of the furniture in the two-bedroom, fourth-floor apartment.

Mayor Byrne, who announced her plans to set up housekeeping in the project 11 days ago, slipped into the apartment with little notice last night.

Heavy Police Protection

"We didn't want a lot of hoopla," Mrs. Byrne said when asked why the move had been made before informing the press.

After the Mayor moved in, two policemen were stationed in the lobby and another outside the door. Two of her bodyguards, who are staying in another two-bedroom apartment adjacent to hers, were reported to be standing outside her door. At least four marked and two unmarked police cars patrolled the area around the building.

Mayor Byrne looked rested after her first night in the 78-building complex, which houses more than 13,500 people, but she told reporters that elevators in the buildings "continually do not work" and that garbage collection and rodent control were unsatisfactory.

Mrs. Byrne also said that she was assigning a group of city officials to recommend short-term and long-term solutions to the problems that have beset the 71-acre housing complex.

Eleven persons have been shot to death at Cabrini-Green this year, and 37 others have been wounded. Most of the violence has been attributed to gang warfare.

In response to questions, the Mayor said she would give up her apartment in the project only "when I think people can look out the window and not get shot."

"We need less fear and more hope," Mrs. Byrne told reporters, announcing that after her stay at Cabrini-Green she would set up similar temporary apartments at two other city housing projects and at a home for the elderly.

In an interview later, Ray McCarthy, the Mayor's press secretary, said that Mrs. Byrne would stay at Cabrini-Green for "as long as it takes," and would only return to her Gold Coast apartment "when she needs a change of clothing, or maybe for the weekend."

Critics of the Mayor have accused her of making an unnecessarily showy move in announcing her decision to live in the project in an attempt to curb the violence and terror there, suggesting that she had her eye on the black vote in her expected run for re-election in 1983.

But many residents of the project have looked favorably on the Mayor's venture into their midst.

"I live here because I have to," Ruby Ames said today. "She's here because she wants to be. You've got to admire her for her nerve."

But a youngster, Bernard Owens, was skeptical. "While she's here things will be nice," he said. "Once she's gone, things will be back to normal."

On the wall of the lobby of the Mayor's building is a typed copy of an unsigned poem, apparently written by a resident of the building, that reads:

I live in Cabrini-Green.
I've met some of the finest people I've ever seen.
While living in Cabrini-Green.
Most of you are afraid of our neighborhood.
But did you know? So are we.
But we are here, you see.
Not because we want to be.
Byrne settles at Cabrini-Green, finds bed first night just right

CHICAGO (AP)—Mayor Jane Byrne said Wednesday she slept well and had a "lovely" first night at the crime-infested Cabrini-Green housing project and she plans to stay there until residents can live with "less fear and more hope."

The mayor said she was met with scattered cheers and applause by some residents when she moved into her fourth-floor apartment at the high-rise project Tuesday night. The mayor, accompanied by a cadre of guards and police officers, moved into the project despite reports of a surge in anonymous threats against her life.

Byrne told reporters Wednesday she and her husband-political adviser, Jay McMullen, encountered none of the noisy disturbances that have become commonplace with a recent wave of gang violence at the project. "I thought it was very quiet," she said.

The mayor made her comments at a crowded news conference in a freshly-painted recreation room at her Cabrini-Green building.

Byrne announced 11 days ago she would move into the project to dramatize the city's struggle against gang violence and terror. Eleven people have been killed and 37 wounded this year at the project.

The Chicago Sun-Times, quoting unidentified sources, reported that the disclosure of the mayor's move has caused a sharp increase in the usual flow of anonymous threats against Byrne.

The mayor, who will maintain her Gold Coast apartment, said that since she announced her plans to move, "things have improved" for Cabrini-Green's 14,000 residents. She said some residents have told her "they can really walk out of the door and not be frightened."

Still, she said, changes must be made. She said the elevators constantly break down, garbage collection isn't adequate and her husband called the Chicago Housing Authority to complain about faulty incinerators.

City agencies have been marshaled to tackle those problems as well as insect and rodent problems and a general condition of overcrowding, she said.

Cabrini-Green, she said, must be a residence that is "safe and socially up to standard." Asked when she would know that had happened, the mayor said, "When I think people think they can look out of the window and not be shot."

The mayor also lashed out at gangs at the project, calling them bullies. "My mother used to say, 'Bullies are really cowards.'"

Byrne said "the real issue is getting guns out of here and then saying 'boo' to the bullies."

Police said rival gangs have been battling for control of drug traffic and that has contributed to much of the recent violence. However, police reported Monday that the gangs had forged a truce.

Hours after her move, police arrested 11 suspected gang members and recovered seven handguns in a raid at another project building.

Byrne said she will return to her Near North Side apartment only when it is more convenient or when she must take care of household duties. While Byrne is at Cabrini-Green her bodyguards will stay at an adjacent apartment.

Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne and her husband, Jay McMullen, leave their Cabrini-Green apartment Thursday, after spending a 'lovely' first night in the high-rise tenement. (UPI photo)
Information distributed to Cabrini-Green residents by Tranquility

CABRINI GREEN FACT SHEET

1. Frances Cabrini Homes
   Development Number Illinois 2-2
   Year Construction Completed 1943
   Fourty Years From Completion Date 1983
   581 APTS (1880 people) (55 Lowrise Buildings)

2. Cabrini Extension
   Development Number Illinois 2-20
   Year Construction Completed 1958
   Fourty Years From Completion Date 1998
   1896 APTS (6,740 people) (15 Elevator Buildings)

3. Green Homes
   Development Number Illinois 2-30
   Year Construction Completed 1962
   Fourty Years From Completion Date 2002
   1,096 APTS (4,960 people) (8 Elevator Buildings)

4. Lincoln Park
   Development Number Illinois 2-51
   Year Construction Completed 1969
   Fourty Years From Completion Date 2009
   18 APTS (92 people) (3 Lowrise Buildings)

Source CHA STATISTICAL REPORT 1979
Protest at mayor's Cabrini apartment

Members of the Heart of Uptown Coalition demonstrate Monday outside Mayor Byrne's Cabrini-Green apartment building at 1160 N. Sedgwick. The group called for more low-income housing in the Uptown area. They also claim that recently evicted Cabrini residents are creating a housing shortage in their neighborhood. (Sun-Times Photo by Richard Derk)
Other projects ‘tough it out’ without help

By Michael Hirstley

MAYOR BYRNE is the first Chicagoan to get a status
boost by moving into Cabrini-Green.

The mayor’s move in taking an apartment among
1,600 residents of the Near North Side public housing
took on added significance yesterday as the mayor
and Cab. Green tenant leaders met to discuss the
residents’ fight to keep Cabrini-Green a viable
neighborhood.

Tribune photo by Ernie Com Jr.

Daisy Bursfield (above), project manager
of the 1,300-unit Statelyway Gardens, 3300 S. State St.,
was taken to the Cabrini-Green site by residents and
housing authority employees, including (from left) Laly Hudson, Pearl Allen, and
Dorothy Comer. Some residents, such as Elizabeth Williams, examine a prospective
playground area.
THESE SENTIMENTS were most repeated:

- While they would like the influx of security and other city services her presence has brought to Cabrini, other projects take pride in having fought crime and poverty without her.
- Cabrini gangs have moved elsewhere, particularly south and west, and are recruiting there.
- In March, the month Mrs. Byrne announced and made her move into Cabrini, CHA received 1,700 applications for public housing, a 25 percent increase over the monthly norm.

WINSTON MOORE, CHA chief of security, asserts: 
"We're getting more police raids, more weapons confiscations, more street patrol than before. The only thing that's not happening is no black leaders here have said one word against the gangs, or against black-on-black crimes."

His security force of 162 guards per 24-hour shift works better knowing there's the kind of police backup we have now," Moore says. "Crime is definitely down throughout the CHA since the mayor's move."

However, monthly crime statistics in the South Side Wentworth District — including Taylor, the 6,000-resident Stateway Gardens running south from 3500 S. State; the 9,000-resident Ida B. Wells with offices at 454 E. Pershing Rd., and the 12,000-resident Washington Park with offices at 4414 S. Cottage Grove Av. — show police activity doubled in March over February, with 2,900 police calls, 1,462 in Taylor Homes alone.

But Wentworth Cmdr. Lemon Works notes that such statistics indicate greater willingness by CHA residents to contact his police at the first sign of trouble.

"I like to think that what they've been doing at Cabrini the last few weeks, we've been doing here for the last few years," he says.

DAISY BRUMFIELD, project manager of Stateway Gardens, agrees.

When she cites Stateway's considerable accomplishments — establishing a strong working relationship with police, keeping anticrime outposts staffed by residents in each building, evicting troublemakers and tenants who do not pay rent or are repeatedly late with it, and planning and negotiating to build a playground and community center, for which a site has been cleared — she sounds much like any civic leader.

In the next breath, however, she calmly discusses everyday problems in her community that would shock most civic leaders.

Assuming everyone knows there are drug and gang problems, she goes on to other aberrations.

"WE KNOW WE'VE got boyfriends who beat up their women and their women's children," she says. "We've got people who'll climb on top of the elevators and wait for victims. They'll shut the elevator down between floors, climb inside, and do their robbery or rape.

"We caught four kids who got up there, shut the elevator, and then just urinated down on youngsters in the elevators."

One recent arrestee was a man who tore faucets and pipes out of vacant apartments, apparently intending to sell them, and thereby flooded neighbors' units. Residents and the janitor testified in court against the man, who was nonetheless placed on probation despite already being on probation for another conviction, Mrs. Brumfield says.

"WE NEED STRONGER prosecution by the state's attorney's office," she says, "and better supervision by welfare and human services caseworkers.

"Caseworkers should know when children are being beaten by the men staying with their mothers. The women are too afraid to do anything, and we can't keep 24-hour supervision on our tenants."

She adds, with some pride, that 123 Stateway families have been given eviction notices since September for "antisocial" behavior or rent deficiency, and all except 10 have left the project.

While Mrs. Brumfield makes a subtle call for help, Taylor Homes resident Gladys McLaurin is more clamorous.

SHE SAYS SHE has tried to get access to a playroom since last summer when she, her 7-year-old son, and other children and parents narrowly missed being shot by a sniper on the playground.

"We got to use a social room for a while right after the shooting, and 200 kids used it," she says. But after parents decorated the room in a project building, "we haven't had it since last fall," she complains.

James Hurd, Taylor project manager, says he turned social rooms over to building resident groups. "I know
there's in-fighting over who uses them," he says, "but I want the residents to decide."

A frustrated Mrs. McLaurin says, "I don't see anything changed here since Mayor Byrne moved into Cabrini. If she moved here, maybe we'd get a place where kids could play safely."

ARTHUR CONN, a 20-year-old student at Northeastern Illinois University, has been a CHA resident all his life.

"The biggest break I've had was my family moving from Cabrini-Green to here when I was 10," he says, standing in front of Lathrop Homes.

His reasons for saying that are succinct, "It is integrated. I'm not in an elevator building and there are social alternatives to gangs." Through the Lathrop Boys Club in the project, he raised money to participate in a group trip to Europe.

At Cabrini, he recalls, "my ambition was just to avoid trouble with the gangs." Now, he says, "I'm studying to be a lawyer."

If it were all lumped together the CHA would be a larger "metropolis" than Rockford, the state's second largest city.

But the CHA isn't seeking that kind of status.

IT HAS MORE residents than it wants. CHA staff and police say there is no way to ascertain how many thousands of hidden residents, illegal squatters, are in public housing each day, or how many are in gangs such as the El Rukns and Black Gangster Disciple Nation, fighting to control drug trafficking in and around CHA neighborhoods.

The CHA is a fragmented community with a pecking order not only among developments, but among buildings in the same development.

In the Taylor Homes, for example, residents in northern buildings refer to the southernmost buildings, where Gladys McLaurin lives, as "the hole."

For the CHA, the struggle for civic recognition has not been boastful assertions by community leaders that "we're the biggest and the best."

Rather, it has been a cry for help. And now, it is watching to see if Mrs. Byrne has the answer.
J.S. Fuerst is assistant director of the graduate program in urban studies at Loyola University.

Point of view

How to make public housing work

By J. S. Fuerst

THERE MAY BE WAYS to save Cabrini-Green and other Chicago Housing Authority projects, but they do not lie in providing more police protection. Except in the short run, police protection cannot work. As a long-range solution to crime in the projects, “adequate” police protection is simply too expensive.

Cabrini-Green already had spent $10 million in federal money for cosmetic social services, closed-circuit television to aid in surveillance, and other measures designed to upgrade the place. These steps haven’t worked.

One thing will work. It is the kind of concentration of attention on the projects that Jane Byrne generated by her move. But beyond this, concrete ideas are needed.

First is the need to get rid of the head of the CHA, Charles Swivel. As CHA board chairman for more than 20 years, he has presided over dramatic growth in the number of lawless, dependent, and disruptive tenants in the city’s public housing units. Not only is this real estate operator short on fresh ideas, he is also an inefficient administrator.

In 1948, some eight years before Swivel took over, a study of 40 big-city housing authorities around the country showed the CHA to be among the best. At that time it utilized 10 management employees (at local and central offices) for every 1,000 units of public housing.

Today, the CHA requires 25 such employees for every 1,000 units of housing. Although there has been some deterioration in the quality of tenants, it certainly is not enough to warrant a 150-per-cent increase in bureaucracy. Moreover, and far more significantly, there has been no real addition of services nor any amelioration of conditions for underprivileged tenants.

Second, there must be an improvement in the quality of CHA employees. Neither Swivel nor the retiring executive director, Gus Master, has worked to recruit top-caliber personnel. There are exceptions, of course, but for the most part, CHA employees are a mediocre lot. To remedy the woes of Chicago’s public housing, a chairman and executive director are needed with the guts to counter tenure and mediocrity with humanity and creativity.

Third are the necessary changes in policy. Renault Robinson, an independent-minded CHA commissioner, recently reported that the CHA has neither a real budgetary system (permitting huge overruns) nor any fiscal or inventory controls (permitting vast thievery). Furthermore, there is virtually no control over maintenance personnel, or for that matter, over maintenance costs (which means little or no maintenance).

THERE MUST ALSO be a stronger policy regarding eviction of those who demonstrate an inability to live in peace with their fellow tenants. Similarly, there must be a push to fill vacancies with solid, working-class families of low and moderate income.

How can this be done without violating the rights of tenants and applicants? Judge Henry Friendly of the Second Federal Circuit Court, in a 1975 article in the University of Pennsylvania Law Review, suggested a feasible way to protect these rights. While hearings must be granted before tenants can be evicted, he pointed out they do not have to be municipal-court hearings that take interminable time, clog dockets, and frequently allow tenants to remain in place for technical reasons.

Friendly suggested hearings by three-person tribunals, selected jointly by tenants, staff, and the public. Members would be interested, knowledgeable, objective outsiders who could weigh the claims of the tenant as well as the housing authority and whose decisions would have the force of law.

Appeal to the courts, of course, would be possible. But if the courts showed no disposition to reverse the decisions of the tribunals—except in cases of proven flagrant disregard of procedure—then appeals would virtually disappear. Introduction of tribunals of this sort can do much to reduce the kind of complaints heard during the recent “housing cleaning” at Cabrini.

Choosing tenants should not be any more of a problem to the CHA than to the privately operated, publicly subsidized projects which have done a much better job of obtaining and keeping good tenants. Thorough screening of applicants and selection of those most likely to benefit from living in such projects is no simple matter. But it can be done.

A fine example is London Towne, a predominantly low- and moderate-income, federally subsidized cooperative at 101st and Cottage Grove where new occupants are screened by a tenant.
committee. At London Towne the 800 occupants-owners have, in fact, been so carefully screened that although most are single-parent families with one, two, or three children, there are only about three or four evictions a year. And these are solely for nonpayment of assessments.

MORE THAN FINDING better ways to select and evict tenants, however, there must be a change in the emotional atmosphere of the projects. People, black and white, must come to believe that there is hope there.

How can this be done? CHA has several well-run projects of reasonable size: Trumbull Park and Julia Lathrop, two of the original developments built in 1937; Archer Courts, Prairie Courts, and Leclaire Courts, three small state-city financed projects built in 1950; and perhaps Lowden Courts, a 250-rowhouse project built on the South Side in the post-war period. While these developments have some tenant and operating problems, they are well-designed and fairly well-located. Whatever problems they have are correctable.

With the use of newly created higher-income limits, good landscaping, and a minimal amount of social engineering, these developments show that, even in Chicago, public housing can be successful.

--With these as an example, more ambitious steps can be taken at some of the larger projects. These include reducing the population density by converting some residential units to libraries, craft shops, or community meeting rooms. Some of the buildings could be sold for other uses to universities or commercial enterprises, others could be converted to cooperatives. The quality of tenants in the remaining units could be improved.

FINALLY, THERE, can be a revival of the highly successful low- and moderate-income housing purchase plan of 10 years ago. This program enabled many large families from the projects to move into homes of their own, thus liberating the families from the problems of public housing, and at the same time, helping to reduce public housing population density.

Just as Mayor Byrne made news around the world by moving into Cabrini, she can remain in the news by remaking the housing projects — a difficult but not impossible job. Her reward would be much greater than accolades in the press. She could claim a renewal of hope among Chicago's lower-income citizens.
TESTIMONY OF SUPERINTENDENT RICHARD J. BRZECZEK
BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY II COMMITTEE,
HEARINGS ON STREET GANG VIOLENCE AT CABRINI-GREEN
15 APRIL 1981

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY
SINCERE THANKS ON BEHALF OF ALL THE COURAGEOUS MEN AND WOMEN
OF THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS
THE CRIME PROBLEMS AT CABRINI-GREEN. I AM CERTAIN THAT AT
THE CONCLUSION OF THESE HEARINGS IT WILL BE APPARENT TO YOU
THAT THE CRIMINAL CONDUCT AND EVENTS DESCRIBED ARE BASICALLY
MANIFESTATIONS OF THE FULL SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS
THAT ARE CURRENTLY BEING ADDRESSED UNDER THE VIGOROUS
LEADERSHIP OF MAYOR JANE BYRNE. AS ALL OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE
AGENCIES CONTINUE TO CONCENTRATE THEIR EFFORTS TOWARD THE
IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS AT CABRINI-GREEN, I WOULD LIKE TO
PRESENT AN ANALYSIS OF THE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY FROM THE LAW
ENFORCEMENT PERSPECTIVE.

AT THE OUTSET, IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE
CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT, JUST AS ANY LAW ENFORCEMENT
AGENCY, CANNOT GUARANTEE THE ABSOLUTE ABSENCE OF CRIMINAL
CONDUCT. TO DO SO WOULD BE IN TOTAL DISREGARD OF REALITY.
OUR ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT CRIME ARE FOCUSED IN A DETERRENT
EFFORT ACHIEVED THROUGH THE DEPLOYMENT OF PERSONNEL AND
EQUIPMENT.
A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE DEPARTMENT'S LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMITMENT IS RESPONSIVE IN NATURE. WE RELY ON THE PRESUMPTION THAT GENERALLY PEOPLE WILL OBEY THE LAWS AS ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES. WHEN WE ARE INFORMED OF LAW VIOLATIONS, WE INVESTIGATE, IDENTIFY THE OFFENDERS, EFFECT THE ARRESTS AND REFER THE CRIMINAL CASE TO THE APPROPRIATE PROSECUTORIAL AGENCY.

FROM THIS LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSPECTIVE, THE MOST NOTORIOUS AND PREVALENT CRIMINALITY IN CABRINI-GREEN ARE THE GANG-RELATED DEATHS, SHOOTINGS, EXTORTIONS, NARCOTICS OFFENSES AND GANG RECRUITMENT.

THERE HAVE BEEN 12 DEATHS BY MURDER IN THE CABRINI-GREEN HOUSING PROJECTS THIS YEAR. OF THESE, SUFFICIENT FACTS ARE AVAILABLE TO CONCLUDE THAT 6 OF THESE DEATHS WERE GANG RELATED. THE OTHER DEATHS OCCURRED DURING THE COMMISSION OF HOME INVASIONS, ARMED ROBBERIES, NARCOTICS TRANSACTIONS OR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.

THE AVERAGE AGE OF THESE VICTIMS IS 22 YEARS. THE RANGE IN AGE IS 9 TO 46 YEARS. OF THE 11 INCIDENTS INVOLVED, 11 OFFENDERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND ARE AWAITING TRIAL FOR MURDER OR ARE AWAITING DELINQUENCY HEARINGS IN JUVENILE COURT. SEVEN OTHER OFFENDERS, ACCOMPlices, HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED BUT NOT YET TAKEN INTO CUSTODY. THE AVERAGE AGE OF THE OFFENDERS IS 24.2 YEARS. THE RANGE IN AGE IS 15 TO 39 YEARS.

OF THE REMAINING 16 INCIDENTS, THERE ARE SUFFICIENT FACTS PRESENTED THAT WOULD INDICATE THAT 10 INCIDENTS WERE GANG RELATED.

THE GANGS ENGAGED IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY IN THE CABRINI-GREEN AREA ARE FACTIONS OF THE BLACK GANGSTER DISCIPLES, AND THE COBRA STONES. BOTH HAVE SUBSTANTIAL HARD-CORE AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIPS. THERE IS CONSTANT CONFLICT BETWEEN THESE 2 FACTIONS IN AN EFFORT TO CONTROL CERTAIN AREAS AND BUILDINGS WITHIN CABRINI-GREEN, AND THIS ACCOUNTS FOR A GREAT PORTION OF THE GANG-RELATED DEATHS AND SHOOTINGS. IN ADDITION, AS THE GANG LEADERS ARE ARRESTED, CONVICTED AND SENT TO PRISON, INTRA-GANG COMPETITION SURFACES AND VIOLENCE OCCURS AMONG THE YOUNGER, LOWER-ECHELON MEMBERS WHO ARE STRIVING FOR POSITIONS OF POWER AND CONTROL.
IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THIS STREET GANG STRUCTURE EXISTS FORMALLY NOT ONLY IN CABRINI-GREEN AND OTHER AREAS OF THE CITY, BUT IN THE SUBURBS, OTHER NEARBY CITIES SUCH AS ROCKFORD, PEORIA AND MILWAUKEE, AND IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE COOK COUNTY JAIL AND THE ILLINOIS PENITENTIARY SYSTEM. A NEW INMATE IS NOT REMOVED FROM THE STREET GANG WAY OF LIFE. HE IS MERELY SHIFTED FROM ONE GANG FACTION (THE OUTSIDE) TO ANOTHER FACTION (THE INSIDE). THE NEGATIVE IMPACT ON CORRECTIONAL OR REHABILITATIVE EFFORTS IN THE PENAL SYSTEM ARE OBVIOUS. WHEN THE GANG MEMBER WHO HAS BEEN CONVICTED OF A FELONY IS RELEASED FOR WHATEVER REASON FROM THE PENITENTIARY, HE ONCE AGAIN SHIFTS BACK TO THE OUTSIDE FACTION AND BRINGS WITH HIM A STRENGTHENED LOYALTY TO THE GANG STRUCTURE.

IN THE PAST RELEASED GANG MEMBERS HAVE RETURNED TO THE COMMUNITY AND HAVE RESUMED THEIR PREVIOUS STATUS OR ROLE IN THE GANG LONG BEFORE THE LOCAL POLICE ARE ADVISED OF THEIR RELEASE. HOWEVER, IN RECENT WEEKS THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS HAS IMPLEMENTED CERTAIN MEASURES THAT WILL PROVIDE TIMELY AND NECESSARY NOTIFICATIONS OF EARLY RELEASE TO THE LOCAL POLICE AGENCIES. IT WOULD BE MOST BENEFICIAL TO ENSURE THE CONTINUED COOPERATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS PERSONNEL BY CODIFYING THE IMPROVED PROCEDURES IN RELEVANT STATE STATUTES.
THE GANG MEMBERS LIVING IN THE CABLERINI-GREEN COMPLEX FOLLOW A HIERARCHY OF ORGANIZATION, A CHAIN OF COMMAND, APPLY INTERNAL DISCIPLINE SEVERELY, CONSTANTLY ATTEMPT TO INCREASE THEIR GEOGRAPHIC SPAN OF CONTROL, STRIVE TO ACHIEVE HIGHER RANKS WITHIN THE GANG STRUCTURE, AND WILL RESORT TO THE MOST SERIOUS CRIMINAL AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR SUCH AS MURDER OR AGGRAVATED BATTERY TO ACCOMPLISH THESE OBJECTIVES. BUT THESE OBJECTIVES ARE NOT ATTAINED AS THE ULTIMATE GOAL. THE UNDERLYING MOTIVE IS ALWAYS MONETARY IN NATURE. THE STREET GANGS ARE NO LONGER CONTENT WITH SHOWING THEIR FORCE IN NUMBER BY WEARING THE GANG SWEATER, THE BERET OF A SPECIFIED COLOR, OR ANY OTHER OVERT SYMBOL OF GANG MEMBERSHIP. THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE FOR EXISTENCE NOW IS TO OBTAIN AS MUCH MONEY AS POSSIBLE. BY EXERTING CONTROL OVER THE CABLERINI-GREEN GEOGRAPHIC AREAS, THE BLACK GANGSTER DISCIPLES OR THE COBRA STONES WILL HAVE ACCESS TO THE TWO MOST COMMON SOURCES OF STREET GANG INCOME: MONEY EXTORTED FROM THE MANY PEACEFUL, LAW ABIDING RESIDENTS OF THE HOUSING PROJECT WHO ARE WILLING TO PAY FOR THEIR CONTINUED PEACEFUL EXISTENCE, AND WHO ARE AFRAID TO COME FORWARD TO THE POLICE; AND MONEY RECEIVED FROM THE SALE OF NARCOTICS. EITHER THE GANG MEMBERS THEMSELVES DEAL IN THE NARCOTICS OR THEY PERMIT OTHER PERSONS TO SELL THE NARCOTICS AND RECEIVE A PERCENTAGE OF THE PROCEEDS AS PAYMENT FOR SUCH PERMISSION.

IT APPEARS THAT YOUR PRIMARY MANDATE THAT HAS BEEN ECHOED OVER AND OVER AGAIN IS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE CREDIBILITY OF AND CONFIDENCE IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. THIS IS NOT NEW. OUR CONSTITUENCIES HAVE BEEN CRYING OUT LOUD FOR THIS FOR DECADES. MAYBE CABRINI-GREEN WILL BE YOUR CATALYST.
Remove, demote CHA janitors at Cabrini

The Chicago Housing Authority has fired a janitor and demoted nine others for "inadequate" job performance at the Cabrini-Green public housing project. Mats Masters, CHA executive director, said the nine will receive a 10 percent pay cut for either failing to perform their duties or being "terribly slow," and will be reassigned to other CHA projects at the rank of "janitor's helper" and will be replaced at Cabrini-Green by other CHA janitors. Masters said there may be future firings and demotions at other CHA projects in coming weeks. Mayor Jane M. Byrne and her husband, Jay McMullen, temporarily moved to Cabrini-Green in an effort to improve living conditions.

Why Not Fire the Executive Director NOW

CHIAG chief names task force panel

G.W. (Gus) Master, executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority, Tuesday named the 10 members of a task force to investigate the problems plaguing public housing projects. The task force will include Chicago Police Supt. Richard Brzezczek; city Human Services Commissioner Leonora Cartwright; first deputy Streets and Sanitation Commissioner Madison Brown; and Carl Bator, an aide to Mayor Byrne for special projects. The board also approved a pilot project for pest control in the Cabrini-Green high-rise at 500-502 W. Oak St. The Chicago-Cook County Commission on Criminal Justice also approved a plan to hire 40 off-duty policemen to patrol the Near North Side development.
BLACK DETECTIVE SHORTAGE LEAVES CRIMES UNSOLVED

While Mayor Byrne is handing out $50 "rewards" to police officers who participate in raids and searches at Cabrini-Green, Howard Saffold, president of the Afro-American Police League (AAPL), does not believe that these tactics being used at the housing project are doing anything to address the real crime problems.

"It's just a show of force," says Saffold. "No attention is being paid to the on-going, day-to-day police work which is solving crimes." Saffold added that the situation was allowed to deteriorate to such a point that it "smacks of negligence" on the part of the police department, as well as other city departments.

He said that while Cabrini-Green is being thrust into the public eye by the media, the same situation exists in other areas, particularly in public housing, and Saffold believes that part of the problem is poor police service in the Black community.

Saffold highlighted one problem that the police department is doing little or nothing to solve: the severe shortage of Black detectives to investigate crimes in the Black community. In the midst of a manpower shortage, time and money are being spent to train White detectives to work in the Black community, instead of promoting Black patrolmen to the rank of detective.

"White detectives don't have an attitude of making the Black community safe," says Saffold. "They are concerned with pleasing their supervisors. It's like taking a Black patrolman who has grown up in a Black community and telling him that he doesn't know how to go out in that community and find out who's committed a crime."

He pointed out that while detectives receive higher salaries, it is often the Black patrolman who does their legwork for them, since White detectives are reluctant to enter areas of the Black community and do much of their work by phone. Saffold cited an instance in the past when the reluctance of White detectives to go to Cabrini-Green and investigate a series of rapes may have allowed the rapist to claim more victims.

A Black detective from the Area 1 Violent Crimes Division told All Chicago City News that while 1976 court order (stemming from a suit filed by the AAPL) to stop discrimination in hiring and promotion may have changed the 'letter of the law,' racism still remains in the police department in practice. However, the detective emphasized that it is the responsibility of Blacks who have achieved positions of some authority within the department to take a stand against this racism, both internally and as it affects the community, instead of just maintaining secure positions for
themselves.

All Chicago City News called several police and city departments, but was unable to obtain any statistics on the racial breakdown of the Chicago Police Department. We were able to obtain statistics on the Detective Division from another source.

The statistics indicate that out of approximately 1,050 total detectives on the force, not more that 110 are Black. These Black detectives are scattered over a city that the 1980 census shows is close to 50 percent Black.

What results from this shortage, says Saffold, is that it may take an entire shift, or longer, to locate a Black detective who is available for assignment. For example, in Area 6, which serves Cabrini-Green along with the entire northeast sector of Chicago, there are four Black detectives. (See chart for additional information.)
MASS EVICTIONS START IN CABRINI — GREEN PROJECT
Residents Organize Defense

As eviction notices arrived for Cabrini-Green residents following Mayor Byrne's stated plan to vacate 800 units (about 3,500 people), area residents began to take steps to provide for legal defense. Circulating flyers that say, "CHA CANNOT EVICT YOU, ONLY A HOUSING JUDGE CAN DO IT," area residents have begun a free legal clinic at 1336 N. Sedgwick on Wednesday and Thursday evenings from 6 to 8 p.m.

The general reason for the eviction notices is a "threat to the health and safety of the project." All Chicago City News has learned the basis for these charges in several cases:

- A woman who had paid rent on time for 24 years was given notice because a man who she says does not live with her and who is unrelated, was arrested for "being near a gun" on the street and gave her address as his residence.
- A 74-year-old long-time resident and the sponsor of the only volunteer teen program in the projects was served notice because his grandson was charged with possession of a small amount of marijuana.
- A mother of six children has received notice of eviction because two of her children, now living in foster homes, had had some previous trouble with the police.
- The mother of a teenage boy, killed earlier this year, is being evicted because her son was alleged to associate with a person on the South Side who is an alleged gang member there.

- A mother has received notice of eviction because it is alleged that she once stole a TV set and then returned it so that no charges were filed against her.
- A resident of 11 years has been served notice because her son is being charged with rape by a school teacher following an incident where he went to the school because his younger brother was having problems and got into an argument with the teacher. While he has been charged, there has been no trial.
- A woman whose apartment was searched for weapons has been served notice. Although police found no weapons, she voluntarily turned over an unloaded 25 automatic which she kept by her bed for protection.

Attorneys, including prominent attorney Thomas Todd, are staffing the free legal clinic two days a week. They say that many residents receiving the eviction notices have been
led to believe that they do not have the right to a hearing in housing court. In fact, on the day that the mass eviction policy was announced, 22 families were evicted. Although these evictions were based on non-payment of rent and dated back to the fall, the sight of sheriffs putting possessions out of the building led many tenants to believe that eviction notices they were receiving would lead immediately to the same treatment.

Attorneys say legal action will take several forms. First, the tenants will have their day in court. They can at that time demand a jury trial. They will be able to confront the evidence that CHA brings against them. Second, many tenants are filing administrative grievances with the Chicago Housing Authority as they are entitled to do under federal regulation. Finally, action is under consideration to file for injunctive relief against the harassment and mass eviction policy.

In related developments, two major developers, Arthur Rubloff and American Invsco (one of the nation's largest condo developers), have both announced proposals for the redevelopment of Cabrini-Green. The American Invsco proposal would call for immediate conversion of the project apartments to condos. The firm's top executive stated that "residents who wanted to go to work and buy their apartments would be allowed to; the rest would have to go." Both proposals are simply "ideas and preliminary plans" according to the developers.
Heart of Uptown Residents March to Cabrini-Green

A delegation of 100 Heart of Uptown residents marched to Cabrini-Green and attempted to deliver a letter to Mayor Byrne protesting her refusal to allow the construction and rehabilitation of subsidized low-income housing in the Uptown area. The delegation was joined by residents of Cabrini-Green protesting Byrne's policy of mass eviction from the projects.

Heart of Uptown residents had been surprised on Friday, April 10, when the mayor announced she would not sign a consent decree worked out in negotiations over an Uptown lawsuit with HUD, CHA and the city. The settlement would have provided for 600 units of low-income housing to be built in Uptown on a low rise, scattered site basis, with two-thirds to be substantial rehabilitation of existing sub-standard housing.

According to Coalition spokespersons, "The mayor led us to believe two years ago that she wanted to work with us for development without displacement of low and moderate income families. For two years as we worked out an agreement with her own Department of Housing she said she would support available for rehabilitation and for some small, scattered-site new construction.

The Chicago Housing Authority is under court order to build and rehabilitate small, low-rise sites in our community. The only thing standing in the way is the city.

We have been in court since 1975. We could have gone to trial two years ago. But you said you wanted to cooperate. We negotiated in good faith with your housing experts and your commissioner of housing. We came to an agreement with all parties.

Now we have heard, on television, that you are turning us down. Your phoney mobilization at city hall on Friday of 15 Uptown real estate people, 21 men from condo construction crew payrolls, and 125 members of a "Jesus People" cult, led by your own corporation counsel to applaud your decision to deny Uptown needed housing while chanting "Byrne in '83" was an insult to the intelligence of the people of Chicago.

We can only come to the conclusion that you would rather serve developers who want to make Uptown a condo kingdom than serve the people who elected you. We demand that you appear before the Heart of Uptown Coalition and explain your actions.

TO: Mayor Jane Byrne
Cabrini-Green

FROM: The Heart of Uptown Coalition

Dear Mayor Byrne,

We have come to you in Cabrini because you would not meet with us in city hall and because we have always felt safer here than among the politicians downtown. We also came to Cabrini to dramatize to you the situation you are creating by evicting thousands of people from Cabrini-Green, to make way for the greedy dreams of Arthur Rubloff and American Invsco. These residents are already coming to the Heart of Uptown, putting unbearable pressures on an unbelievably bad housing situation. These housing pressures will doubtlessly end in race war this summer.

We have come to you, again, because we need housing and you are arrogantly standing in our way. We need housing, decent low-cost housing; because our own housing is substandard; it is being torn down, it is going up in flames, and it is being taken over for condo conversion and high rent development.

We have even gotten the Reagan administration to admit that government policy created the low-income housing crisis in the Heart of Uptown. The federal government is willing to make millions of dollars
MARCH TO CABRINI — GREEN

HEART OF UPTOWN RESIDENTS

Continued from page 1

Real estate interests and no longer support low-income housing in Uptown. Then when the agreement was worked out, she stalled. Finally, she

heart of the agreement that she had negotiated with her representat- 

Black and poor Whites. And the blood will be on her hands. They said.

Over three thousand units have already been lost in the Heart of Uptown area due to demolition, arson, and high rent development.

"Organizational representatives from over 30 communities met with Byrne after her election and asked if she would support a policy of develop-

ment without displacement," Coalition spokesperson said.

"Based on her support for that concept, we agreed to meet with her and to attempt to work out a settle-

ment," said a spokesperson for the Heart of Uptown Coalition.

On April 13, members of the Heart of Uptown Coalition, who say they have not been able to get Byrne at City Hall, marched to her second home in Cabrini-Green.

"We want to turn Uptown into a Condo Kingdom," and she announced that she was firm in her agreement with her representa-

voiced their support for that concept and "we agreed to meet with her and to attempt to work out a settle-

ment," said a spokesperson for the Heart of Uptown Coalition.

Over 6,000 people have already been displaced and over 500 have been burned alive in fires in the Cabrini-Green project. Residents are pressing for housing for the project's residents hunting for housing. The pre-

are due to demolition, arson, and high rent development.

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ment," said a spokesperson for the Heart of Uptown Coalition.

On April 13, members of the Heart of Uptown Coalition, who say they have not been able to get Byrne at City Hall, marched to her second home in Cabrini-Green.

"We want to turn Uptown into a Condo Kingdom," and she announced that she was firm in her agreement with her representa-

voiced their support for that concept and "we agreed to meet with her and to attempt to work out a settle-

ment," said a spokesperson for the Heart of Uptown Coalition.
CITY TELLS WVON NO LIVE BROADCAST FROM CABRINI

WVON Radio, one of the city's oldest leading Black-operated radio stations, has been refused the right to broadcast live from Cabrini-Green on direct orders from city hall. In an exclusive interview with station manager Ernest L. James, All Chicago City News learned that WVON had wanted to broadcast extensively from Cabrini-Green to let the residents speak out on positive solutions and to investigate the evictions so that "both sides of the story could be told," but were denied on two separate occasions.

According to James, WVON had planned two to three weeks of daily broadcasts from Cabrini-Green before Mayor Byrne announced her intention to move into the North Side projects. The six-day-a-week broadcast was intended to help residents develop positive ideas in the area, to "personally check on the situations surrounding people being evicted," to allow people to give information about the killings anonymously, and "possibly" to create a dialogue between the warring factions.

On the Friday before Mayor Byrne's announcement, WVON contacted CHA Commissioner Renault Robinson and explained their proposal. He assured them it would be no problem. Over the next few days, WVON got no further response from the Commissioner who had promised to get them confirmation. Finally they were contacted by a representative of the mayor's office who told them they definitely could not broadcast from Cabrini-Green, as the city "did not want to make it a media event." This statement came from the mayor's office.

Continued on page 5

CITY TELLS WVON NO LIVE BROADCAST FROM CABRINI

Continued from page 3 during the time she was having almost daily press conferences about the situation in Cabrini and her impending move into the projects.

City hall, according to James, later told the station they could do a one-day broadcast from a vacant lot owned by the city a short distance from Cabrini-Green. WVON made arrangements with the phone company, reconfirmed the date and site with CHA, and ran an editorial announcing their planned broadcast. The day after the editorial, city hall again contacted WVON to tell them that they "would not be permitted to broadcast from Cabrini-Green because it might create a security problem."

All Chicago City News has also learned from a reliable source that last summer a memorandum was sent to at least one major television station from Police Superintendent Brzeczek requesting that they stop media coverage of the violence at Cabrini-Green. This came at a time when admittedly police presence in Cabrini was at a minimum. The TV station complied with the memorandum and stopped coverage.
Marshall Law Comes To Cabrini Green

Mayor Jane M. Byrne and Chicago Housing Authority board chairman Charles R. Swibel recently announced a special security program for the crime-plagued Cabrini Green housing complex which will utilize uniformed, off-duty Chicago police officers.

Mayor Byrne said the new program will begin by May 1 and will be funded by $1 million which will be redirected from other federal funding sources.

The Mayor added that the new security unit is one aspect of several programs which will be overseen by retired U.S. Army Major General Michael D. Healy, General Healy has agreed to serve as director of safety and coordinator of human services for the CHA. In that capacity, he will report directly to Major Byrne.

"The presence of these uniformed, trained officers will be a clear indication to the residents of Cabrini Green that the city will not allow them to be terrorized, captives of fear in their own homes," Mayor Byrne said. "There will be order and stability at Cabrini Green and other public housing complexes so that no person—regardless of race or sex—need fear for his or her well being."

Superintendent Bronczek said, "It is the Mayor's and my feeling that the presence of uniformed, trained and experienced Chicago police officers, acting voluntarily to provide additional services to a particularly needy segment of the community, cannot help but improve that situation."

He added that officers in the new unit would be supervised by authorized police personnel.
CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY

ADMINISTRATIVE CIRCULAR NO. 542

March 19, 1971

SUBJECT: Implementation of Tenants' Hearing Board Procedures

PURPOSE

On February 16, 1971, U. S. Federal District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman ordered the Chicago Housing Authority not to evict any tenant (other than for non-payment of rent) or to assess a charge for damages without a prior hearing before a hearing board. The purpose of this Circular is to outline the Authority's policies and requirements with respect to the implementation of this order.

LEASE TERMINATION

Following a private conference informing the tenant that termination has been recommended and the reasons therefor and offering him an opportunity to reply if he wishes to do so, the housing manager shall request written approval of the Director of Management before serving the Notice of Termination of Tenancy. If approved, the Director of Management shall prepare and send to the tenant by certified mail form CHA 628 Notice of Proposed Termination of Tenancy (Exhibit "A") setting forth the reasons for the proposed termination and the tenant's right to a hearing. A copy of the notice shall be placed in a suspense file and a copy sent to the housing manager. A stamped postcard form CHA 629 (Exhibit "B") addressed to the Director of Management shall be enclosed for the tenant's convenience in requesting a hearing. If the tenant requests a hearing within ten (10) days of the notice, no termination action shall be taken pending the outcome of the hearing. If the tenant fails to request a hearing within 10 days, the Director of Management shall forward to the housing manager an approved copy of the original request for termination. If the Director of Management disapproves the manager's request to terminate, the original request shall be returned to the manager stamped disapproved and the manager will so advise the tenant.

CHARGE FOR DAMAGES

When it has been determined that the repair or replacement of CHA property was the result of neglect, abuse or misuse by the tenant, the housing manager shall send to the tenant by regular mail form CHA 630 Notice of Proposed Charge for Damages (Exhibit "C") setting forth the amount and reason for the proposed charge and the tenant's right to a hearing. A stamped postcard form CHA 631, (Exhibit "D") addressed to the housing manager shall be enclosed for the tenant's convenience in requesting a hearing. A duplicate copy of the letter and service request shall be kept in a suspense file by date, and within date by account number, at the management office. If the tenant fails to request a hearing within seven (7) days, the service request form bearing the charge shall be sent to Tenant Accounting for posting to the tenant's account.
ADMINISTRATIVE CIRCULAR NO. 542 (Cont).

- 2 -

CHARGE FOR DAMAGES (Cont).

If the tenant requests a hearing within 7 days, the service request along with the postcard returned by the tenant shall be immediately forwarded to the Director of Management who will arrange the hearing. These procedures shall not apply to a charge for damages to vacated accounts. Any service requests with charges other than for damages that were withheld pending release of implementing instructions shall be forwarded immediately to Tenant Accounting.

DEFINITION OF DAMAGES

Damages shall be defined as any destruction, defacement or loss of CHA property by the lessee, a family member, or a guest. Property includes fixtures, equipment or appurtenances within the dwelling such as walls, ceiling, doors, light fixtures, cabinets, ranges or refrigerators; or outside the dwelling such as doors, hall lights, mail boxes or lobby windows or screens. Damages shall not be defined to include retroactive rent, court costs, excess electricity, security deposit, or any routine flat charge where the tenant requests and signs for the service at the time service is rendered. Routine flat charges include such things as stove grates, ice cube trays, window shades, lock changes, door keys and mailbox keys.

HEARING BOARD

The hearing board shall be composed of seven (7) persons, including four (4) CHA tenants and three (3) CHA employees. The tenants for each hearing shall be drawn from a volunteer pool. The employees for each hearing shall be appointed by the Authority, except that an employee assigned to the project involved in the dispute shall not be eligible to serve on the board. The Executive Director shall designate one employee to serve as chairman for each hearing. The Director of Management shall be an ex-officio member of the board and shall have responsibility for all administrative activities relative to hearings.

TENANT VOLUNTEER POOL

Beginning March 15, 1971, the Director of Management shall send to all tenants by regular mail a letter (Exhibit "E") explaining the purpose of the hearing board and the need for tenant volunteers to serve on the board. A stamped postcard form CHA 632 (Exhibit "F"), which requires no stamp, addressed to the Director of Management shall be enclosed for the tenant's convenience in indicating his willingness to serve on the board. The tenant will be requested to return the card by March 31, 1971. Starting with the year 1972, and each year thereafter the letter will be mailed by January 15 and must be returned by January 31. Upon receipt of the cards, the names of volunteers shall be assigned to hearing board pools and shall be used to select tenant board members when a hearing becomes necessary. Names will remain in the pool for one year or until a new volunteer pool is established.
SELECTION OF TENANT BOARD MEMBERS

When a board hearing becomes necessary, the Director of Management shall arrange for the names of at least ten (10) tenant volunteers to be drawn from the pool and arranged in the order of the drawing. Starting with the first name, the tenants shall be contacted to determine who is available to serve at the hearing. The first four who indicate their availability shall become the tenant board members for the hearing in question. The names of the six remaining tenants shall be returned to the pool to be used to select tenant board members at the time of next hearing.

The Director of Management shall send by regular mail form CHA 633 Notice of Hearing - Board Member (Exhibit "G") to each of the four tenants to confirm the date, time and place of the hearing. In the event that a tenant so notified later calls to state that he cannot attend the hearing, the next tenant on the list of 10 tenants shall be contacted. The tenant who requested the hearing shall be mailed a copy of form CHA 634 Notice of Hearing - Tenant Requesting Hearing (Exhibit "H") to inform him of the date, time and place of the hearing.

Tenants who serve on a hearing board shall not be requested to serve again until all others in the pool have been given an opportunity to serve. The hearings shall be held at the local management office involved in the dispute or at some other designated place.

NEW TENANTS

At the time of leasing the housing manager shall furnish each new tenant with form CHA 635 Notice of Right to Hearing Board (Exhibit "I") explaining the purpose of the hearing board and the tenant's right to a hearing in the event his lease is terminated (other than for non-payment of rent) or he is assessed a charge for damages to CHA property. A tenant who transfers within or between developments shall not be considered a new tenant for purpose of this notice.

QUORUM

A quorum of the board shall consist of three (3) members. If only three tenant members are present, only two employees shall sit. If only two tenant members are present, only one employee shall sit. Only those members of the board present and hearing all the evidence shall vote on the final decision.

CHALLENGE OF BOARD MEMBERS

The tenants initiating the complaint or his representative may challenge any tenant member of the board for cause. Challenges for cause will be ruled on by the board chairman.
WITNESSES

All witnesses shall be sworn in by the chairman. The board may question any witness. Opposing parties shall have the right to question any witness after preliminary questioning by the party presenting the witness.

RECORDING OF HEARING

A mechanical recording device shall be used to make a verbatim recording of the hearing. The recording shall be made available for transcription when requested by and at the expense of the tenant. The Director of Management shall be responsible for insuring that the recording device is available and in good operating condition at the time of the hearing.

PRESENTATION

The project management staff involved shall present evidence and witnesses in support of the proposed action. The tenant or his representative shall have the right to cross-examine witnesses presented by CHA and make his defense including the presentation of witnesses and documents in his behalf.

EVIDENCE

No evidence or information will be admissible at the hearing unless it directly relates to the subject of the hearing. The board in arriving at its decision shall consider only the evidence submitted at the hearing. Hearsay evidence shall not be considered. The burden of proof will be on the Authority.

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

The board shall keep and maintain a written record of the hearing on form CHA 636 Record of Hearing Board Proceedings (Exhibit "J") as well as all exhibits and documents introduced in evidence. The board chairman shall submit a copy of the Record of Hearing Board Proceedings to the Executive Director for his review within ten (10) working days after the hearing. Following review by the Executive Director, a copy of the Record of Hearing Board Proceedings shall be forwarded to the Director of Management. The Director of Management shall complete form CHA 637 Tenants' Hearing Board Decision (Exhibit "K") and send a copy to the tenant who requested the hearing and a copy to the housing manager involved in the dispute.

GROUND FOR TERMINATION OF LEASE

1. Misrepresentation. The willful misstatement to or concealment from the Authority by the tenant of any material fact bearing upon or relating to any determining factor of the tenant's eligibility for continued residence or bearing upon or related to the rent to be paid by the tenant.
2. Undesirability. An undesirable tenant is one who imperil the health, safety or morals of his neighbors, or is a source of danger to the property or the peaceful occupation of the other residents, or is remiss in normal obligations as tenants; more specifically as follows:

a. Tenants and/or family members who commit acts that seriously endanger the life, safety and welfare of other persons, including crimes of violence, prostitution, sale or possession of narcotics, rape or sexual deviation.

b. Evidence that a family or a member thereof has demonstrated a pattern of behavior which endangers the life, safety and welfare of other persons by acts of physical violence, gross negligence or irresponsibility.

c. Family or members thereof who have unjustifiably been involved in patterns of disturbances and conflicts with other tenants.

d. Actions of the family or members thereof in damaging equipment, premises or property of the CHA.

e. A pattern of poor housekeeping which threatens neighbors or results in vermin infestation, and is a general nuisance.

3. Breach of Rules and Regulations. The violation by the tenant of any applicable rule, regulation or resolution of the CHA.

4. Chronic Delinquency in the Payment of Rent. The repeated failure or refusal of the tenant to pay rent when due.

5. Non-compliance. The failure, neglect or refusal of a tenant to furnish CHA satisfactory verification of income.

6. Excess Income. Annual income as defined by CHA regulations which exceeds the maximum income allowable by the regulations and resolutions of the CHA for continued occupancy of the dwelling unit by the tenant.

7. Single Person Occupancy. The possession of a project dwelling unit by a single person who is the residual member of the family to which such unit is assigned and who, under the regulations of the CHA, does not qualify for continued occupancy of the unit.

C. E. Humphrey
Executive Director

DISTRIBUTION "D"
By Tom Page Seibel and Jim Casey

Seven scarred and bruised children, one of them a 3-year-old boy dead in his crib, were found Thursday in an apartment in the Cabrini-Green housing project building occupied by Mayor Byrne.

Geraldine Smith, 32, the mother of three of the children and the aunt of the other four, ranging in age from 3 to 15, has been charged with five counts of child abuse.

Charges in the death of the boy, Matthew Davie, were delayed pending the results of an autopsy scheduled for Friday. Police said that if it is determined that the boy died from a beating, a charge of murder could be filed.

Police said that the seventh child had bite marks on her thigh, but the marks are old, and that it was not determined immediately whether charges would be filed in connection with her injuries.

Smith, who lives in Apartment 1804 in the building at 1160 N. Sedgwick, is suspected of using a belt and its buckle to beat Matthew on the head and body Wednesday night. Police said witnesses, presumably some of the other children, reported such a beating as having taken place.

Area 6 Violent Crimes police said medical examinations were conducted on the surviving children at Children's Memorial Hospital. The children then were released to the custody of the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services for placement in temporary foster homes.

The examinations, police said, revealed scars and bruises on the children's heads and bodies, with several impressions indicating the use of a belt buckle and a shoe to administer beatings.

According to a DCFS spokesman, Smith was given temporary custody of the four children of Linda Davie, her sister, on July 22, 1980, after a finding of neglect on the part of Davie.

The DCFS, the spokesman said, contracted with The Woodlawn Organization to provide social service in the case, and last Dec. 29, the caseworker reported corporal abuse to three of the Davie children.

In two followup visits, the spokesman said, Turn to Page 64
Swibel Announces Cabrini "Evacuation" Plan — As Byrne Leaves Projects.

Recent developments surrounding Cabrini are confirming charges by Cabrini residents that Mayor Byrne's dramatic move to the projects was a "publicity stunt" to gain acceptance of a massive evacuation plan, according to tenant activist Marion Stamps. A statement last week by Charles Swibel, CHA chairman, reveals that a plan to put thousands of CHA families on the street was scuttled five years ago because of federal opposition, but is now under reconsideration.

Swibel said he and others are taking a second look at preliminary studies done five years ago by CHA to "de-densify" Cabrini-Green. At that time, the plans were stopped by HUD Regional Director John Waner who said, "It would be unconscionable for the Department of Housing and Urban Development to permit the removal of viable family units from the low-rent inventory in favor of increasing the elderly inventory."

Andrew Mooney, number two man at CHA and a key Byrne political aide, raised the possibility also last week of simply boarding up some of the high-rise buildings if the cost of transforming them to senior citizen apartments proved to be too high.

Speaking for a group of concerned Cabrini and Near North residents, Ms. Stamps explained that the community has long offered another plan for Cabrini. While agreeing that the high-rises are not best suited for families, Ms. Stamps argued that displacing thousands of people without an alternative plan for housing them will create untold misery and confusion in the city. According to Ms. Stamps, "The city is already under court order in the Gateaux case to build some 8,000 units of public or publicly subsidized scattered site units. One-third of these are supposed to be constructed in all Black or majority Black communities, one-third in majority White communities."

"The city and CHA," Ms. Stamps continued, "should build 800 scattered site units immediately in the Near North area surrounding Cabrini-Green which is filled with vacant lots, abandoned buildings, and substandard housing in need of rehabilitation. Residents of Cabrini should not be forcibly evicted until these units are constructed and should then be given a choice of moving into the new units in the immediate area or into scattered site units in majority White areas."

Pointing out that the city has fought the court action to build these units for 12 years, Ms. Stamps cast doubts on the city's sincerity. "If the city is not simply clearing out Black people at the request of large developers, then they would agree to the scattered site units in the Near North area."

Meanwhile, All Chicago City News has learned from high-level sources in the Byrne administration that the mayor commissioned a secret study of her own to determine how the de-densification of Cabrini could be accomplished. According to these sources, the mayor was "worried" about political reaction in the Black community to the proposed mass eviction of one of the country's largest public housing complexes. The mayor's "surprise" move to Cabrini after she had allegedly only recently become aware of inadequate police protection was no surprise to these sources who had been working on the evacuation plan for five months.
Speculate Cabrini Green drift to expensive highrises

by Greg Lewandowski

Rumors that Cabrini Greens, a low-income housing project on the Near North Side, will be converted into luxury apartments or condominiums have grown steadily in the past year.

One politically active resident of Lincoln Park said he had heard rumors that the long-range plan was to convert Cabrini Greens "into something like Sandburg Village. Cabrini Greens would be ideal because it's close to the Loop and is structurally sound." He added that the rapid growth of the middle-income and upper-middle income white population in Lincoln Park has been steadily forcing black residents out of the community. This trend, he said, could conceivably reach Cabrini Greens.

42nd Ward Alderman Bart Natrurus scoffed at the rumors. "They are ignorant," he said, "the regular Democratic alderman." We were just awarded yearly grants from the Federal Government in 1972 for maintenance upkeep and more stringent security.

"Structurally, the building is in good shape, as good as any on Lake Shore Drive," said Natrurus. "The top four floors in the three 19-story Cabrini Green buildings were closed to help alleviate security problems and for renovation. They will be reopened next month.

Referring to the recurring vandalism in the project, Natrurus said all buildings were vandalized and emphasized that security had improved since the new system went into effect.

John Gill, of the Cabrini Greens Department of Human Resources, said at least two developers had offered to buy Cabrini Greens for development into middle-income or upper-middle-income apartments and condominiums. Gill believes it would be virtually impossible for such a transaction to take place.

"First the Chicago Housing Authority would have to buy up the bonds sold to finance construction by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. And even if they bought back all the bonds, the residents of Cabrini Greens would have first option to buy them back. It would, Gill admitted, be an incentive for several white families to move to the project. They were 975 white families in the Greens one year ago; nearly 4% of the project's residents are white. "It's public housing," he said, "it doesn't matter whether black or white."

With both security and maintenance improved, plus continued southward movement of middle-income and upper-middle-income whites, black residents of Cabrini Green might argue themselves being forced out most unlikely of all Near North Side communities.
Nice location, but...

Cabrini not ready for condo crowd

The year's most unlikely and startling real estate rumor has surfaced this week in a Lincoln Park community newspaper.

The report:
That the Cabrini-Green low-income public housing projects may be converted into luxury high-rise apartments or condominiums.

The newspaper — The Park News, a free weekly with an estimated circulation of 16,000 — reports in a bylined article by editor Greg Lewandowski that "the long-range plan is to convert Cabrini-Green into something like Sandburg Village.
Cabrini-Green would be ideal because it's close to the Loop and is structurally sound.

Although most spokesmen associated with Cabrini-Green denied the rumors, no less a real estate authority than Arthur Rubloff — who developed Sandburg Village and other successful Chicago housing and commercial projects — told this columnist Tuesday:

"Cabrini-Green is a wonderful location. It's just in a unique spot, being on the Near North Side where it is. I've been given the opportunity to build a development at the site of Cabrini-Green when I built Sandburg, I would have done it.
You could rent those apartments in a minute."

However, it is probably premature for wealthy Chicagans and suburbanites to plan on cabana clubs, Stop and Shops, or backgammon salons to become a part of Cabrini-Green.

The major obstacle, of course, is the history of the housing project itself. For years, Cabrini-Green has represented all that is evil and dehumanizing about inner-city high-rise projects. Although conditions at Cabrini-Green have shown some signs of improvement recently, it is still a high-crime, dismal life-style project where many impoverished families end up as a virtual habitation of last resort.

And although the community newspaper made reference to "at least two developers" who had offered "to buy Cabrini-Green for development into middle-income or upper-middle-income apartments and condominiums," the developers were not cited by name — and Rubloff said, "anyone wanting to go in there at this time would have to be crazy. The cost would be prohibitive. Cabrini-Green has been such a total disaster from the start that you would have to virtually demolish it to give the ground for this project to make any sense. Also, you would create a riot, of course."

Ald. Burton Natarus, whose 42d Ward includes Cabrini-Green, said, "It'll never happen. We're trying to fight crime in Cabrini-Green; we're trying to uplift impoverished people. In St. Louis, that city blew up their housing projects. We're not going to do that."

Ald. Martin Oberneter, whose 43d Ward borders Natarus, said, "Yeah, I've heard the rumors. I can't say that the rumors are anything more than that. It makes sense in a long-range point of view — Cabrini-Green is just like Sandburg Village, in that it's attractive because of its being convenient to the Loop. I suppose that would make it attractive to developers. But you'd have to totally change the surrounding area to do it.

"The trouble with the City of Chicago is, all these huge plans can go on in utter secrecy for long periods of time, and then be sprung full-blow on the public. Maybe a plan of this sort does exist, sitting on someone's desk, but we don't know about it. I'm not saying I have any inside information, mind you. But certainly in Chicago, something like this might happen, and we'd never know about it until it was actually going on."

Gus Master, executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority, which operates Cabrini-Green, said, "I wish I knew how this rumor kept cropping up. The buildings are in real good shape here, but luxury apartments? Condos? I just don't see it at all. But still we get all this talk. On three separate occasions, we've had to send out mass mailings to every resi-
Drawing the line at North Avenue

North Avenue is one of the most strictly drawn and zealously guarded racial dividing lines in Chicago. To the north is the white, affluent neighborhood of Lincoln Park. To the south is the black community in the Cabrini-Green housing project on the west and Sandburg Village on the east, an enclave of black homeowners and renters. They are poor people, for the most part, and their homes are run-down versions of the so-called "two-flat" and "frame cottages" that have become so fashionable farther north. Nobody seems to have a name for this neighborhood. Lincoln Parkers simply refer to it as "below North Avenue."

The black neighborhood's high school is Cooley Vocational, now located in the shadow of Cabrini-Green. Cooley needs a new building, and the school board has been trying to build one for the last ten years or so. It has spent most of that time arguing with Lincoln Parkers - a "black" school should be located north of the great dividing line, North Avenue. A few people dared to suggest that Cooley be combined with Waller High, the next school to the north, or that the school should be expanded, moved away from Cabrini-Green, and made into an attractive magnet school. Some even pointed to the large tract of vacant urban renewal land on the north side of North Avenue, between Larrabee and Halsted, as a perfect site for a new high school. Finally, the site was saved; the new Cooley is to be built on land finally released by the black community, on a triangular site bordered by Larrabee, Blackhawk, and Clybourn. So what if the land will cost $2 million to acquire?

One of the site's biggest drawbacks is that it doesn't include room for outdoor recreation, as was the case with the old Cooley site in the land. The school board wants to demolish the old school to make way for the new Cooley. But that's just the beginning; once the land is acquired, the board will have to raise $3.5 million and then build a new school. ISHAH, the local community group, is fighting to save the old Cooley school. They believe it is an important cultural landmark and should be preserved.

The YMCA obviously can't save the old Cooley school, but they are working to preserve the old community center. The center is an important cultural landmark and should be preserved.

The YMCA obviously can't save the old Cooley school, but they are working to preserve the old community center. The center is an important cultural landmark and should be preserved.
TREATISE CONCERNING CABRINI-GREEN HOUSING COMPLEX

To Whom It May Concern:

The following paragraphs are directed to specific community leaders who have the responsibility and concern for many near-north side residents, who are being displaced by conditions within and around Cabrini-Green.

Our information tells us that the current vacancy level at Cabrini is approximately 40% of total capacity and still falling. We believe that this will not remain a fixed vacancy level; people seeking safer, happier surroundings whenever possible. Large families cannot find ample choice when seeking safe, decent housing near proper shopping and institutional facilities. It becomes an ongoing dilemma as to what will happen to the stable family population at Cabrini. We believe there is a solution which will enhance the large family housing at Cabrini-Green.

In this treatise we do not suggest alternatives to occupancy at Cabrini. We do not address ourselves to scattered housing facilities now available in Westown (Fifth City Planning) as alternative housing, nor do we look south to the Robert Taylor-Stateway complex for alternative occupancy. It is our firm belief and desire that people should not be uprooted by urban real estate progress. Rather, people must benefit by urban progress by being included in improvements. To address the poor as an exclusive body, never-changing, is to say there is no hope for certain of our Chicago citizenry. That is a falsehood. We all want something better in our lives. The haves must help the have-nots so that an ever-present sense of desperation can be relieved.

In keeping with the attitude of Chicago's newly formed Department of Housing, we offer their statements taken in part from the directory of the CITYHOUSE HOME IMPROVEMENT FAIR, March 27, 28, and 29 at McCormick Place West-Donnelley Hall: "In order to meet the growing demand for rehabilitation and other types of housing finance assistance, the Department has successfully utilized a variety of public/private joint ventures which have leveraged many times the public investment in private mortgage and rehabilitation loans and grants, particularly in high-risk lending areas." An excerpt from an additional paragraph is as follows: "At the present time, the Department is seeking to develop additional programs to meet the City's needs."

It is obvious that City leaders have exerted a leadership role at Cabrini-Green; therefore, we feel it in keeping with the City's overall concern that we reach out to you, the community leaders, who are the real spokes-voice of this blighted and deteriorating cluster of neighborhoods.

Can we offer tenants in good-standing permanent housing? We can do it by offering CREDIT EQUITY to families who have demonstrated stability and desire to live in our area. This can be done, for example, by offering ownership of an adequately improved apartment to tenants who have lived at Cabrini-Green for five years and more. Let us say that a tenant will receive ownership points for every year lived at Cabrini after five years; five years being the qualifying date to prove a family stable and willing to invest positively in our neighborhood. For tenants not yet of such a residency duration, it is suggested that they be informed that they will receive credit equity after reaching the residency time of five years. In order to develop a desire for ownership, we feel that this offering will stimulate an interest to be productive within the community. It is our opinion that a demand for housing will be activated and that people living outside of Cabrini will request an opportunity to become residents. For example, should a large family that has good credit and moral credentials apply, this family would be
offered direct purchase of an apartment or a five-year credit equity option. We believe that Chicagoans, at-large will live as neighbors in a Cosmopolitan Matrix when there is a goal-plan that attracts common interest. We think Chicagoans could become pleasantly excited if they learn that tenants, having lived at Cabrini-Green for fifteen years and more, are being given an entirely improved apartment as an act of gratitude for having kept Cabrini-Green functional by their residential and moral support.

The older buildings known as the Cabrini buildings are fully owned by the Chicago Housing Authority; likewise; the Oak Street row houses. Federal construction bonds used to develop Cabrini-Green have been repaid on the Cabrini portion of the Cabrini-Green Housing Complex. This is not yet the case with the Green buildings or the newer Lincoln Park buildings.

In reality, the bonds are paid or being paid off by Chicagoans who are paying federal income taxes. In a very real way, those who have lived and are living in the near-north housing complex are our proxy representatives. They are the manifestation of our desire to place people into housing who might not otherwise find a semblance of family-sized housing. Therefore, these residents who are paying off our federal debt by virtue of their residency. Without their presence, there could not have come to pass all of the dynamics which have given to Chicago fully paid buildings which now need rehabilitation.

Certain experts tell us that municipal bonds could be financed to rehabilitate Cabrini-Green, since there is, to a great degree, no federal jurisdiction over the buildings fully redeemed from federal financing. Those remaining unpaid could be offered to tenants at a later date under the plan herein described without upsetting our conceptual timetable. This is true because there are not many years remaining to pay off all the buildings within the Cabrini-Green complex.

For the sake of clarity, we are using financial figures which may not be accurate; however, they serve to describe a means of financing the rehabilitation of this large complex. Let us say that an appraisal shows that the complex is valued at 50 million dollars with all its current improvements. Let us also say that it would take 30 million dollars to make necessary improvements that would uplift and bring Cabrini-Green into compliance with Chicago's housing codes and also improve the environmental quality of these structures and their adjacent surroundings. Because of the improvements, it is expected that the rehabilitated complex would be valued at twice the current appraised evaluation. Chicago Housing Authority or the Department designated responsible, should seek financial end commitments from a consortium of banking institutions that practice civic concern through mortgage financing of rehabilitation projects. Interim financing should come from any citizen or financial group that wishes to purchase tax-exempt municipal bonds. These bonds would have a guaranteed paid up value of two times the investment dollar plus a reasonable interest rate should, they not be redeemed after the pay-out by the banking consortium. When the banks assume the mortgage, it is believed that interim investors may renegotiate their bonds or redeem them.

As with most low-to-moderate housing concepts, federal programs will be utilized to obtain because of newly developing federal policies which are suggesting that local governments develop their inner resourcefulness through financial creativity. We believe that this treatise offers our citizens an opportunity to bring out the best in all of us by demonstrating love for one another when such a mood may be our one saving grace. If we continue to promote only those who have in our country, we may be developing an economic sector that will not respect property and real ownership. Let us stimulate the pride of ownership and the necessary help to accompany it where it is desired in our near-north environment.
City Unresponsive To High Infant Mortality — Residents March on Bd. of Health

Southeast Chicago — Residents of Southeast Chicago are increasingly skeptical of the claims by the mayor and Commissioner of Health Dr. Hugo Muriel that Chicago's high infant death rate is a top priority. The city continues to be unresponsive to the residents' attempts to gain additional health services for pregnant women, as well as comprehensive health services for the area which is suffering from massive layoffs in the steel industry.

Since January, residents have been trying to get Dr. Muriel to work with them in expanding city health services in the area. Homer Marmolejo, chairman of Bessemer Concerned Neighbors, an affiliate of United Neighborhood Organization (UNO), explained, “Our people have become extremely frustrated in our efforts to gain the cooperation of Commissioner Muriel in improving and expanding the inadequate health services currently offered here.

“Dr. Muriel would not even seriously consider the community's needs until we demonstrated at his office.”

On February 23, over 75 residents went to Dr. Muriel's office demanding that he improve and expand services at the city-run health center at 8801 S. Commercial. Homer Marmolejo explained that although the facility has been cleaned up and the hours extended, services are inadequate. Pregnant women still have to wait two months for an appointment.

Chicago has the highest infant death rate for minorities among the nation's 10 largest cities — 26.6 deaths per 1,000 births. The infant death rate among Whites is also high — 15.6 deaths per 1,000 births.

Philip Davis, executive director of the Health Systems Agency (HSA) was quoted in an article on March 22, in the Chicago Tribune as saying, "It is a scandal. There are Black and Latino neighborhoods where the infant death rate is as high as 30 to 40 deaths per 1,000 live births. I would be hard pressed to identify any significant programs on the part of the city in the last several years to improve the infant death rate in Chicago."

The Chicago Reporter has found that the city has a high proportion of tiny, premature babies, often caused by poor prenatal care. The city's Health Department estimates that 20 percent of pregnant women in Chicago receive either inadequate prenatal care or no care at all.

Despite this, Dr. Muriel has refused to cooperate with the Southeast Chicago residents. On April 9, he did not show up at a meeting attended by over 200 residents to discuss the area's need for more health services. On April 15, 80 area residents went to Muriel's office to talk with him. Organizers say they had written to him that they were coming. The doors to his office were locked. The residents went to the mayor's office and left a written statement about their problems, but they have not received a response from the mayor.

Organizers are working with HSA officials to have Southeast Chicago communities declared 'medical underserved and health manpower shortage areas.' This process will take 120 days. HSA officials believe that the communities of South Chicago, Hegewisch and South Deering will receive the designation. Ironically, Calumet Heights, which has an infant death rate of 33.4 deaths per 1,000 births does not qualify for the designation. South Chicago Hospital is located in the community and is surrounded by doctors' offices. HSA officials maintain that this disqualifies the community.

The designation will allow communities to apply for federal funds for health care services and programs like WIC. However, there is concern that the funds will not be available because of the Reagan budget cuts.

Organizers say they will continue to demand that Dr. Muriel work with them to extend city health services in the area. They have also stated that if he continues to be unresponsive they will demand his resignation.
Ms. Juliaylynne Walker
4562 S. Michigan
Chicago, IL

The Tranquility Memorial Center has received an Eviction Notice and a Notice to appear in court on Thursday, June 18, 1981.

The struggle has not ended, it has just begun. Their involvement in the fight to help residents of Cabrini-Green is the reason for this obvious harassment. They are going to fight and we need your help to discredit the false accusation and charges made concerning their integrity, honesty and functions as a Community Organization in this community. They were here when we needed them, now they need us.

Please call 337-0218 for more information on how you can help the ones that helped you.

REMEMBER, WITHOUT TRANQUILITY THERE IS NO ONE TO HELP US IN OUR FIGHT AGAINST THE RACIST REMOVAL OF BLACK AND POOR PEOPLE FROM OUR COMMUNITY.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Nnanna Hickman
Acting Chairperson

/nn
We the Residents of Cabrini-Green, The Committee to Stop Displacement and the Tranquility Memorial Center are engaged in a serious struggle to save our homes on the Near North Side and to stop the displacement of thousands of Black and poor people throughout the City of Chicago.

This struggle is not confined to Cabrini-Green alone, it is a nationwide struggle. We are soliciting your support and participation in this struggle.

As a Community Organization, we feel that your involvement is more than necessary. But, with or without your support we will continue to fight against the racist forces to remove our people from this community.

We are requesting your support in this struggle because we have for too long let you and other organizations that serve the Black Communities go by default in not soliciting your support.

We want it understood that we are not in support, nor have we ever supported any group or organization that preys on the people in this community or any other community. We do support the rights of all people to live and work where they choose without fear of harassment from anyone.

For your information this letter, along with names of other organizations that we have contacted will be circulated throughout the city.

We await your reply and/or participation.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Nianna Hickman
Acting Chairperson

xc: Residents of Cabrini-Green
The Tranquility Memorial Center
Residents of the City of Chicago
Swibel's failure

In every area we examined ... the CHA was found to be operating in a state of profound confusion and disarray. No one seems to be minding the store; what's more, no one seems to genuinely care.

Strong, clear language like that is rare in a government-sponsored study, but it appears throughout the devastating assessment of the Chicago Housing Authority reported during the last two days in the Sun-Times.

The authors—experts in management, finance and housing maintenance—were appalled. They're fully aware of the problems in running a huge housing system for the poor, yet they could hardly believe the mess they found in Chicago: the "flamboyant spending," the "lack of controls," the arrogance and unaccountability of the political patronage system, the incompetence, the waste.

Here are just two of dozens of examples in the report:

- "Apartments are universally overcrowded; 80-85°F was a typical reading [in November and December] night and day. Residents commonly had their windows half open on cold days to reduce internal temperatures."

- ""While CHA projects are in desperate need of basic repairs, some $50 million in CHA modernization funds have been sitting in local banks earning comparatively low interest rates."

No wonder that the CHA, despite a higher per-unit federal subsidy than seven comparable public housing authorities, ran the highest per-unit deficit. In fact, its deficit was nearly twice as high, per unit, as the runner-up, and more than 10 times the New York deficit.

Yet nothing in this study, ordered last summer by the Housing and Urban Development Department, is news to the people of Chicago. Maybe HUD's eminent analysts were shocked, but the miserable facts have been reported here again and again for years. And, as the authors note, in the last four years seven other CHA management-studies and audits have reached similar conclusions.

But this one took the critical next step. Instead of pointing out yet again what is wrong and what corrective measures are needed, it asked: Why have the earlier studies been ignored? Why has nothing changed?

That led directly to the man who has run the Chicago Housing Authority with raw, clumsy power and staggering incompetence for 20 years: Charles R. Swibel.

Federal housing officials in the Chicago regional office traditionally "have knuckled under" to his demands for fear of losing their jobs, the study team reported. Apparently the fear was well grounded:

"And where in the past a bold individual at HUD rebelled against this abuse, the chairman of the CHA has appealed to the White House and had that individual—even a deputy assistant secretary for housing—dismissed without notice."

Federal officials weren't the only ones who knuckled under to Swibel. So did Mayor Daley. So did Mayor Bilandic. And so has Mayor Byrne. They tolerated his blatant influence-peddling, they let him use his CHA ties to enrich himself and they accepted his incompetent advice in financial and urban renewal matters.

And, perhaps worst of all because it has hurt so many people, they let him run the city's public housing into the ground.

In a final irony, they let him hand President Reagan a weapon he can use if, as some suspect, he wants to end federal involvement in public housing. He can point to Chicago and say, correctly, "It's awful. It's failed."

... and Mayor Byrne's collusion

Mayor Byrne's reaction to this latest criticism of the Chicago Housing Authority and his pal Charles R. Swibel is a ringing confirmation of the study's principal finding:

Whenever good management conflicts with political cronism at the CHA, the analysts said, the winner is never in doubt: politics.

The same dismal indictment applies to many other facets of Chicago government—financial affairs, major departments such as Streets and Sanitation, the Park District. It's no mystery why local taxes are shooting up, with no discernable improvement in services.

Will Byrne fire Swibel, as the report urges? Of course not, says her husband; the mayor told the feds that if they don't like the way CHA is run, they can have it "lock, stock and barrel."

What dangerous nonsense. The federal government already provides almost 70 percent of CHA's income. Why shouldn't it have some say in how that money is spent? And what if federal officials prove as stubborn and thick-headed as the Reagan administration? What if they say to Chicago, "You want to run it your way? OK. You provide the money."

In its official response to the study, the city claims the Reagan administration brought on CHA's miseries by blocking reforms, and then hired the study team in an attempt to discredit all public housing.

If that's the plot, why does the report praise management efforts at public housing authorities in other cities?

The truth is that the criticisms are valid, as objective analysts of public housing in Chicago have known for years.

And if Byrne again picks a political fixer/fund-raiser/crony over good government, she'll imperil 140,000 residents of public housing—and invite the kind of taxpayer revolt that has devastated other cities.
III. THE DEMONSTRATION AND POLICE VIOLENCE: APRIL 18TH
PRESS RELEASE
Contact: Nianna Hickman
1336 N. Sedgwick
33780217

AND THEY CAME FROM CITY HALL... INVADERS

We, the Concerned Residents Of The Cabrini-Green Area INDICT Mayor Jane Byrne and her husband, Jay McMullen, as invaders of our community.

We see Mayor Byrne's recent media-packed move to Cabrini, with her army of paid mercenaries as an invasion of our privacy and a violation of our civil and human rights. We call them mercenaries, the Chicago Police Dept., because they were illegally paid $50 each for participating in a pre-dawn raid to instill fear and to harass residents of the community.

INVADERS because... Mayor Byrne stepped over area residents and community organizations in this area in her pretense of concern for residents of Cabrini.

INVADERS because... Mayor Byrne superceded CHA waiting lists, something everyday are not able to do, as she announced then moved into not 1 but 3 apartments in Cabrini almost overnight.

INVADERS because... Mayor Byrne chose to attack residents of Cabrini for not 'fitting into this system' rather than attacking the system that is not designed to work for us.

... The system in the form of Welfare that does not provide enough money to raise our families in Cabrini or anywhere.

... The system in the form of CHA that does not provide clean, safe, and sanitary housing for residents of Cabrini or any other public housing complex.
... The system in the form of the City of Chicago that cannot provide jobs to the hundreds of unemployed youth and adults that are badly in need of jobs.

... The system in the form of the Chicago Police Dept., that does not serve and protect Black people in this community.

It's relationship to the 'so-called gangs' is the same as the government's relationship to the Mafia--they are one and the same.

INVADERS because... We did not ask Mayor Byrne to come here!

This invasion was not a fact finding mission; not the act of a morally concerned elected official. Mayor Byrne's own practice shows just the opposite of this: 1) she fires two Black school board members and tries to replace them with two racist white women 2) she refuses to financially support busing for desegregation in this city and 3) she pitted Black men and women against each other as she stepped over Manford Byrd for school's superintendent and brought in a Black female Ruth Love.

This invasion was an act on the part of Mayor Byrne to illegally harass, intimidate and evict Black people from the Cabrini-Green housing complex in Mayor Byrne's quest for political control of not just Cabrini but political control of the entire city of Chicago.

We have not been silent on this issue as the media erroneously states. Nor do we welcome Jane Byrne coming to Cabrini. We see this invasion as a slap in the face of residents in public housing and the overall Black community. And invite Mayor Byrne, George Dunne, Burton Natarus, Jesse White and all other concerned elected official to hear the real views of Cabrini residents - this Saturday, April 18, 1981 12 NOON at a Community Rally.

We further have filed an official complaint of the violation of our civil rights with Sam Pierce, the Secretary of the Dept. of HUD.
Hundreds of eviction notices have been issued. Hundreds of people have already left. On TV and in the press the word is only deadbeats, convicts and undesirables get eviction notices. Don't you believe it. In fact, most of the eviction notices are on trifling or imaginary grounds. People don't know their rights, so they pack up and leave.

IF YOU GET AN EVICTION NOTICE CALL 337-0218. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO AN INFORMAL HEARING, A FORMAL HEARING AND A DAY IN COURT. CALL 337-0218. 337-0218 is the number of the Committee to Stop Displacement, 1336 N. Sedgewick. We will arrange for someone to accompany you to C.H.A. hearings and we have lawyers to go to court with you. Even if you have already called Legal Aid or have already been evicted, call 337-0218 to be included in the class action lawsuit against C.H.A.

THE NAME OF THE GAME IS DISPLACEMENT
Displacement is the moving of us poor black folks off this good land so that richer, whiter folks can be moved in. Back in 1970 the people who give our mayors orders decided on a plan for this land called "Chicago 21". The plan is to bring thousands of suburbanites up Chicago Avenue, up Division, to push the wealthy neighborhood west to the river. Where WE will go is not in the plan, and so is not the concern of the mayor or the free press. DISPLACEMENT IS WHY

STOPPING THE GANGS IS ONLY THE EXCUSE. Where were the mayor and her platoons of police last summer when the beatings and killings were happening faster than any time this year? The mayor moved in and brought eviction squads and half the police department with her. Now garbage is being picked up on time, shootings and robberies are down. Police are also searching dozens of apartments daily without warrants. People are getting eviction notices who have done nothing, have nowhere to go and many mouths to feed.

OUR MAYORS AND THEIR BOSSES WERE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT OUR SAFETY WHEN THEY BUILT THESE PROJECTS AND STACKED US IN HERE. They were not upset when the new Near North Magnet H.S. was built to keep Cabrini's children out of an integrated Waller H.S., and when Near North produced more dropouts faster than anywhere else in the city. They were not disturbed when police withdrew their so-called protection from the projects for weeks on end to help MAKE it a human swamp here.

MAYOR BYRNE COMES IN TO CLEAN UP THE PROJECTS AND TO CLEAR US OUT. The mayor's reason for moving in is to move us out and get credit for saving us from ourselves.

The Committee to Stop Displacement was having Lu Palmer and a band the Saturday before Easter at Seward Park fieldhouse. When the mayor found out she brought hundreds of city workers in from the south and west sides and hundreds of extra police to block off Division St. and hold her own Easter Festival. When some members of the Committee to Stop Displacement, including some Cabrini residents marched from Seward Park to Division St. singing "WE NEED JOBS, NOT EGGS!!" five brothers were arrested and stopped on by police.

IF YOUR APARTMENT IS SEARCHED BY POLICE: WITHOUT A WARRANT CALL 337-0218
337-0218, the COMMITTEE TO STOP DISPLACEMENT
Be There!

On the Seward Park Blacktop

at 12:00 noon

Speakers Include:

Saturday, April 18th

Reggae, Music, Poetry,Speakers

Peace Jam Session

One Love

in a

Flight for Your Rights

Stand Up! Get Up!

Residents of Cabrini - Green & Near North Side
1. Byrne removed two Black men from the Board of Education to replace them with two racist white women who throw rocks at Black children.

2. Byrne commissioned a Green Beret General to ensure the removal of 13,000 Black folks, who are standing in the way of Montgomery Wards, American Invesco and Arthur Rubloff — Condo Kingdom!

These are just two of the facts. There are many more. Don’t be fooled by the Easter Roll.

KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE CROSS

Come to the One Love Jam Session

Saturday
April 18th
12:00 Noon
Seward Park

SPEAKERS: Attn. Thomas Todd, Lu Palmer, CBUC and Dorothy Tillman, Mollison Parent
MAYOR JANE BYRNE
IN COOPERATION WITH THE CABRINI-GREEN
ADVISORY COUNCIL
PRESENTS A

SPIRITUAL EASTER CELEBRATION
AT
CABRINI-GREEN

MUSIC
ENTERTAINMENT
RIDES

CHOIRS
REFRESHMENTS

EGG ROLLING CONTEST
FOR YOUNGSTERS 5 TO 12 YEARS OLD.
BRING YOUR DECORATED EGG AND
JOIN THE FUN!

SATURDAY APRIL 18
11:00 AM. - 3:00 P.M.
DIVISION STREET
BETWEEN CLYBOURN & LARRABEE

RAIN DATE SUNDAY APRIL 19 • 2:00 PM. - 5:00 P.M.
By Rosalind Rossi and Susan Axelrod

Byrne Cabrini Easter fete disrupted

As hundreds of children from Cabrini-Green flocked to an Easter fair Saturday, some 20 demonstrators chanting “Jane Byrne is a KKK” clashed with police only 100 yards from the merry-go-round.

Five of the demonstrators, who police said intended to disrupt the carnival, were arrested. One was charged with battery against a police officer and resisting arrest and four were charged with disorderly conduct.

Byrne, who had been attending the fair with her husband, Jay McMullen; her daughter, Kathy; CHA Chairman Charles R. Swibel; and Police Supt. Richard J. Brzeczek, had just walked from the celebration into the lobby of her Cabrini apartment building when the disturbance began. Deputy Police Chief Carl Gilbert said the demonstrators were “obviously intending to go into the carnival area and disrupt those activities.” He said the five demonstrators were arrested because they refused a police order to cease and desist in their activities.

GILBERT SAID he asked one of the demonstrators, organized by the Tranquility Community Organization, to get the group to stop its protest and chants, which were magnified with a bullhorn.

The deputy chief said he took the bullhorn from a demonstrator but someone in the crowd grabbed it back. Police said the crowd then began pushing against other officers. Just moments before the scuffle broke out, Byrne, standing before a white cross festooned with Easter lilies, had been singing along with the Antioch Baptist Church choir in a rousing rendition of “Jesus Can Work It Out.”

Joining her on the podium were a dozen sports stars, including members of the White Sox, the Bulls, the Hustle and the Bears. Bulls player Reggie Theus received the most enthusiastic reception when he said he was happy to see so many people “standing so close together without a lot of mess going on.”

Although the melody of a calypso resounded throughout the carnival, fighting and gangs were on the minds of many of the hundreds of children there.

Paul Taylor, 15, said he was enjoying the carnival “because most people here wouldn’t have enough money to go anywhere and it’s nice for everybody to be together without fighting.” Priscilla Hollis, 11, said she thought the mayor staged the fair “to keep the big boys out of trouble.”

Dennis Hill, 14, said the fair was held “to get everybody to stop talking about gangs for a while.”

And Bernadine Kornegay, 13, added that the fair was good for Cabrini because “its more reasonable than to have people going around ruining your life.”

AS THE CHILDREN and their parents ate jelly beans and peanuts and stood in line for a spin on the carnival rides, some 10 squad cars, more than half a dozen mounted patrols, and dozens of police converged on the demonstrators.

Police wrestled at least two protesters to the ground during the 10-minute scuffle at the fair. Police said. The protest began in Seward Park, across the street from Byrne’s building at 1160 N. Sedgwick, and then moved a half-block north to the corner of Sedgwick and Division.

In addition, six people were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct about an hour before the fracas for threatening a man and a child, the latter enjoying a carnival ride, police said. The group’s spokesman charged they “ran the area” and told the fairgoers they “had better leave or you’ll get hurt,” police said.

Continued from Page 3

Division and Sedgwick.

Women demonstrators shouted “police state” and “assassins” at police who tried to subdue the male demonstrators.

Marlon Stamps, program director for Tranquility Community Organization and leader of rally, said the group had intended to march to a white cross that had been erected at the carnival, which was sponsored by Byrne and the Chicago Housing Authority and funded by contributions.

“We were going to the cross because I think there is significance in the fact that Jane Byrne put a white cross in a black community,” Stamps said. “Jane Byrne is dealing in psychological warfare. People think the cross represents the crucifixion of Christ. To us, it represents the Ku Klux Klan.”

The demonstrators also charged that Byrne has turned Cabrini-Green into a “police state” and has evicted “innocent people” in her crackdown on crime in the housing project.

The demonstrators chanted “Beware of strangers bearing gifts.” “Jane Byrne is a KKK” and, in reference to an egg roll at the carnival, “We want jobs, not eggs.”
CARNIVAL FUN: An Easter fair on Division St. brings a dizzying toss for youngsters (above) on a Ferris wheel Saturday. Mayor Byrne shares another youngster's fun (below) by taking a spin on the merry-go-round. (Sun-Times Photos by Richard Derk)
CARNIVAL SCUFFLE: Chanting "Jane Byrne is a KKK," demonstrators (above) carry a sheet depicting hooded Klansmen and a burning cross into the Easter carnival area near Division and Sedgwick. Police (below) scuffle with a demonstrator after the group was ordered to stop its protest.
IV: THE MAJOR DEMONSTRATION: MAY 2ND
March 30, 1981

Dear Friend:

Just as we are sure you are, Peoples College is very concerned about the murders of Black children in Atlanta and the racist violence that is sweeping the U.S. There are some serious problems right here in Chicago as well. We are also quite concerned that we find a way to demonstrate our collective concern and anger.

We are thus proposing a mass march and demonstration on May 2nd in downtown Chicago with the slogans:

STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!
SAVE OUR CHILDREN!

We are prepared to commit a substantial amount of our time and our resources to facilitating this effort.

As a leading person in a key sector of the Chicago community or neighboring communities, we want to call on you (as one of 25 or so people) to join us as co-callers of the march. It is important that we demonstrate our unity on this issue--people from different parts of the city, from different walks of life, of different political views, of different nationalities, and from different organizations.

What is is expected of you over the next month:

(1) Endorsement of the march and your signature on this initial call.

(2) Any resources you can provide--office staff, money, services (printing, mailing, etc.)

(3) Help in mobilizing your constituency

(4) Input on the final list of speakers, march route, etc.

We are prepared to get the ball rolling by providing some initial resources:

Office space: Liberation Hall, Timbuktu Bookstore, 2530 S. Michigan Av.
Special Coalition Telephone:
Office Coordinator: Maryemma Graham
Initial Leaflet: The enclosed open letter on one side, poster on the other
Posters, buttons, stickers, etc.
Some phone calling on raising funds to support the effort.

Please join us in this important collective and united effort. We think that the Black community of Chicago and others who are concerned are demanding such a mass display of unity in this common cause! Abdul Alkalimat, Chair PEOPLES COLLEGE

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS, HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS
MARCH TO SAVE OUR CHILDREN COALITION

Dear Friend:

We are quite concerned about the racist violence sweeping the entire country, and especially about the murder of Black children in Atlanta. In fact, we are mad and we want to do something about it! Many of us are wearing the colors of Black Unity (red, Black, and green) to demonstrate our unity and solidarity with the Black parents of the murdered children in Atlanta as we also turn to address our problems right here in Chicago.

We have come up with a plan to demonstrate our collective concern and anger: A MASS PROTEST MARCH ON MAY 2ND IN DOWNTOWN CHICAGO!

MARCH TO STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!

MARCH TO SAVE THE CHILDREN!

We refuse to be confused and depressed by the media and the government. We refuse to return to old days when Black people had to learn to live under the threat of Klan violence, lynching, and poverty. Why does Reagan rush millions of dollars to El Salvador but treat the murders in Atlanta like "charity." A million dollars for Reagan and his millionaire cabinet cronies is "chump change."

WE ARE MAD! AND WE ARE GOING TO MARCH! WE ARE GOING TO MAKE SURE THAT SOMETHING IS DONE TO TURN THIS SITUATION AROUND!

And we are not going to forget about CHICAGO! We are also mad because:

(1) Chicago has the highest non-white infant mortality rate of any city in the U.S. OUR BABIES ARE DYING!

(2) Jane Byrne has undermined Black Power by giving white racists a majority majority on the School Board. OUR CHILDREN ARE NOT BEING EDUCATED!

(3) Cabrini housing complex and our communities are under attack by gangs--youth street gangs and by the Chicago police. OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING KILLED IN THE STREETS!

For all these reasons and many more, we are sending this open letter to organize a march against racist violence. Please endorse the march! Please spread the word! Please be there on May 2nd and bring others. Either we stand together or we fall separately!

Signatures of Co-Callers
Endorsements to be added
Dear

The MARCH TO SAVE THE CHILDREN COALITION would like to invite you to participate as a speaker in the Rally we are planning for May 2 at NOON in the Federal Plaza in Chicago's Loop. You are one of several people we have selected to represent an important community struggle or sector of leadership related to our SAVE THE CHILDREN theme.

Thus far, our program involves the following main categories. We will discuss with you for which section you are invited to speak.

1. Recent struggles related to Save the Children: the School Board crisis, the Mollison struggle, Cabrini, etc. (5 minutes each)

2. A main speech on behalf of the Coalition

3. Voices of Black leadership (5 minutes each)

4. Various Cultural performances: youth musical group, gospel choir, poetry, etc.

Though we would appreciate your support between NOON and 3 PM, it would be possible for us to give the hour of your appearance, if you agree.

We are enclosing several leaflets/stickers announcing the March and Rally. If you can help us spread the word and bring out your constituency, by all means, please do.

We feel that it is essential that we come together and demonstrate our collective concern and anger about the societal violence that is increasing against Black children and the Black community -- from Atlanta to Chicago and throughout the U.S.

Please help us do this with your participation. We look forward to an affirmative response.

Sincerely,

The Coalition to SAVE THE CHILDREN

CHICAGO

MAY 2, 1981

FOR DETAILS CALL 842-2112
DEAR FRIEND AND SUPPORTER OF THE MAY 2nd MOBILIZATION,

You have been invited to perform the vital function and role of providing security as a marshall or contingent tactical leader responsible for security for the March To Save The Children and Rally to Stop Racist Violence on Saturday, between 11:00am - 2:30pm, in downtown Chicago.

A final marshall's meeting will be held at 10:30am at Wendy's at State and Adams. We request that you be present if at all possible. ALL MARSHALLS WILL CONVENE AT 11:15am AT DEARBORN AND ADAMS at the March and Rally SITE FOR FINAL BRIEFINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS. If after reviewing the important summary points below you have questions, please contact: Doug Gills (864-5365 or 842-2112). Please call if there are other changes in your plans.

Thank you for your cooperation,

Doug Gills
Chief Marshall, March To Save Children Coalition
MARCH TO SAVE THE CHILDREN

Coalition

A "Save the Children Rally" has been organized for downtown Chicago on Saturday, May 2, 1981. The rally was called by a newly initiated March to Save the Children Coalition to focus public attention on the continuing societal violence against Black children and the Black community. The noon rally will be preceded by a protest march through downtown Chicago. Additional details are available by calling the Coalition to Save the Children at 842-8112.

Callers and endorsers of the activities stated that the rally was called "to demonstrate our unity and solidarity with the Black parents of the murdered children in Atlanta as we also turn to address our problems right here in Chicago."

The Coalition's open letter listed the recent report that Chicago had the highest non-white infant mortality rate of any U.S. city, the dumping of two Black members of the Board of Education by Mayor Jane Byrne, and the continuing crisis at the Cabrini housing complex: and its underlying causes like high unemployment as examples of local problems.

Initials callers and endorsers of the march and rally include (with organizations listed for identification purposes only): Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College; Rev. Willie Barrows, Operation PUSH; James Balanoff, Director, United States Steelworkers—District 31; Black Graduate Students Association, Northwestern University; Father Clements, Holy Angels Church; Slim Coleman, Heart of Uptown Coalition; Marva Collins, Westside Preparatory School; Henry Johnson, Housing Activist; Rosie Lee, Chicago Welfare Rights Organization; Rev. Herbert Martin, NAACP Executive Director; Lu Palmer, Chicago Black United Communities; Rev. Al Sampson, Citizens for Self Determination/Fernwood United Methodist; Rev. Hycel Taylor, Second Baptist Church/Garrett Theological Seminary; Wyman Winston, Housing Activist; Marion Stamps, Near North Community Activist; and Study and Struggle, Chicago Student Mobilization for Black Liberation.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

A SAVE THE CHILDREN MARCH AND RALLY has been organized for downtown Chicago on Saturday, May 2, 1981. The rally was called by a newly initiated March to Save the Children Coalition to focus public attention on the continuing societal violence against Black children and the Black community. The rally will take place at 12 NOON at the FEDERAL PLAZA (Dearborn at Adams), preceded by a protest march through downtown Chicago. Additional details are available by calling the Coalition to Save the Children at 842-2112.

Callers and endorsers of the activities stated that the rally was called "to demonstrate our unity and solidarity with the Black parents of the murdered children in Atlanta as we also turn to address our problems right here in Chicago."

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Callers/Endorsers of the Rally and March—Partial List (Organizations for identification only)
Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College; Rev. John Auer, Julia Gay Memorial UMC; Rev. Willie Barrows, Operation PUSH; James Balanoff, Director, United Steel-Workers Union, District 31; Black Graduate Students Association, Northwestern University; Rev. Simon Bodley, St. Phillips Lutheran; Father Clements, Holy Angels Catholic Church; Slim Coleman, Heart of Uptown Coalition; Marva Collins, Westside Preparatory School; Henry Johnson, Housing Activist; Rosie Lee, Chicago Welfare Rights Organization; Rev. Herbert Martin, Executive Director, NAACP; National Conference of Black Lawyers; Community College of Law; Lu Palmer, Journalist; Chicago Black United Communities; Progressive Student Coalition; Republic of New Africa—Provisional Government, Chicago Cadre; Rev. Al Sampson, Fernwood UMC/Citizens for Self-Determination; Marion Stamps, Tranquility/Cabrini Housing Activist; Study and Struggle, Chicago Student Mobilization for Black Liberation; Rev. Hycel Taylor, First Baptist Church/Garrett Theological Seminary; Father Usher, St. Benedict Church; Wyman Winston, Housing Activist; Women Organized for Reproductive Choice
Dear Supporter:

Thank you for your interest in supporting the MAY 2 MARCH TO SAVE THE CHILDREN. Your support is very important if the march is to be successful. This is one way we can demonstrate our collective concern and anger over what's happening to Black children in Atlanta, Black people in Chicago, & throughout the country.

In order to insure a large turn-out, we need you to spread the word about the march. Specifically, would you list below the names of at least 5 people you know who would be most likely to come on May 2? You can also help by making a small donation to pay for the march expenses, getting an organization to endorse the march and volunteering some time to make calls from the office at 2530 S. Michigan. Let us hear from you soon.

In Struggle,
Coalition to Save the Children

CLIP AND RETURN TO 2530 S. Michigan, Chicago, 60616

1. Name_________________________________ Phone____________________
2. Name_________________________________ Phone____________________
3. Name_________________________________ Phone____________________
4. Name_________________________________ Phone____________________
5. Name_________________________________ Phone____________________

My Name___________________________________________
Address_____________________________________________
Phone_____________________________________________
MARCH TO SAVE OUR CHILDREN PLANNED FOR MAY 2!

Timbuktu joins Peoples College and the March to Save Our Children Coalition in calling for a March against violence on May 2 in downtown Chicago. See details on the reprinted leaflet below. PLEASE JOIN IN THIS MARCH OF SOLIDARITY! Give some time as a volunteer at the march headquarters, Liberation Hall (Timbuktu). #842-2112.

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Dear Friend: We are quite concerned about the racist violence sweeping the entire country, and especially about the murder of Black children in Atlanta. In fact, we are mad and we want to do something about it! Many of us are wearing the colors of Black unity to demonstrate our unity and solidarity with the Black parents of the murdered children in Atlanta as we also turn to address our problems right here in Chicago. We have come up with a plan to demonstrate our collective concern and anger: A MASS PROTEST MARCH MAY 2 DOWNTOWN CHICAGO. We refused to be confused and depressed by the media & government; refuse to return to the old days when Black people had to learn to live under the threat of Klan violence, lynching and poverty. Why does Reagan rush millions of dollars to El Salvador but treat the murderers in Atlanta like "charity"? A mere million dollars for Reagan and his millionaire cabinet cronies is "chump change". WE ARE MAD! AND WE ARE GOING TO MARCH! In Chicago, we are concerned because: (1) Chicago has the highest non-white infant mortality rate of any city in the U.S. OUR BABIES ARE DYING! (2) Jane Byrne has undermined Black Power by giving white racists a majority on the School Board. OUR CHILDREN ARE NOT BEING EDUCATED! (3) CABRINI housing complex and our communities are under attack by gangs - youth street gangs and by the Chicago police. OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING KILLED IN THE STREETS! For these reasons and more, we are organizing a march against racist violence. PLEASE ENDORSE THE MARCH! EITHER WE STAND TOGETHER, OR WE FALL SEPARATELY! Call 842-2112 for details. Stop by the march headquarters today, Liberation Hall (Timbuktu-2530 S. Michigan).

Signatures of Co-Callers

Endorsements to be added

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MARCH IN DOWNTOWN CHICAGO

MAY 2, 1981

TO END RACIST VIOLENCE
MARCH TO SAVE THE CHILDREN

FOR DETAILS:
CALL 842-2112
SAVE THE CHILDREN
WEAR YOUR UNITY RIBBONS AND
MARCH TO STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!

FOR DETAILS CALL:
842-2112

Sat.
May 2
NOON
FEDERAL PLAZA
DEARBORN & ADAMS
CHICAGO LOOP
KEY POINTS FOR MARSHALS

PURPOSES:

1. To insure that the main political and organizational objectives of the May 2 March and Rally are carried out.

2. To insure that these objectives are not compromised or subverted.

3. To insure the security of the March and Rally participants.

OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the March and Rally on May 2, is to make a bold, militant but disciplined collective statement: To Save the Children (from Atlanta to Chicago) and Stop Racist Violence II

FUNCTION OF THE MARSHALLS:

1. To provide a disciplined communication process between the political and organizational leadership of the March and Rally and (1) the various contingents and individuals who participate and (2) other forces external to the March (i.e. police, reactionaries etc).

2. To provide security and crowd control for the March and Rally (all aspects of the demonstration).

3. Isolate and neutralize forces and agents who attempt to subvert or undermine the political objectives of the Demonstration.

4. Provide a monitoring function.

ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES:

The person with the chief responsibility for implementing the objectives of the coalition has been designated. It is most important that this responsibility be recognized.

The marshals and tactical leaders of each contingent will be identified and assigned responsibilities for an area or task in the March under the chief marshal's leadership.

Each Marshal will be assigned a responsibility and task during each stage of the Demonstration.

1. Pre-assembly- monitor and reconnoissence of the march route.
2. Assembly- alignment and order of contingents and supporters.
3. March- to insure orderly movement and coordination of the march procession.
4. Rally- to provide internal security for a) speakers b) participants as well as continued crowd control.
5. Departure- insure that all contingents associated with our demonstration have left the area after the rally has been adjourned.

SUPPORT AND LEGAL ASSISTANCE:

1. Political Leadership of the Coalition - the Marshal's work under the designated leadership of the coalition as assigned to them. They are responsible to implement their decisions.

2. Legal Team- It is the responsibility of the legal team (recognized by armbands) to represent the coalition with the police. Our role is to maintain discipline and minimize involvement between the March participants and forces or agents external to the March and Rally.

3. Medical Support - A medical team will be available and hopefully won't be needed. The doctors at station are identified to the Marshal's and contingent leaders.
SAVE THE CHILDREN
FROM ATLANTA TO CHICAGO
RALLY
Sat.- May 2
NOON
FEDERAL PLAZA
DEARBORN & ADAMS
CHICAGO LOOP
FOR DETAILS CALL: 842-2112
WEAR YOUR UNITY RIBBONS AND
MARCH TO STOP
RACIST VIOLENCE!
MARCH TO SAVE OUR CHILDREN COALITION

Dear Friend:

We are quite concerned about the racist violence sweeping the entire country, and especially about the murder of Black children in Atlanta. In fact, we are mad and we want to do something about it! Many of us are wearing the colors of Black Unity (red, Black and green) to demonstrate our unity and solidarity with the Black parents of the murdered children in Atlanta as we also turn to address our problems right here in Chicago.

We have come up with a plan to demonstrate our collective concern and anger:

A MASS PROTEST MARCH ON MAY 2nd IN CHICAGO

We refuse to be confused and depressed by the media and the government. We refuse to return to the old days when Black people had to learn to live under the threat of Klan violence, lynching, and poverty. Why does Reagan rush millions of dollars to El Salvador but treat the murders in Atlanta like "charity". A mere million dollars for Reagan and his millionaire cabinet cronies is "chump change".

WE ARE MAD! AND WE ARE GOING TO MARCH!

And we are not going to forget about Chicago. We are concerned because:

1. Chicago has the highest non-white infant mortality rate of any city in the U.S.

   OUR BABIES ARE DYING!

2. Jane Byrne has undermined Black Power by giving white racists a majority on the School Board.

   OUR CHILDREN ARE NOT BEING EDUCATED!

3. Cabrini housing complex and our communities are under attack by gangs—youth street gangs and by the Chicago police.

   OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING KILLED IN THE STREETS!

For all these reasons and many more, we are sending this open letter to organize a march against racist violence. Please endorse the march! Please spread the word! Please be there on May 2nd and bring others.

Either we stand together, or we fall separately! Call 842-2112.

Callers/Endorsers of the Rally and March—Partial List (Organizations for identification only)

Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College; Rev. John Auer, Julia Gay Memorial UMC; Rev. Willie Barrows, Operation PUSH; James Balanoff, Director, United Steel Workers Union, District 31; Black Graduate Students Association, Northwestern University; Rev. Simon Bodley, St. Phillips Lutheran; Father Clements, Holy Angels Catholic Church; Slim Coleman, Heart of Uptown Coalition; Marva Collins, Westside Preparatory School; Henry Johnson, Housing Activist; Rosie Lee, Chicago Welfare Rights Organization; Rev. Herbert Martin, Executive Director, NAACP; National Conference of Black Lawyers, Community College of Law; Lu Palmer, Journalist/Chicago Black United Communities; Progressive Student Coalition, Republic of New Africa—Provisional Government, Chicago Cadre; Rev. Al Sampson, Fernwood UMC Citizens for Self-Determination; Marion Stamps, Tranquility/Cabrini Housing Activist; Study and Struggle, Chicago Student Mobilization for Black Liberation; Rev. Hycel Taylor, First Baptist Church/Garrett Theological Seminary; Father Usher, St. Benedict Church; Wyman Winston, Housing Activist; Women Organized for Reproductive Choice

RALLY TO SAVE THE CHILDREN! MARCH TO STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!
SAVE THE CHILDREN FROM ALTANTA TO CHICAGO RALLY!

MARCH TO STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!

MAY 2, 1981

Federal Plaza, Chicago, Illinois

PEOPLES COLLEGE SPEECH
on behalf of the
MARCH COALITION

PEOPLES COLLEGE
P.O. BOX 7696
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
60680
U.S.A.
Brothers and Sisters
Comrades in Struggle

I bring you greetings from Peoples College and all members of the Coalition to Save the Children. As with most of us, Peoples College suffered through the news stories from Atlanta about the genocidal murders of our Black youth, and we got mad and angry and decided to do something about it. But we knew that alone we could not effectively fight back, we knew that our voice was small and singular. So we chose to follow the time-tested method of building unity by building a coalition of progressive forces so that we could develop new ways to put all of our voices together, to call together all of the many diverse people, organizations, and political tendencies, who could unite against this terrible situation.

SO WE CALLED FOR A COALITION TO BE UNITED AROUND TWO MAIN SLOGANS:

SAVE THE CHILDREN!
STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!

Then we realized that here in the city of Chicago, we could not simply build a coalition to fight on behalf of Atlanta alone, especially with the devastating and terrible conditions that people have to live under right here in Chicago. We realized that the children of Chicago lived in conditions that daily threatened their lives; indeed, in the midst of this Count Dracula type reign of terror in Atlanta, it was announced by the government that Chicago has the highest nonwhite infant mortality rate of all big cities in this country. Further, with the political assassination of Manford Byrd and the racist repudiation of Black power by Mayor Byrne when she appointed two racist 'white ethnics' (to use her words), instead of reappointing the two Black school board members Leon Davis and Michael Scott, we realized that our children are being murdered mentally and spiritually. Finally, we saw our youth jailed and abused by police after being chased out of the schools and denied employment by an economic system that serves
the rich, not the poor. Therefore we modified the main slogan:

SAVE THE CHILDREN FROM ATLANTA TO CHICAGO! STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!

We know that the only purpose of pulling together a coalition is
to fight back. The only purpose of taking a stand is to fashion
a weapon that enables us to fight back better, more effectively,
more victoriously. So we came up with the final slogan. We knew
that we had to educate ourselves and we had to protest. We had to
speak to each other and we had to act against the enemy. We had
to rally and we had to march, therefore, we have as our overall slogan:

SAVE THE CHILDREN FROM ATLANTA TO CHICAGO RALLY!
MARCH TO STOP RACIST VIOLENCE!

Some people look around today and don't understand the nature of the
racism that Black people face in this society, in this period. One
incorrect view holds that racism is simply the act of an individual,
an uninformed person, an ignorant person, a person who lacks the
proper training and upbringing, or, more usually, this person is
not middle-class and cultured. This is a vicious distortion of
the racism that we face in this society, although this is a part
of the story. A second incorrect view is that racism is merely
the nature of discrimination in social institutions of the society,
so that all we have to do is manipulate the laws and bureaucratic
rules in order to straighten things out. Certainly our institutions
are racist through and through, but that is not the sum total of
the situation and that is not the defining context of racism in
the total society. Our problem is not individual racism, but that
is part of the problem. Our problem is not institutionalized
racism, but that is part of the problem. THE PROBLEM IS SOCIETAL
RACISM: RACISM THAT IS SO RAMPANT THAT IT SPREADS WIDELY THROUGH
EVERY PART OF THE SOCIETY INCLUDING THE GENERAL CULTURAL ATMOSPHERE
AND THE CONTENT OF POLITICAL LEGITIMACY. ONE MIGHT SAY THAT IN THIS
COUNTRY, THE FOX IS WATCHING THE CHICKEN COOP. THE RACISTS RUN
THE WHITE HOUSE AND OPENLY SEND MESSAGES THAT ALL THE RACISTS IN
THE LAND NEED NOT USE ANY RESTRAINT: THERE IS OPEN SEASON ON BLACKS.
THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF

Buffalo Where the ghoulish murders of Black men with their hearts fiendishly cut out have terrorized the community for over a year. Only last week was a suspect apprehended.

Miami Where the police were acquitted of murdering a Black man for a traffic violation. People took to the streets when they realized that true justice was not to be had in a courtroom. Black youth among them were subsequently singled out and convicted of murder on the flimsiest evidence imaginable.

Greensboro Where federal agents and Klansmen openly and militaristically attacked an anti-fascist demonstration in a Black housing project. Despite a video tape of this heinous crime, they too, were acquitted.

Chattanooga Where four Black women were gunned down in a vicious attack while walking in the Black community.

Mobile Where a Black man was strung up and lynched in the old classic way in a Black housing development.

In sum, we face a period like 1877 when the president pulled the federal troops out of the South, Reconstruction ended and Black people faced an unprecedented reign of terror. Or like in 1896 when the Supreme Court in Plessey v. Ferguson declared no Blacks had to be respected by whites. Or in 1968 when Mayor Daley responded to our righteous rebellion in the militaristic heavy hand of his shoot-to-kill order.

This society-wide racism means that it can't be changed until the basic nature of the society is changed. If a leopard can't change its spots, and a tiger can't change its stripes, then the United States can't end its racism without being reborn again. Further, we believe that this rebirth is not something easily accomplished because the government is set up to perpetuate the system and not
to change it. There are no members of Congress who are not capitalists, who don't serve the system, who don't side with the corporations. We the people must take things into our own hands and frankly turn things upside down. We stand with Langston Hughes when he wrote:

Let America be America again
the land it never has been yet
and yet must be
the land where everyman is free

We face this racism directly and indirectly. We face racism at the hands of white racists. There are attacks by people who seek to deprive Black people of basic human rights, who seek to subordinate Blacks to a lower situation, to a minimum standard of living, to surplus labor to be piled like dung in a concentration camp. The Klu Klux Klan roam the country like they had the official approval to carry out their divine mandate, and don't they have the blessings of Racist Ronnie Reagan! The KKK openly recruit and train fascist elements in methods of violence and terror, people committed to violating the law and depriving Black people of their human rights. This is in addition to Jews, Catholics, Vietnamese immigrant fishermen, and everybody else they are afraid of.

But this direct violence against Black people is not the only way that racism comes down on us. This is the direct way, but there is an indirect way and this is something that a lot of us don't understand. We want to say a few things about what is now called BLACK ON BLACK CRIME. This is what we heard a lot about when we went over to Cabrini-Green. We went over there to protest the military occupation of Cabrini by Mayor Byrne, and many of the people said they were glad she was there because the gangs had just about taken over. Some of the people were so desperate, they were willing to give up some of their freedom to get rid of the gang violence, to get rid of Black on Black crime. What we all have to understand is that Black on Black Crime is caused by racism, but this is indirect.
Crime is caused by people who have not been socialized into working for a living. For Black youth, how can one be honest in a dishonest society? How can one learn to work for a living when the odds are only one in two, or one in three, or one in four that you can get a job? Racist exclusion and oppression forces young Blacks into a life of crime to survive. Racism pushes our kids out of schools. Racism makes the cop arrest Black youth while middle-class whites might get off with a scolding. Go to a court room and you see white faces in authority and Blacks and working-class whites lining up as both the victims and the criminals. All of this is caused by racism that is so rampant in this society. All of this is caused by the politics and economics of capitalism in crisis -- the poor, the oppressed, the working class are beat down and when crime results the real victims are blamed. Gangs are caused by a sick society, not by our mothers and fathers who deserve respect and love. Anyone who attacks them as the cause is sick. We hope Mayor Byrne is listening to this.

But while we believe that this discussion of racism is absolutely essential at this time in our movement for freedom, at this time in society when Black people are facing unprecedented suffering in the midst of one of the richest societies in the history of the world, we also believe that we can't get a firm and overall correct view of this racism unless we put it in the context of the world and social conditions that cause it and reinforce it in a powerful and definite way.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The world today is plunging into crisis, deeper and deeper, falling from the pinnacle that once had the U.S.A. as the undisputed leader of the imperialist camp which gave it a commanding presence in the world. This was the case after World War II. Now there is another threat of a world war. We believe that this world war will not be in the interests of the peoples of the world and therefore, the masses of people in this country have no side. The masses of people in this country should oppose all war preparations because they take valuable dollars away from social programs needed to insure the
basic human rights to all people. The U.S.A. is not the police of the world. The U.S.A. is not doing god's work but acts like the devil dragging people down in to hell, the burning furnace of chaos, destruction and dependencies.

People must not be fooled. Reagan is carrying out many of the policies that Carter started, but the form of the approach has changed. The main purpose of the U.S. imperialist system is the same. We used to have the smiling face of Andy Young, with one hand full of so-called brotherhood, while the other hand had orders from U.S. multinational corporations. This can easily be seen from his membership in the Trilateral Commission, the organization set up by Rockefeller to police the world for the major capitalist corporations in the leading capitalist countries. We have traded the smiles of Andy Young for the frowns of Haig in State, Kilpatrick in the U.N., Weinberger in Defense, with the only smiles being Reagan when he talks about cutting 80 billion from social programs, and Bush when he is trying not to upstage his mentally deficient boss. These frowning hawks for a wounded U.S. imperialism have thrown away the facade of liberalism and human rights, to return to a foreign policy of brute force and open alliance with the most terrorist dictatorships in the world. Further, the main point of the budget is not the reduction of spending, but the transfer of funds from social programs to defense.

We feel particularly compelled to identify two key struggles and their regions as being relevant to this political action we are taking today.

A. We must unite in solidarity with the peoples in struggle in El Salvador and resist the growing intervention by the U.S. ruling class, the Reagan government. (repeat twice)

This case is clear and simple. The Duarte regime is a fascist government that violates all standards of human rights, justice, and basic morality recognized by the international community. Even some members of Congress serving the ruling class have to be critical because the terror is so blatant and obvious to everyone. Mass executions abound
while the U.S. tries to pour the aid in.

Further in this region we have to mention other key struggles:

1. Freedom for Puerto Rico.
2. U.S. hands off Grenada.

B. We must unite in solidarity with the peoples fighting in Southern Africa and oppose the racist Reagan government’s unity with the apartheid Botha government of South Africa.

Recently a high level delegation of military leaders was allowed to blatantly violate the law and openly confer with high level Reagan officials. This slaps all of us in the face. Its as if Reagan climbed in bed with Botha of South Africa — This is an outrage!

We are especially concerned that the U.S. be prevented from holding back the struggle in Namibia, formerly called Southwest Africa. S.W.A.P.O. is the legitimate revolutionary national liberation organization and all countries should officially recognize this. We must oppose the Reagan plan to subvert S.W.A.P.O. Our demand is for the full recognition of S.W.A.P.O., and the full independence, the liberation of the Namibian people.

The biggest question in Southern Africa is the question of South Africa itself. We believe that the Reagan government will pour more aid there than into El Salvador or Vietnam. Further, they will even try to send Blacks to fight against Blacks.(another more sinister form of Black on Black crime.)

Will you go and fight against the South African people?
(I didn’t hear you.)

Will you go and fight against the people of El Salvador?
(Let me hear you!)

Further, our overall responsibility here in this country is to learn as much as possible about the peoples struggles, raise the consciousness of the American peoples, and fight to keep U.S. imperialism out —to keep Reagan here. Of course, its like this demonstration. This weekend all of the U.S. (like all over the world) people are rising up.
This is good. We'll keep Racist Ronnie and his gun happy pal Al Haig busy right here.

Further, we demand full recognition of all legitimate African countries.

In sum, this world is heading toward world war, an imperialist world war. Our view of this world situation stands on two key points:

1. We must support all national liberation movements legitimately fighting for liberation. These movements are part of the world revolution and it is our responsibility. So we call for the liberation of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

2. We must oppose all predatory wars the U.S. ruling class promotes and the hysteria that Reagan and the irreligious moral majority will foster under the guise of patriotism. Our role in the world is to attack U.S. imperialism. As Jose Marti said, we are in the belly of the beast.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

Within this country the masses of people are suffering losses and worsening living conditions. Further, by the signs of the times, we are supposed to absorb greater losses while the corporations and fat cats continue to reap giant profits.

1. The workers are being told to take pay cuts or little or no raises in pay because otherwise the corporations will not survive.

2. The fanatical technical bureaucrat Budget Director Stockman slashes the budget of all meaningful social programs.

3. With the destruction of the government's role in regulation, we will all be increasingly in more and more danger: manufacturers and builders will cut corners and use cheap materials. Industrial accidents will increase and auto safety will decline from its current position in the basement.

There are three things that we want to point out here:

1. There is a current attack on the trade union movement both within, based on top leadership uniting with the bosses, and externally, by highly sophisticated union-busting consultants
and the imposition of no-strike clauses. We think it is extremely important to build broad support in the society for a strong and democratic rank and file movement. In this context we want to draw attention to one of the sponsors of the march, James Balanoff. We need more rank and file campaigns against the leadership hacks.

2. There is an attempt to use the old tool of racism to divide the workers, especially to keep white workers believing that Black people are the main problem that they face. All white people of good will must be courageous and speak out against such ideas. We must fight back with ideas of brotherhood and class solidarity so that we will all be stronger.

3. A good measure of what is going on is to compare C.E.T.A. jobs with workfare. The government responded to the economic crisis (similar to the New Deal with the W.P.A. and the C.C.C.) by creating jobs with at least 30 to 50% less pay and benefits. But that is too much for the ghoulish rulers of this country. Now they have eliminated this level of C.E.T.A. and have shifted down another 20 to 40% and put forward a plan to force people on welfare to work. To put it another way, the government proposes to hire people to work at wages equivalent to welfare payments. Nancy Reagan spends more for her clothes on a weekly basis than a welfare mother can spend on one child for the entire year.

These people should be exposed and denounced. Any expression of 'care' for the 'truly needy' should be compared to the facts which show that the 'needy' and the 'truly needy' are being forced into a permanent subclass whose existence the federal government would like to isolate and deny.

Women will be severely affected by the present political climate which is represented by the Reagan administration. After a period of growth by men and women, in which each sought to develop an anti-sexist outlook, both personally and socially, the moral majority, which we believe to be both immoral and more of a minority, seeks to negate the minimum gains achieved.
How will this come down? Only after intense struggle has this country begun to concretely respect the rights and abilities of 51% of the population by prohibiting interference with the decisions that a woman makes about her body, by providing childcare which allowed her to be economically independent and politically relevant. Now we face the elimination of funding for abortions as well as the right to have an abortion at all. We are witnessing cutbacks in supplemental food and medical care for infants and children. We must fight frantically to retain free or low-cost childcare.

We understand that the Human Life amendment is a threat to the lives of women throughout the country. It leaves women the choice of sterilization or unplanned and economically untenable children. Pro-lifers stress concern for the fetus but ignore the harsh reality of children who are already in our midst. We welcome our children and want to provide the best.

We all have to have a roof over our heads. We need decent, safe and sanitary housing for ourselves and our children. We need affordable housing near decent schools and shopping areas, family and friends. All too often we are forced to accept much less than decent, far from safe and sanitary only for the rats and roaches which also occupy the space or housing which is far from decent schools and friends. Now we are being subjected to spatial deconcentration or the negation of geographically based Black political power. We are finding more and more that we are encouraged to move to suburban areas which formally shunned poor and minority people. Bedroom communities for Chicago and other cities are building or converting to allow for federally subsidized, multi-unit dwellings. We understand that a collapsing public transit system and increasingly higher gasoline prices will leave stranded whoever is forced to live in the suburbs. We understand that our pleas for rehabilitation referred to the same buildings being 'gentrified' for the urban elite.

One of the most vicious attacks against poor and minority people in this country is the criminal injustice system. Black men, and to a lesser extent, Black women, are incarcerated far out of proportion
to our presence in the general population. Any contact we may have with the police, whether as juveniles or adults, will generally result in incarceration or supervision. Rehabilitation, a professed aim, becomes a mockery as prisoners are abused, mentally and physically, by themselves, the guards and the wardens. Social contacts with families and friends are minimized when prisons are placed far from the urban environment which supplies most of the prisoners. Children are denied access to jailed parents and grow up with a distorted view which feeds the popular misconception that places blame on the victims, rather than the perpetuaters of the system.

We all remember last summer and the constant closing of the Lake Michigan beaches due to pollution from raw sewage. Our position is that this will not remain an isolated incident. As the federal government removes safety and environmental controls from industry, our lives will become increasingly threatened by mutilating industrial accidents, unsafe at any speed cars and buses, contaminated drinking and recreational water, air alerts which will send even the healthiest indoors, and consumer products which will lack even the appearance of durability.

In sum, we believe that this economic crisis is very real. The people of the world are more and more keeping the U.S.A. from roaming the earth at will and the internal chaos has finally caught up with the ruling class. They plan to attack us, forcing greater sacrifice. We say to hell with Racist Ronnie Reagan! Further we seek the need to defend our children from these cutbacks because they will be more terrible than Atlanta; more will die, more will lose hope and live out their lives depressed, discouraged, and truly the wretched of the earth.

Now, where does all of this lead us.

1. At the national level, in the face of mounting societal racism, under the growing threat of an imperialist war, spiraling down into a deep crisis of the capitalist system, we believe that we have the responsibility to target the
ruling class as being responsible. Further, we refuse to be loyal to them, they caused this crisis and they should have to live with it. But at this point it is also necessary to point out who their front man is, and therefore who we should target as our number one enemy. You know him. Yeah, the sucker's name is Ronald Reagan.

2. At the local level, Chicafo is no longer a city removed from the severe crisis of a New York City or Gary. The past policies of Daley and his flunkies have caught up with Chicago and Calamity Jane, Mayor Byrne, is only leading the city down the same path. Here is our view:

Chicago is on fire, it's about to BYRNE up.
It's time to put her OUT!
Yeah, that's right.

In sum, we believe that the entire capitalistic system is rotten to the core and we've got to get rid of it all together. Who can defend the funky way that this society and the economic arrangement treats all of us? There is a better way to live, progress can be made, not just for the rich but for all the people. But we are not idealistic fools and therefore we don't believe that we can make the future happen just because we say so. We must fight every step of the way until you and the mighty force of the tens of millions join in the battle for one giant leap into the future. Bright red flames burn in our hearts while we fight to make change here in this wilderness of America, 1981

Two dates are important in our struggle:

1. 1983 - Byrne faces re-election and we will oppose her with all the force and rage we can muster. But we will not vote for another capitalistic tool of our rulers. We can only fight for a future of change.

2. 1984 - The magic year - is the year Racist Ronald Rgan will run for office again. His will be a one term presidency.
Our peoples movement must target Reagan and Byrne as the faces of our enemy. We must defeat them. We must not be afraid to work hard for a victory.

Our future is our children. In this land they are becoming terrorized, they are no longer respected. When will we learn that the only real alternative is to fight back.

Oh, you mighty people - Rise up and kill the system that is killing you. Rise up! Rise up! Rise up and reach for your future! We can win! We can win!

Let us listen to the words of our sister Margaret Walker written in 1942 but relevant for us in 198;

Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born.
Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth. Let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits, in our blood. Let the martial songs be written. Let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control.

Rise up! Rise up! Rise up and reach for your future!
V. THE FIGHT AGAINST STATE REPRESSION
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

-vs-

GERALD MC WORTER, &

DAVID MAYS.

Branch 46 A
Case No. 81-1-133034 81-1-133039

BENCH TRIAL

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS of the trial before the Honorable JOHN J. Mc DONNELL, on the 6th day of July, 1981.

APPEARANCES:

HON. RICHARD M. DALEY, State's Attorney of Cook County, by:

MR. DAVID KERSTEIN,
Assistant State's Attorney,
on behalf of the People;

MR. LAWRENCE E. KENNION,
on behalf of the Defendants, Gerald Mc Woter, and Daniel Mays.

Jeanne L. Messenger
Official Court Reporter
304 - Richard J. Daley Center
Chicago, Illinois 60602
THE CLERK: Gerald McWorter, Ronald Dansberry, Josh London, Shadrock Harris, Daniel Mays.

UNIDENTIFIED VOICE: Your Honor, I'm the attorney for Dansberry, Nash, and London.

THE COURT: Where are your clients.

They're not here.

This morning I came in for a continuance.

I had talked to the State's Attorney on Friday regarding this, Thursday.

MR. KERSTEIN: Your Honor, I never ever represented to Counsel that he could excuse the presence of the Defendants.

UNIDENTIFIED VOICE: I didn't excuse them.

I indicated they would not be back.

I wanted to get a continuance, and at this point--

THE COURT: Without the State agreeing to waive their appearance, I have to issue bond forfeiture warrants.

THE COURT: What Defendant is here?

MS. WALKER: Julialynn Walker representing the Defendants, Gerald McWorter, and Daniel Mays.

Are the complaining witnesses here?

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MR. KERSTEIN: The City of Chicago.

THE COURT: Is Gerald McWorter here?

MS WALKER: Yes.

THE COURT: Is Ronald Dansberry here?

That will be a bond forfeiture warrant.

City disorderly conduct, City disorderly conduct, State disorderly.

THE COURT: All right, is Josh London here?

UNIDENTIFIED VOICE: He's not here either.

THE COURT: Bond forfeiture warrant.

THE COURT: All right, Shadroch Harris?

UNIDENTIFIED VOICE: He's not here.

THE COURT: Bond forfeiture warrant.

THE COURT: Daniel Mays?

MS. WALKER: Here.

THE COURT: Okay, we have two parties here, and three not here.

THE COURT: Are you ready for trial?

MS. WALKER: We were wondering if the Complaining witness, Officer Carone is here?

THE COURT: Officer Joseph Carone, C-A-R-O-N-E?

MR. KERSTEIN: This is off a motion Defendant.

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MR. KERSTEIN: What's good for you?

MS. WALKER: This is the second time.

MR. KERSTEIN: It was motion Defendant the last time.

UNIDENTIFIED VOICE: No, it was motion State.

MR. KERSTEIN: Was it motion Defendant, or motion State?

THE COURT: It's marked motion Defendant.

MS. WALKER: The complainant wasn't present in court the last time, your Honor.

THE COURT: I don't know. It wasn't me, it was Judge Hourihane. It's all marked motion Defendant.

How is 8/6?

The reason I have put it down for August 6th is that is the Judgement date of the other ones.

MS. WALKER: This is the third time we've been up.

THE COURT: Let me pass the matter, you work it out.

(Whereupon, the cause was passed and later recalled.

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THE CLERK: Gerald McWorter, Daniel Mays, Ronald Dansberry, Josh London, Shadroch Harris.

THE COURT: All right, two parties were present. Bond forfeiture warrant on Ronald Dansberry. Bond forfeiture warrant, five thousand dollars bond.

Josh London, bond forfeiture warrant, five thousand dollars bond.

Shadroch Harris, bond forfeiture warrant, five thousand dollars bond.

Gerald McWorter, and Daniel Mays.

MS. WALKER: We'll be answering ready for trial.

THE COURT: You're ready for trial now?

MS. WALKER: Yes.

THE COURT: Is this a bench or jury?

MS. WALKER: Bench.

THE COURT: Let me pass it, so the State can interview his witnesses.

(Whereupon the cause was passed and later recalled.)
THE CLERK: Daniel Mays.

THE COURT: Daniel Mays, and Gerald McWorter.

MR. KENNON: Judge, I haven't actually filed my appearance.

I'd like leave to file my appearance?

THE COURT: Leave given.

MR. KENNON: For the record, Lawrence E. Kennon, K-E-N-N-O-N, representing both Defendants.

THE COURT: Is the State ready to proceed?

MR. KERSTEIN: Yes, and the City, respectively.

THE COURT: Bench or jury?

MR. KENNON: Bench, Judge.

MR. KERSTEIN: Motion to exclude, your Honor.

MR. KENNON: Defendant will join in on the motion to exclude.

THE COURT: All witnesses intending to testify in this matter, with the exception of the State's first witness, and the Defendants, will be excluded from the courtroom, until called by each respective attorney. Each Attorney will be responsible for his own witnesses.

All witnesses who will testify, raise their right hands to be sworn.

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(Whereupon, the witnesses were duly sworn.)

MS. WALKER: Julialynn Walker, I had been Counsel of record. I would like to withdraw at this time.

THE COURT: Any objection?

MR. KERSTEIN: No.

THE COURT: Any objection, Mr. Kennon?

MR. KENNON: No objection.

THE COURT: It will be allowed.

MR. KERSTEIN: There is a change in the City complaint of sub-section 2-A 1, from A to D, on the complaint.

THE COURT: On the City charge?

MR. KERSTEIN: From A to D.

THE COURT: Counsel, I'm going to give my Court Reporter here about five minutes.

Give you time to read the complaint.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken, after which the following proceedings were had in open-court.)
THE CLERK: Gerald McWorter, and Daniel Mays.

MR. KENNON: First of all, I would object to the amendment to the complaint at this time, on the morning -- on the afternoon of the trial.

THE COURT: Is that the City disorderly conduct?

MR. KENNON: Yes, it is, Judge.

THE COURT: What is the amendment, now, Mr. Kerstein?

MR. KERSTEIN: Changing it from section A, to section D.

MR. KENNON: That is a substantive change, rather than an amendment.

That's a new charge altogether.

THE COURT: Counsel, you're taken by surprise by this?

MR. KENNON: Yes, I am.

THE COURT: I'll -- you have the right to continue the matter to investigate it, and that's what I'll order.

MR. KENNON: I don't want a continuance.

THE COURT: Are you going to allow them to do it?

They have the right to do it at any time.
MR. KENNON: I want the record to show my objection.

THE COURT: Well, here, the record will show your objection, and I'll continue it Order of Court, so you can try the case, and be ready, prepared to try it.

I'm not going to allow you to go to trial without preparing for a case.

That is a completely new charge.

MR. KENNON: Well, I recognize what the Judge's posture is.

I will then indicate to the Court, for purposes of trying the case today, I will answer ready for trial.

THE COURT: Only, Counsel, only if you will tell the Court that you are not, or you are, prepared to proceed on the City Disorderly Conduct as amended.

MR. KENNON: Over objection to the amendment, I am prepared to proceed as amended.

THE COURT: All right. We'll proceed then.

Swear the witnesses.

They have already been sworn.
OFFICER JOSEPH CARONE,

a witness called on behalf of the People of the State of Illinois, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kerstein:

Q Officer, state your name?

A Gang specialist, Joseph Carone.

THE COURT: Is that your first name?

A That's my title, your Honor.

THE COURT: He asked you for your name?

A Joseph Carone, C-A-R-O-N-E/

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What do you do for a living?

A Police officer for the City of Chicago.

Q Do you have any specialty, officer, at this time, and as of the Date of April 18th, 1981?

A Pardon me?

Q Were you a special officer in any degree, in any way on the date in question?

A Yes, I was assigned detail at the Cabrini Green Housing Project.

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Q  Calling your attention to April 18, 1981, do you recall if you were at 400 West Division Street, in Chicago, Cook County, Illinois?

A  Yes, I was.

Q  What were you doing?

A  We were brought to that location because of a demonstration that was in the area.

Q  Pursuant to your assignment; did you have an opportunity to see the Defendants, Daniel Mays, and Gerald McWorter, at that time?

A  Yes.

Q  Under what circumstances did you initially see the two gentlemen?

A  During the demonstration, when there was an arrest made, that's when I seen the gentlemen.

Q  Under what circumstances did you initially observe them?

What were they doing?

A  They were demonstrating in the area.

Q  What did they do next?

What were they doing?

A  They were demonstrating.

Q  By demonstrating, what do you mean?
A  Would you rephrase that?
Q  What do you mean by the word, demonstrating?
A  Demonstrating against the Mayor of the
City of Chicago.
Q  And what area were they actually
demonstrating in?
MR. KENNON: I would object as to what they
were doing.
THE COURT: Well, demonstrating --
MR. KENNON: Demonstrating is a conclusion.
THE COURT: The word, demonstrating, is a
conclusion, and your objection will be sustained.
You may testify what you saw them
doing, carrying, falling, throwing, spitting,
whatever it is, say it. .
A  They were carrying signs, marching in
front of 1158 South Sedgwick.
MR. KERSTEIN:
Q  Did they then go into an area that was
restricted at that point from demonstration?
MR. KENNON: Objection, leading.
THE COURT: Sustained.
MR. KERSTEIN:
Q  Where did they go after they left
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the location of 1158?

A They left 1158, walking westbound to specifically to the carnival area that was on Sedgwick and Division.

Q Which carnival area, what do you mean?

A The street was blocked off, and was set off for a carnival for the people from the housing project.

Q Was that area restricted from demonstrations of any kind at that time?

MR. KENNON: Objection to the leading nature of the question.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What was going on in that area?

A There was a carnival.

Q Do you have any knowledge of what was supposed to be going on in this area, as opposed to what wasn't supposed to be going on in the area?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: He may answer. I'm allowing him to answer. You can answer.
A Will you rephrase that.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Do you have any knowledge what was supposed to be going on in the carnival area, as opposed to what was not supposed to be going on?

A There was a carnival area for residence of the Cabrini Green Housing Project, and not a demonstration area.

Q To the best of your knowledge, demonstrations were not permitted at this point?

A Yes.

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON: I ask it be stricken.

THE COURT: It may be stricken.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What else do you know about that area?

A That area was partitioned off for the City, for the people to enjoy themselves that day.

Q And do you have any knowledge of about — if that area was to be used for demonstrations?

A It was not to be used for demonstrations.
MR. KENNON: Objection, Judge.

THE COURT: Sustained.

Counsel, he is testifying to a conclusion. Unless you can have him testify that he received orders from the police, or there were signs saying, et cetera.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Did you have any directives about that area?

A Yes.

Q What directives did you have?

A No demonstrating will be permitted within the carnival area.

Q Did you then see Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays attempt to enter that area?

A Yes, I did.

Q Under what circumstances did they attempt to enter that area?

A They were told they could not demonstrate in that area, but they could demonstrate outside the area.

Q What happened then?

A They attempted to walk into the carnival.
area with the use of a loud speaker.

Q  How did they do that?
A  Pushing their way through the crowd.
Q  How many people were involved in this
group trying to enter that area?
A  Twenty-five people.
Q  Did you see any of the group of twenty-five
people in court today?
A  Yes, I do.
Q  If you see them, could you point them
out?
A  Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays.

MR. KERSTEIN: Let the record reflect in-court
identification of the Defendant Mr. McWorter, and
Mr. Mays.

Q  What happened next?
A  At that time a subject was arrested.
Q  Do you know the name of that subject?
A  Yes, I do.
Q  What's his name?
A  Shadroch Harris.
Q  Pursuant to your trying to place this
individual under arrest, what if anything ensued
thereafter?

A Mr. Harris was placed under arrest.

The gentlemen to my right interfered in placing that gentleman under arrest.

MR. KENNON: Objection to interfering.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q By the word interfering, what do you mean?

A They attempted to withhold Shadrock Harris from the police.

Q Did they physically impede you from making an arrest at that time?

A Yes.

Q Did they -- as a result of this, did a crowd gather?

A Yes, a large crowd gathered.

MR. KENNON: Objection to the leading nature of the question, as to both questions.

THE COURT: Sustained, to the leading nature of the last question.

Sustained, as to the conclusion of the first question, and the conclusory answer
of the first question.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q As a result of the prevention of your making your arrest --

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: There's no testimony, Counsel, it's been stricken. It was stricken.

Go back to the question of a man was arrested by the name of Shadroch Harris.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Could you describe if anything unusual happened in your attempt to place Mr. Harris under arrest?

A At the time we attempted to place Mr. Harris under arrest, we ended up out in the street, from the sidewalk to the street area, middle of the street.

At this time we had to physically place Mr. Harris under arrest.

The crowd spilled out on the street.

They were ordered to return to the sidewalk area.

Q What happened thereafter?
At that time Mr. McWorter was placed under arrest, Mr. Mays was placed under arrest, and two other individuals.

Q Why did you place them under arrest?
A They refused to obey a lawful police order to go back to the sidewalk area.

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: He may testify.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What order was given?
A That they return to the sidewalk.

Q Approximately, how many people were committing these acts of disorderly conduct?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

That's what I'm to determine, Counsel.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Approximately how many people in your estimation were disorderly in that crowd at this time?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Approximately how many people tried
to break through the line into the restricted

carnival area?

A  Twenty to twenty-five.

Q  As a result of this, did anything happen

within the crowd at the carnival?

"A  Yes, it drew a large crowd from the
carnival area to the corner.

Q  Approximately how many people were in

the crowd?

A  Approximately a hundred people.

Q  And how long have you been a police

officer for the City of Chicago?

A  Thirteen years.

Q  During your tenure as a police officer,

when a crowd of this type gathers, and during these

incidences, are there ever any threats of

inconvenience, annoyance, or a harm --

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q  Pursuant to your experience as a police

officer, what was going on in your mind pursuant

to this crowd gathering?
MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What were you thinking at that time?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Did Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays in any way impede your making an arrest of Mr. Harris at that time?

A Yes.

Q How did they do so?

A By locking arms.

Q And by locking arms, what did you have to do as a result?

A Struggle to take the prisoner away from them.

Q Did you have to break through the circle of arms?

MR. KENNON: Objection to the leading nature.

THE COURT: He may answer.

A Yes.
MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Were you blocked?

A Yes.

Q Do you see the person in court, the people in court today who made a chain that impeded your arrest to Mr. Harris?

A Yes.

Q Could you point to them?

A Mr. McWorter, and Mr. Mays.

MR. KERSTEIN: Let the record reflect the Defendants in this case.

Q Did all the events you testified to take place in the City of Chicago, Cook County, State of Illinois?

A Yes.

MR. KERSTEIN: Your witness.

CROSS EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kennon:

Q Officer, were you in plain clothes or in uniform on that date?

A Plain clothes.

Q And were there approximately four or
five hundred police officers in that area at that time?

A  At that particular corner, no, sir.

C  In that area?

A  In the total area, yes.

C  There were mounted policemen, motorcycle police officers, squad patrol cars, and so forth, in this area?

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection.

THE COURT: He may answer.

A  Yes.

MR. KENNON:

Q  There were horses, police horses -- strike that -- wooden horses at an area to the west of the corner of Sedgwick and Division, at that point?

A  There was approximately, I would say roughly a hundred feet from the corner of Sedgwick and Division, they were more toward a hundred feet west of that location.

Q  That's where the horses were?

A  Yes.

Q  This was on an occasion where the Mayor
was having a kind of Easter celebration in the Cabrini Green homes?

A Yes.

Q There was also a carnival, there was also an Easter egg roll to do with the program in the Cabrini Green homes?

A Yes.

Q Also this was after the Mayor had moved into the Cabrini Green homes?

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection.

THE COURT: He may answer.

A Yes.

MR. KENNON: Now, there were on the sides of the -- on the west side of these horses, the area that was blocked off was the street of Division street, and the sidewalk on Division street, is that right?

A The street was blocked, the sidewalk was not blocked, no, sir.

Q I see.

And the purpose for blocking it off was so that traffic would be stopped during the
time there was a program being given by the Mayor, who had a viewing stand, a platform down the street on Division, isn't that correct?

A Yes.

C The Cabrini Green is a very large project home with many people in it?

A About fifteen thousand, seventy-five square acres.

C You said you had received a directive saying there was to be no demonstrations in the area?

A Yes.

C And do you have a copy of that directive?

A They were told by Deputy Chief Dolbrick right at the scene.

C I don't understand that. You say they were told?

A They were told they could demonstrate in the area, but not in the carnival area.

C You're saying the marchers or the demonstrators were told that?

A The marchers and the demonstrators were told this, yes.
Q  You didn't have a previous or prior
directive, any written directive or former or
prior information regarding whether or not there
was a right to demonstrate in that area?

A  No, sir.

Q  Okay, now, who did you say told them
on this particular date?

A  Deputy Chief Dolbrick.

Q  Where was Deputy Chief Dolbrick when
he told them that?

A  On the corner of Division and Sedgwick.

Q  And did he have a bullhorn or anything
to tell them that?

A  No, he did not have a bullhorn. The
demonstrators had a bullhorn.

Q  The Deputy Chief spoke personally to
some members of the organization?

A  Yes, a woman, I believe was Marian
Stamps (sic).

Q  Did you see -- Did you hear that conversation?

A  Yes.

Q  Now, the carnival was a public carnival,
it was on the street at Division Street, and there
were no barriers placed around the entire Cabrini
Green homes to prevent other people from coming
in to participate in the carnival?

A No, sir.

Q So, that any member of the public could
have participated in the Mayor's program on
Division Street, couldn't they?

A Yes, sir.

Q You said there was barriers to prevent
outsiders from participating in the program, that
was not true, was that?

A I don't think I said that there was
any outsiders.

Q You said barriers were there for purposes --
that there were barriers there to, for the purpose
of having the residence -- was held for purposes
of the residence of Cabrini Green?

A The carnival was, yes.

Q It was not a private carnival?

A No, sir.

Q Now, the persons who were engaged in
the march, who you observed, you said you saw
twenty-five people walking?
Q. When they approached the area, they were marching in two's on the sidewalk, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. And the street in fact had been blocked off, so, there was no vehicular traffic on the street, was there?

A. No.

Q. So, if persons were to walk into the street on Division Street, that would not be a violation of an ordinance?

A. At that particular location at the corner of Sedgwick, I said earlier in my testimony, the horses were placed approximately a hundred feet west of that location.

Q. Okay.

A. There's an angle street running off of Division that traffic was directed to.

Division as it comes beyond that other street, I don't know if it's Elston Avenue, or Clyborn, I believe it is, it allowed an orderly flow of traffic coming from Division Avenue on
Clybourn, not proceeding any farther from Clybourn onto Division.

That's where the horses were placed in front of a few stands.

Q Back to my question, Officer.

If a person were to walk into the street in front of these horses, they would not be violating any city ordinance, would they?

A If you're talking, Counsel, where the arrest took place, was approximately a hundred feet in front of these horses on the intersection of Division and Clybourn.

Q It wasn't down to where the horses were, they were a hundred feet east of the horses?

A Yes.

Q And the area of the carnival was to the west of the horses, is that right?

A Yes.

Q Now, did you or --

THE COURT: Wait a second.

Q The carnival was on Division Street, west of where the horses were, is that correct?

A Yes, your Honor.
THE COURT:

Q  Now, the horses were set up at -- no, they were set up at Sedgwick?

A  No, a hundred feet beyond Sedgwick, exactly where Clybourn, it starts on the other side of Clybburn.

Q  You mean east of Clybourn where it hits Division?

A  No, the westside of Clybourn Avenue.

Q  Is where the horses were?

A  Yes.

Q  Now, the carnival is west of that, between Clybourn and that little street, and then there's Halsted?

A  Larrabee. Your Honor, it went from Clybourn to Larrabee.

Q  That's where the carnival was, where these people were arrested?

A  At 440 West Division, which is approximately the corner of Division and Sedgwick.

Q  Is that east of Clybourn?

A  You're right at the intersection, your Honor.
THE COURT: All right.

MR. KENNNON:

Q Okay, now, the Mayor's stand was about two hundred feet west of the horses that were set out there, wasn't it?

A Two hundred or more feet, yes.

Q At the time that you say there was an order that no one could go beyond those horses, were there marchers making any loud noises, or hollering, or making any demonstration?

There was no written directive stating that no one could demonstrate?

A Deputy Chief Dolbrick walked up to the demonstrators as they rounded the corner, started to walk westbound on Division, told them they could demonstrate in the area in front, they could not use the bullhorn in the carnival area.

Q You said at that point a person named Shadroch was arrested, pulled out in the street?

A It was after they were informed, yes.

Q Shadroch was one of the marchers, I presume?

A Yes.
Q And you said, after Shadroch was arrested, that these two men locked arms?

A Yes, they locked arms with other people that were in the crowd.

Q How many people locked arms in the crowd?

A Probably, could have been six or seven, or eight, as far as I remember.

Q That was before or after Shadroch was arrested?

A That was during the time of Shadroch's arrest.

Q And when they locked arms, Shadroch, you said you had arrested Shadroch out on the street, is that right?

A He was placed under arrest on the sidewalk area.

He was arrested, and a struggle ensued. We ended up out in the street area.

Q The struggle was between you and Shadroch?

A The struggle was between me, Shadroch, my partner, and two other police officers, yes.

Q That's five people?
A At least, yes.

Q And when the group of you got out
into the street, that's when you actually took
Shadroch into custody, is that right?

A Shadroch was placed under arrest on the
sidewalk.

C There was a fight out into the street?

A There was a struggle out into the street.

There was no fight.

Q There was about twenty-five people in the
area who were demonstrators or marchers?

A Plus another crowd of people that had
gathered, yes.

C But they weren't demonstrating at
that point that you saw them, isn't that right,
that twenty-five people?

A The demonstrators were proceeding to
proceed westbound on Division Street.

Q They were not demonstrating at that
time?

A They were carrying signs, and yelling
in a loud speaker.

Q They were carrying signs?
A Yes.

Q With respect to the number of police officers who were present, there were more than twenty-five police officers, at the time Shadrock was arrested, more than twenty-five police officers surrounded the marchers at that point?

A No, sir.

Q How far were the mounted police officers from the man on the sidewalk at that point?

A There was no mounted police officers in the area at the initial incident.

Q The mounted police officers came later on while the group was standing there?

A Yes.

Q And were the people still holding their flags up, and their signs up, when the police officers came?

A I don't know, sir.

Q Were you present when they came, when the mounted police officers came?

A I remember seeing one mounted police officer's horse there, yes.

Q Well, with five people engaged in a struggle,
and you took the man from the sidewalk to the street, the fact or the allegation that three, or four men had their arms, or five or six, had their arms locked, and those men were on the sidewalk with their arms locked, is that right?

A  No, sir. They followed us out to the street.

Q  Okay, but the four of you had Shadrock in your possession already, is that right

A  We were struggling to put the handcuffs on him, yes.

Q  So, as a matter of fact, the armlock had something to do with the arrest?

A  They were told to go back to the sidewalk area. They refused to do so.

Q  So the order was to go from the street to the sidewalk, while you were arresting somebody, is that right?

A  Would you repeat that?

Q  The order of the police was go from the street to the sidewalk, while you and your partner were arresting someone?
A We attempted to keep an orderly flow of traffic on Division and Clybourn. We told them to go to the sidewalk area, yes.

Q Isn't it a fact, Officer, that when you began, you and your partner began pushing Shadroch on the street, that the people began asking you why they were being arrested; what you were doing to them?

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection as to, people.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON:

Q Isn't it a fact that members of the marchers, including Mr. Mays and Mr. McWorter, began to ask you, why are you arresting that man?

MR. SERSTEIN: Objection to what they actually said.

THE COURT: He may testify if the two Defendants asked him that question.

A Yes.

MR. KENNON:

Q And they told you that you didn't have any right or authority to arrest him, didn't they?
A There might have been something said to that effect, yes.

Q Yet, you continued to place this man under arrest?

A Yes.

Q And after that you then arrest Mr. Mays, didn't you?

A Yes.

Q And Mr. Mays had been asking you why you were arresting Shadrock, hadn't he?

A Counsel, I don't remember all the conversation that went on.

Q But you heard that question?

A Yes.

Q But, Mr. McWorter asked you why you were arresting Mr. Mays, didn't he?

A Yes.

Q And then after Mr. Mays was placed in the wagon, you then came back, and someone came back and arrested Mr. McWorter?

A Mr. Mays was originally placed in a squad car.

Q And then Mr. McWorter was arrested?
A Yes, when they refused to go back to
the sidewalk area.

Q He was arrested having asked about
Mr. Mays, isn't that right?

A No, sir.

Q That was one of the reasons you arrested
him?

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection, asked and answered.

THE COURT: He may answer.

A No.

MR. KENNON:

Q Well, at the point that you were telling
them on the -- strike that.

The majority of the marchers were
still on the sidewalk at this point?

A No, sir.

Q As a matter of fact, the march had broken
by this time, and the marchers were all surrounded
by policemen, their line was in disorder, isn't
that right?

A No, sir.

Q The marchers at that time were to the
west, just to the west of Elston, and they were
between Elston and the horses at the time of the arrest, weren't they?

A The marchers ended up on the street.
A crowd of people gathered. Most of the people, I would say, at this time during the arrest were on the street to the best of my recollection.
Q That was to the west of Elston, isn't that right?
A No, it was at the corner of Division and Clybourn.
Q Wasn't this at the corner of Division and Sedgwick?
A Sedgwick is the street that ends there at Division street.
Q That's right.
A All right, Clybourn comes up about another twenty feet, and it turns and cars go on an angular direction toward northwest.
Approximately, fifty to sixty more feet starts the other crosswalk between Division on the west side of Clybourn.
Q Okay.
A All right, and approximately another
ten or fifteen more feet just prior to the cross-
walk horses were set up.

Q Now, did you personally arrest each
of these men?

A Did I personally arrest them?

Not Mr. Mays; Mr. McWorter, yes.

Q Did you see Mr. Mays arrested?

A Yes.

Q And at the time you arrested Mr. McWorter, he was doing nothing but standing watching Mr. Mays being placed in the police car, isn't that right?

A He was told to return to the sidewalk area. He refused to do so.

He was told numerous times to return to the sidewalk.

Q Did you tell everybody in this group to return to the sidewalk area?

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection, your Honor, irrelevant.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON:

Q Were there other people standing in the street in addition to Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays?

A Yes, some of them returned to the sidewalk.

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Q And some did not, is that right?
A Yes.
Q You didn't arrest all of the marchers?
A It would be a little impossible for me to arrest all of the marchers.
Q All of the marchers weren't arrested by you or your partner?
A No.
MR. KERSTEIN: Objection.
THE COURT: He may answer.
MR. KENNON:
Q Before you began to place Mr. Shadroch under arrest, there was no disturbance, or no problem in the area, was there?
A Mr. Shadroch caused the disturbance.
THE COURT: Are you talking about Shadroch Harris?
A Yes, your Honor.
MR. KENNON:
Q How many of you arrested Mr. Harris, four you said?
A Physically arrested him, me and my partner physically arrested him on paper.
There were two others assisting us.

Q    Now at the time you placed handcuffs on Shadroch Harris, how -- strike that.

            Mr. Mays was in the vicinity, wasn't he?

            A    Yes.

            Q    And Mr. McWorter was in fact behind Mr. Mays somewhere, wasn't he?

            A    Sir, I don't recall at this time.

            Mr. Shadroch was initially -- when the initial incident happened, Mr. Shadroch was brought to the opposite side of Elston to the squad car.

            A wagon responded to the area to another call. We took Mr. Shadroch from the squad car back to the wagon.

            At this time people were still in the street.

            They were asked numerous time to move to the sidewalk area.

            They refused to do so.

            At that time, Mr. McWorter, Mr. Mays, and two other individuals were placed under arrest.
by various police officers.

MR. KENNON: All right.

I have no further questions.

THE COURT: Re-direct, Counsel?

MR. KERSTEIN: I have a few questions.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kerstein:

Q Officer, you said that the Defendants, and a group of marchers had been issued an order by your Deputy Chief to remain in a certain area, not to go into another area?

A They were told they could demonstrate.

Q What area were they told they could not demonstrate in?

A In the carnival area.

Q Did you hear that?

A I was standing right next to him, sir.

Q When this order was given, how far were Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays away from the police Chief at that time?

A They were in the crowd. I don't know how far they were from him at that time.

I have no idea.

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Q    They were in that crowd?
A    Yes.

Q    Now, how far away, at the time that
you arrested Mr. Shadroch Johnson, how far away
were Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays from you at that
time?
A    They were in the street, no more than
five feet from me.

Q    When did they first lock hands?
A    When the initial arrest was made.

    We attempted to make the initial
arrest.

Q    How did they impede you, if any, at
that point?
A    We could not take Mr. Harris away from
the other people.

MR. KENNON: Objection, as to other people,
Judge.

THE COURT: He may testify.

MR. KERSTEIN:
Q    So, you were going to transport Mr. Shadroch
Johnson back to an area which was more or less
secure?
A    Yes.
A Yes.

Q They impeded you from doing that?

MR. KENNON: Objection to the suggestive nature of the question.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q As a result of the locking of hands, did you have any trouble that you didn't anticipate at that time?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON:

Q Did you have any trouble?

A Yes.

Q What trouble?

A Physically making the arrest.

Q Could you describe what part of the arrest you had trouble in making because of that?

A The physical taking in custody of Shadroch Harris.

Q Now, as you were doing that, you saw a group of people starting to gather around you?

A The people were all around us, sir.
Q    What did you see the other people
do while the Defendant, Mr. Shadroch Johnson --
strike that.

What did you see the other people
do while the Defendant Shadroch was being arrested?

A    Attempted to stop him from us taking
him into custody.

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: That's your conclusion, Officer.

He asked you, what did you see
them doing.

Objection, sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q    What did you see the crowd doing?
A    They came out to the street area with
us.

Q    And that's a direct result of Mr. --

MR. KENNON: Objection, as to what is the
result of.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q    What did you hear these other people
saying at the time when Mr. Mays and Mr. McWorter
were there?

A "You ain't going to take him. Why are you arresting him."

There was a lot of questions asked at this time.

Q This was more than a group of three people at this time?

A Oh, yes.

Q Now, prior to the time Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays were locking hands, there wasn't an immediate crowd around the vicinity, is that correct, around where you were?

A No, other than the demonstrators.

Q After they, they started locking hands, isn't it a fact the group started --

MR. KENNON: Objection, isn't it a fact.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q And after they locked hands, did you see anything about a crowd?

A At the time --

Q At the time Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays locked their hands, did the crowd move toward you,
or did they stay where they were?

A They moved toward us, out into the street.

Q So a crowd gathered?

A We had other people from the carnival come to the corner then.

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: He may testify

CROSS EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kennon:

Q You said that as a result of their locking hands, you had trouble taking the man physically into custody, is that right?

A Yes.

Q Is there any other way you arrest a person other than physically taking them into custody?

A The man at that time reached out and grabbed the bullhorn from the Deputy Chief, and there was a metal pipe that was swung. Mr. Shadron was placed under arrest.

MR. KENNON: Objection, ask it be stricken.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON: The question was: Is there any
other way you arrest a person other than physically

taking him into custody?

A  He resisted arrest at that time.

That's why he had to be physically

taken into custody.

MR. KENNON: Objection, it's not responsive.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON: Listen to the question:

Q  Is there any other way you arrest a

person, other than physically taking him into

custody?

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection as to relevancy.

THE COURT: He may testify.

A  Telling him he's under arrest.

MR. KENNON:  

Q  And you don't physically arrest them,

and take them into custody?

A  Physically is a word -- like --

I tell him he's under arrest, come

on with me, and there's no problem. Physically,

he's taken into custody.

MR. KENNON: No further questions.

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MR. KERSTEIN: The State calls its next witness.

DETECTIVE ROBERT O'NEIL

a witness called on behalf of the People of the State of Illinois, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kerstein:

Q Sir, state your name?

A Detective Robert O'Neil.

Q I direct your attention to April 18th, 1981, do you recall if you were assigned to patrol 400 West Division, during the early afternoon hours of that date?

A Yes, I was.

Q At that time, at that place, what detail did you work?

A We were working civilian clothes, assigned to the Cabrini Green Carnival.

Q At that time, at that place, did you have an opportunity to see Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays, the Defendants, who stand to your left?
A Yes, I did.

Q Under what circumstances, did you initially see them?

A I placed Mr. McWorter under arrest for interfering with the police.

Q By interfering, what if anything do you mean?

A We at that time -- I was effecting an arrest of another subject, and Mr. McWorter tried to interfere with that arrest.

MR. KENNON: Objection to what he tried to do.

THE COURT: Sustained, the latter part of the answer.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What specific acts did he do so as to interfere with the arrest?

A He grabbed my arm.

Q Do you see the person in court who grabbed your arm?

A Yes.

Q Please, point him out, if you see him?

A (Indicating) -51-
MR. KERSTEIN: Let the record reflect,

Mr. McWorter.

Q And now, did you see other people

around you at that time?

A Yes, there were.

Q Approximately, how many people were

around you at that time?

A Approximately --

Directly around me?

Q Yes.

A I'd say approximately, thirty, forty.

Q Prior to that time that Mr. McWorter

grabbed you by the arm, were that many people

immediately around you?

A No, not at that time.

Q So, as a result of this, would it be

fair to say that a crowd gathered?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained, conclusion.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Well, were there more people there

after your arm was grabbed than before?

A After.
Q Approximately, how many?
A Approximately, a hundred people.
THE COURT: Wait a minute, now.
Q Right before Mr. McWorter grabbed your arm there were thirty or forty people, right after he grabbed your arm, there came approximately a hundred people around you, is that right?
A That's correct.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Is it your opinion at that time there was a breach of the peace?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Officer, how long have you been a member of the Chicago Police Department?
A Sixteen years.
Q And you saw a crowd gather of approximately a hundred people, is that correct, on that date?
A That's correct.
Q And pursuant to your knowledge, and your expertise as a police officer, do you have an opinion as to what might happen at that time?
A Yes, I did.
Q What is that opinion?
MR. KENNON: Objection.
THE COURT: Sustained, conclusion.
MR. KERSTEIN:
Q What did you see the other people in this crowd do as a result of Mr. McWorter grabbing your arm?
MR. KENNON: Objection, there's no way for him to know.
THE COURT: Sustained.
The question says, as a result of Mr. McWorter grabbing his arm, calls for his conclusion, that they did something as a result of that.
MR. KERSTEIN:
Q After Mr. McWorter grabbed your arm, what did you see the other people in this crowd start to do?
A They were interfering with other police officers.
MR. KENNON: Objection.
THE COURT: He may testify what he saw.

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MR. KERSTEIN:

Q  What did other people in the crowd do?
A  Struggling with other police officers.
Q  And approximately, were there more than three people that at that time in your opinion were disorderly?
A  Yes, there was.
Q  What did you hear people in the crowd start to say after Mr. McWorter grabbed you by the arm?
A  There was numerous things people were shouting.
Q  What type of things?
A  Why are you arresting him. Free that man.

Things of that nature.
Q  And prior to the time that this man was being arrested, nobody was yelling things like that, is that correct?
A  That's correct.
Q  Do you see the person in court today who grabbed you by the arm?
A  Yes, I do.
Please, point him out?

A (Indicating)

MR. KERSTEIN: Let the record reflect, Mr. McWorter.

Q All the events you just testified to took place in the City of Chicago, Cook County, Illinois?

A Yes, it did.

CROSS EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kennon:

Q Officer, you didn't see either of these men violate any law before you arrested Shadroch, did you?

A That's correct.

Q At the time that they were in the area, they were walking two abreast on the sidewalk, isn't that correct, the marchers?

A I believe they were.

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection, your Honor, as to what the Officer believes.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON: Q At the time that you arrested
Shadroch, was he in the midst of the marchers?

A  No, he was in front.

Q  He was in front of the line, and the marchers were behind him, is that right?

A  I believe, the march was at a halt at the time.

Q  And when you and your partner took Shadroch into custody, you took him from the sidewalk into the street?

A  That's correct.

Q  And at that time the rest of the crowd kind of broke up, is that right, or were they still in two's?

A  They were not in two's at all at that time.

Q  Then the rest of the crowd kind of moved into the street?

A  That's correct.

Q  And did you see at the time you began to arrest Shadroch, did you see either of these two men?

A  I saw him.

Q  You saw Mr. Mays?
Q Where was Mr. Mays at that time?
A He was just standing next to my partner.
Q Were they doing anything with each other?
A Not at that time.
Q So, when you took Shadroch, were you anywhere near these two people?
A He walked up behind us. We were taking him to the police wagon.
Q When he walked up behind you, was this on the street or the sidewalk?
A It was in the street. Everything was in the street.
Q While they were in the street, they weren't impeding traffic, were they?
A I don't recall. I don't recall if the street was blocked off there or not.
I can't recall.
Q Because the street was actually blocked off about a hundred feet west of Sedgwick, wasn't it?
A For the carnival, that's correct.
Q And people were on the east side of the --
the marchers were on the east side of the horses
that were blocking the street, isn't that right?

A   That's correct.

Q   And the reason that the marchers were
stopped --

Were you present when the marchers
were stopped?

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection.

THE COURT: He may testify, if he was.

A   At the time they were stopped, no, I
was walking up there.

I wasn't present.

MR. KENNON:

Q   You didn't see what actually happened
when the marchers were stopped, when they first
were stopped?

MR. KERSTEIN: Your Honor, beyond the scope
of Direct.

THE COURT: He may testify.

A   I don't know. I don't know when they
were stopped.

MR. KENNON:

Q   You didn't -- Did you see a Deputy Chief --
THE COURT: Dolbrick.

MR. KENNON: Thank you.

Q -- in the area?

A Yes, I did.

Q Was he present when the men were first stopped?

A Yes, he was.

Q You didn't hear him say anything at that time?

A He was the one that stopped them.

Q Do you know for what reason he stopped them?

A There was a woman on a bullhorn yelling for people to march into the carnival area. That was the reason.

Q I see.

He told her she shouldn't use the bullhorn?

A They weren't allowed to go into the carnival area.

Q He told her she couldn't use the bullhorn?

A Yes.

Q Later on the bullhorn was returned to
them?

A I don't know.

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON:

Q You didn't hear Dolbrick tell her she couldn't move into this area?

A Yes, I did.

Q And at that time they were about a hundred feet west of the carnival and the horses?

A That's correct.

Q And then when the arrest of Shadroch took place, everything was calm, isn't that right, as far as the marchers were concerned?

A When the arrest took place there, it was a fight to arrest.

It was a physical arrest.

Q But the rest of the people were not involved in any kind of problem?

A That's correct.

Q There only was a problem with Shadroch?

A That's correct.

Q You didn't see either of these men
violate any laws prior to Shadroch being arrested?

A  No, I didn't.

Q  Now, after you had Shadroch in custody, is that when you say Mr. McWorter came up and touched your arm, or grabbed your arm?

A  No, we were struggling on the ground.

It was both.

He was hanging on me for approximately three or four minutes.

Q  Who?

A  McWorter.

Q  Didn't he ask you why you were arresting Shadroch?

A  Didn't Mr. Shadroch ask you that?

Q  At first, yes, he asked why are you arresting him. That's correct.

Q  As a matter of fact, did you see Mr. Mays at the time you were actually arresting Shadroch?

A  No, Mr. Mays did not interfere with me at all.

Q  But wasn't Mr. McWorter in fact asking someone why they were arresting Mr. Mays, not why they were arresting Mr. Shadroch?
A  No. He was asking about Shadroch.
Q  You didn't see them with their arms
together or locking hands, did you?
    You didn't see these two with arms
together or holding hands?
A  No, I didn't.
Q  So, the reason Mr. McWorter was actually
arrested was because he held onto your arm?
MR. KERSTEIN: Objection.
THE COURT: Sustained.
MR. KENNON:
Q  Mr. McWorter was arrested after he held
your arm?
MR. KERSTEIN: Objection.
THE COURT: You may testify when he was arrested.
A  That's correct.
MR. KENNON: No further questions.
RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kerstein:
Q  Now, Officer, excuse me, Detective,
isn't it a fact that you were at the time of the
arrest of Shadroch Johnson, taken to the ground

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at that time?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: He may testify.

A That's correct.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q At that time what was your primary concern as you struggled with Mr. Johnson?

THE COURT: Mr. Harris.

MR. KERSTEIN: Excuse me, Mr. Harris.

THE COURT: Shadrock is Shadrock Harris.

A To arrest Mr. Harris.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q And that was your main focus at that time, is that correct?

A That's correct.

Q Everything other than the arrest of Mr. Harris was ancillary, is that correct?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

A Yes.

MR. KERSTEIN: As to leading?

THE COURT: Conclusion, leading.
MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What would you describe your other activities as compared to arresting Mr. Shadrock Harris?

MR. KENNON: Objection, it's vague, Judge.

THE COURT: Repeat the question.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Would you consider at that point, while you were struggling with Mr. Harris, would you at that time consider the arrest of Mr. Harris itself to be predominant to any other activities?

MR. KENNON: Objection, asked and answered.

THE COURT: He may testify.

A Yes, I would.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q And as a result, would you consider yourself to be cognizant of everything else around you at that time?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: You may testify.

A No.

MR. KERSTEIN: Thank you.

No more questions.

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THE COURT: Any re-cross?

MR. KENNON: No re-cross.

THE COURT: Call your next witness.

MR. KENNON: I do have a question.

RE-CROSS EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kennon:

Q Did you make a report of the incident that occurred that day?

A Yes, I did.

MR. KERSTEIN: Objection, beyond the scope.

THE COURT: He may testify.

He has a right to examine from the police report.

A Yes, I did.

MR. KENNON: May I see the report that you used to make your report?

THE COURT: We'll take a short recess for Counsel to go over the report, for cross-examination purposes.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken, after which the following proceedings were had in open court.)
THE COURT: Counsel, have you had an occasion
to examine the police report?

MR. KENNON: Yes, I have, Judge. Thank you.

THE COURT: The Officer giving testimony
for cross-examination, what's his name?

MR. KENNON: O'Neil.

THE COURT: Bring him out here.

MR. KENNON: Judge, before we do that, there's
a young man here, Josh London.

He had been here earlier. I told him,
perhaps he should wait until we got into our case
and finished it.

I'd like to see if we can vacate
the warrant.

THE COURT: Counsel, let me proceed with the
trial here first.

There's been a bond forfeiture
warrant on him.

We'll deal with that matter later.

MR. KERSTEIN: Judge, that's Mr. London, he
may be a potential witness. I ask he may also
be excluded.

MR. KENNON: No, he won't be a witness.
THE COURT: The motion on the witnesses, will be abided by.

MR. KERSTEIN: The State would call its last witness at this point.

THE COURT: Where's Officer O'Neil.

Proceed, Counsel.

MR. KENNON: Judge, after having read his report, I won't ask any further questions.

THE COURT: No questions, after having read the report.

Do you have any questions?

MR. KERSTEIN: No.

THE COURT: Call your next witness.

MICHAEL O'GRADY,
a witness called on behalf of the People of the State of Illinois, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kerstein:

C State your name?

A Michael O'Grady.

C I direct your attention to April 18th,
1981, were you working a detail at 400 West Division on this date?

A   Yes.

Q   Approximately, what time?

A   It was approximately -- well, the detail started at nine o'clock in the morning.

Q   And pursuant to your detail, did you encounter Mr. Mays?

A   I encountered Mr. Mays, yes.

Q   Where did you first encounter Mr. Mays?

A   At the intersection of Sedgwick and Division, approximately.

Q   What was he doing at that time?

A   He was interfering with an arrest I was making.

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q   What do you mean by the word, interfering?

A   During the arrest, he locked arms with my arrestee. I informed him I was a police officer, that this man was under arrest, move away.

He refused to move away.
I went to pull the Defendant back, there were several of us there, and he tried to pull the arrestee away from us.

We went over to undo his locked arms, and he pushed me with his right hand.

Q Do you see the person in court who pushed you so as to impede your arrest?

A Yes.

MR. KERSTEIN: Let the record show, Mr. Mays.

Q As a result of this, did you see a group of people gather around you?

MR. KENNON: Objection to, as a result.

THE WITNESS: A Yes.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q When this happened, did a group of people gather?

A There was a rush of the crowd out on the sidewalk on the street.

Q Approximately, how many?

A In the order of sixty.

Q What did -- strike that.

What happened thereafter, what did you
see the crowd do?

A I saw them during the arrest effort come off the sidewalk and surround us, and begin to shout profanities.

MR. KENNON: Objection to profanities.

THE COURT: The objection to the word profanities is sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What words did they use?

A It was, as I recall one shout, get the mother fuckers.

Q What else did you see this crowd do?

A They blocked our exit from the site of the arrest to our squad car, which was --

MR. KENNON: Objection to blocked.

THE COURT: Sustained, that's a conclusion.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q What did this crowd do?

A They stood in front of us, and refused to move aside.

Q As a result of this crowd gathering, and moving in front of you, was your arrest -- excuse -- was the arrest you were attempting to
make affected in any manner?

A Yes, required approximately three to
four officers to assist me in placing the Defendant
into the squad car.

Q That was as a result of this crowd
gathering?

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KENNON: I ask it be stricken.

THE COURT: His question will be stricken.

And the answer thereto will also
be stricken, if there was one.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Why was it necessary to have three or
four police officers to effectuate this arrest,
rather than instead of one of you?

MR. KENNON: Objection, as to why.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q If the crowd were not a crowd at the
time, would it require more than yourself to make
this arrest?

MR. KENNON: Objection, it's conjecture.
THE COURT: Speculation, sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Approximately, how many people were, in the immediate crowd, were yelling various obscenities to you?

A There was a good number.

Q Was it more than three?

A Oh, yes, it was a riot-type situation.

MR. KENNON: Objection to the conclusion.

THE COURT: Sustained to that conclusion.

MR. KERSTEIN: As to the number --

THE COURT: As to the riot-type situation, that will be stricken in the record.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q At the time you were making this arrest, did you identify yourself to the crowd as being a police officer?

A To the crowd?

To the people around me aside from the arrestee, no.

Q Did you identify yourself as a police officer to Mr. Mays, and Mr. McWorter?

A Oh, yes.

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Q Did you see Mr. McWorter do anything at that time?

A No, I don't recall.

Q What did you see Mr. Mays do at that time?

A Mr. Mays, he was interfering with the arrest.

MR. KENNON: Objection.

THE COURT: Sustained.

A He locked arms, and pushed me away from my arrestee.

Q Who did he lock arms with?

A With the arrestee.

Q Who would that be?

A Josh London.

Q Do you see the person in court, who attempted -- who locked arms with Mr. London?

A The one who locked arms, Mr. Mays.

MR. KERSTEIN: Let the record reflect the Defendant.

Q Do you know if Mr. Mays was told to disperse at that time?

A Yes, repeatedly.
Q  Who told him to disperse?
A  I did.
Q  What was his response to you telling him to disperse?
A  He remained in a physical chain of the Defendant, Josh London.
Q  Other than hearing obscenities, did you see what if anything the crowd that was gathered do at that point?
A  Yes, they broke out into the street. They impeded --
MR. KENNON: Objection to, impeded.
THE COURT: Sustained.
A  They moved about in a manner of almost curb to curb on Division Avenue.
MR. KERSTEIN:
Q  How would you describe the situation at that time, if you had to characterize it?
A  A riot situation.
MR. KENNON: Objection.
THE COURT: Sustained.
MR. KENNON: I ask it be stricken.
THE COURT: It will be stricken.
MR. KENNON: Objection to, manner.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN: Were police officers' movements actually impeded?

A They were.

I saw additionally --

MR. KENNON: Objection, no question pending.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. KERSTEIN:

Q Is that by the crowd, that occurred after Mr. Mays and Mr. McWorter refused to move?

A Yes.

Q Did all the events you just testified to take place in the City of Chicago, Cook County, State of Illinois?

A Yes, they did.

MR. KERSTEIN: Your witness.

MR. KENNON: A couple of questions.

CROSS EXAMINATION

By

Mr. Kennon:

Q This actually took place to the west of the diagonal street, didn't it, west of Clybourn?

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A    It took place at the corner of Sedgwick and Division, on the south curb.
Q    The incident I'm relating to--
THE COURT: Counsel, I don't wish to interfere with your cross-examination.

I want to set the scene for my own purposes.

MR. KENNON: Certainly.
THE COURT: Q All right, going west on Division, you've got LaSalle, then what do you have?

A    Orleans.
Q    Then what?
A    Sedgwick.
Q    Then what?
A    Larrabee.

Clybourn stops at the intersection of Sedgwick and Division. It does not continue south of that street, your Honor.

THE COURT: On the corner there, on Clybourn, is that where there's a fire station?

A    No, that's Larrabee and Division.

THE COURT: That's farther west. I got the scene, now. Proceed.
MR. KENNON:

Q. You were on the corner of Sedgwick and Division, the south curb, you say, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. At the time you told Mr. Mays to get back on the curb, and get away, it was at that point that he had locked arms with Josh London, is that correct?

A. Yes.

MR. KENNON: No further questions.

MR. KERSTEIN: No further questions.

The State would rest.

MR. KENNON: At this time, I would move for a directed finding of not guilty.

In support of that --

Shall I continue?

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. KENNON: In support of that, I would suggest that the charges here are disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest--

MR. KERSTEIN: Judge, that is not correct.

MR. KENNON: Disorderly conduct.

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MR. KERSTEIN: Disorderly conduct, City and State.

MR. KENNON: You're right.

I withdraw that statement.

It's disorderly conduct, A and D. (A) is making or causing a breach of the peace. (D) is in the nature of refusing to disperse, at a time that there were three or more people who are causing a disturbance of the peace in the middle of a disorderly conduct.

THE COURT: Right.

MR. KENNON: The State has shown on behalf of the City and the State that there was a march.

There is nothing indicated by any of the evidence of the State that the march was not peaceful. There is nothing denying that the march was on the sidewalk. It was not in the street. It was not disturbing any traffic.

The State shows at a point to the east of a line of demarcation, an Officer said, you cannot go into the Cabrini Green area and demonstrate; although, there was a public affair going on in the nature of a carnival a
hundred feet away from that area with no authority shown that there was any approach to the area, or confrontation with respect to attempting to go into that area.

There's was one person that the State alleged, who's not on trial, who apparently caused some problem. There was no statement that there were three persons. There was one person who caused a problem, named Harris, as a result of that. Heretofore there had been no disturbance, no disorderly conduct.

Then, according to the State's evidence, my clients attempted to prevent the arrest of Harris. Now, there still is not a breach of the peace going on.

At the point the attempt to intervene with the arrest was taking place, there are questions as to whether or not it happened out near Clybourn, where there was traffic. Whether it was down the street on the south curb of Division and Sedgwick.

It's admitted there is no traffic in this area of Division and Sedgwick, because right up ahead there are horses, so there was no
disorderly, there's no City ordinance against walking in the street.

One of the officers said the reason they had a problem in the initial interference was that Mr. Mays and Mr. McWorter locked arms with each other to prevent the arrest of Shadroch Harris.

Another officer said he didn't see him, either of them locking arms or touching each other. That was while he had, and not until, he had Shadroch into his control, because he was on the ground wrestling with Shadroch, then Mr. McWorter came up and grabbed his arm.

The other officer said that the locking of the arms was between Mr. Mays and Mr. London, who is not Mr. Shadroch or either Mr. McWorter. So, that this is the same supposed locking of arms that caused the initial conflict, or caused the interruption.

I submit in as much as the State and the City have an obligation to have clear, consistent, convincing, and credible evidence, they have not established what either of the persons were doing at that time.

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There's also the statement that other people came up when this happened.

There's a statement that there was some swear words yelled, and that some of the swear words that were yelled were profane.

I would submit, Judge, this is a charge of disorderly conduct, and under the classic case of The City of Chicago versus Susan Wender, which is reported at 46 Ill. 2d 20, and 262 North Eastern Reporter 2nd, page 470, which I'm sure the Court's already familiar, where it's indicated --

Let me get to the quote.

I would read from the Reporter, Judge, the Court can get a full line of the reasoning here.

It was a case during the riots in 19--not the riots, but confrontation in the 1967 during the convention at the Conrad Hilton down on Michigan Avenue, the Democratic Convention.

At that time the Court set out some of the reasoning, and some of the actions the State was bringing against the client.

There had been an arrest of some
persons who were in a car, and the officer took
out about five or six of the people, who were
later considered to be demonstrators, and were
searching all of them, and some of the people began
to ask, why are you arresting him; what are you doing
to him; do you have authority to arrest.

As a result, other people came up.
The questions in that case were
as follows:

"Q Did these people, as you were
talking to the occupants of the car, did these
people gather around the car?

A The defendants kept wanting to
know, yelling, 'What right do you have to search
us? What are we arrested for?' The people around
started to take notice of what was going on.

Q Now, in what manner were the occupants
of the car speaking to you, were they quietly saying
this?

A No, no, no, they were loud.

Q Loud?
A Yes.
Q. How far would you estimate the voices would be heard?

A. A hundred feet.

Q. What were they saying, Officer?

A. They wanted to, demanded to know what right we had to stop their vehicle, why they had to go to the station to post a cash bond, why they were being patted down, and what right we had to do it.

Q. Did you explain all of this to them?

A. Yes.

Q. Did they stop at this, or did they continue?

A. No, then, they wanted our name and star numbers, which we said we would give them as soon as we got in the station.

Q. This was all being made in a loud tone of voice?

A. The traffic started to slow down to see what was going on. People were looking our way. That is when we decided it would be better to take everybody in to the station, and
informed the people they were under arrest for
disorderly conduct, informed them of their rights."

The Court stated, Judge:

"Ordinarily an arrest for a minor
traffic offense does not justify a search for
weapons. The situation at the time of this
occurrence was unusual, and we do not hold
that the search was unreasonable under all
the circumstances. Still the fact that the
search occurred is a circumstance to be con-
sidered.

Looking only at the testimony for
the prosecution, there was not, in our opinion,
sufficient evidence to establish that the
defendants were guilty of disorderly conduct.

The question in this case is whether
the evidence shows that the defendants did an
unreasonable act which created a clear and present
danger of a breach of peace or imminent threat
of violence."

They mention decibel level isn't
what's important.

He says that even in response --
"Although Officer Nolan characterized
the voices of the defendants as loud, his estimate
was that their voices carried a hundred feet.
Even in response to the prosecution's leading
question as to whether the thirty or forty people
who were walking in the immediate area gathered
around the car, the officer stated only that,
the people around started to take notice of what
was going on.

He also testified that, the traffic
started to slow down to see what was going on,
people were looking our way."

The Court said, "But no arrest and
patting down of eight persons, male and female,
by three police officers, can be expected to
go unnoticed, regardless of the conduct of the
arrested persons. Officer Clancy was asked
in rebuttal whether he saw any of the people
from in front of the Conrad Hilton come over to
where you were. He answered, yes. But how many
persons came to the scene, and whether or not
they were walking in that direction before the
car in which the defendants were riding was

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stopped does not appear to have been brought up."

What I'm saying, then, Judge, As I know the case, that the fact that in a situation where there is -- there is an unusual circumstance here. The fact that the officers were wrestling with these men out there when there was a demonstration, the fact there was a lot of confusion going on, they were police officers, people would naturally come to see what was happening.

It's an unusual situation, and it would naturally arouse attention of people.

The fact that people were attentionally attentionally(sic) aroused to an unusual situation, does that mean that there was a breach of the peace.

There's nothing saying it was threatening to the community, or a breach of the community.

The fact that the police officers had a problem does not mean disorderly conduct.

Then the officer said, Judge, that there was some offensive language.

I would bring to the Court's attention, the case of The City of Chicago versus Blakemore.

MR. KERSTEIN: I'm going to object at this time
if he's going to read the entire case.

THE COURT: Well, here, Counsel, you mean
that language in and of itself isn't offensive,
it may be when accompanying some other physical
act?

MR. KENNON: That's correct.

I want to put this in the record.

It's cited at 15 Ill. App. 3d 994,
it's a 1973 case, and it's also at 305 N.E. 2d 687,
of course it says, offensive language addressed
to a police officer does not in and of itself create
a disturbance of the peace.

It also says, Judge, that there
was no disorderly, even though a number of people
gathered to observe what was transpiring between
the Defendant and the arresting officer.

Now, I want to read just a small
section.

MR. KERSTEIN: I'm going to object. This is
my specific objection to reading the case.

THE COURT: Well, he may read it.

MR. KENNON: That's what cases are about.
"Offensive language addressed to an officer does not, in, and of itself, create a disturbance of the peace. This principle, recognized in Illinois, was reaffirmed in Landry vs. Daley."

And then the court's reasoning:

"It is well established that arguing or disputing with a policeman is not per se disorderly conduct or a breach of the peace.

The Illinois Appellate Court has described the duty of a police officer in dealing with a citizen as follows:

'An officer of the law must exercise the greatest degree of restraint in dealing with the public. He must not conceive that every threatening or insulting word, gesture, or motion, amounts to disorderly conduct. It may be of such a character or so provoked or conditioned as to be fully justified.'"

One last thing, "It is the sworn duty and obligation of the officer not to breach the peace and beyond this to conduct himself as to keep others from so doing."
I submit all that the State has shown, Judge, is that at best giving their testimony some credence, is that a person was arrested, our clients were in the area, that our clients may have said something, and they never said whether or not it was either of these people who made the offensive remarks, if they were offensive; that somebody swore out, "get these motherfuckers" and as police officers that is not offensive or disorderly conduct. It is an exercise of the First Amendment Right, just as any other loud, unfriendly noise is.

I submit the State has failed to prove or establish that my clients committed disorderly conduct under either section.

MR. KERSTEIN: Briefly, in response:

I'd like to point out that Counsel seems to have overworked the entire question from the State's point of view.

It is true, of course, words alone with a police officer --

Police officers should be thin skinned. That words alone should not, by their
very nature, incite and cause a disorderly conduct petition or complaint to be filed.

But, here we cross the line of just mere words. What we have here is these two gentlemen in one way or another physically impairing and impeding the police officers from making an arrest.

That being from transporting a Mr. Shadroc Harris from one location to another.

They did this by either taking one's arm, or swarming together to prevent their movement.

Certainly, that is more than mere words.

On top of that, you do have a crowd that gathers. You do have a crowd yelling, kill those --

MR. KENNON: Objection.

MR. KERSTEIN: -- police officers, or words to those effect.

THE COURT: He didn't say, kill.

MR. KERSTEIN: You have here, Mr. McWorter and Mr. Mays, having been told by several police officers
several different times, they were told to disperse.

Their response to this?

They don't do anything.

These people are identified as police officers. They still fail to disperse.

You have Mr. McWorter having the
tall and indignity of grabbing a police officer,
at that time, who was trying restrain this other
person who's wrestling around with another police
officer on the ground.

Your Honor, I submit that what was
going on at this time was of such a chaotic nature--
it's true that there are discrepancies as to who
saw what.

I believe the officers all testified
to what they saw. What they may have seen are
different things. There was a lot of different
things going on at this time, your Honor.

THE COURT: All right, anything further?

MR. KENNON: No, your Honor.

MR. KERSTEIN: No, your Honor.

THE COURT: Counsel, what I'm going to do at
this stage is ask that both the State and the Defense
at this time supply the Court with a brief with
respect to these facts:

One, apparently, a street was blocked
off with wooden horses in the City of Chicago for
a carnival.

Two, apparently, there are no signs
indicating that these people are not invited, or are
invited.

Three, apparently, the Defendants at
this stage were walking down the sidewalk, one of
the persons involved with these people, somebody
with a bullhorn or loud speaker.

Four, apparently, some deputy chief
gave an order they could not enter an area of this
City of Chicago in the manner in which they were
marching; or somebody ordered, I don't know who
proposed that order, other than the police officers.

Apparently, these people are
citizens of the City of Chicago, or at least
the United States, and were still apparently living
under the Constitution of the United States.

The officers told them they couldn't
go in there.

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at this time supply the Court with a brief with respect to these facts:

    One, apparently, a street was blocked off with wooden horses in the City of Chicago for a carnival.

    Two, apparently, there are no signs indicating that these people are not invited, or are invited.

    Three, apparently, the Defendants at this stage were walking down the sidewalk, one of the persons involved with these people, somebody with a bullhorn or loud speaker.

    Four, apparently, some deputy chief gave an order they could not enter an area of this City of Chicago in the manner in which they were marching, or somebody ordered, I don't know who proposed that order, other than the police officers.

    Apparently, these people are citizens of the City of Chicago, or at least the United States, and were still apparently living under the Constitution of the United States.

    The officers told them they couldn't go in there.
Five, at this stage an arrest was made on Shadroch Harris, and he was brought out to the street, and a struggle with Shadroch Harris ensued. After that the Defendants in this matter, apparently, came on the street, were ordered off the street by the police officers, which order they refused to obey.

They locked arms with, one of them, at least, locked arms with Shadroch Harris.

And at this time --

MR. KENNON: No, Judge.

THE COURT:

At this time one of them pulled on Shadroch Harris' arm to get him away from the policemen, according to the testimony, the other one, apparently, locked arms with the arrestee Jack London.

Counsel, I'd like to know, first of all, do the Defendants in this matter have the right to walk down the streets of the City of Chicago in the manner and form as they were walking; was there a parade permit required.

What right do the police officers of the City of Chicago have to say that a citizen
of this city can't walk into the Cabrini Green area, where there was a carnival?

Is there a directive they can't walk in there with a bullhorn, or marching?

Who gave this directive?

Is it constitutional to give such a directive?

Were they offending the laws of the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, where they were walking down there?

Please, find me some cases on this matter, and I'll commence and continue the trial to give you an opportunity to find the law.

MR. KENNON: Judge, for the record, so the record is clear. There was no statement that anybody was holding on to Shadrock's arm.

The testimony was these two men had locked arms with each other, by one officer.

The other testified that somebody crossed arms with Jack London, but no one ever touched Shadrock.

THE COURT: Trial commenced and continued.

Counsel, how much time do you need?
MR. KENNON: I would need about three weeks.

I just want to say that Mr. McWorter is a professor at the University of Illinois, down in Champaign. He's come up especially for the case.

We thought we would finish off with the case today.

THE COURT: I want to be exactly sure. I'm sure Professor McWorter would want me to be exactly sure.

I'll set it with convenience to him. He's not teaching now, summer school is in session.

Do you want August the fourth, Counsel?

MR. KENNON: I'll be out of town over the fourth.

THE COURT: Do you want August tenth?

MR. KENNON: I don't get --

THE COURT: Do you want August seventh?

MR. KENNON: Okay, August seventh.

THE COURT: August 7th, 1981.

MR. KERSTEIN: I can't say specifically whether I'll be in this assignment at that time.
THE COURT: Try as best you can.

(Whereupon, these were all the proceedings had in the above-entitled cause on this date.)
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE COOK JUDICIAL CIRCUIT

COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

I, Jeanne L. Messenger, an Official Court Reporter for the Circuit Court of Cook County, Cook Judicial Circuit of Illinois, do hereby certify that I reported in shorthand the proceedings had on the trial in the above-entitled cause; that I thereafter caused the foregoing to be transcribed into typewriting, which I hereby certify to be a true and accurate transcript of the proceedings had before the Honorable JOHN J. MCDONNELL, Judge of said Court.

Dated this 20th day of July, 1981.
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE FIRST JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

THE PEOPLE OF THE
STATE OF ILLINOIS,

Plaintiff;

vs

JEROLD MCWORTER and
DANIEL MAYS.

Branch 46

MOTION TO DISMISS

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS of the hearing before
the Honorable JOHN J. MCDONNELL, on the
7th day of August, 1981.

APPEARANCES:

HONORABLE RICHARD DALEY
State's Attorney of Cook County, by

MS. SUSAN LINK,
Assistant State's Attorney
for the People of the State of Illinois.

MR. DAN KELLY,
Assistant State's Attorney
for the People of the State of Illinois.

MR. LAURENCE KENNON,
for the Defendant.

Roberta Kay Brown, CSR
Official Court Reporter
304 - Richard J. Daley Center
Chicago, Illinois 60602
THE CLERK: Jerold McWorter and Daniel Mays.

MR. KENNON: For the record, I am Laurence Kennon representing both parties.

Judge, I must apologize for not being here the first time. I understand the case was called. I would like the record to show that both parties are present in court and before the Court and that we're here pursuant to a request of the Court.

THE COURT: Trial is continued.

MR. KENNON: That is correct, Judge. We're here --

THE COURT: Have you had an occasion to read their memo?

MS. LINK: Your Honor, I have not. The party who had the memorandum said that the matter was continued for mutual exchange. The Assistant State's Attorney who handled this case before is no longer here. He had not prepared a memorandum and since it was for mutual exchange and I was not given a memorandum --

MR. KENNON: May I, for the record, indicate there was a request that a memorandum be presented by today's date in behalf of the Defendant who would at that point have moved for a directed finding.
The Court requested we have a memorandum. The memorandum was presented by today's date.

THE COURT: Counsel, I haven't had time to read your memorandum. I can read it today, if you are ready. I will rule on it today, if you are ready.

MR. KENNON: I would prefer that the Court would read it, of course.

THE COURT: That is what I am saying. I waited here until 5:00 o'clock yesterday for you to bring it in because I got a call from some lady in your office saying she was going to bring it in at 1:00 o'clock. I waited. Nobody brought it in. It was on my desk this morning when I came in.

MR. KENNON: I am aware it was brought yesterday.

THE COURT: No, it wasn't.

MR. KENNON: No one was here today. We couldn't have gotten in there. I talked to Ms. Walker who brought it in. She explained to me last night she put it on your desk yesterday.

THE COURT: I don't know what time she brought it. I was here until 5:00.

MR. KENNON: Perhaps you stepped out for a second. She certainly reported to me it was here yesterday.
THE COURT: I asked. My clerk said there was nothing on my desk when she came in at 8:00 in the morning or 7:00. Be that as it may; I haven't read it.

MR. KENNON: All right.

THE COURT: I will be happy to read it this morning.

MR. KENNON: I would just indicate, also, that the State had not, as she has indicated, the State has not given its memorandum to us.

THE COURT: I will be happy to read it this morning. I have two other cases over there on trial.

MR. KENNON: I do recognize the Court is pushed with things to deal with.

THE COURT: I will be ready to rule on your motion at 12:00 o'clock.

MR. KENNON: Today?

THE COURT: Yes. That will give you a chance to go somewhere and get back.

MR. KENNON: All right.

THE COURT: Fine, okay.

(Other matters were heard after which the following testimony was taken:)

THE CLERK: Jerold McWorter, Daniel Mays.
THE COURT: All right, Counsel. Let the record reflect the fact the Court has read Defense Counsel's memorandum of law in support of his motion for a directed verdict, twenty-six page memorandum. Counsel, do you wish to argue at this stage? What is your pleasure?

MR. KENNON: Just briefly.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. KENNON: We--the Court had set forth a couple of issues upon which the Defense should bring to the Court some substantive matters regarding the posture of the police department and the State in making the orders, the fundamental orders here requiring our clients to disburse or to move from the street.

Briefly, the facts were that our clients were marching down the street in an orderly manner, and the State has acknowledged that there was nothing disruptive in their course of direction. Then something happened. Someone was arrested.

That person was brought out into the street, and our clients then moved to the street. There was a question, a little question. Our clients were only asking what was happening, but it
was basically agreed our clients were requesting the
nature of why this initial person was being arrested.

The question then arose as to
whether or not the original grouping of some
twenty-five to thirty persons were in any way
following their constitutional prerogative
by approaching an area where a carnival was engaged
in activity.

The cases cited in the original argument
were Winder and Blackmore (phonetic spellings),
indicating that in an instance where there is a
demonstration and that there is argument where
there is a question to the police officers,
that questioning in itself does not constitute
a disorderly conduct.

The standards for determining whether
or not under the statutes there is disorderly
conduct in conjunction with the constitutional
prerogative, first of all, is covered in the cases
of People versus Landry (phonetic spelling) and in
the cases of People versus Wise (phonetic spelling),
as set forth in the brief.

THE COURT: Page seventeen.

MR. KENNON: Right.
THE COURT: Wise is seventeen, Landry is page fifteen, Counsel.

MR. KENNON: All right. I was mentioning those generally, Judge. I wanted to get to the standards that were set forth in page eleven in the case of Wise, I believe it is. In order for a Judgment to be entered for the City, the case must prove, first of all, that there were three or more acts of conduct that were disorderly, that there was a lawful order to disburse, and that this order was not obeyed.

We have to determine whether or not a lawful order was given and that would be determined by whether or not the demonstration itself was unlawful.

In People versus Landry the Court held that you determine the lawfulness of the order by the person who is making the order itself. If under that statute it says the guilt or innocence of the Defendants specifically depends upon the validity of the officer's act, therefore, if a policeman erroneously, capriciously, or arbitrarily orders peaceful demonstrators to disperse, acts of resistance by demonstrators would not subject
them to criminal liability under this provision.

THE COURT: What page is that?

MR. KENNON: Under page sixteen.

THE COURT: All right.

MR. KENNON: We're showing in this case, Judge, that it is acknowledged that at the time of the arrest there was no violations of any law at that time. The policemen then alleged that our clients moved out into the street so that there was a possible disorderly.

But the Court must understand that the Complainant in this case is Officer Corone (phonetic spelling). Officer Corone was the first person to testify, and the complaint was signed based on information and Officer Corone's perception. Officer Corone never indicated that anybody walked out into the street, that anybody -- strike that. He indicated that the two Defendants walked into the street, but he never indicated that they touched anyone or did anything to anyone but that they were told after they walked into the street to get back on to the sidewalk. He said that the reason for the arrest was that they refused the order of disbursing.
Now, the other two corroborative officers, allegedly corroborative officers came up and alleged there were some acts against them which would be subsequent offenses. The two Defendants --

THE COURT: Which were never charged. This matter was interfering with police, Counsel.

MR. KENNON: That is correct. We're only dealing with the matter whether or not there is a disorderly conduct and those other matters allegedly as a reason by the second supposedly corroborative officers were not germane to the actual charge. I want the Court to understand that point.

In as much as here the allegation then of disorderly conduct which had to show there were three acts of disorderly conduct by someone or three persons engaged in disorderly acts at the time of the disbursal order, there was nothing in the record to show there were three acts of or three offenses at that time.

At the time of the disbursal order one person was being arrested and, in fact, the two persons who were arrested were the persons who had come out requesting what was going on; and in
as much as that under Wise, under Cereka (phonetic spelling), it would not be considered disorderly, then there was nothing. There were no parties engaged in disorderly conduct to substantiate the disorderly or at least the order to disburse.

THE COURT: That is on the city charge.

MR. KENNON: That is on the city charge. With respect to the state charge, they say there must be an unreasonable act. Let me get the actual wording.

THE COURT: The actual wording is that he knowingly acted in such an unreasonable manner as to alarm another and to provoke a breach of the peace, to wit, by interfering with police officers in attempting to arrest a subject for battery of a police officer.

MR. KENNON: That is correct. Judge, again that was a charge that was signed by Officer Corone. It was not signed by either of the other officers and it was signed as to both of the parties.

There, in order for there to be an unreasonable act, first of all there must be the determination that the act was unreasonable. Again, in the cases of Winder and -- I am trying to get the second page --
there was talk about whether or not there was reason. If in that case, if the parties were engaged in an act that in itself was provoked by the police officers, for instance, in that case where parties were being searched in a large public area and members of the public came about to see it, the Court held that was reasonable for persons to come out and view the --

THE COURT: I think you are talking about Wise.

MR. KENNON: It is Wise and Minder. In Wise it was reasonable for them to come out and view what was happening. Certainly the basis of the 126 is that there is an unreasonable act on the part of the persons who are engaged in whatever activity they're engaged in. If there is not unreasonable action by the Defendant, then the question arises as to whether or not the disbursal order is unlawful or lawful.

In Wise it was held that the lawfulness of the order must be determined as of the time it was given, when admittedly the march had continued to be peaceful and orderly; and if it was lawful at the time it was given, then if something else happened subsequent to that, you cannot then go back
to the point at which the disbursal order was
given to then determine it was a lawful order.

Therefore, in this case at the time
these gentlemen were told to move back and at the
time that Officer Corone says there were persons
who were locking arms which in itself was not
illegal, disruptive, or disorderly, then there
was nothing going on.

There were not three acts of disorderly
conduct to make that particular act a lawful or
particular order a lawful order. Also, in order
for it to be a lawful order of disbursal there must
be some threat to the area at that time or to the
surrounding public.

No parties other than the police officers
here testified to determine whether or not there
was a possibility of alarm for anyone else. The
testimony acknowledges that at that time there were
at least twenty-five police officers around the
area, but in the overall area there was some five
hundred police officers.

One of the cases it was determined, Cox
versus Louisiana (phonetic spellings), in
determining whether or not there was a lawful
order of disbursal in order to avoid a possible alarm, harm, or breach of peace to the general citizenry in the area, the Court said that there was certainly enough police officers around to protect any of the citizenry should there be a possibility there would be some kind of breach. They also held that the fact that the community or the citizenry may even be hostile is not a determination of whether or not it is lawful for the demonstration to be taken into consideration.

In this case the testimony was that there was some five hundred police officers in the area and there were only twenty-five demonstrators. So that in the event and even though those police officers were in the immediate vicinity, they were in the area. In the event there is the possibility the Court might consider there could be some disruption, there was certainly enough police officers there to overcome any problems that might arise as a result of what might be considered a hostile or a breach situation.

In as much as Officer Corone said that the arrest had, in fact, taken place on the sidewalk before it moved into the street, we have
to consider whether or not even resisting arrest
might be considered.

THE COURT: We don't get to that, Counsel.

That is Shadrack Harris (phonetic spelling). We
don't get to that.

MR. KENNON: In the event the officers may say
that they walked into the street, that was resisting
in some manner. The case lays out the different
areas whether or not there was --

THE COURT: Incidentally, Counsel, I want
to compliment your prepared brief.

MR. KENNON: Thank you, Judge.

THE COURT: Very well written. Well
researched brief.

MR. KENNON: Miss Julia Lyn Waiker, is a lawyer
who worked as cocounsel on this matter.

THE COURT: Compliment her on the brief.

MR. KENNON: I think, Judge, in the overall
case there was no disruption here. There was no
previous order of requiring that a permit be taken.

I believe that the Court is aware that
under the law with respect to permits, if there is
going to be a demonstration in the street itself,
then a permit is necessary, but to walk down the
street, a permit isn't necessary. It isn't necessary when there is a -- unless there is going to be simultaneous demonstrations. At the same time and any time the police accept a march as a viable or a proper march, then it doesn't come into play whether or not there has been a permit. That was brought forth in several of the cases that once the police officer has accepted it as a valid march, it again is a valid march. In this case it was accepted as a valid march, and nothing in the evidence brought out a question as to whether or not they were properly on the premises.

The final remark is that this march took place and the group came to a halt on the east side of the police barriers, that any persons who would have been the citizenry involved were some two hundred feet on the west side of the barriers where the mayor had a natural program going on and where there was a carnival. There was nothing here to say that the persons, if they had not been stopped by the police, would not peacefully have gone on to the carnival; and there was no reason for them not to have engaged in and been a part of the carnival at most for this being a public situation and as part
of the public heading toward the carnival. However, they were stopped so far back away from the carnival there wasn't even a question as to whether or not they would have involved anybody on the other side.

With respect to traffic, the traffic had been stopped because there were barriers there. There was no traffic going up to the barriers. They weren't in an area where they could have disturbed vehicular traffic. As a result, the only persons to be disturbed would have been the two officers or perhaps the three officers who were involved in arresting. First, one person then another person who was the cause of the two defendants coming up to inquire.

What has happened here? The effect of it, these men are being arrested because they made inquiry regarding the cause of arrest of two of the people who were part of a demonstration; and I submit that that was a violation of the first amendment rights of both of the parties involved.

THE COURT: Counsel --

MR. KENNON: Your Honor, the People would respond briefly. Basically, from not having read the transcript because the People have not been given a copy of
Counsel's memo, we would first like to differ with Counsel on the facts. There was testimony in the transcript that the two parties involved not only asked why is this person being arrested, they actually, physically attempted to interfere with the arrest; that one of the parties tried to, I believe, keep a Josh London from being arrested by trying to pull Mr. London away from the officers; that the other party actually put his hands on the officer to physically restrain him from arresting the parties.

Counsel talks about the original order not being lawful. It is true, as he states, there was a carnival going on for the residents of the Cabrini Green housing. There was a substantial number of police officers there because of that.

However, here is a group of twenty-five to thirty people attempting to get into the carnival. Had the police been notified before hand, they could have had extra police duty in anticipation of any problems. They could have protected these people.

We believe that the original order to disburse was lawful. Irrespective of that, however, people in the city believe that once the police attempted to arrest some of the Defendants that the other
Defendants had no right to physically interfer.

There was testimony that a large crowd gathered because of this. The people in the crowd started yelling, "Kill the mother fuckers. Get the cops." Things of that nature.

The People believed this crowd was, in fact, as a result of the actions of these two Defendants. We believe that the evidence is substantial enough to sustain a conviction.

THE COURT: All right. With respect to the two charges of City Disorderly Conduct in that they failed to obey a lawful order of disbursement by a person known by him to be a police officer under circumstances where three or more persons are committing acts of disorderly conduct in the immediate vicinity which acts are likely to cause a substantial harm or serious inconvenience, a nuisance, a harm, the Defendants are discharged. There is no testimony before the Court that there were ever three acts of disorderly conduct when the original arrest was made. If anything, there was only one act, if at all. All right.

With respect to the other charges, the State charges, the Court has heard the evidence and will
take all into consideration and make a ruling on the motion of Defense on 8, 26, 1981.

        Hold on, Counsel. Wait a minute. I have to change that date. I will be on vacation that date.

        MR. KENNON: By all means, change it.

        THE COURT: Better make that the first week in September. Convenient with you? Second week? Because I will be on vacation the last two weeks in August. I just am glad I caught that.

        MR. MEYERS: I am Mr. Meyers for Mr. Harris. I set the 26th, so do we have to change it now?

        THE COURT: Yes.

        MR. MEYERS: What date is that?

        THE COURT: We're just determining that now. You agree, gentlemen?

        MR. KENNON: Yes, Judge.

        MS. LINK: The other Defendants were Dansberry, Harris, and London.

        THE COURT: Yes. When does your client start school?

        MR. KENNON: Next week.

        THE COURT: All right. Here, let's see, are you teaching every day down there?
MAN'S VOICE: Tuesday and Thursday would be --
actually Tuesday would be the best day.

THE COURT: I will set it for Tuesday then. How
about September the 8th or 15th?

MR. MEYERS: September 8th.

MS. LINK: Your Honor, the officer may be on
furlough at that time.

THE COURT: They're not. They're on furlough now.

MR. KENNON: The 15th of September?

THE COURT: The 15th. All right.

MR. KENNON: Thank you very much.

THE COURT: All right. Walker, who is Walker?

Miss Walker here? I want to congratulate you.

Very fine memo.

MR. KENNON: Thank you, Judge.

WHICH WAS ALL THE TESTIMONY HEARD IN

THE ABOVE ENTITLED CAUSE.
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE FIRST JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

I, ROBERTA KAY BROWN, an Official Court Reporter
for the Circuit Court of Cook County, First Judicial
Circuit of Illinois, do hereby certify that I
reported in shorthand the proceedings had on the
hearing in the above entitled cause; that I
thereafter caused the foregoing to be transcribed
into typewriting, which I hereby certify to be a
true and accurate transcript of the proceedings had
before the Honorable JOHN J. MCDONNELL, Judge of said
court.

[Signature]
Official Court Reporter

Dated this 15th day
of September, 1981.
STATE OF ILLINOIS )
COUNTY OF COOK )

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS
MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT, CRIMINAL DIVISION

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, )
Plaintiff, )
vs. ) Nos. 81 M1 133034
GERALD MCWORTER and DANIEL MAYS, ) 81 M1 133039
Defendants. )

MEMORANDUM OF LAW IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANTS' MOTION FOR A DIRECTED VERDICT

Now come the Defendants Gerald McWorter and Daniel Mays, by their attorneys, Washington, Kenneth Hunter and Samuels, and in support of their Motion For A Directed Verdict, address three basic issues:

I. Whether the State has proved the requisite elements for disorderly conduct beyond a preponderance of the evidence.

II. Whether an attempt by police officers to prohibit the exercise of the rights of freedom of speech, assembly and association is constitutionally permissible.

A. If so, does there exist a directive prohibiting certain members of the public from attending a public function held on a public thoroughfare.

B. If so, who has the requisite authority to issue such a directive.
III. Whether defendants have violated any state statute or municipal ordinance concerning public assemblies.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

On April 18, 1981, the area from Clybourn Street to Larrabee Street on Division Street, Chicago, Illinois, was blocked off to vehicular traffic in order to accommodate a carnival for the public and residents of the Cabrini-Green Housing Project. (Tr. 14, l. 6-8; Tr. 27, l. 5-8; Tr. 30, l. 12-16) Approximately one hundred feet or more west of the corner of Sedgwick and Division, at the intersection of Clybourn and Division, were wooden horses and approximately two hundred or more feet further to the west was a reviewing stand for the Mayor of the City of Chicago. (Tr. 30, l. 2-6; Tr. 31, l. 4-7). In the total area there were approximately four or five hundred police officers at this time, consisting of mounted policemen, motorcycle police officers and squad patrol cars, plus others. (Tr. 22, l. 23; Tr. 23, l. 10-11)

This was to be a public carnival and there were no barriers placed around any portion of the Cabrini-Green Housing Project to prevent other citizens from participating. (Tr. 26, l. 23-24; Tr. 27, l. 1-8) It was to be an Easter celebration with an egg roll, in light of the Mayor of the City of Chicago having moved into the project. (Tr. 23, l. 24; Tr. 24, l. 1-7; Tr. 24, l. 8-12)

Joseph Carone, Police Officer with the City of Chicago Police Department, is a gang specialist and a thirteen year veteran
with the Police Department. (Tr. 10, l. 9-16; Tr. 20, l. 11-13)

On April 18, 1981, he was at 400 West Division, Chicago, Illinois, because of a demonstration in the area (Tr. 11, l. 1-7). He was assigned detail at the Cabrini-Green Housing Project, in plain clothes. (Tr. 10, l. 22-23; Tr. 22, l. 20-22) Robert O'Neil, Detective with the City of Chicago Police Department was also assigned to the Cabrini-Green Carnival in civilian clothes. (Tr. 30, l. 10-24). Detective O'Neil has been with the Police Department for sixteen years. (Tr. 53, l. 16-18) Michael O'Grady, another officer of the Chicago Police Department was also working a detail at 400 West Division on this date. (Tr. 68, l. 21-22; Tr. 69, l. 1-3) Officer Carone, is the complainant in two prosecutions for disorderly conduct arising from the events of that day. (Complaint for McWorter and Mays).

Defendant Gerald McWorter is a professor at the University of Illinois in Urbana, Illinois. (Tr. 97, l. 2-4) He and Defendant Daniel Mays were first observed by complainant as part of a group marching with signs in front of 1158 South Sedgwick, Chicago, Illinois. (Tr. 12, l. 16-18) This group left 1158, walking in two's on the sidewalk heading westbound on Division but was stopped in front of the wooden horses. (Tr. 58, l. 24; Tr. 59, l. 1-3) They were told by Deputy Chief Dolbrick that they could demonstrate in the area in front of the horses, but that they could not use the bullhorn in the carnival area. (Tr. 31, l. 11-18) Officer Carone is aware that there was no prior written directive concerning demonstrations in the area. (Tr. 26, l. 1-5). Although he was standing right next to Dolbrick, he did not know how far Defen-
dants McWorter and Mays were from the Deputy Chief at the time of the order. (Tr. 24, l. 17-24) Officers Carone and O'Neil overheard Deputy Chief Dolbrick's order to members of the group. (Tr. 26, l. 16-21; Tr. 61, l. 6-8)

Complainant stated that twenty-five people attempted to enter the carnival area after Deputy Chief Dolbrick's order. (Tr. 16, l. 36) At that time Shadrack Harris, one of the marchers on the sidewalk, was arrested by the complainant. (Tr. 16, l. 16-18) This arrest was described by complainant as a physical arrest which required the assistance of other officers and moved from the sidewalk to the street. (Tr. 16, l. 16-18; Tr. 18, l. 14-20; Tr. 57, l. 7-9) Officer O'Neil, one of the officers involved in this arrest, was actually on the ground with the arrestee at one point. (Tr. 62, l. 6)

Officer Carone's recollection is that Defendants McWorter and Mays attempted to withhold the arrestee from he, his partner and the other two officers by locking arms with other members of the group. (Tr. 32, l. 1-8, 18-23) People followed the police into the street where they were ordered to return to the sidewalk supposedly because the police were attempting to keep an orderly flow of traffic on Division and Clybourn. (Tr. 35, l. 7-16; Tr. 36, l. 1-3) Officer Carone was aware, though, of questions from the defendants regarding the purpose of the arrest and the authority of the arresting officers. (Tr. 36, l. 12-20; Tr. 37, l. 688) when he arrested Defendant Mays. Defendant McWorter re-
sponded to that arrest with similar questions concerning whether this was an arrest and then he, too, was arrested. (Tr. 37, l. 16-18; 24; Tr. 38, l. 1-2) Approximately one hundred people were now in the crowd with (Tr. 20, l. 8-10; Tr. 39, l. 3-7; Tr. 40, l. 21-23) most of the marchers in the street, many returned to the sidewalk. Prior to the first arrest, Officer Carone did not observe any problem or disturbance in the area. (Tr. 41, l. 12-18)

Detective O'Neil's recollection of this exact period is that he first observed Defendant McWorter when he placed him under arrest for interfering with the police. (Tr. 51, l. 2-5) This arrest was based on the defendant having grabbed O'Neil's arm while he was attempting to arrest Shadrack Harris, which was to have continued for three or four minutes. (Tr. 51, l. 16-18; Tr. 62, l. 3-11) Detective O'Neil's impression was that a crowd of thirty to forty, immediately prior to Defendant McWorter grabbing his arm, became a crowd of one hundred people because of the incident. (Tr. 52, l. 6-11; 21-24; Tr. 53, l. 8) Detective O'Neil did not observe the defendants with their arms or hands locked together (Tr. 63, l. 2-6; Tr. 58, l. 2-5), although he did observe Defendant Mays just standing next to another officer. There was no testimony as to whether this officer was also in plain clothes.

Detective O'Neil also remembered hearing questions and comments from the people in the crowd, i.e. "Why are you arrest-
ing him? Free that man!" (Tr. 55, l. 8-16) Prior to the initial arrests, he did not observe either defendants violating the law. (Tr. 56, l. 12-15)

Michael O'Grady first observed Defendant Mays when the latter supposedly lacked arms with Josh London, a subject O'Grady was arresting, and pushed O'Grady away from London. (Tr. 69, l. 10-23; Tr. 70, l. 4-7; Tr. 74, l. 6-11; Tr. 75, l. 6-7) Defendant Mays was allegedly told to "disperse."

(Tr. 74, l. 21-24; Tr. 75, l. 1-2) Officer O'Grady is neither the complainant nor the arresting officer for Mays and he did not observe Defendant McWorter "do anything" at all. (Complaint for Mays; Tr. 37, l. 6-7) His overall recollection is that there were approximately sixty people in the crowd during the original arrest effort of Shadrack Harris. (Tr. 70, l. 16-21)

He was the only policeman to testify to the use of hostile words by the crowd. (Tr. 71, l. 8-11). Mr. O'Grady's testimony was also that the crowd rushed into the street as a result of the original arrest effort. (Tr. 71, l. 2) He did not identify himself to the crowd as being a police officer, but he testified that he did so for the Defendants Mays and McWorter. (Tr. 73, l. 15-24) He remembered the crowd being also curb to curb on Division Avenue (sic). (Tr. 75, l. 7-16)

A diagram is attached for illustrative purposes only.

I. This complaint should be dismissed based on a failure to establish beyond a preponderance of the evidence the requisite elements for a municipal violation of disorderly conduct and beyond a reasonable doubt for the state charge.
Ill. Rev. Stat., ch. 38 §26-1

(a) A person commits disorderly conduct when he knowingly:

(1) Does any act in such unreasonable manner as to alarm or disturb another and to provoke a breach of the peace;

Municipal Code of the City of Chicago
Ch. 193, §193-1

A person commits disorderly conduct when he knowingly:

... 

(d) Fails to obey a lawful order of dispersal by a person known by him to be a peace officer under circumstances where three or more persons are committing acts of disorderly conduct in the immediate vicinity, which acts are likely to cause substantial harm or serious inconvenience, annoyance or alarm;

... 

Complainant alleged that the defendants attempted to enter the carnival area which was behind the wooden horses which were approximately one hundred feet west of the corner of Sedgwick and Division. (Tr. 16, l. 4-13; Tr. 23, l. 13-20.) He described the east side of Clybourn as being twenty feet from Sedgwick and the west side as being fifty to sixty from the east side. Shadrack Harris, who was arrested by complainant, was described as being at the head of the march. (Tr. 57, l. 1-6) When the arrest of Harris occurred, the arrestee and officers moved into the street. (Tr. 18, 15-23; Tr. 16-19) This would have been immediately east
of the wooden horses, twenty - thirty feet west of the west
side of Clybourn. (Tr. 58, l. 24; Tr. 59, l. 1-3) Based on
the allegations of the witnesses there would have been no
vehicular traffic in the immediate vicinity. (Tr. 28, l. 6-9)
The amended charge of disorderly conduct by the complain-
ant, Officer Carone, included only that the defendants failed to
disperse from a lawful order to leave the street and return to
the sidewalk. Proof adduced by and through him, for which he
signed the complaint, did not include any physical contact by
the defendants with either of the other two policemen.
The testimony of the two witnesses produced by the State,
Officers O'Neil and O'Grady, did not corroborate the testimony
of the complaining witness. The alleged acts cited by them are
subsequent to, in addition to, and at variance with the allega-
tions of Officer Carone. Any subsequent acts may have compelled
additional charges, namely interference, battery, etc. However,
complainant Carone states twice that the arrest of Harris was
affected upon the sidewalk prior to the street confrontation,
abrogating the possibility of subsequent interference with arrest.
(Tr. 32, l. 1-4; 15-19; Tr, 33, l. 5-6).
Thus the original dispersal order of complainant was not
addressed to defendants at a time when three or more persons
were engaged in disorderly conduct; his testimony only describing
several persons locking arms with each other, first on the sidewalk
and then in the street where it could not have been disruptive.
Consequently the dispersal order was unlawful which voids defendants prosecution therefrom. U.S. v. Gregory, 394 U.S. 111 (1969) The alleged verbal challenge to authority by defendants would not constitute disorderly conduct either under People v. Wender, 46 Ill.2d 20 (1970) or People v. Landry, 280 F.S. 938, (1968) and the alleged swearing by the crowd was not contemplated by Carone.

Witnesses to acts constituting a charge by a complainant should be fundamentally corroborative of the complaint's allegations. Subsequent acts, to be relevant, should require new complaints. Since Officers O'Neil and O'Grady filed no complaints regarding any acts of defendants as to themselves, this Court should not find defendants guilty of disorderly conduct as to complainant Carone for acts alleged only by the other two, based on a severe variance of the proof to the allegations which renders the complaint defective.

The Supreme Court in Edwards v. South Carolina, 372 U.S. 229 (1963) overturned "breach of peace" convictions for demonstrators peaceably protesting racial discrimination on the State House grounds, based on the lack of specificity regarding the exact nature of the prohibited conduct under the state statute. The Court, in viewing the record, held that there was no evidence of violence or a threat of violence either in the form of acts or "fighting words on which to sustain convictions even under the constitutionally permissible statute. Moreover, the Court found that the arrest and state prosecutions of the demonstrators stemmed
solely from the State suppressing the peaceful expression of opinions which were opposed to the majority of the community.

Similarly, Cox v. Louisiana, 379 U.S. 536 (1965) held that an identical situation of an orderly demonstration at the seat of local government conformed to the ruling in Edwards. Cox closely parallels the case at bar because in both instances there was a direct order to terminate the demonstration from a local law enforcement officer. As in Edwards, the Supreme Court overturned the "breach of peace" conviction because the record failed to support any threat of violence by the demonstrators or the crowd by on-lookers. A key factor in the Court's decision was its determination that there were a number of police to handle the crowd, should that have been necessary.

Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296 (1940) which in over-turning a, in part, common law breach of peace, held that the police must establish whether there existed from the facts of the case, a "clear and present menace to public peace and order." The standard under Illinois law is embodied in Cantwell with the additional element of intent. City of Chicago v. Otter, (1971) 133 Ill. App. 2d 57, People v. Raly, 50 Ill.2d 392 (1968).

Concerning the burden of proof, under the State statute, the prosecution is required to prove the defendant guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. For the City, it is sufficient to establish a clear preponderance. People v. McGarvey, 5 Ill. App. 2d 414 (1955) (conviction for disorderly conduct tending to debauch public morals reversed), People v. Cooper, 32 Ill. App. 3d 516 (1975) (conviction
for disorderly conduct for a telephone call annoying another).  
People v. Suriwka, 2 Ill. App. 3d 384 (1971) (conviction for  
disorderly conduct reversed where record only reflected that  
defendant was vocally protesting another's arrest then offered  
to be arrested himself.)

In the case at bar, the defendants were part of a small  
group, orderly carrying signs on a public sidewalk (Tr. 12, l. 16-  
18). They were outside of a public carnival but were stopped  
when they attempted to enter. (Tr. 31, 11-18) In the initial  
complaints, the defendants were charged with knowingl doing an  
act in an unreasonable manner which would provoke a breach of the  
peace under both the City and State charge. (Complaint for  
McWorter and Mays (Tr. 7, l. 11-13)). At the time of trial, the  
City charge was changed to failure to obey a lawful order to dis-  
perse when three or more persons are committing acts of disorderly  
conduct in the immediate vicinity. (Tr. 7, l. 11-13) There was  
no change in the State charge.

In order for judgment to be entered for the City in the  
immediate case, the City must prove that (a) there were three or  
more acts of disorderly conduct in the immediate vicinity; (b)  
there was a lawful order to disperse; and (c) this order was  
not obeyed.

Two of the City's witnesses testified that prior to the  
initial arrest, they did not observe either defendant violating  
the law nor any problem or disturbance in the area. (Tr. 41, l.
12-18; Tr. 56, l. 12-15). One of the defendants was not observed at all by the State's third witness. (Tr. 74, l. 1-3) There was no disturbance disruptive of public order. The defendants were attempting to learn (a) whether the men attacking a member of their group was or was not a policeman, and (b) if so, what was the reason for the arrest and the identity of the arresting officer. The response to this lawful conduct was the arrest of the defendants.

There has been no evidence presented by the State establishing three or more acts of disorderly conduct being committed in the immediate vicinity necessary for an arrest for failure to obey a dispersal order. In order for a complaint to sufficiently allege the offense of disorderly conduct, it must be established that one other than a police officer be disturbed. People v. Staton, 24 Ill. App. 3d 1062 "(T)he relationship between the alleged conduct and the public order, or the right of others not to be molested or harassed, is crucial in determining the necessity of criminal sanction." id. at 1063. Viewed under this standard, neither the complainant nor the testimony in the case at bar substantiates that members of the public were affected. Therefore, the standard has not been met and the complaint must be dismissed. Accord, People v. Kellschedt, 29 Ill. App. 3d 83 (1975) (motion to dismiss affirmed where the complaint failed to state whether the alleged words were uttered in the presence of a member of the public.) People v. Thompson, 55 Ill. App. 3d 795 (1977).
Moreover, where there is no direct testimony at trial concerning a breach of the public's peace, the Court cannot accept pure conjecture as to the nature of the public disorder. People v. Johnson, 15 Ill. App. 3d 741 (1973) In the instant case, the City argued that a tenant outside of the building was disturbed by the defendant inside the building; however there was no testimony by the tenant, only speculation by the officer. id. at 211-212. Indeed, the State has presented no testimony by a member of the public in the present case but only conflicting testimony from the police. One officer could only testify that at the time of the defendants' arrest, the crowd was questioning his action. (Tr. 47, l. 2-6) He observed that the crowd moved toward the arrest and contained people from the carnival as well as the demonstration. (Tr. 48, l. 2-5) Another officer testified that the crowd of approximately 60 people was curb to curb on Division. (Tr. 70, l. 18-21; Tr. 75, l. 14-16) He was also the only one to testify to any words or actions indicating a potentially hostile situation. (Tr. 71, l. 2-4) The final State's witness also referred to questions from the crowd concerning the authority for the behavior of the plain clothed policeman and noted that the crowd's response to the arrests was to move into the street where they were occurring. (Tr. 55, l. 14-15; Tr. 57, l. 16-17) The conflicting testimony does not meet the current standard where the State is unable to establish that a defendant's conduct prior to his arrest is the cause of the disturbance, the case must be dismissed. People v. Gentry, 48 Ill. App. 3d 900, (1977).
In *Gentry* there was clearly a disturbance after the defendant's arrest. In the case at bar, no testimony has established a disturbance. The two defendants at bar were merely inquiring about a physical attack upon one of their group. Vigorous discussion with a police officer, in and of itself, does not constitute disorderly conduct. *People v. Douglas*, 29 Ill. App. 3d 738, 742 (1975).

Indeed, in instances such as the case at bar where there is conflicting testimony regarding whether the defendants even knew the identity of the attackers, the state would be hard pressed in proving interfering with a lawful arrest. Even where the defendant knew that the police were in the process of making an arrest, without evidence establishing the effect of the defendant's protestations concerning that arrest in the crowd, a conviction for disorderly conduct cannot stand. *People v. Suriwka*, 2 Ill, App. 3d 384 (1971).

The standard for conviction in a quasi-criminal action such as disorderly conduct is a preponderance of the evidence. *People v. G.L.C.*, 74 Ill. App. 3d 411 (1979). The State contends that it has established disorderly conduct by a clear preponderance of the evidence. But although it is normally to be expected that there will be a divergence between the State's testimony and the defense, here the State has presented testimony placing the defendants in three clearly contradictory situations. Indeed, the State attempts to meet its burden by presenting two witnesses, testimony of one of whom revealed that one defendant acted reasonably in accordance with the immediate situation while the other was not recalled at all. A record inclusive of such testimony does not support a find-

II. It is unconstitutional for police officers to prohibit the defendants from exercising their right to freedom of speech, assembly and association.

The Bill of Rights specifically provides for freedom of speech, assembly and association. While the state has a cognizable interest in the regulations of certain forms of speech or assembly, it is of a limited character and such examples demands strict scrutiny. While the state can and does regulate speech and assembly which impinges upon public safety, individual privacy or government functions, the overwhelming interest of the Constitution is to promote and protect peaceful expression and association. It is in the interest of the state, as well as of the individual citizen, to allow conditions which provide for the peaceful expression of these forms.

In *Landry v. Daley*, 280 F.S. 938 (1968), the Court underscored the seminal constitutional principle in stating:

Demonstrations, like most conventional means of expression, also assures the disclosure and discussion of the real issues faced by society, thereby making possible rational judgment by the electorate. It provides an outlet for dissenting people, and history reveals that dissentient groups are more likely to adhere to the majority will, if their views have also been aired. Similarly, it provides minorities an opportunity to force re-examination of social institutions,
to enlist the sympathy of other citizens, to mobilize supporters and ultimately to strengthen their bargaining position. id. at 949.

In Landry, a class of plaintiffs which sought declaratory and injunctive relief, alleging that the Illinois statutes concerning "Mob Violence" and "Intimidation" Ill. Rev. Stat. ch. 38, §25-1 and §12-6 were overbroad and void for vagueness. The "Resisting Arrest" Statute then provided:

A person who knowingly resists or obstructs the performance by one known to the person to be a peace officer of any authorized act within his official capacity shall be fined . . . .

Although it was upheld, the Court in Landry specifically focused on the initial validity of the officer's action vis a vis persons peacefully demonstrating.

This argument is unpersuasive for two reasons. First, the plaintiffs have not given the statute a reasonable construction. It does not proscribe resisting or obstructing an unlawful act of a peace officer. The guilt or innocence of the defendant specifically depends on the validity of the officer's act. Therefore, if a policeman erroneously, capriciously, or arbitrarily orders peaceful demonstrators to disperse, acts of resistance or obstruction by the demonstrators would not subject them to criminal liability under this provision.

The instant statute, however, does not contain such overreaching language. While admittedly, like any statute, it may be misapplied, its sanctions apply only to knowing physical resistance or obstruction of a valid act of a peace officer. These sanctions, therefore, do not ultimately depend on the subjective views of those charged with its enforcement. Consequently, we conclude that it is neither vague nor overbroad. Landry at 960 (emphasis added.)
Adopting the analysis in Landry, there was no violation of the city ordinance in the case at bar because there was no "lawful" order violated by the defendants.

Deputy Chief Dolbrick ordered the group of which the defendants were a part, to not enter the area demarcated for the public carnival. This order would be permissible only where there exists a threat of imminent violence which presents a serious threat to the peace and safety of the community.

In City v. Chicago v. Weiss, 51 Ill.2d 113 (1972), the organizers had applied for, and been denied, permits to use various public facilities during the National Democratic Convention. id. at 311. On the day of the arrests there had been fighting between demonstrators and community residents in the area. The residents wished to enter again. This was after sporadic incidents throughout the preceding week.

After reviewing and rejecting the challenge to the constitutionality of the statute the Supreme Court discussed among the issues of the case, whether an order of dispersal had been given and so whether it was a "lawful" order. Answering both questions affirmatively, it affirmed the lower court's judgments.

The lawfulness of the order must be determined as of the time when it was given, when, admittedly, the march continued to be peaceful and orderly, and if unlawful at that time it cannot be rendered lawful by the violence which followed the refusal to permit the marchers to proceed south on 18th Street. id at 314.
Weiss, as reflected in the recitation of the facts, is clearly distinguishable from the case at bar. Here, according to the testimony, one of three orders was possibly given:

1. No demonstrators may enter the carnival area;
2. All demonstrators are to return to the sidewalk;
3. Defendant Mays is to disperse.

Without evidence from the state as to whether or not the defendants heard any or all of these orders, the Court may judge the evidence for its credibility. Accepting that any or all orders were made it must then be determined whether or not they were "lawful" under the Code.

Viewing the incident through the available testimony, there is no question that there were no acts of disorderly conduct being committed when the original order was given by Deputy Chief Dolbrick. (Tr. 56, l. 12-14) Any independent basis for that order fails to survive scrutiny. There was no allegations of a recent history of violence as occurred in Weiss, no allegations concerning immediate violence arising from incidents of that day, as occurred in Weiss, nor any allegations concerning possible antagonisms for the community leading to physical confrontation, as occurred in Weiss. Deputy Chief Dolbrick simply ordered residents of the City of Chicago not to attend a public event held for their community.

The order to return to the sidewalk is not legally acceptable under the standards of Weiss. Officer Carone's testimony is
that the order was obeyed by some of the demonstrators but not all. (Tr. 40, l. 23) When questioned whether all those who failed to return to the sidewalk were arrested, his response was that that was not possible. (Tr. 41, l. 3-8) This answer, of course, must be viewed in light of the other testimony establishing the presence of four to five hundred police officers for twenty-five to one hundred demonstrators. (Tr. 22, l. 24; Tr. 23, l. 1-5) However, defendants were arrested after their inquiries concerning the arrest of a friend. (Tr. 37, l. 15-18)

Under the terms of the state statute, a wide spectrum of behavior constitutes disorderly conduct. U.S. v. Woodward, 376 F.2d 136 (1967). In formulating a standard for reasonableness, Illinois courts have recognized the similarity in standards utilized when §193-1 of the Municipal Code of the City of Chicago and Ill. Rev. Stat. ch. 38, §26-1 are the basis for the charges, and have cited appropriate provisions in them interchangeably. City of Chicago v. Wender, 46 Ill.2d 20 (1970), People v. Otter, 133 Ill. App. 2d 57 (1971). Hence the standard for unreasonableness provided in the Committee Comments, note to par. 26-1(a), should be invoked here to understand "what the acts of disorderly conduct in the immediate vicinity" consisted of. What is unreasonable as stated by the Comments depends not only on the type of conduct involved, but equally on the surrounding circumstances. Thus one test for reasonableness, assuming that the acts by three or more
persons would fall under §193-1(a), (b) or (c), is whether in the context of the circumstances surrounding the conduct there was no reason or justification for the defendant to engage in activity which would tend to alarm, disturb, or provoke others. Committee Comments, Ill. Rev. Stat. ch. 38, para. 26-1(a).

City of Chicago v. Wender, supra, addressed the principle that when a defendant's conduct is merely a response to what the defendant felt was unwarranted and unreasonable conduct on the part of another, a conviction for disorderly conduct cannot stand. In Wender, the police stopped a car because it had no rear license plate. There were eight persons in the car at the time, and when the driver presented a valid out-of-state license but had no bond card, the police arrested all of the eight passengers and frisked them all as they got out of the car. The eight defendants began to yell loudly at the police, questioning the officer's right to frisk, demanding to be told of the offense which warranted a frisk, and demanding to be told the policemen's names and star numbers. All this commotion occurred on Michigan Avenue, near the Conrad Hilton Hotel on the second day of the 1968 Democratic National Convention. A crowd of 30-40 people gathered nearby. Inspite of the surrounding circumstances which seemed to point to unreasonable conduct by the defendants, the Illinois Supreme Court, in reversing the lower court's conviction, ruled that the "unusual" and provocative nature of one officers' initial conduct could reasonably have caused the defendants to respond in the manner they did and therefore even if the public peace was breached it was not due to defendants' unreasonable conduct.
Similarly in the present case the conduct of the defendants in seeing a friend attacked by an unidentified person was a reasonable - and indeed correct - reaction seeking to establish the basis for the rather harsh and clear provocative nature of conduct. Given the uncertainty of the attackers' plain clothes identify, it remains clear that the verbal reaction by the defendants and the crowd in response to an officer's unreasonable actions cannot lie as the basis for a disorderly conduct allegation. U.S. v. Woodward, 376 F.2d 136 (1967), Accord Oratowski v. Civil Service Commission, 3 Ill. App. 2d 551 (1954). This must be established prior to the order to disperse.

The crowd should not be considered to have engaged in acts of disorderly conduct. There was simply no proof that the actions of the defendants caused public disorder as understood by judicial precedent.

People v. Justus, 57 Ill. App. 3d 164 (1978) reversed a conviction for disorderly conduct where the only proof offered at trial on this issue was testimony that "defendant caused a crowd to gather in the area and around the street." id. at 839. As stated by the Court, "(A)busive language does not evolve into a crime simply because persons nearly stop, look and listen." id. at 839. Testimony regarding the failure of the crowd to all return to the sidewalk and/or the comments made by various members of the crowd should be treated by this court as the actions were treated by the various law enforcement officers present on that day - as conduct perhaps abusive, rude or imprudent but not amounting to disorderly conduct.
Even physical contact by the defendants or other crowd members was clearly viewed as not warranting criminal charges. Since physical confrontation of a 3-4 minute duration did not warrant corrective measures, on what basis is the behavior of the crowd being judged?

This record reflects that the actual arrest of defendants occurred due to their inquiries concerning the identity of the attacker and/or the authority for his actions. (Tr. 36, l. 22-23; Tr. 37, l. 1-22) Although the testimony alleges that the basis for the arrests was their failure to return to the sidewalk, the evidence strongly supports that Officer Carone, the complainant, did not perceive a failure to return to the sidewalk as being an act which would "cause substantial harm or serious inconvenience, annoyance or alarm" since more of the crowd was not arrested. It is clear that the remarks of the defendants constitute the real basis for their arrests and so the charges should be dismissed. City of Chicago v. Hopson, 131 Ill. App. 2d 591 (1970); City of Chicago v. Perez, 45 Ill.2d 258 (19 ).

There must also be a clear showing of mental state under for both the state and city charges. City of Chicago v. Robinson, 32 Ill. App. 3d 149 (1975), People v. Raby, 40 Ill.2d 392 (1968). Here there has not been addressed the issue of whether defendants were aware that acts of disorderly conduct were occurring in the immediate vicinity, although there were allegations as to proper identification of procedures by the complainant and the other officers.
It is evident from the record that viewing the surrounding circumstances, the state has not overcome its burden to establish the disruption to public order supposedly occasioned by acts of the defendants. In the face of such absence, it is entirely correct for the court to rule in favor of the defendants. City of Chicago v. Mateja, 57 Ill. App. 3d 144 (1978); City of Chicago v. Meyer, 44 Ill. 2d 1 (1969), City of Chicago v. Blakemore, 15 Ill. App. 3d 994 (1973), People v. Slaton, 24 Ill. App. 3d 1062 (1974); People v. Douglas, 29 Ill. App. 3d 738 (1975).

As stated in Blakemore, supra, "(T)he record reveals that no evidence was introduced and no reference was made to the effect of defendant's conduct of bystanders. In the absence thereof, we can only conclude that defendant's conduct did not produce an imminent threat of violence or breach the public peace." Id. at 996. Although testimony was elicited addressing the use of profanity by the crowd, it was not established how the conduct of the defendants gave rise to those remarks. In People v. Douglas, supra, the State's contention was that the mere existence of the crowd should be sufficient. There, as here, conflicting evidence was presented as to the size, nature and location of the crowd. Certainly for April 18th, the bulk of the carnival crowd was one hundred feet beyond the wooden horses. Certainly, Wender, Blakemore and Douglas should be controlling here where again no testimony has been offered to establish the effect of defendants' conduct on the bystanders.
III. Defendants were not charged for any violation of a state law or municipal ordinance for exercising their First Amendment rights of freedom of speech, assembly and association on a municipal sidewalk, orderly and in two's.

In the case at bar, the defendants are being prosecuted for disorderly conduct and disorderly conduct only. For the record though, a brief discussion is provided as a context for evaluating the State's posture where an appropriate permit has not been obtained and First Amendment rights are being exercised.

The Supreme Court in Gregory v. City of Chicago, 394 U.S. 111 (1969) held that a peaceful and orderly march is constitutionally protected under the first amendment guarantees. In that case, the fact that the march was/under color of local authority was deemed irrelevant because the city's assistant attorney and the police treated it as lawful conduct. Id. at 119. The Court in reversing the lower court's convictions for disorderly conduct, stated, quoting Garner v. Louisiana, 368 U.S. 157, 164, "It is as much a denial of due process to send an accused to prison following conviction for a charge that was never made as it is to convict him upon a charge for which there is no evidence to support that conviction."

Specifically, the Court in Gregory held that an arrest for disorderly conduct was a denial of due process in instances where the arrest stemmed from a refusal to obey an unlawful order of a police officer.

An application or denial for a permit was not an issue for the police. Since a parade permit is required where the applicant is to utilize the street, the circumstances here
where the demonstration was on half of the sidewalk are not ones that fall under the ordinance. The facts are that the police treated the assembly as lawful until it attempted to proceed westbound on Division. (Tr. 15, 1:19-24). There is no evidence in therecord that the assemblage would not have remained peaceful and orderly but for the intervention of the law enforcement officers, both uniformed and ununiformed.

The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in U.S. v. Dellinger, 472 F. 2d 340 (C.A. 7, 1972) overturned convictions under the Federal Anti-Riot Statute where despite the lack of permits, the police allowed a demonstration to proceed and then utilized measures which promoted riotous conditions. In considering whether the speeches (action) of defendants contributed to the disruption, the Court stated, "(C)onsider whether the riot in fact, occurred, and, if not, whether First Amendment guarantees require that citizens not be prohibited from the orderly exercise of the freedoms of speech, assembly and association." Id. at 394. Accord, Chicago v. Perez, 45 Ill. 2d 258 (1970), Hen v. Indiana, 414 U.S. 105 (1973), Norwell v. Cincinnati, 414 U.S. 14 (1973), Brown v. Louisiana, 383 U.S. 131 (1966), Chicago v. Meyer 44 Ill. 2d 1 (1969).

Conclusion

Defendants respectfully request that this court grant the motion for a directed verdict since the State has failed to prove by a preponderance of the evidence on the city charge, and beyond a reasonable doubt on the state charge, the guilt
of defendants. The testimony of the complaining witness was not credible and was contradicted by the two occurrence witnesses who also contradicted themselves. At a minimum one credible witness and consistent testimony is required for the state to sustain its burden.

______________________________
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STATE OF ILLINOIS )
) SS.
COUNTY OF COOK )

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS
COUNTY DEPARTMENT - MUNICIPAL DIVISION
FIRST DISTRICT

THE PEOPLE OF THE
STATE OF ILLINOIS,
Plaintiff;

vs.

DANIEL MAYS AND
GERALD MCWORTER
Defendants.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

BE IT REMEMBERED that the above-entitled
cause came on for hearing before the Honorable
JOHN J. MCDONNELL, Judge of said court on the
15th day of September, A. D., 1981.

APPEARANCES: HON. RICHARD M. DALEY, State's
Attorney of Cook County, by:

MS. ROBIN SHAPIRO
Assistant State's Attorney.
on behalf of the People.

MR. LAWRENCE E. KENARD
Appeared on behalf of the Defendants.
THE CLERK: People of the State of Illinois versus DANIEL MAYS and GERALD MCWORTER.

MR. KENARD: Both parties are present before the bench.

THE COURT: Let the record reflect the fact that the defendants are presently charged with state disorderly conduct. On Mays and McWorter?

MR. KENARD: The same thing, I believe, Judge. Lawrence E. Kenard (phonetic spelling) attorney of record for the defendants.

THE COURT: McWorter is also charged with state disorderly conduct. The court has viewed the transcript of the prior proceedings and has listened to the arguments of counsel for the state, Mr. Dave Kurstein (phonetic spelling) and for the defense.

In view of the arguments presented by all parties and in view of the transcript and of the law presented by the defense attorney and state's attorney, and the defendants will be discharged. The motion will be sustained.

MR. KENARD: Thank you, very much.
STATE OF ILLINOIS
COUNTY OF COOK

I, BRIDGETTE GOODWIN, Official Court Reporter of the Circuit Court of Cook County, County Department - Municipal Division, do hereby certify that I reported in shorthand the proceedings had upon the trial in the above-entitled cause that I thereafter transcribed into typewriting the above Report of Proceedings which I hereby certify is a true and correct transcript of the proceedings.

Bridgette Goodwin
Official Court Reporter of the Circuit Court of Cook County, Municipal Division.
VI. FIGHT AGAINST OPPORTUNISM IN THE MOVEMENT
BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION

THEME FOR BLACK LIBERATION MONTH 1981

PEOPLES COLLEGE
P. O. Box 7696
Chicago, IL  60680

(312) 342-8242
BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION

Peoples College dedicates BLACK LIBERATION MONTH 1981 to the theme of BUILDING UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION. We intend to continue developing our theme for the decade, REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER IN THE 1980s, by taking up an analysis of the concrete forms of unity that are currently developing in the Black liberation movement. This analysis has provided the basis for what we call the Theory of the Three Unitines, and this theory can help to guide us as we build resistance and struggle in the remaining years of the 1980s.

We must begin our analysis of unity with a clear understanding of the current situation: the deep and worsening economic and political crisis facing the U.S.A. and the entire world capitalist system is not just a temporary setback. The problems that we are all having—unemployment, inflation, declining standards of living, etc.—are not going away. They are permanent conditions of capitalism in crisis that we will have to live with until we change things in a fundamental way. As the great revolutionary leader Mao Tsetung, once said, "a room will stay dirty until you sweep it!" Our conditions will get worse until we change them.

From our study of history we can easily see that Afro-American people always have been exploited and oppressed. Within this universal condition, however, Blacks have been subordinated in three different political and economic roles: as slaves, as sharecroppers, and as factory workers. So while the central theme of Black history is the struggle against racism, national oppression, and class exploitation, the Black liberation movement has had to change in response to the concrete form of the oppression of Black people at any particular time. Thus, while our search for unity today must make use of our knowledge of the past, it cannot be a mere repeat of the past since things have changed. (See Introduction to Afro-American Studies by Peoples College).
Further, in any discussion of unity a distinction has to be made between spontaneous developments and conscious planning. The masses of Black people and existing reformist organizations will usually respond in some way to all developing conditions. Mostly, these are spontaneous developments of self-defense. On the other hand, revolutionary Black power requires a process of planning and new forms of unity. We need to examine both.

Three Spontaneities

As the oppression of Black people gets more intense—genocidal attacks on Black children in Atlanta and Black men in Buffalo, police murder in Miami (McDuffie) and in Chicago (Ramey), and KKK murders in Greensboro, RACISM again replaces the facade of liberalism as the dominant orientation of the society. It is necessary to make a distinction between individual racism, institutional racism and societal racism, because each must be fought in different ways. Societal racism is white racism sweeping throughout the entire society setting a permissive climate for brutal attacks on Black people, both planned and spontaneous.

In response, Blacks unite around sentiments of national unity that are rooted mainly in our will to survive: "in unity there is strength" and "if we've got the same problem, then we should work for a common solution." In some cases this follows the established Black leadership and is contained within the system, e.g., in Atlanta under the Black mayor (Maynard Jackson). However, in other cases, this becomes a violent eruption whereby masses of Black people rebel against the system, usually against economic targets but with the potential of focusing on political targets as well (e.g., Miami and Chattanooga). In most cases, the problems are experienced by poor Blacks. Because of their poverty, they are attacked as the most vulnerable Black people. In this way, the current crisis leads to an increase in the signif-
icance of racial/national oppression and a response of militant nationalism.

Over the long haul, however, the basic contradictions in a capitalist society are those between the haves and the have nots, the capitalists and the workers. As we stated in last year's Black Liberation Month:

Our enemy is the capitalist system and all of the basic problems that Black people face are rooted in and caused by this system. By capitalism we mean a system in which the masses of working people are exploited and paid just enough to get by while a handful of wealthy capitalists make billions of dollars though not producing anything. The misery that the masses of people are suffering are thus caused by capitalism. For Black people, economic exploitation is compounded by racist discrimination.

It is in large measure due to the economic contradictions that racism can be fueled, as exploited whites attack Blacks instead of attacking the white ruling class exploiters. The economic ills have to be suffered by all people, Black and white, who are not in the ruling class or part of the privileged middle class.

For example, the Reagan right wing government plans to destroy the minimum wage by hiring youth at starvation wages. This will save the bosses money, by using youth as scabs to replace higher paid adult workers. Black and white youth will both be dragged down by this, as will Black and white workers. A similar impact on both Blacks and whites will come down with the threatened cut in social security and food stamps.

Within this, of course, a greater percent of Blacks will suffer, although whites will be the largest number involved. The capitalists have revved up their propaganda machine to justify the cutbacks and place the burden on the backs of workers. For example, the president of Chrysler, Lee Iaocccoco, and Doug Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers Union (both Chrysler board members), are asking Chrysler workers to take a pay cut to save their jobs. In this case, mass resistance takes the form of militant rank-and-file trade union and consumer reform struggles.
The working class consumer, the position most Black people are in, must fight on both fronts: they must fight to increase their wages on the job because of double digit inflation. And they must fight to decrease the escalating prices for rent, transportation, and food just to stay even.

In sum, we see that the majority of Black people are making three dominant spontaneous responses to the current crisis: militant nationalism, trade unionism, and consumerism. These spontaneous responses to worsening conditions are useful, but not sufficient to solve the problems we are facing. In a sense, it's like putting bandaids on a cancer when only cobalt radiation will cure the disease.

Peoples College holds the view that only Black Power under Socialism has a chance to solve the problems that the masses of Black people are facing. As we said in last year's Black Liberation Month News:

Black Power of the old type in 1967 was consciously reformist—"the last reasonable opportunity" for capitalism to avoid revolutionary change. Black power of the new type—Revolutionary Black Power—fights for immediate reforms but understands that only fundamental revolutionary change will free Black people in the U.S.

Black Power under Socialism—Revolutionary Black Power—is the appropriate strategic orientation for the Black liberation movement in the 1980s.

But we understand that there are different views about how Black people will get our freedom. And these different views are precisely why we need unity. As we said last year:

We must develop major efforts to define our struggle in terms of our common enemy versus the vast majority of people. We must develop a new and principled unity that does not attempt to sweep other differences under the rug. This new unity must maintain the necessary unity against our common enemy. And, at the same time, it must allow and encourage study, discussion, and non-antagonistic struggle over our secondary differences.

We sought to contribute to this by stating our views in Black Liberation Month.

We have learned much since last year. This article will now turn to summing up the leading aspects of our movement to determine the route from the spontaneous short-run solutions to a conscious revolutionary process for a successful liberation struggle.

**TOWARD THREE REVOLUTIONARY UNITIES**

Black unity must be fought for on three basic levels: in struggle over concrete issues, in conferences through discussion and persuasion, and in ritual acts of cultural resistance.

Within these three motions, Peoples College and all other revolutionary organizations must (1) develop an anti imperialist force that serves to unite and not split the people in motion; (2) support democratic mass leadership and not try and take over leadership from the masses; (3) provide consistent political exposure to demonstrate that tactile battles must be guided by a conscious revolutionary strategy; and (4) lead by example in linking revolutionary theory with the concrete practice of mass struggle.

For the advanced, it is also necessary to draw clear lines of demarcation on ideological questions. Hence, we must strive to build unity in our day-to-day battles with all who will do so (politics), but we must maintain theoretical clarity for our revolutionary overall orientation, to fight for Black liberation and Socialism (ideology).

A. BUILDING UNITY AROUND CONCRETE ISSUES. Unity must involve a joint commitment to do something together, to use our resources in specific and concrete struggles linked to defending and promoting the needs of the broad masses. Peoples College has proposed an overall framework for this in the Ten Point Program for Revolutionary Black Power in the 1980s (printed at the end of this
article). For Black Liberation Month 1981, we want to focus on five (5) key battle fronts in which this type of unity is currently being developed. In this way, we can give concrete definition to the Black liberation movement.

(1) **Fighting Discrimination and Expanding Affirmative Action.** Tens of thousands of people stood firm against the racist charge of "reverse racism" in court cases against affirmative action like Bakke (in higher education) and Weber (in the steel industry). But now we see that this was a mere dress rehearsal under Carter for the full assault of the barbarian Ronald Reagan. We have a new opportunity to join and assist the masses, who are likely to throw themselves spontaneously into battle.

Revolutionary forces should link this fight for affirmative action against discrimination to the fight against Reagan and every other cut back in social services until we can effectively indict the capitalist state itself. In the early 1980s, Reagan will provide us with a target. Revolutionary unity requires that we turn all our anger, local and national, against this racist, right wing conservative as we fight all forms of discrimination. One of the requirements of revolution is that people totally lose hope in the government. They will then realize that the people must take over!

(2) **Fighting the Draft and Imperialist War Preparations.** Peoples College has given leadership to Study and Struggle, a youth/student organization that has embarked on a vigorous campaign against the draft. They are making a long march among the masses of Black Students in Illinois turning their anti-draft petition into an active political education struggle against imperialist war preparations. Again, while the masses actively fight against the draft because of impending war, revolutionary unity must be built by turning this into an anti-imperialist movement against the capitalist system which produces war. Again, Reagan must be made the symbol of unjust war, and civil war at home.
against our oppressors must become our alternative. (See article on this)

(3) Fighting the KKKlan and Police Repression. People College endorses the general line of the pamphlet called The Greensboro Massacre: Critical Lessons for the 1980s by the Paul Robeson/Amilcar Cabral Collective and the Greensboro Collective. A leaflet in that campaign stated:

What we should do is to unite all the people who can be united to take up the struggle against the KKK and their accomplices in the city government and higher up. All Black people, whatever class they are in have a stake in this fight. Because in times of economic crisis, such as the present, Black and white workers need to be united more than ever. The KKK's poisonous racist propaganda and program are also harmful to white workers. We should build the broadest possible unity between all the Black churches, political and community groups to build for a massive march and rally to put forwary the demands from the community....

Concerned citizens in the Black community and those who support our struggle should join with us to share their ideas and take up this fight. We can't let the KKK get away with murder. We will never go back to the way it used to be.

(4) Fighting to Save Black Institutions and Communities. The potential for Black Power is being destroyed by the liquidation of institutions in our communities. Peoples College unites with such organizations as the Black New York Action Committee in the fight to save Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, NY. Further, we unite with the Black community in Milwaukee in their fight to save North Division High School, a predominantly Black high school which is threatened to be destroyed by a desegregation plan.

Further, what started as urban renewal has now become a full scale attempt to seize back the central cities for middle class, professional whites. From high priced condominiums, to rehabs to coops, poor working class and minority people are being run out of the city. While the entire minority community must fight to survive, by any means necessary (e.g., rehab by the current renters, etc.), revolutionary unity can be built by exposing the joint workings
of the government and the financial real estate interests. Key battles that will take place in local politics (including control of city hall) should also be taken up by revolutionary forces. These will help us to train for the revolutionary seizure of power. (See Electoral Politics: Its Problems and Prospects by Bill Epton).

(5) Fighting for the Liberation of Africa. Our fight for the liberation of Africa is at a critical stage. Our main work at this time is to fight against the Racist Reagan Regime. It was almost a well-kept secret that Reagan had on his state department transition team a white reactionary who is a registered agent for the racist South African government. (Also see the article on Africa in this Black Liberation Month News)

B. BUILDING UNITY THROUGH DISCUSSION. Unity requires clarity of agreement and disagreement between different political forces. It also requires open public discussion aimed both at furthering clarity on new issues that emerge, and to expand areas of agreement.

In 1980, there were major national conferences designed to build unity among various political forces in the Black community, both in the mainstream and in the Black liberation movement. In general, this has been a progressive trend.

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. February</td>
<td>Richmond, VA</td>
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<td>National Conference for a Black Agenda</td>
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<td>New York City</td>
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<td>5. November</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>National Black Independent Political Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. November</td>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>Black South Literature and Art Conference</td>
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Our general summation is that there are five key tasks to be dealt with as we build revolutionary unity through these continuing discussions and conferences:

1. We have to unite with the masses of participants (mainstream) while reversing the right to criticize consolidated incorrect practices, sell out leadership, and opportunism. An example of this is the statement by Peoples College at a plenary session of the Black United Front meeting in Brooklyn:

   We came to Brooklyn because we felt this meeting had some potential. However, it would be irresponsible for us to not speak our minds. We were consciously excluded from this process. And we made efforts to build unity, but we were excluded because of ideological labels, because there were political stands taken behind closed doors, and because people had dropped some lugs...

   But we came anyway! Do you understand that? We came anyway because we believe that at this time unity is essential. We believe in unity and we believe that we have to fight for a principled unity or the unity is worth nothing.

   We believe that a united front is essentially not an organizational question. It's a political question that involves the unity in action of progressive forces united against the common enemy. This we believe is the essence of the united front. And it is for that very reason that we accept the challenge to unite with our brothers and sisters who we have been divided against in the past, because we believe that we have a common future in victory against imperialism.... And any political differences between genuine fighters against imperialism can be overcome. And it is in that spirit that we, in fact, embrace the call for unity in action and it is in that spirit that we are going back to Chicago in an attempt to build a real united front from the bottom up.

2. We have to struggle to forge an anti-imperialist force within these conferences. But we must avoid the super "left" error of trying to unite on too many issues prematurely, trying to get everybody to see everything our way or nothing at all. We should be listening to each other and sharing political understanding (line) and political practice (experience). The formation of a
labor caucus at the Philadelphia meeting is an initial attempt at this method of building a revolutionary potential within the Black movement, and developing revolutionary theory and links with the overall revolutionary workers government.

3. Peoples College, as a revolutionary organization, thinks that the task of all revolutionaries is to spread the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. As we say in the introductory essay to *Marxism and Black Liberation: A New Theoretical Journal*, we seek "to promote revolutionary scientific socialism in theory and practice. The overall objective of all our efforts is Black liberation based on revolutionary socialism here in the U.S.A.... For this we are guided by the advances made by the world revolutionary movement, the tradition of Marxism..., the science for the masses of people to use in changing the world."

Our main focus in these conferences must be on the political and not the ideological, on the concrete and not on the abstract. It is most important to sum up practice, establish revolutionary lessons (things to do and things not to do), and to develop concrete practical plans. It is counterproductive to debate ideas in the abstract, as happened too often over the last few years. While the activists at these conferences might not be flocking to Marxism-Leninism in the coming year, we have to be understood by them and gain their respect by our willingness to discuss the issues but mainly by our hard work and struggle.

On the other hand, there are self-defined "communists" who are making serious errors, especially narrow nationalist errors (that is, maintaining a Black separatist position on strategic matters like building a revolutionary party). We must discuss this and similar questions in the future to achieve greater clarity. This should include additional study by all of us. There
has been a lot of apparent progress in the last five years and we don't want to mess it up with super-revolutionary posturing and styling.

4. We must keep politics more important than organization. There are some people who want to discuss organizational structure and selection of leadership for a year or so and not engage in any serious struggle. This is an obvious attempt to liquidate the positive leadership that must be given now to mass spontaneous struggle. The Black United Front leadership forces in Chicago is particularly guilty of this. What good is a united front if it doesn't do anything, if it doesn't fight back?

C. BUILDING UNITY WITH THE RITUAL CULTURE OF RESISTANCE. The role of culture is often misunderstood. In part, this is because the cultural nationalists have overstated the role of culture as the major force in struggle, in part it is because revolutionary socialists have understated its role in the struggle.

Peoples College supports the continued development and popularization of what has emerged as rituals of resistance--holidays that objectively unite people. There are three holidays that have objectively functioned to oppose racism (Black Christmas/Kwanzaa, African Liberation Day, and Black Liberation Month). And there are two that we think can link the Black liberation movement with the world revolutionary movement (International Women's Day and International Workers' Day).

Further analysis and study must be made of these various holidays to avoid making these days something that they are not, especially letting them become a substitute for militant struggle. But we think that these five observances objectively constitute the development of a ritual culture of resistance.
UNITY IN THE RITUAL CULTURE OF RESISTANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Mainstream</th>
<th>To Resistance</th>
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<tr>
<td>White Xmas (December 25)</td>
<td>Black Christmas (Dec. 25)</td>
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<td>Kwanzaa (Dec. 26-Jan. 1)</td>
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<td>Black History Month (February)</td>
<td>Black Liberation Month (February)</td>
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<td>Mothers Day ( )</td>
<td>International Womens Day (March 8)</td>
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<td>Labor Day ( )</td>
<td>International Workers Day (May 1)</td>
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BULLET BY BULLET
(An Essay On Revolutionary Violence)

It has been said that the only philosophical question is the question of suicide. However, for us—for the 30 million victims of the most savage imperialist state on earth—who have suffered the most; worked the hardest for the least pay under the worst conditions for the longest period of time, who have been used as the floor-mat of the world and have no interest at all (not even a wage) in the preservation of the existing system nor reservations in its destruction, the only philosophical question is the question of homicide. Justifiable homicide.

It seems almost certain, especially in an age of "scientific atrocity" where atomic, nuclear and laser power is welded to the hands of madmen (who given their frequent fits of mindless rage will scorch the earth before they relinquish that which they've stolen), that if black people fail to act out their imperative as the principle revolutionary force in America, we will either end up as the Native American Indian, or if anything is left to claim it won't be worth having.

It scarcely needs mentioning that the Afro-American people have exhausted every conceivable form of redress toward having our problems solved. Scores of organizations professing to solve problems have come and gone, with the problems still remaining. To secure the most elementary of human rights we've marched, picketed, lobbied, boycotted,
sat-in, prayed-in and in some cases actually prostrated at our oppressors feet. When our people are murdered by the police, we find ourselves begging the government to investigate it’s own protective agencies to determine whether or not the dead mans' civil rights were violated. The net result of this judicial charade is having laws passed that rarely get enforced. Equal opportunity is a joke if it is not backed up by equal rights. While such forms of struggle have wrung a few concessions, altering the terms of our servitude, the essential thing that has not been altered has been the master-slave relationship.

One of the worst things that can happen to an oppressed people (as is currently happening to Afro-Americans), is the belief that someone other than themselves will solve their problems. Such thinking reinforces the already dependant status that characterizes a colonized people.

Revolutionary consciousness is the backbone of a revolutionary movement. For a revolutionary to be effective, his consciousness cannot lag behind, but must correspond to and serve as a catalyst in stimulating the consciousness of the people. This essay is an attempt to re-introduce and bring under scientific scrunity, a crucial, often neglected and sometimes mis-understood element missing in the matrix of building revolutionary consciousness: The concept of revolutionary violence or counter-terrorism.
To clarify the theme of this paper, it is necessary to pose several questions: Can a revolutionary movement grow and survive in good health without all of its related parts (principally the sword and the pen) functioning together in perfect harmony? Before we are able militarily to organize massive violence, should we initiate, depend upon and encourage the use of limited, selective violence tied to an exact political purpose? Is the notion of no violence now, full-scale violence in the final stages—"when the revolution comes"—correct? And most importantly, at what stage in the peoples struggle should counter-terrorism be introduced? Or to put it another way, how much more will it take before we come to our senses?

Before answering these questions, it should be understood that the following views will be presented assuming that the reader is aquainted with and has general agreement with these notions:

That the form of rule presently governing the U.S. can best be described as fascist. (Since the term fascism has a tendency to make some people uncomfortable and since there are so many interpretations, definitions, semantic problems and a hundred different party lines associated with the term, suffice it to note that the rulers of America constitute a tiny handful of highly trained gangsters, murderers, cretins and omniverous sadistic barbarians who have no regard whatsoever for human life, incapable of reasoning faculties, and whose only characteristic that identifies them with the human race is their physical appearance.) That while imperialism
is the underlying problem of all oppressed people, the forcible denial of the Afro-American people to exercise our right of nationhood—a denial based on white racist political rule—is the heart of our problems and must be challenged in the same or similar way as those who share the same or similar problems as we do. That the Afro-American Nation is unique in that it is a new nation evolved from a people forcibly transplanted from our original African homeland. That the southern region of the United States (nourished by 250 years of free black labor and blood), not only constitutes a "nation within a nation", but to this day is still a captive black nation whose relationship to America is one of colonized and colonizer. Internal colonialism. That colonialism when rooted in a tradionalist colonialist country, takes on every imaginable feature of fascism and as such is violent in its natural state and will only yield on the battlefield. That as members of the Third World whose movement is the "Achilles Heel" of American imperialism, the black liberation struggle possesses the singular ability to obstruct, halt and disrupt America's political and economic system, but it does not have the singular ability to overthrow it and maintain it—hence, the necessity to unite with common allies to annihilate a common enemy. That this arrangement defines the character of our struggle as being both independant and interdependant: Independant in the sense that if we are to truely be liberated it must be done by us and for us as a racial group in the form of a national liberation struggle for political independance. Interdependant in the sense that by virtue of being geographically attached to this wilderness, national liberation is bound up with the struggle of the entire U.S. working class and that this time we make the right alliances, for we have a
very powerful enemy who can only be totally destroyed through a collective effort of international allies. That capitalism and its system of wage slavery (where the workers are slaves to and of property and whose entire day is centered around the acquisition of a wage), is basically an economic condition that is enforced and maintained by the armed might of the state and as such must be countered by a war to seize state power; to abolish the state machinery as an instrument of oppression and transform it into an instrument of liberation. A war waged against the unnatural right of a few private individuals to own and control public property. A war against property rights. While it is still unclear as to the specifics on how the proposed activity should be organizationally structured, what is clear is that it will certainly require the development of a viable above-ground and under-ground organization functioning separately but yet united in direction and purpose. And that such an organization cannot be the type that imposes its authority on the people but one that serves as an organism through which the people exercise their authority and express their will.

Revolution Must Be Manufactured

Nothing of any great value has ever exchanged hands without force. So long as the ruling elites can create a false sense of security by appeasing the oppressed with pseudo nationalistic military parades, "bread and circuses", with margarine that tastes like butter, lottery tickets and rock concerts where people stampede each other to death-- so long as the fascists never allow things to get out of their control--
the conditions will never be altogether right for a broadly based,
full-fledged revolutionary war. To avoid being stuck in the mud with groggy, academic and clearly unnecessary debates about conditions and patience (which sometimes has racist overtones), and since those who profess the desire for freedom cannot dodge the responsibility it entails, it should therefore be safe to presume that those conditions which are not present must then be manufactured.

For the sole purpose of protecting property rights and as an indicator of America's barbarity, this country has built more prisons of all categories then in all other countries of the world combined. At all times there are at least a million people incarcerated, with the majority being working-class, jailed for property related crimes. In the past 30 years, America has spent 1½ trillion dollars on the international wing of her repressive institutions. When her citizens demand jobs, decent health care and higher wages they get injunctions and billy clubs. The institutions that express and govern the morals of society from the pulpit to the lecture hall, from the mass media to the associations all the way down to the primary schools are all designed to move people into certain regimented and monitored actions. They can hardly be considered as independent nuetral bodies motivated solely by public interest. Rather they are biased and bigoted bodies which are governed by endowments, grants and contributions that come from the philanthropic foundations and organizations controlled by financial magnates. Violence is used to maintain this arrangement.

"The new corporate state has fought its way through crisis after
crisis, established its ruling elites in every important institution, formed its partnership with labor through its elites, erected the most massive network of protective agencies replete with spies, technical and animal, to be found in any police state in the world. The violence of the ruling class of this country in the long process of its trend toward authoritarianism and its last and highest state, fascism, cannot be rivaled in its excesses by any other nation on earth today or in history".

The advent of U.S. monopoly capitalism completed the totalitarianization of the economy to such an extent that the American economy can experience crisis after crisis and each time come out with its basic mold intact. This economic reform (a feature of American fascism), compounded by the ruling elites total control over the electoral process, not only lends credibility and legitimacy to the myth of the durability of capitalism but in the process has created a most hateful, self-defeating and deceptively massive acquisitive society. A society whose ethics are bent on; consumption divorced from purpose, rights divorced from obligation and industry divorced from function, that it is perhaps the most backward and uncivilized society on earth. A hypocritical society that bases itself on law and order, yet in spite of the thousands of laws and hundreds of prisons, there is no social order.

The people will not attack a thing that they regard as prestigious or legitimate, nor will they spontaneously come to the understanding that their salvation lies in the destruction of a system whose ideals and values serve as a scab to conceal the raw essence of a political
structure that's anti-people and morally sick.

The art of conscious raising, like baking a cake, requires the skillful and precise combination of the proper ingredients. If a cake is baked at the wrong temperature or lacks the proper amount of water, it will be a failure. Similarly, if there is too much violence it will turn the people against us. If there is too little or none, (if the people never realize their potential) it will reinforce helplessness, despair and mysticism. With the exact amount it will give the people courage, conviction and a true sense of identity. If the people's consciousness is ill-fed and lacks the sufficient nutrients, it will not grow as a healthy organism capable of advancing to a higher stage.

"It isn't revolutionary or materialist to disconnect things. To disconnect revolutionary consciousness from revolutionizing activity, to build consciousness with political agitation and educational issue-making alone is idealist rather than materialist. The effect has been reformism rather than revolution."

2

The convienant and often used liberalist excuse slogan "you can't get ahead of the people", (which perhaps is based on a hidden desire to avoid the heat of class struggle) is metaphysical in its essence for from what other position one lead? The peoples consciousness develops through the process of getting ahead and pulling--not staying behind and pushing. To ensure support, the violence must be perfectly tuned to an exact political purpose, which largely depends on the
unified and co-ordinated efforts of the above-ground organizations.

Simply put, counter-terrorism is the most sensible and logical response to the long sequence of repressive measures used by the evil forces to contain us in the early stages of rebellion. Revolutionary violence; violence committed by the people that's intelligently organized and led by their leaders is the only way to enforce the demands of the people while avoiding the many dangers of reformist trickery. Moral suasion and polite negotiations will not work. How do you reason with mad dogs?

Quid Pro Quo

Soon scheduled to appear in court are three white Chicago policemen who beat a black man to death (Richard Ramey) for smoking a cigarette on a subway. If history is our guide, these law-officers will not be punished and the black community will suffer another slap in the face. However, should the numerous above-ground organizations who profess the desire for black liberation decide to set aside some of our petty differences, to put a halt to this silly competitive race for organizational supremacy, to agree upon the basics and come together (if only temporarily) for the common good by making police terror a tangible issue in the black community, wouldn't that set the stage for introducing the use of counter-terrorism in the early stages of organizing, breaking with the simplistic and erroneous notion of no violence now, full scale violence in the final stages? In other words, with a viable resistance movement against police terror as a
popular issue, would anyone in their right mind get upset if those three brutes were found with their throats cut? The use of violence to supplement the demands of the oppressed, their sentiments and aspirations is a positive and necessary expression of a people whose legitimate and latent desire for equality has been buried deep in Jim Crow soil.

Every year black people commemorate the assassination of Fred Hampton and every year the animal responsible for his death, former states attorney Hahnrahan, enjoys life a little longer. Would any black person lose sleep if this non-person's bullet-riddled body were found on a cold December 4th morning? These people are wide open, accessible and easy to get... especially when you consider there are at least 600 different ways to kill a person.

In general, the left movement has busied itself in identifying the enemy through chants, pamphlets, slogans, banners and speeches. Notwithstanding, the daily abuse of the people teaches them who their enemy is or at least offers some clue. The point is that now that the enemy has been identified, shouldn't we proceed to smite those whom we curse? To correct those who profit from our pain? Not to outshout them with logic, but to correct them. To slay their asses.

To put it another way, before we get the big guys, shouldn't we engage in some direct and practical experience by snuffing some of the little guys? In many ways the little guys are viewed as being more directly associated with daily abuse, then say the Wall St. thugs.
For example, people freeze to death every winter in slums owned by fat landlords. What gives these financial parasites the right to live when they deny it to others? It's of little comfort to a family whose loved one died as a result of the reckless upkeep of a slum dwelling to hear abstract condemnations about the capitalist system. What would be more meaningful, concrete and gratifying is to supplement this condemnation by ensuring the grieving family that the landlord will never again collect any more rent. Corrupt politicians, racist bosses, avaricious businessmen, professional strike-breakers, fascist judges and prosecuting attorneys must not escape our attention. *Springboks*

Recently, the racist south African rugby team was scheduled to play an American rugby team in Chicago. Wide spread opposition to apartheid took root in the black community and the racist rugby tour became a popular issue. Organizers from preachers to Marxists to politicians utilized a variety of tactics (leafleting, picketing, demonstrating, passing resolutions, appealing to governors and city councils, radio shows, rallies, etc.) to mobilize opposition to prevent the game from being played. Though the game was not played in Chicago, it was still played nearby, which can only be interpreted as another slap in the face. Generally speaking, what would have happened had a developed under-ground supplemented the demand of the above-ground by kidnapping an official of the south African Consulate with the modest request that if the government wishes to avoid a nasty funeral, they intervene and stop the game. (If the U.S. govern-
ment can stop the Haitian Boat People from entering the U.S. they can also stop the racist south Africans.)

When the same team was scheduled to play in New Zealand, where few if any black people live, 75,000 New Zealanders began torching the city. The game was not played. Since 75,000 people aren't likely to torch Chicago, the selective killing of their unscrupulous swine, the bombing of some of their sacred property or whatever action serves to disrupt the orderly flow of things could serve the same political purpose. While the forms of resistance will vary from country to country, the essential thing is that the resistance be effective. Not absorbed, as the Chicago Sun-Times happily reported on the front page the day after the game was played: "Springboxes Play--Protest Foiled". However, within one week after the Sun-Times printed that headline, a related one was printed on page two; "Blasts Rip Rugby Teams Home". Someone has the right idea!

A demonstration is only one form of protest and sometimes to be effective it must be backed up with some muscle. An example is when the coal miners in southern Illinois were recently threatened by the construction of a non-union coal mine, they protested, demonstrated and proceeded to burn the place until they were tear-gassed by the national guard. The coal miners use of violence was necessary, not because they are uncivil fanatics, but was necessary in order to protect the security of their jobs.
Building Consciousness

Before we convince others of the necessity of revolutionary violence—the fact that there is no other sensible alternative—we must convince ourselves. This simply requires a correct attitude of how moreso than what to think. Dialectics.

For example, it is a well known and documented fact that the American criminal justice system is the most criminal on earth. Yet, when vicious crimes are committed by the evil forces against the people, the immediate and almost instinctive response is to question or doubt the innocence of the victim. This is in part due to the ruling elites remarkable ability to create, mold and confuse public opinion. By the same token, in light of the diabolical nature of America's political arrangement, it's naive to expect the enemy to tell us the truth.

Case in point: Another bloody page was added to the book of American history when the nation was shocked about the mysterious murders of 28 black children in Atlanta, Georgia. The initial response of black people was to sympathize so they started wearing red, black and green ribbons. But the murders continued, more people sympathized and someone got rich selling ribbons. Eventually a black man was arrested in connection with some of the murders and since then, no more children have reportedly been murdered. (Clever). Though the evidence against him was very flimsy, the way the news
media covered the story the man was already guilty, at least as far
as public opinion goes and that is what we are concerned with. Shortly
after, relieved that someone had been caught, the people apparently
accepted what they had been told because they stopped wearing their
ribbons. Case closed!

It seems strange that the same privately-controlled mass media
that lied to us about the energy crisis, the CIA, Viet Nam, Iran,
Libya, foreign aid, the real causes of hunger in Africa, our own his-
tory and culture, and has lied about practically everything it has
ever said from Tarzan to 'Oil of Olay,' would suddenly tell us the truth
about the murders of 28 black children.

Repression is here--on and off the job. The pigs have gotten
vicious and he who feels it knows it. Dare not to think. Obey or
suffer. The slightest infraction of the "law" will get you fired,
arrested, evicted, brutalized or killed. We cannot expect the people
to advance to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness (of con-
sidering overthrowing the government while their landlords are allowed
to pillage and run amuck), until and unless the present degree of
terror and brutality inflicted upon the people is ferociously matched
by a counter-terrorism of our own that will sufficiently demonstrate
to the oppressed that resistance is possible and we do mind dying!
Historical Perspective

Any association with what's being proposed here to the rebellious 60's and the days of the Black Panther Party must be viewed historically and dialectically.

It's true that then, as now, there was rampant racism, only half our people were working and the ghetto was militarily occupied by wild gangs of demented gun-slinging police officers. Economically depressed and burdened by a black face, the black man had little left to defend but his manhood. The choice between resisting and licking the pigs feet was the dichotomy that sparked the rebellions. The Panthers, who understood the nature of these sharpening contradictions, correctly advocated "either arm yourself or harm yourself".

Today we are faced with similar if not worse conditions, and must arrive at a similar if not better solution. Extreme problems can only be solved using extreme measures. If the peoples resistance is to be effective, it must have some muscle in it. Since the advent of American monopoly capitalism/fascism, all of the demonstrating, picketing, lobbying and civil suits, (those forms of struggle the enemy will allow because he arrogantly feels so secure), becomes impotent if it is not backed up by a substantial force of armed might.

If we are to retain our integrity as a people, our resistance of the enemy culture (aside from changing our name, dress and diet), must include refusing to go hungry in the midst of plenty. And since
the enemy will starve us before he feeds us, we must let him know in no uncertain terms that from now on such activity will involve some costly risks. Then, as now, there is no other alternative. If terror and tanks are going to be the choice of weapons the colonialist uses to beat us into submission (or out of existence) then we must let it be known (as all other colonized nations are doing), that there will be funerals on both sides.

The Black Panther Party understood this and acted. Mistakes (some owing to pig infiltration) were made. The Panthers did not win the war. They did however win consciousness. Then, as now, consciousness will not grow if it isn’t fed. Our desire is to win by being effective—not sensational by being adventurist. To be sensational; making the six o’clock news telling the enemy your plans or having your picture printed on posters at two dollars each, and still lose has as much social significance as the strutting of peacocks. Winning in itself is sensational. As social scientists we do not wish to repeat the same mistakes as others, nor do we wish to be spectators in a bloody battle. Our desire is to participate with enough fore-sight to correctly guage the precise issue, moment and circumstance, for the purposes of building consciousness so as to maximize the conditions for winning while minimumizing loses and defeats.

With a book in one hand and a gun in the other, the Black Panther Party helped to give the black community a desperate sense of identity.
An identity that found its expression in the knowledge of one's self; pride, and in the cost of survival; resistance.

What's being suggested is not that we emulate the Panthers but that we recognize the delinquency in using counter violence against an aggressively insane violent enemy. The Black Panther Party did not invent violence and to recognize the need for it does not mean one has the "lumpen-proletarian line". Violence is an historical and universal phenomenon that brought the Panthers into being and not the other way around. From beginning to end, the process of colonization and decolonization has and always will be a violent phenomena. Consequently, the degree and level of retaliatory violence exercised by the colonized should be proportionate to the degree of violence exercised by the colonialist. Tit for tat.

Historical materialism asserts that people are a product of their environment and that our thoughts, concepts and behavior can be understood only in terms of the conditions from which they arise and the consequences which they produce. If the black masses never see nor experience any effective means of struggle; leaving their energies to be sapped by the grand-standing of egotistical charlatans who boast the most about what could be done and do the least about what should be done, they will begin to lose hope and confidence in their ability to change things. Cynicism, forlorn and apathy become substitutes for such precious life-sustaining ingredients as identity, community and purpose. The psychological damage of suffering from constant
defeats--of being a loser--breeds a slavish mentality that conditions the sufferers to "accept the things that cannot be changed", to submit, forgive, to love one's enemy and acquiesce while freedom fighters are fighting. The reality of growing up black under the lash of the cruelest, most wasteful and most ugly economic system yet contrived by man, is much to brutal and awful to be faced squarely. Drug abuse escalates. Alcholism increases. Mental institutes overflow. Suicides become tragically understandable. Just as many people join the chruch as those who have quit...in disgust. The net result is a people deliberately being kept aloof to their meaningful social roles, historical obligations and commitment to posterity. It's no wonder that we are viewed as "the "objects of history" and not the makers of it.

On the other hand, as the consciousness of 30 million irate Afro-Americans becomes more crystalized as a social force that must be reckoned with, the impending experience of serious political combat will help to refresh the individuals true sense of power, dispelling the myth of shiftlessness and the need for decision makers who don't even look like us.

"At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect". 3

Each signifigant stage of black peoples struggle has been nourished and supplemented by the use of or urging the use of arms. The pioneers of black liberation, whom bourgeois historians like to ignore, from
Gabrial Prosser to Henry Highland Garent, Harriet Tubman, Denmark Vesey, from Toussaint L'Overture to Malcolm X, all thought it wise to slay the oppressor. Additionally, each stage has had to address itself to the moral aspect of violence which is usually questioned by those who have been taught to be good Christians; the colonized. (For instance, while the violence of Nat Turner was the reflected violence of his oppressor--the violence of the slaveowner boomeranging on the slaveowner--his actions today, are still likened by some to that of a fanatic. Mr. Turner's indiscriminate killing of white people offended some just as I'm sure the indiscriminate massacre of black people offended him. John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, like the Iranian Embassy Affair, would today be equated by some as an act of irresponsible terrorism...A violation of "states rights" like the Iranian revolution was a violation of "international law".)

Addressing the slaves in the 19th century, David Walker de-mystified the moral aspect of violence saying that, "it is no more harm for you to kill a man, who is trying to kill you, than it is to take a drink of water when thirsty". Claiming that oppression was in of itself violence that was maintained by the violence of the oppressor, Mr. Walker succiently prescribed the correct antedote for slavery when he told the slaves that it was their Christian duty to slit the oppressors throat from ear to ear.
Today

Another important factor to be considered in this equation is the widely-used ability of the repressive state machinery to commercialize on and absorb most revolutionary threats, which is a feature of American fascism. This arrangement has helped to shape certain attitudes and opinions among the people and among revolutionaries as to how they personally identify with revolutionary violence. The following offers valuable insight into how the particularity of this unique contradiction manifests itself within the contemporary revolutionary movement:

"Two often the system is able to undermine revolutionary organizing by convincing the oppressed, through years of propaganda and the wearing away of their self-respect and self-confidence, that revolutionary violence is the product of sick and sadistic minds. Revolutionaries are just people, forced to grow up in a system they didn't choose. They are still struggling to break loose from the ingrained values of the system they are working to overthrow. Inside revolutionary movements, especially in the early stages, there is still oppression of women by men, theft, sadism, and rampant egotism—in smaller doses than in society at large, but still far too prevalent. Also, while violence is definitely necessary as part of an overall struggle against a violent enemy, many people who are in no way opposed to violent self-defense against the government are legitimately
worried about placing guns in the hands of untrustworthy and immature people calling themselves revolutionaries. Many people with revolutionary sympathies refuse to join organizations calling themselves revolutionary because they are afraid of being mistreated inside an organization claiming to stand for a new way of life. They prefer the calculated risks of living under the present system to what feels like a greater possibility of suffering and even death because of childish and egotistical revolutionaries." 4

Wherever America goes she brings Bibles, bullets and barbed-wire. Her civilizing techniques include abnormal complexes, racism, wars of conquest, greed, disastrous usury economics, a million different brands of untruths, scandals... As a system that crushes the life force of the people and has proven itself incompetent, unwilling and unable to adapt itself to human needs, there is no sense in postponing today what was due yesterday. For those who casually talk about how "things take time" they should be reminded that it is NOW that we are dying.

It would be a departure from reality to interpret the aforementioned as an expression of having no faith in the people or that they are cowards. The people will most definitely resist, with or without us and perhaps more often than we may realize. As revolutionaries it is our task to build consciousness by giving the resistance a concrete, self-sustaining, self-perpetuating orientation. When counter-terrorism becomes systematically and intelligently directed, it will
gradually give the people a comprehensive understanding of how to solve their problems. The cumulative experience from years of resistance must now be brought to its logical conclusion: Turning the other cheek is only good for those "who don't need both sides of their heads".

While all forms of struggle must be employed to topple the American Empire, the aim of this essay is to bring attention to the notion that the use of revolutionary violence can no longer be excluded, ignored or skirted about in a similiar way as one handles a hot potato. The advocacy is not that everyone pick up the gun for everyone does not have the nervous equipment to do so. Those who do, however, should let their consciousness be their guide and work to integrate in the earliest stages of organizing the use of selective, organized retaliatory violence that's tied to an exact political purpose. Without this work our movement will deform itself as it reaches an impasse. Unless one concedes that there is something polite about national oppression and genocide, one should have no qualms about violently resisting against what most people wouldn't take anyway.

The social impact of the black liberation struggle cannot, as it is frequently done, be narrowly confined solely to the boundaries of just black people. We are part of world revolution. The positive vibrations of black liberation will off-set the balance of this planet, setting the stage upon which a whole new direction for human development can be realized. A direction whereby the dollar bill is not
the only true measure of things; where education not indoctrination, medical care not butchery, food not garbage, and shelter not slums are guaranteed at birth. A direction whereby the basis for the belief in the brotherhood of man is materialized through the universal struggle of men against the common enemy of mankind.

Millions of lives ago, the choice between the ballot and the bullet gave credence to a host of philosophical questions as to which road black people should travel to attain freedom. The fact that we have traveled a good distance, with the ballot getting us only halfway up the mountain offers some idea as to what other methods of struggle we should use to get us to our rightful and well-deserved place in the sun.

No one respects a begger and so long as our struggle lacks some muscle, we will never be in a position to demand, but only beg.

As we enter the twenty-first century, (adding another century of slavery to our history) it should be clear to all that the battle for political power, equal rights, dignity and respect only comes from the barrel of a gun. Bullet by bullet we will take our liberation by taking the lives of those who dare to stop us.

Shadrach Harris
Chicago, Ill.
11/11/81
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES


2. Ibid. P.22


This is not a "summation" of the events of May 2 of the coalition's work thus far. No such thing has been seriously undertaken. On May 5 there was a meeting of sorts where this job should have begun. It wasn't.

Many people with reports and criticisms to give and accept were not there. Absent were twelve of sixteen marshalls including the head one. No one was there from Cabrini. Slim Coleman was not there. Lu Palmer was not present.

Some people came to this meeting who had passed leaflets where they teach or at the factory where they work, or were people who participated in the march. The comrades from PC who was chairing the "meeting" managed to do so without asking who these people were, or what their biz was and didn't solicit reports from those present on mass work done at this "meeting", if that's what it was. A strange way to operate a meeting which is supposed to produce a "summation" of the coalition.

The gathering began by showing more than half an hour of aimless, unedited videotape of May 2. Being unedited, no definite conclusion could be drawn from them and the question arises why they were shown to the people there in this form at all. TV watching over, some discussion got underway. Also aimless, without an agenda anyone except perhaps the chair was aware of. Without a specific agenda there is always the danger that people will talk themselves out of doing anything without even considering what was supposed to be the actual business of the meeting. In this case no agenda was in evidence and no one present seemed to know how such a summation ought to proceed.

A possible exception to this might have been the the comrades from PC. There were only two present, one chairing the meeting. They did not appear at all surprised or disturbed that eleven of the twelve absent marshalls including the head one were associated with PC. They insisted that since the absent were present at a PC "summation" of the event they need not take any part in a "summation" conducted by the coalition. This is a silly way to do the people's business, and it is not the first time the comrades from PC have declined to sit down and examine the problems collectively with those they have done practical work with. The Saturday before Easter five people were arrested on Division St., some of them from PC, as a result of their participation in some practical work in the neighborhood. PC comrades were not on evidence when everyone else sat down to evaluate what went down and what to do next. When asked about this the next week said he was AT THE summation of what went down April 18. Came out he was at the PC meeting about the same. T. mumbled something else about a "progressive summation" as opposed to a "nationalist" one before he settled down to earth half a minute later and admitted that there was no reason why PC should absent itself from the collective examination of joint practice. In fact, their absence tends to frustrate such a process taking place.

PC has every right and obligation to meet before or after the coalition or the displaced folks end examine, discuss, summarize and proceed on whatever it wants to. But one of the responsibilities of those who, in their words "chose to pull this thing together" is to help guide the coalition thru a collective summary in its own right. Participation in a national PC summary should not automatically excuse one from being mutually accountable to the people you do practical work with who are outside PC.
The quality of the internal summary done by PC cannot help but suffer also being deprived of the critical input of those people they did the work with. BB of PC admitted as much when he said PC didn't know entirely what it was getting into out there that Saturday. As PC hasn't sat down yet with most of the others involved in the ongoing work in the community one wonders how much is still unknown.

PC summaries, or what is known about them do not seem to be able to put the results of the work that is done in the context of local politics in Chicago. This may be why the PC summaries such as they are lead to the conclusion that the coalition is something that ought to be abandoned instead of expanded and that their cases be severed from those of other defendants before even a common exchange among defendants had taken place. How can we reach correct conclusions about mistakes we all helped make if we won't be available and accountable to each other? The name for refusing to engage in collective examination of joint work is probably sectarianism or the small circle spirit. Tho it puts the needs of the small circle ahead of the development a mass movement it doesn't really help the small circle that practices it. Unless we intend to remain in small circles forever. Nobody in PC or any other part of the coalition or the Committee to Stop Displacement wants this.

PC needs to sit down with the pools on the North side as soon as possible, and there ought to be another meeting of the coalition, with an agenda prepared and distributed in advance and that it be someone's specific job to follow up on who is coming to this discussion so we can take care of the business at hand.

Bruce Dixon
Jim Moore
Khaled Gordon
Ron Dansberry
A REPLY TO B. D. AND FRIENDS

ON THE SAVE OUR CHILDREN COALITION AND OTHER MATTERS

FORWARD WITH BUILDING PRINCIPLED

UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION

MAY 1981

PEOPLES COLLEGE
P. O. Box 7696
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60680
We applaud your written comments of May 15th in which you sum up your views on the last meeting of the Save the Children Coalition and other matters. It was precisely this kind of effort that was called for before that meeting and that Peoples College attempted in its written presentation. If such had come from you at that meeting, it would have made our discussion much more useful. Our assumption is that the criticisms you level are aimed at improving our future work so that we take them seriously. We hope too, that you will take the time to sum up the work prior to the last meeting, to circulate it, and to also share our written overall summation and this document with those who received your comments. This way a more all-sided and comprehensive view of what actually happened can be obtained by all.

While we applaud your efforts, we must strongly criticize the slipshod manner in which you deal with facts. Truths must be sought from facts – they are stubborn things – and not half-quotes, misquotes, innuendo and slander. We still unite with the spirit of your comments.

We have identified 15 points that we want to respond to, mostly in summary fashion but in detail to key political points. In doing so, we hope to bring to bear some lessons and insight from our ten year history so that we can continue to build our arsenal of theoretical and practical weapons for the revolutionary struggle which lies before us.
1. **WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE SUMMATION**

For the most part, key people who had been active in building the coalition were present at the summation. In several areas, representatives of organizations were present. Our assumption is that organizational representative's would sum up the input from their members.

It would be totally inappropriate for us to ask: why isn't so-and-so from your organization here today like they were last week. Or to suggest that all people from an organization who marched be present. The fact that many of the marshalls that you identify as 'associated' with Peoples College were absent does not mean that their absence left a void. If you read our written summation in which we describe events along the march route, for example, you would realize that it reflects their input.

The fact that some sponsors were not present at the summation is true. But neither were they present at other coalition meetings or at the rally and march itself. If anything, this reflects a weakness in all our efforts, a coalition where many were present in name and spirit but not in body. It is laying the groundwork for a coalition where more people are present in body that should be a long term task.

2. **CHAIRMAN OF THE SUMMATION FAILED TO DO INTRODUCTIONS**

This criticism is accepted fully. It was a serious oversight. It is also important to point out that the previous coalition meetings were filled with introductions - even a new round when people came late. It would have been quite appropriate for any member of the coalition to assume the political responsibility of pointing this out.

Certainly, nothing transpired during the month that we worked together that could have possibly suggested that the chairman or Peoples College would have been negative toward this error being pointed out. There were four people there who had not been introduced at a previous meeting or come with an organizational representative. Two were your contacts which places even more of the responsibility on you to help correct the error.
3. **CHAIRMAN OF THE SUMMATION FAILED TO GET INPUT AND SUMMATION OF THOSE PRESENT**

The meeting was an open meeting that began by the chair stating that the purpose was to hear summary comments on the coalition's work and any other concerns. This was as we had done in previous meetings. At no point did the chair single people out for their summaries. You will recall that new people who had not been active discussed issues and raised criticisms and concerns i.e. the chants, the invitation to the Atlanta mothers and their failure to appear, and the videotaping. If you had information that a new person who had not been introduced (error #1) had mobilization efforts to share that was not called for, then it was your responsibility to help the chair realize and correct this error.

4. **THERE WAS NO POINT TO SHOWING VIDEOTAPE OF MAY 2**

Our plans called for a much tighter videotape presentation with several high points of the march and rally. For reasons that were stated, i.e. notes from a previous session left in an office, this did not occur.

First several people present were not at the rally or did not participate in the march. The tape was intended to give them some sense of what happened. It was also important because three young people new to political work saw this as a contribution to struggle that they could make - producing a documentary that we could use in on-going and future work (very important since such struggle is not likely to get run out in the media). While it could have been much tighter, and undoubtedly will be in the future given the lessons learned, we applaud the effort. To know that there are such resources and expertise that the people can call on will aid us well in the future.

5. **THERE WAS NO CLEARLY DISCERNIBLE AGENDA**

To say that the meeting was without an agenda is incorrect. The agenda - to begin to develop a summary of the coalition's work - was decided at the previous meeting and announced at the rally. As with other meetings, any other items could be added at
the beginning of the meeting. As you will recall, we hope, your first point had to do with changing the name of the coalition to 'mobilization' or something because that was what we would be doing. The chair suggested that we may want to hold 'future work' to a later point in the agenda after people summed up past work. Such was the nature of agendas at all our meetings.

6. THE ROLE OF THE PC SUMMATION PROCESS

Your statement that Peoples College "insisted that since the absent were present at a PC 'summation' of the event they need not take any part in a 'summation' conducted by the coalition" is totally false. You were told, first, that many of the people who had participated were otherwise engaged and would not be in attendance, just as most who were active on Saturday had not attended regular coalition meetings. Second, you were told that PC had made efforts to get the views and input of many of those people, beginning with an informal rap session immediately after the march. You, of course, can draw conclusions as you will and shape the facts to fit your needs, but the truth remains as we have stated above.

7. PEOPLES COLLEGE DECLINED TO SIT DOWN AND SUM-UP APRIL 18TH

As we will discuss below, this is not correct. Peoples College stated that it could not participate in a summation on Monday, April 20th because we had not fully summed up the entire event. This was communicated officially to Tranquility as the reason why. It is unfortunate that this political reason was not relayed. At no point did we ever state that we would not participate in a collective summation. Given the spontaneous character of the arrests, we felt it very important to undertake a deliberate and conscious summation since one spontaneous error, i.e. adventuously provoking the police and getting busted, could easily lead to other errors.
8. **E MUMBLING SOMETHING ABOUT SUMMATIONS**

First we criticize the uncomradely manner in which you quote people out of context and assassinate their character. We have been quite up front, on the table and forceful with you. Mumbling has not and will never be our style. Our feet are planted on the ground and thus 'settling down to earth', as you put it, is not necessary. We have no idea to whom or what you are referring, and thus have absolutely no reason to believe your negative characterization.

Secondly, PC's line on Cabrini does not make the distinction you state regarding summations. We hold the Near Northside brothers and sisters in high regard. We think that their struggle is important - it is our struggle - which is why we devoted the resources to it that we did. Almost half of the April 18th march/rally was composed of people brought by PC. We have confidence that the people we work with will judge us on our practice and not on the basis of some slanderous misquote snatched out of context. In the face of our continuing revolutionary practice, such attempts to discredit will blow away in the wind like the featherweights that they are.

9. **RELATIONSHIP OF PC SUMMATION TO COALITION SUMMATION**

We are glad that you uphold our right to 'examine, discuss and summarize....' Such has been a hallmark of our practice over the past ten years. We suggest again that you read summaries that we have produced such as *Sell the Stock, First Wave of Struggle* and essays on the anti-imperialist student movement. One of our criticisms of other revolutionaries is that much important work in the 1960's and 1970's, i.e. SNCC, the Panthers and the African Liberation Support Committee, is relegated to history without a correct understanding of what actually happened. Thus, important facts and guidelines are not provided for future fighters.

Our experience has taught us that it is especially after such deliberate summations, often initiated by a few people, that the richness of others' experience is shared.
It was for this reason, if you will recall, that the comrade from Peoples College presented an extended and detailed written (though not distributed) presentation of PC's beginning summation. (see attached). You will also recall, we hope, that the presentation provoked considerable discussion, additional insight, more information, etc., all of which we promised to add to our initial summation.

Some of these points included:

- deliberate provocation by police and the negative impact that these attempts to intimidate had no attendance.
- criticism of the lack of preparation and training among some marshalls; need for chain of command with marshalls; rules for lining up contingencies; the alternative route and the need for a central command.
- importance of militant fightback slogans and criticisms for failing to provide chant sheets.

In fact, this was a genuine effort to elicit summations in which most people fully participated. Indeed, it is strange to us that at no point in your comments do you mention that PC presented a report that was favorably responded to and added to by most present, including yourself. In fact, since everyone knew that there would be a summation on Tuesday, it would have been more productive had you brought in more systematic comments dealing with the actual building work for the march and rally. While we hope that your written comments have served whatever purpose you had in mind, we find them lacking as a contribution to summing up the actual work.

But given the omission of the important points like PC's initial summation, we trust that you will circulate this response as broadly as we assume you have circulated your remarks.

In summary, you state that "Participation in internal PC summary should not automatically excuse one from being mutually accountable to the people you do practical work with who are outside PC." Besides this being an organizational matter and decision that PC or any organization would make, the paper lacks any support for the assumption upon which the statement is based.
But we go further and state that participation in internal summaries with people one has worked with prior to any coalition efforts often improves the quality of input into the broader summation. We have reason to believe that your experience may lead to similar lessons.

10. AN'ADMISSION'BY BB OF PC

Again you quote someone unknown to us with some words that were never uttered by anyone known to us. The only comment similar to what you claim was a statement to the effect that the last minute changing of the Polish march route from Clark St. to Dearborn and the resulting difficulties was unknown to us. We have admitted this, have publically criticized ourselves, and encourage anyone who plans such actions in the future to pay more attention to developing contingency plans. This is a lesson we can all use.

But to use this statement as you do is another stretching of the truth and serves no purpose. There are many people out there with whom we discussed aspects of planning this march and rally. We have not had the opportunity to talk with all of them yet but we expect to see them all again in future struggles.

Of course, 'much is still unknown.' We hope that honest comrades with information about our work - its strengths and weaknesses - will share their criticisms with us when the opportunity arises, just as you have attempted to do. We intend to do the same.

11. PC IS UNABLE TO SUM UP IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF LOCAL POLITICS IN CHICAGO

Our view of local politics in Chicago is summed up in several statements we have made related to Revolutionary Black Power In the 1980's. We put our work squarely within this view - that is, as Black people fight for power in Chicago, fight against racist violence, and for various reforms, we think it is our responsibility to raise the revolutionary banner as the strategic path for victory. It is unfortunate that you were perhaps too busy with your marshalling
duties on May 2nd because this view was again put forward in an appropriate manner by the speaker from Peoples College. We hope you will review this speech which we will provide and make the kind of detailed comments you have made on other issues. For Peoples College, political line is decisive. If political line is correct, we can overcome the most severe errors in our practice and achieve success. Without a correct political line, even the most flawless practice will lead astray. We find discussion of the politics of the march/rally absent from your comments. Such a discussion of politics is absolutely essential before we can get involved in permanent 'mobilization' and unfocussed monthly demonstrations as your comments suggested.

12. PC 'ABANDONED' THE COALITION

To say that PC 'abandoned' the coalition or advocated this is a bald-faced lie. What we did say is that we did not have the resources to sustain our extremely large commitment to the work of the coalition. And that unless someone else would step forward to take up the slack and move it forward, it would not continue. And we stated that we would participate in some work, but not at the present level.

This was an honest, above board assessment of our capacity and our current activities. We stated from the beginning that we had no broader agenda to make this coalition into a permanent structure that PC could fuse with to make a bigger impact. We stated and stressed that we would much rather meet up with people lending support to some of the on-going struggles, like Cabrini, and not just build for special occasions.

We certainly see the need for broad coalitions, but Peoples College chooses to be a bit more deliberate in this building process. You should review Building Unity for the Revolution in the 1980 Black Liberation Month News for details of our view. Again we think that the politics of the coalition are key. A spontaneous grouping together because of crisis is not likely to lead us down the road to victory.
13. THE CASE OF THE CABRINI FIVE OR THREE + TWO

You state that Peoples College chose to sever our cases from those of other defendants before even a common exchange among defendants had taken place. This is true. But it is precisely because no exchange had taken place and there was no political unity that this decision had to be made. You fail to state clearly what led to this decision and how it came down.

1) No decision could be made on Saturday because no discussion could be held until people were out of jail, the last was not freed until after midnight.

2) On Sunday there was an appearance and statement by several people arrested, at Fernwood Church. We were and still remain concerned that there is a tendency to turn these arrests into a 'political' case - Free the Cabrini Five - that is not warranted by the quality of our political preparedness.

3) PC stated that it could not participate in a summation on Monday, April 20th, because it had not completed its discussions.

4) You also fail to mention that Peoples College was prepared to commit $500.00 (well above the $70.00 required for its cases) as bail money if necessary. We did contribute $130.00 to two of the people who also signed your letter.

Further, our action was far different from some leadership forces of Chicago, i.e. Chicago NBIPP and BUF-CHI. The latter who, while holding a regional meeting, refused to contribute money if any would be used for PC members and further stated that none of us should have been at Cabrini anyway but should have been working on their constitution! How narrow!

5) When appearing before the judge April 28th, no clarity had been developed as to joint legal representation. We had been told that two lawyers (one of whom cannot practice in Illinois) would be lawyers for two or three and continued with our plans for legal counsel. Since we are not convinced that a jury trial would be best and had not agreed on this,
it was impossible for us to proceed as if all cases were one.
6) After that initial court appearance, and contrary to
your letter, several attempts were made to sit down. In fact,
four defendants and two lawyers did meet to discuss the politica
and legal questions on May 10th. (The lawyers have also
held other brief discussions). We shared our summation of the
Cabrini struggle. Two of the three non-PC defendants
united with it and the third thought it was a needed contribu-
tion and called for more discussion. Five copies were
forwarded to Tranquility. On Friday, May 8th, May 11th
and May 15th PC made calls either suggesting a specific
time for a meeting or seeking a recommendation as to the
best time. As of yet, there has been no definitive, affirmative
response. Since much of this transpired prior to your
document of May 14th, we remind you of the necessity to
seek truth from facts.

Finally, we think we have a responsibility to protect
ourselves from unnecessary and adventurist actions. Until we are
stronger, we will choose our battles through we will not run when
attacked. We would suggest that all of us heed the words of
Cabral as we sum up what happened at Cabrini and what our response
should be: Tell no lies, claim no easy victories. Hide nothing
from the masses of people.

14. SECTARIANISM

We reject your charge of sectarianism and small circle mentality.
We stand firm to the position we stated in the Black Liberation
Month News in 1980:

We must develop major efforts to define our struggle in terms
of our common enemy versus the vast majority of people.
We must develop a new and principled unity that does not
attempt to sweep other differences under the rug. This new
unity must maintain the necessary unity against our common enemy.
And, at the same time, it must allow and encourage study,
discussion, and non-antagonistic struggle over our
secondary differences.
Peoples College continues to want to build unity - but only on a principled basis. With at least three of the people who signed your letter, we have held various discussions, engaged in varying levels of joint practice and actively extended invitations to expand this. We did so knowing that there were clear political differences but also knowing that building unity through struggle is the crucible to resolve these differences and move forward.

To say again, we want to be known by our deeds, by our hard work for the people, for revolution. While a charge of sectarianism or some such may satisfy some passing whim or momentarily divert the political immature, PC stands humbly on the basis of its ten year history and the rich lessons it has learned from its modest contributions. We hope to contribute even more, and we realize that this can only come through building unity. But it must be a principled unity that can stand the tests not only of time, but of deliberate attempts to infiltrate and sabotage the movement, possible physical and character assassinations, and the like. If revolutionaries persist in seeing such principled efforts as sectarian, we find comfort in the words of a tested revolutionary leader who once said: Better fewer, but better, as we continue our struggle to improve ourselves and to train others for our cause.

Finally, you suggest that we put 'the needs of the small circle ahead of the development (of) a mass movement.' This is an incorrect interpretation. What you might be mistaking is our view that the 'mass movement' has not ever and will not ever be successful without the consolidation of a disciplined core of trained revolutionary fighters - a revolutionary party. This is the lesson of world revolutionary theory, the militant Black Liberation struggle of the 1960s/70s, and the current period. We should all be telescopic and microscopic as to mass upsurge and be clear that it will be sidetracked into reformism without revolutionary leadership. We suggest that you may want to discuss the importance of this point before jumping to any hasty generalization about PC's view of itself in relationship to the mass movement. Just as you do, we have some hard earned lessons that may shed light
on the subject - especially the building of the African Liberation Support Committee in the 1970's.

15. **CALL TO SIT DOWN**

Certainly the need to sit down and talk is something we agree to. We stand ready to do along the lines of the previous coalition meetings with the additional suggestions proposed by you. We also again stress our interest in seeing the political aims of the coalition continued. We would be more than willing to participate in such necessary work.

**FORWARD WITH BUILDING UNITY**

**AROUND CONCRETE ISSUES**

**AND**

**THROUGH DISCUSSION**

**BUILD UNITY FOR THE REVOLUTION!**
Overall, the MARCH TO STOP RACIST VIOLENCE/SAVE THE CHILDREN RALLY should be considered a success. There was a militant spirit which carried the line of the march boldly into the streets of Chicago. Over 300 people participated in various aspects of the day while others conveyed their support but expressed an inability to be present.

Specifically, the line of the Coalition was reflected in the solidarity statements and the main speech delivered at the rally. In the speech were addressed main areas of concern as discussed in the coalition meetings, i.e., racism and the particular ways all people are affected by it, the budget cutbacks and the international situation and the liberation struggles of people throughout the world. General reaction to the speech was very supportive although some thought it could have been shorter. Many people addressed one or more points raised in the speech in informal discussions.

During the march, the line was revealed in the chants which reached many people in the Loop. There were no chant sheets which is a self-criticism raised by Peoples College. There was a spontaneous resolution of the problem in a good way as reflected in the chants: 26 Dead, How Many More; Cops Say Get Back, We Say Fight Back; Reagan Says Cut Back, We Say Fight Back; We're Fired Up And We're Not Going to Take It Any More; Fight Back, Fight Back, Stop the Racist Attacks.

There were many contingents from throughout the city represented in the march: Student groups from Mundelein, Loyola and Northwestern, DePaul, IIT and Truman; Chutzpah, R.S.L., MLK Coalition, St. Benedict's Church, C.W.P., May 19th, John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, Tranquility, Chicago Rehab Network and P.A.M. There were individuals connected with Operation PUSH, other schools and fraternities. This represented the drawing together of
forces from many different sectors for an opportunity to hear a political analysis of the Atlanta crisis. One significant outreach failure though was being unable to go beyond minimum support from Latino and labor groups. People observing the march and rally were supportive as demonstrated by cheers, joining the march/rally, or taking literature, and very little, clearly negative response.

Three problems arose concerning the march:

1) An alternative route should have been established. When the permits were obtained, the information available then was that the march for the Polish-Americans would be on Clark St. Upon learning that it was to be on Dearborn, no alternative route had been planned for the march and it was literally stranded on State St.

2) There was a political, tactical decision made by Peoples College to not have the banners carried in the march. This was a legal demonstration with a broad representation of activists and supporters. Due to the conditions of the march which were apparent that morning (mainly the other march and the police), there was the need to reduce the possibility of unnecessary provocation. It is clear that the overall effect was diminished (ie people on State St., weren't sure what the march was for) but the placards and the chants raised up the line.

3) There was no coalition leaflet distributed during the march. There was a program prepared which was to be distributed at the head of the march but was left behind. This caused problems later when organizational representatives wanted to distribute literature but would not respect the marshalls.
Mobilization for the march and rally consisted of leaflets, stickers, press releases, ads, phone calls and talk shows. Mass leafletting was done in the Cabrini, Mollison and Loop areas in the week prior. Many campuses, community and labor meetings were leafletted and requested to endorse.

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A key element for the success of the march was the professional way in which security was handled. Problems were minimized by prior discussions and a prepared document.

Finally, peoples' broad interests were pushed ahead by our success in developing broader relationships through building the coalition for the Save the Children March. While Peoples College sees unity as important and sees the importance of building unity in the future, we feel that the Coalition has successfully discharged its main responsibilities. We have learned again that there is a sufficient basis for coming together and building unity in action around issues of common concern. We can use this lesson as we continue our varied work in the future coming together again at another point to speak as one voice about common concerns.
3. Political struggle must be planned.

We failed to adequately anticipate the consequences of our demonstration. We should have had legal and medical support as well as plans for bail in case of arrest. Further, we should not have had small children in the march when we confronted the police.

Summary

Peoples College wants to share this position with everyone involved in the spirit of unity. We understand that in order for the greatest gains to be made, we must win all who can be won. We understand that political development is an on-going process for everyone which must strengthen us for future battles. It would be inappropriate for us to participate in a struggle which presented real problems and not attempt to address these problems. It would be an error on our part not to publicly recognize our shortcomings in our participation, especially not raising our concerns in a forceful way prior to the march. We were present on Saturday at 9:30 for the political meeting but when it failed to occur, did not press for more discussion. Failure to do so contributed later to the confusion and the negation of leadership.

Peoples College recognizes a responsibility to the community which all who are activists must share. It is important that the march and rally be placed in the context of the Greensboro massacre and the attempted assassination of Reagan. March participants discussed the extreme show of force which 'Chicago's Finest' were prepared to make, but led children in the streets without marshalls or political guidance. Peoples College is concerned that these lessons of struggle be shared openly and to that end proposes an open meeting to review this letter as well as other comments people may have.

Forward in the spirit of unity!
SUMMATION OF THE APRIL 18th MOBILIZATION IN CABRINI-GREEN

BY

PEOPLES COLLEGE

MAY 1981

Peoples College is a political collective based in Chicago. We have done extensive theoretical work on Black Studies, including the two volume textbook Introduction to Afro-American Studies. Materials from many of our past campaigns of struggle, here in Chicago as well as nationwide, have been on display in the art gallery of Timbuktu, the bookstore operated by Peoples College, since February, 1981.

Peoples College has consistently striven to work in a principled manner. By this we mean that in every campaign we believe there should be a clearly stated and collectively understood basis of unity and productive criticism/self-criticism throughout to identify strengths and weaknesses. To that end we have developed handbooks of struggle (Our First Wave of Struggle, Sell the Stock) which provide a collective summation of the political line guiding a particular campaign and the tactics used in implementing it. PC has learned that openly sharing lessons of struggle strengthen all who are attempting to contribute to the movement for liberation.

POLITICAL POINTS OF PRACTICE

1. Political line is decisive

PC's practice has consistently demonstrated that the correctness of political line, theory with clearly understood goals and objectives, makes the crucial difference to the success of a campaign. This can be developed in many ways: consolidation of the core group, development of leadership, projection of the demonstration, division of labor, responses to unexpected situations and summation of practice.
A. A correct political line was not developed.

There were two leaflets developed, and both failed to adequately target the enemies, unite with the sentiments of the majority of Cabrini-Green residents, and lay the groundwork for future work and follow through. The first leaflet (One Love Reggae Jam Session) liquidates political line and tries to trick or 'lure' peoples out to the rally. This does not reflect a good approach. We unite with Cabral who said "Tell no lies, claim no easy victories." The other leaflet goes to an extreme the other way, The klan image doesn't deal with the concrete impressions and experiences of the residents. The focus should have been on the police and the gangs. The key political issues seem to be Black on Black crime, massive police invasion, and the future of Cabrini-Green for the residents who live there now.

It seems that there are sufficient problems particular to Cabrini-Green which would have enabled residents to unite strongly with the march and rally. Failure to be clear on the limited goals and objectives led to confusion in the projection to the extent of people thinking there were two different events. This lack of political line was reflected in other areas, too.

B. Clear political leadership did not exist during the march/rally.

A clear understanding of why we were out there, i.e. what we wanted the residents to know, what we wanted Byrne to know, and what we wanted to gain for ourselves, would have provided the basis for any decisions taken during the march and rally. All previous discussions had centered on a rally in Seward Park. There was never a mention of marching on Byrne or the cross. PC believes that it is sometimes necessary to reverse previous decisions or make new ones because of a change in conditions but does not believe that there was a political basis for doing so April 18th. It was entirely foreseeable that few residents would be present in the park upon the arrival of the march. Since the band was to be a key way to attract people and since it was known prior to the march that the band would be late, there was sufficient time to discuss contingent plans. Such discussions should have occurred minimally in order to consolidate the march participants. Failure to do so in a political way led to other errors.
2. A correct concentration of a few forces can make a big battle

A clear understanding of the politics of a campaign will be reflected in the use of available resources and forces. Our experience has demonstrated that major gains can be won when political implications are taken into account when planning tactical measures.

A. Failure to have a political meeting prior to the start to of the march meant that people did not have an opportunity to raise last minute questions about their roles and responsibilities.

It also meant that the political leadership did not have an opportunity to consolidate the people who were present to that everyone would be clear on what to expect. It is also not clear whether all forces active in the campaign were even informed of the proposed 9:30 a.m. Saturday morning meeting.

B. Failure to have a clear division of labor meant that key positions were left unfilled.

At the beginning of the march, there were no marshalls assigned, nor security. Spontaneously, Abdul and Dan from PC, who were two of the three brothers in the march (the third was holding the lead banner), assumed that role for the purposes of the march to the park.

C. There was no previous development of chants which contributed to our being a rag-tag band as opposed to a strong militant force.

Clarity around political line would have helped to generate appropriate chants which would have been taken up in a strong way. As it was, a few chants were half-heartedly raised during the march. At the rally, the one chant which was immediately relevant, 'Jobs, Not Eggs,' was militantly raised and taken up by others and the media. This point is generally applicable to all the tools of struggle generated for the march and rally. Clarity around form: leaflet, poster, or chant, and content: what does it say, should be achieved through collective discussions. Many of the posters may have had an important message for the community but an attempt to say too much meant that the writing was too small and nothing was clearly visible.