



COMMISSION MEETING October 5, 1967



THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

September 28, 1967

Memorandum To: Security Officer, EOB

From: Col. Norman J. McKenzie, Executive Officer  
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

Subject: Request the persons on the attached list  
be cleared for entry into the Executive  
Office Building on October 5 and 6, 1967.  
These persons will be attending meetings  
of the National Advisory Commission on  
Civil Disorders.

Norman J. McKenzie  
Executive Officer

THE WHITE HOUSE

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COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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John Lindsay, Vice Chairman	Mayor of New York City
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Senator Edward W. Brooke	Senator from Massachusetts
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William M. McCulloch	U. S. Representative from the State of Ohio, 4th District
I. W. Abel	President, United Steel Workers
Charles B. Thornton	President, Director and Chairman of the Board, Litton Industries, Inc.
Roy Wilkins	Executive Director of the NAACP
Katherine Graham Peden	Commissioner of Commerce, State of Kentucky
Herbert Jenkins	Chief of Police, Atlanta, Georgia

# # #

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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Victor Palmieri, Deputy Executive Director

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Hon. T.R. McKeldin

Hon. T.J. Welan

Dr. H.J. Gans

Hon. M. Sviridoff

Hon. W.L. Taylor

Hon. M.C. Holman

Mr. T.M. Berry

Mr. R.W. Boone

Mr. D.J. Wortman

Miss Marion Wright

Mr. Paul Shrade

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Ward and Paul Reporters and Messengers

Miss Ruth Taylor

Mr. Alvin Mills

Mr. Frank Shelburne

Mr. Ben Firshein

Miss Frances Garow

Mr. Robert Cantor

Mr. Eugene Joseph

Mr. Jessie L. Ward III

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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October 5, 1967

Memorandum To: Security Officer, EOB

From: Col. Norman J. McKenzie, Executive Officer  
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

Subject: Request the persons on the attached list  
be cleared for entry into the Executive  
Office Building on October 6, 1967. These  
persons will be attending meetings of the  
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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ADDITIONAL GUESTS

William Lawrence  
Benjamin Zimmerman

ADDITIONAL STAFF

William Hayden  
Richard Holcomb  
James Hampton  
William Cowin  
William Smith  
Lawrence Still  
Shedd Smith  
Michael Miskovsky  
Frances Williams

*3* *Done*

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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October 10, 1967

MEMORANDUM

From: Pat Horan

Attached is the final agenda for  
for the October 5, 6 and 7 hearings. This  
list contains all the last-minute revisions  
that were made on each day.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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AGENDA  
MEETINGS OF OCTOBER 5, 6 and 7, 1967

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1967 -- Room 459, Executive Office  
Building

10:00 a.m. Honorable Henry W. Maier, Mayor,  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1960- ;  
Senator, Wisconsin State Legislature,  
1950-1960; Democrat.

11:30 a.m. Honorable Alfonso J. Cervantes, Mayor,  
St. Louis, Missouri, 1965- ;  
Member and later Chairman of the St.  
Louis Board of Aldermen, 1949-1963;  
Democrat.

LUNCH

2:30 p.m. Honorable Thomas J. Whelan, Mayor,  
Jersey City, New Jersey, 1963- ;  
City Councilman, 1961-1963; Democrat.

4:00 p.m. Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Mayor,  
Baltimore, Maryland, 1943-1947, 1964- ;  
Governor, Maryland, 1951-1959;  
Republican.

6:30 p.m. DINNER MEETING -- Pan American Room, Second  
Floor, Statler Hilton Hotel.

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A G E N D A

Dinner Meeting, Pan American Room, Second Floor,  
Statler Hilton Hotel, 6:30 p.m.

1. Remarks by David Ginsburg.
2. Presentation by Arnold Sagalyn on staff plans in the areas of public safety; riot control, and police-community relations.
3. Presentation by Richard Nathan on staff plans in the area of action programs.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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REVISED AGENDA  
MEETINGS OF OCTOBER 5, 6 and 7, 1967

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1967 -- Room 459, Executive Office  
Building

9:30 a.m. INTRODUCTION TO ACTION PROGRAMS

Dr. Herbert J. Gans, Senior Research  
Sociologist, Center for Urban  
Education; Chairman, National Manpower  
Advisory Committee; author, "Urban  
Villager."

Honorable William L. Taylor, Staff  
Director, U.S. Commission on Civil  
Rights; formerly, Staff Attorney,  
NAACP.

Honorable M. Carl Holman, Deputy Staff  
Director, U.S. Commission on Civil  
Rights; formerly, Professor of English,  
Clark College; author, "Anger and Beyond."

LUNCH

2:00 p.m. COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN ACTION PROGRAMS, PART I

Mr. Richard W. Boone, Executive Director,  
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty;  
formerly, Director, Program Policy and  
Development Division, Community Action  
Program, Office of Economic Opportunity;  
formerly, Captain of Police, Juvenile  
Bureau, Sheriff's Office, Cook's County,  
Illinois.

Miss Marian Wright, Director, Office of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Jackson, Mississippi; Graduate of Yale University Law School; Member, Executive Board, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Paul Shrade, Director of Western Region Six, United Auto Workers; Member of Executive Board, United Auto Workers.

4:00 p.m.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN ACTION PROGRAMS, PART II

Mr. Theodore M. Berry, Director, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity; formerly, Member of City Council and Vice-Mayor, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. Berry will be the principal speaker. He will be accompanied by:

Mr. William C. Lawrence, Chief of the Evaluation Branch, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. Ben Zimmerman, Director, Community Services Division of the Office of Program Planning, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. Donald K. Hess, Associate Director for Program Planning, Office of Economic Opportunity.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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REVISED AGENDA

MEETINGS OF OCTOBER 5, 6 and 7, 1967

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1967 -- Pan American Room, Second  
Floor, Statler Hilton Hotel

9:30 a.m. EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

The Honorable Arthur M. Ross, Commissioner,  
Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of  
Labor; formerly, Professor of Economics,  
University of California at Berkeley.

The Honorable Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Assistant  
Secretary and Manpower Administrator,  
U.S. Department of Labor; formerly,  
Director of Research, AFL-CIO.

Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Hepburn Professor of  
Economics, Columbia University; Member,  
National Manpower Policy Task Force,  
1962- ; author, numerous books on  
manpower and human resources.

Dr. Garth L. Mangum, Research Professor  
of Economics, George Washington University;  
formerly, Executive Director, National  
Commission on Technology, Automation  
and Manpower.

Mr. H. C. McClellan, President, Management  
Council for Merit Employment, Training  
and Research; formerly, President and  
Chairman of the Board, Old Colony Paint  
& Chemical Company.

LUNCH

2:00 p.m.

JOB FOR THE NEGRO: REACHING THE HARD-CORE  
UNEMPLOYED AND THE ROLE OF THE U.S. EMPLOYMENT  
SERVICE

Dr. Paul Bullock, Associate Research  
Economist, Institute of Industrial  
Relations, University of California  
at Los Angeles; author of more than a  
dozen books and articles on employment  
of disadvantaged Negroes and Mexican-  
Americans.

Honorable Charles E. Odell, Director,  
U.S. Employment Service, Bureau of  
Employment Security, U.S. Department  
of Labor; formerly, Director, United  
Auto Workers' Older and Retired  
Workers Department.

Mr. Frank H. Cassell, Assistant to the  
Vice President -- Administration,  
Inland Steel Corporation; formerly,  
Director, U. S. Employment Service.

Honorable Alfred L. Green, Executive  
Director, New York State Division  
of Employment; formerly; Assistant  
Director, New York Unemployment  
Insurance Fund.

Mr. Truman Jacques, Manager, Employment  
Service Center which is located in the  
Watts section of Los Angeles.

ORIGINAL

EXECUTIVE CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

BEFORE THE

**National Advisory Commission  
on Civil Disorders**

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EXECUTIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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Place Washington, D. C.

Date Thursday, October 5, 1967

Pages 1852 to 2022

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1	<u>C O N T E N T S</u>		
2	<u>STATEMENT OF</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
3	Honorable Henry W. Maier,		
4	Mayor, Milwaukee, Wisconsin;		
5	accompanied by		
6	James Newcomb and George Whittow		1855
7	Honorable Alfonso J. Cervantes,		
8	Mayor, St. Louis; accompanied by		
9	Reverend Lucius Cervantes, S.J.,		
10	St. Louis University		1922
11	Honorable Thomas J. Whelan,		
12	Mayor of Jersey City, New Jersey		1963
13	Honorable Theodore B. McKeldin,		
14	Mayor of the City of Baltimore, Maryland		1996
15	<u>EXHIBITS</u>		
16	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>FOR IDENTIFICATION</u>	<u>IN EVIDENCE</u>
17	51, 52, 53 & 54	1853	1853
18	70	1866	1866
19	72	1961	
20	73	1995	1995
21			
22			
23			
24			
25			

Taylor

1852

mbh/1

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1

EXECUTIVE CONFIDENTIAL

2

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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Room 459,

5

Executive Office Building,

6

17th & Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.,

7

Washington, D. C.

8

Thursday, October 5, 1967

9

The Commission met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 o'clock

10

a.m., the Honorable Otto Kerner (Governor of Illinois), Chairman,

11

presiding.

12

PRESENT:

13

The Honorable Otto Kerner (Chairman)

14

The Honorable John V. Lindsay, (Vice Chairman)

15

I.W. Abel

16

Senator Fred R. Harris

17

Representative William McCulloch

18

Representative James Corman

19

Mr. Herbert Jenkins

20

Miss Katherine Graham Peden

21

Mr. Charles Thornton

22

David Ginsburg, Executive Director

23

- - -

24

25

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1853

P R O C E E D I N G S

1  
2 (A document entitled "Riot Kit, City of Rochester,  
3 New York" and a covering letter from John R. Garrity, Corporation  
4 Counsel to William Gehan, Assistant to the Commissioner of  
5 Public Safety, Rochester, New York, received from William M.  
6 Lombard at the September 20, 1967 Commission meeting was marked  
7 Exhibit 51 for identification and received in evidence.)

8 (A document consisting of a letter and Exhibits I  
9 through IV sent by P.W. Homer, City Manager, to The Council,  
10 City of Rochester, New York, received from William Lombard at  
11 the September 20, 1967 Commission meeting was marked Exhibit 52  
12 for identification and received in evidence.)

13 (A document entitled "Police-Community Relations,"  
14 a memorandum from William M. Lombard, Chief of Police, to All  
15 Personnel, Bureau of Police, Department of Public Safety,  
16 Rochester, New York, received from William Lombard at the  
17 September 20, 1967 Commission meeting was marked Exhibit 53 for  
18 identification and received in evidence.)

19 (A document entitled "Accidental-Natural Disaster  
20 Plan, General Order #9 -- Amended and Revised," from W.M.  
21 Lombard to All Police Personnel, Bureau of Police, Department  
22 of Public Safety, Rochester, New York, received from William  
23 Lombard at the September 20, 1967 Commission meeting was marked  
24 Exhibit 54 for identification and received in evidence.)

25 CHAIRMAN KERNER: This morning we will be hearing from

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1 various mayors of cities, some of which have had problems and  
2 some of which have not had problems. But in today's session  
3 we hope to obtain their views on particular factors and the  
4 problems that are present in the cities they represent. Some  
5 of these may help us in trying to understand why disorders have  
6 or have not occurred and also what short and long-range plans  
7 they may have.

8 Each mayor, of course, will have particular subjects  
9 he may wish to emphasize.

10 Prior engagements have prevented Mayor Daley of  
11 Chicago and Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles and Mayor Lee of New  
12 Haven from being with us today but we hope to schedule them at  
13 a later time.

14 Our first witness today is a gentleman we have all  
15 heard of and that is Mayor Maier of Milwaukee. He served in  
16 his present position as a member from 1960. From 1950 to 1960  
17 he was a member of the Wisconsin State Senate. He also is the  
18 author of a recent significant book on urban leadership entitled  
19 "Challenge to the Cities".

20 Mayor Maier's City of Milwaukee is the Nation's 11th  
21 largest city. It has been the scene this summer of a series of  
22 open housing demonstrations. In addition, in July a civil  
23 disorder erupted in the city that was controlled in large part,  
24 we understand, through the imposition of a citywide curfew.

25 We have had a team of our staff in Milwaukee for the

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1 last week examining all aspects of this disorder.

2 Mayor Maier, we are delighted to have you with us  
3 today.

4 STATEMENT OF  
5 HONORABLE HENRY W. MAIER, MAYOR, MILWAUKEE,  
6 WISCONSIN; ACCOMPANIED BY JAMES NEWCOMB  
7 AND GEORGE WHITTOW

8 MAYOR MAIER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

9 Members of the Commission, first of all, I should like  
10 to applaud the President's quest for new insights into the  
11 unrest of our cities. It seems to me that perhaps we are in  
12 danger of being overwhelmed by the cliches of the conventional  
13 wisdom which too often call for single factor solutions to  
14 multi-factor problems. And often I have the feeling that when  
15 people come up with new ideas, they are really the same old  
16 ideas that we have heard again and again, and the answers are  
17 usually descriptive rather than operative and it seems to me,  
18 that the "how" is too often omitted from the advice that comes  
19 from all sides.

20 It is my hope that this Commission will help to give  
21 all of us who are concerned some fresh thinking based upon  
22 sound research.

23 I speak to you as a representative of a city of  
24 concern, one of the many cities of concern across our country.

25 Now, even in those early hours of Milwaukee's dis-

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1856

1     turbance last August, our concern in the city was not simply  
2     restoring order. In announcing to the public the steps that had  
3     been required by the civil disturbance early on that first  
4     morning I said: "We intend to take every step necessary to  
5     preserve the peace. This is the first order of business.  
6     However, it is obvious that guns and nightsticks aren't going  
7     to solve the problems of the central city which are flaring to  
8     attention all across the Nation."

9             The statement we made then was later given further  
10     attention in an ad that appeared in the New York Times sponsored  
11     by religious groups in Milwaukee entitled: "A Statement of  
12     Concern about the Crisis of our Cities", and the message was  
13     essentially this:

14             "The tragedy, the wanton waste, the rubblede destruc-  
15     tion are horrible enough; it will be a tragedy compounded if  
16     the Nation does not resolve to face the problems of the central  
17     city and to carry out its resolve even after the embers have  
18     cooled.

19             "Central city mayors have long been calling attention  
20     to the plight of the central city -- problems of poverty, of  
21     blight, of dwindling resources -- all rubbed raw by fiscal and  
22     social isolation within the affluent metropolitan area.

23             "With the limited resources at their command, central  
24     city mayors are fighting these problems. Now, as never before,  
25     we need the commitment of all truly concerned citizens to help

1 win the resources needed to find lasting solutions to these  
2 urgent problems.

3 "Now, as never before, the central cities of America  
4 need the full resources of the Federal Government, of their  
5 states, and of their metropolitan areas, to prevent them from  
6 becoming urban wastelands.

7 "The crisis of the central city is no longer a 'creep-  
8 ing crisis.' It is a fact of life in this summer of 1967. Less  
9 than complete national attention to this crisis is only a  
10 postponement of any change for the better.

11 "'That does not mean,' the St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
12 said the other day, 'merely a few more crumbs from the table,  
13 a grudging reform or two. What is needed is a basic reorienta-  
14 tion of American society, as drastic and as revolutionary as  
15 the infection which challenges it.'

16 "This will require a drastic reallocation of our  
17 national resources to help build and rebuild the central city.  
18 Piddling pennies will no longer do the job, and the central  
19 city simply has no more to spend ....

20 "...This time of concern should be a time of commit-  
21 ment to the fight for the central city, for the long overdue  
22 massive infusion of Federal and state funds needed to translate  
23 concern into lasting solutions to hard core economic and social  
24 problems which affect not only the life of the central city,  
25 but also the fabric of American society.

mbh/7

1858

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1 "Only if this fight for resources is won can we find  
2 lasting solutions to such important problems as crime, housing,  
3 education, and jobs."

4 Well, that was the substance of the statement of  
5 concern that we sent out from a very much concerned city in the  
6 midst of our civil disturbance last August, and ten days later  
7 when I announced the lifting of the curfew I told our city that  
8 although the time of immediate testing is over, the time of  
9 trial continues, that it would be a tragedy compounded if we ever  
10 forgot those indelible days and did not go to work together for  
11 a better Milwaukee for all of our citizens. That televised  
12 message to the citizens of Milwaukee closed with these words,  
13 that there is no place to run, that there is no place to hide  
14 to escape from the responsibilities of solving the problems of  
15 the inner city and that the events of the past ten days had  
16 proven that, that the curfew had covered everyone in our metro-  
17 politan area, that there is no reason to run, no reason to hide  
18 if all citizens in all walks of life work together to see that  
19 the resources of the metropolitan area are mobilized to meet  
20 the problems of the central city; like it or not, that everyone  
21 had to realize that those involved in the civil disorder were  
22 saying something to the rest of us, both nonwhite and white,  
23 that in a senseless way they said that there is something  
24 wrong with our society, that there is need for a greater respect  
25 for the law, that there is still much to be done before this is

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1 a united city which all men truly believe they have a stake in  
2 the future; that this did not excuse those who were seeking  
3 bread by burning down the bakery -- the looters, the arsonists  
4 or the snipers -- there there couldn't be an excuse, but it does  
5 help to explain them and it does help us to realize that the simp-  
6 ler solutions of the past are inadequate for the uncertain  
7 present and the undecided future; that the job before us was to  
8 work together, all men of good will, all Milwaukeans striving  
9 to build a greater city of trust and confidence for all.

10 Well, as I said, our time of trial has continued in  
11 Milwaukee. During that emergency period working with grass  
12 roots representatives from our Negro community we worked out  
13 what we called Milwaukee's little Marshall Plan, a 39 point pro-  
14 gram for action to build that greater city of trust and confi-  
15 dence and hope for all. It was a statement of how. It was  
16 prefaced with a statement that it is simple to lay out objectives  
17 and describe what should be done, but the trick is how.

18 Secretary Weaver has said no one should lie to the  
19 people and tell them there are instant miracles, that the  
20 solution to these ancient problems need dedicated hard work by  
21 everyone, and within that context we agreed to work toward the  
22 passage of a countywide open housing law, increasing Negro  
23 employment opportunities, encouraging Negro owned businesses  
24 and manufacturing establishments, and improving the model  
25 cities program, increasing state aids for the central city and

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1 many other points.

2 I make no secret of the fact that I believe that  
3 resources must provide the key to meeting urban problems. It  
4 was my pleasure in 1963 to offer the first resolution presented  
5 in the United States of America and presented to the now  
6 National League of Cities that we establish as the keynote of  
7 the Miami convention the following year the reallocation of  
8 national resources. My resolution was based upon a book by  
9 John Dykeman called, "Capital Requirements for Urban Renewal",  
10 and urban renewal was used in the sense of all requirements of  
11 the city.

12 In particular I don't believe that our cities can  
13 long endure in a segregated metropolis. Within our  
14 metropolitan areas there is a system of apartheid confining the  
15 poor and the Negro to the city while the walls are carefully  
16 maintained around white, rich suburbia.

17 I want to give you -- I want to show you a map of  
18 Metropolitan Milwaukee. This is one of six maps that I use.  
19 I am sorry I don't have the others here but I can tell you that  
20 this picture is sustained.

21 This is an income map. The black lines are Metro-  
22 politan Milwaukee. This area, the cross hatched area, is where  
23 the incomes under \$5,000 reside and beyond that is \$5,000,  
24 \$6,000 medium incomes. That is all in the city of Milwaukee.  
25 The majority of the city is this gray zone, \$6,000 to \$7500.

1 Now, I would say this. I would guess that this map  
2 could be duplicated in every metropolitan area in one form or  
3 another in the U.S. I would imagine that this map would have  
4 a very close similarity to New York City or Chicago or any  
5 other large metropolitan area.

6 This area costs the central city of Milwaukee, for  
7 instance, an extra \$9 million a year to service. This is in  
8 housekeeping services alone. This falls on the backs of these  
9 people and, of course, the people in these beautiful isles of  
10 green are excluded. This is the number 1 burden of a central city  
11 such as ours. The extra costs of the inner core.

12 Then there is another burden that most central cities  
13 in this country have. That is the burden of tax exempt property  
14 which services the metropolitan area. This black represents  
15 the tax exempt property in our city, excluding churches, which  
16 services the entire metropolitan area. These people don't pay  
17 a damn nickel for this. So we have first this burden of the  
18 poor and, secondly, this includes things such as churches, such  
19 as hospitals, such as our airports, our Federal buildings, our  
20 county buildings, our state buildings, and this is the second  
21 major burden that resides on the shoulders of this income  
22 block right in here. (\$6,000 to \$7500.)

23 Then the third one, of course, is the fact that the  
24 large families with low incomes are zoned out of here. They  
25 are stuck in here. So you have got that tremendous burden of

1 the educational costs for those needy families in that metro-  
2 politan area and those are the families that keep the wheels of  
3 industry going. So this is duplicated -- I had a professor from  
4 the University of Michigan who looked at this the first time I  
5 showed it and he said, but, Mayor, you have got all the  
6 commercial property and all the industrial property.

7 I thought perhaps I did have an error in this presenta-  
8 tion. Well, I checked it, I have another map that shows the  
9 per capita valuation. It is the same picture. The per capita  
10 valuation is also in the suburbs. In our state, while they have  
11 the income, they have the per capita valuation, they get the  
12 lion's share of the state aid because our income rests in part  
13 on a shared tax -- Governor, I am sure you are acquainted with  
14 our system of sharing taxes -- and so when they come out here  
15 with these incomes and that is a shared tax proposition they,  
16 of course, have very low property taxes, so we have got the  
17 highest property taxes, we have got that triple load of needs.

18 These people have got it made all ways. They take none  
19 of the real effective burden for the haven of the poor because  
20 the welfare burden today is mainly borne by the Federal Govern-  
21 ment for those people.

22 This my friend, is the picture I am sure you will find  
23 in every large metropolitan area in these United States. Again,  
24 it can be backed up by valuation. It can be backed up by tax  
25 studies which show that the thing is just simply compounded in

mbh/12

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1863

1 all directions.

2 For instance, in this metropolitan area, when I pointed  
3 this out first, the suburbs said, well, we have greater school  
4 costs than does the City of Milwaukee. I said damn right  
5 you do because you have got so much money back from the State of  
6 Wisconsin and you have got so much money to begin with that you  
7 have got the best schools out here where they are not needed  
8 and down here where we need the best schools we don't have them.

9 Now, I would say this. I have a feeling that there is  
10 your problem in all of its relationships.

11 Now, when I talk about this problem in Milwaukee County,  
12 I do it in whispers because we are not supposed to really talk  
13 about this kind of a problem in this light because it isn't  
14 really nice. But we can sit and we can have committee after  
15 committee but until the United States of America faces up to  
16 this kind of a situation, and this is why, of course, if I may  
17 just digress, why I have said as long as I am Mayor I will  
18 not accept a central city only open housing -- and let me  
19 tell you why, beyond that. In our metropolitan area, our  
20 channels of communication when the city has water which we  
21 started with, they say, make it metropolitan. So it gets out  
22 here. Metropolitan water. So we have got metropolitan water.  
23 By God, with that metropolitan water out here went our industry  
24 and rich people, none of our poor people, not a damn soul, but  
25 the rich people and the industry are taken out here. But this

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1 is another thing we are not supposed to discuss. Metropolitan  
2 water.

3 Now, we have got metropolitan animals because we  
4 metropolitanize our zoos because that is what the channels of  
5 communication stood for. So we have got metropolitan water,  
6 metropolitan animals, metropolitan sewers, metropolitan parks,  
7 metropolitan this and metropolitan that and they are for  
8 metropolitan everything except for metropolitan open housing.  
9 We get down to that question and they say central city open  
10 housing.

11 I say what the hell, why should we have metropolitan  
12 everything and we get out to these boundaries and we are  
13 supposed to start here. Justice for nonwhites stops here.  
14 This is the issue in Milwaukee.

15 Now, fortunately, John, your paper, the New York Times,  
16 has backed me in this, several national papers, the Christian  
17 Science Monitor. We can't get publication very broadly locally  
18 on this as a fundamental issue but that is the fundamental  
19 issue.

20 Mr. Chairman, that is about all I have to report  
21 except this. I had built the 39 points which is broken down  
22 and ready for distribution, and on September 6, 1966, I had a  
23 task force which I appointed which made this report. The foremost  
24 among the charges given the task force under acculturation,  
25 personal growth and duty appointed March 23, 1966, was an instruc-

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1 tion to assist the metropolitan mass media then in a campaign  
2 spotlighting garbage and rats and litter and slum clearance  
3 demands. This is March 23, 1966. In fact, our morning paper  
4 which is part of the afternoon complex had a series called:  
5 "Out Exploding Slums", that was the longest news story series  
6 in the history of the country. It lasted 66 days. Up to that  
7 time the Lindberg case had been the longest. That lasted 11 days.  
8 But this thing lasted 66 days and when we formed the task force  
9 report, and then they had a great big symptomatic discussion of  
10 garbage and rats, et cetera, the intention was, as our preface  
11 reads, to steer the mass media into an examination of deeper  
12 social problems from which the symptomatic rat infestation,  
13 garbage, litter and slums arise. And the hope was that for the  
14 first time forces independent of the Mayor would examine the over-  
15 riding needs for people renewal and the dependency of the city  
16 upon its shaky underlying financial ability.

17 Remember, this is March 23, 1966.

18 Most specifically the task force was expected to assist  
19 the mass media in forcing high upon the community agenda the  
20 need for an acculturation program which would help in-migrants  
21 make the transition to the more complex modern urban life.

22 The task force is compelled to report a failure.  
23 While great attention focused upon rats, garbage, litter and  
24 demands to tear down slum area buildings, little concern was  
25 shown for causal problems. Again, March 23, 1966.

1           The task force report does deal in depth with the  
2 problems and was the basis for the 39 points which we had  
3 formulated so optimistically in the immediate aftermath of the  
4 riot.

5           Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6           CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Mayor, do you have a copy of  
7 your 39 points?

8           MAYOR MAIER: Yes. We will distribute those.

9           CHAIRMAN KERNER: I would like to have a copy of it  
10 here as a part of the record. What is the next number?

11          MR. MC CURDY: Exhibit 70.

12          CHAIRMAN KERNER: It will be marked Exhibit 70 and  
13 received in the record.

14                                   (The document referred to was marked  
15                                   Exhibit 70 for identification, and  
16                                   received in evidence.)

17          CHAIRMAN KERNER: Any questions?

18           Mayor Lindsay?

19          MAYOR LINDSAY: Henry, first of all, compliments on  
20 a first-class presentation. I think you have summed up the  
21 problem that most of the large cities of the Nation are faced  
22 with and you have done it very cogently and right to the point.

23           Secondly, no doubt about the fact that your handling  
24 of the police during your riot was a model for the country,  
25 I think. And I think this story is an important one for this

1 Commission.

2 What does the -- in your gray area there, is that  
3 largely a white community?

4 MAYOR MAIER: The gray area of the City of Milwaukee,  
5 our dispersion of nonwhites is complete throughout here. We  
6 have a dispersion of nonwhites in the gray area, in the City of  
7 Milwaukee, the north side. We do not have that dispersion in  
8 the south side. We have a different economic grouping, however,  
9 in the south side which is gaining a dispersion, that is the  
10 Puerto Rican and Mexican complex which is south of Wisconsin  
11 Avenue, which is our dividing line, center city.

12 MAYOR LINDSAY: In the low income neighborhood there,  
13 the central city area there where your incomes run to \$5,000,  
14 what percentage of that would be Negro?

15 MAYOR MAIER: I would estimate that of the total  
16 cross-hatched area, I would estimate about 50 per cent. It might  
17 be a little higher.

18 MAYOR LINDSAY: What is the -- in the total city,  
19 what is the percentage of non --

20 MAYOR MAIER: Ten per cent.

21 MAYOR LINDSAY: -- nonwhite?

22 MAYOR MAIER: Ten per cent.

23 MAYOR LINDSAY: Ten per cent black, and in the gray  
24 area, what would it be, in the area of -- what percentage?

25 MAYOR MAIER: The dispersion up in here?

1                   MAYOR LINDSAY: Yes.

2                   MAYOR MAIER: I can't tell you. As a matter of fact,  
3 we have got somebody working on a dispersion chart right now.  
4 The last one I looked at, John, was about six years ago and I  
5 can't recall what the figures showed at that time. It has  
6 changed radically since then.

7                   MAYOR LINDSAY: What would you say -- in your experience,  
8 what do you think is the chief advice that you would give this  
9 Commission about what lesson to be learned from Milwaukee other  
10 than the very important points that you made here on relation-  
11 ship between the suburbs and the central city area and the  
12 incredible gap that exists between them in attitudes as well  
13 as in more practical ways, such as money and tax resources?  
14 What do you think would be the number 1 point that you should  
15 leave with this Commission here? Would it be jobs or would it  
16 be police or would it be sparks that set off these things?

17                   MAYOR MAIER: I think your problem is procedure,  
18 John, rather than substance. It is a devastating experience to  
19 feel that after you have had a riot, you have your hopes built,  
20 you feel that you can get the Governor moving and get the  
21 county executives and you have got a program which says you will  
22 see the 39 points are outlined for each one, and you know damn  
23 well that your priorities are almost equated, John, because the  
24 39 points amount to many social and economic and fiscal barriers  
25 and levels of operation. You just can't say this or this or

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1869

1 this, but you know you have got a multi-variable package.  
2 Then, all of a sudden your whole damn community agenda is set  
3 by a stage management of the news and one variable in the whole  
4 package and that only half a thing as I explained this morning.  
5 It doesn't do the job.

6 Now, as long as governments, and I made this by the  
7 way, John, in your city when I was there shortly after you had  
8 taken office, I made -- someone said to me what is wrong with  
9 the government of New York? I said, probably nothing. That  
10 was about the time the front pages were putting a lot of time  
11 in on somebody's father-in-law owning some slum property and  
12 I said that the Mayor has got to get up in the morning and worry  
13 about that damn foolishness. I said every day you do that, you  
14 waste his time, his emotional resources, his physical resources.  
15 I had said you have these circuses going on all the time and  
16 then you look at the central cities and say where is the leader-  
17 ship and what is happening?

18 This is a very, very serious problem for our  
19 democracy.

20 MAYOR LINDSAY: What is the --

21 MAYOR MAIER: We are getting too many side shows attached  
22 to local government and part of it, of course, is what I called  
23 the suburban-oriented civic conscience, the metropolitan hypocrisy  
24 in which the people who deal with these things ride in from  
25 these beautiful green islands every day and figure what the hell

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1 can I do now to pester the Mayor today, or the Governor. I  
2 think the procedure is very, very important, John, and I think  
3 you know what I mean.

4           MAYOR LINDSAY: What would you say, Henry, is the  
5 effective rate of joblessness in the center core area there?  
6 I would include in that underemployment and part-time employment  
7 that amounts to underemployment.

8           MAYOR MAIER: It seems to me, John, that the highest  
9 we have had is about nine per cent. You see, we are favored  
10 as a city because we have had just about the lowest -- the most  
11 favorable rate in the country. We have a diversified economy.  
12 I think we -- a while back we were tied with Atlanta but  
13 Atlanta's wage scale is much lower than Milwaukee's, so it  
14 isn't a fair comparison. This is very much of a high wage  
15 skilled industry type. We were running about 2.3 and 4, as a  
16 matter of fact, at one time when I tried to get poverty funds  
17 they argued we had no poverty relatively in Milwaukee.

18           So, our general situation -- by the way, one of your  
19 committee took a survey of one department store and I guess  
20 made the point that they hadn't hired enough Negroes but it is  
21 too bad you didn't walk three blocks down the street because  
22 there is another department store there that is entirely Negro  
23 help and not exactly a competing store but it is the same  
24 general neighborhoods. And I think it is -- I don't mean this  
25 in a critical sense. I think it is dangerous to base the

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mbb/20

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1 comments of your press remarks on unrepresentative samples.

2 To study an economy like Milwaukee's, as you know,  
3 Mr. Abel, you have got to look clear across the board before  
4 you can get a picture of what their employment habits are or  
5 likely to be.

6 For instance, Milwaukee spends more for its vocational  
7 training per capita than any city in the world. We train in our  
8 vocational school full-time 36,000 students. We have full and  
9 part-time 42,000 students. Now, the city is 770,000 people.  
10 Let me modify that. We spend more out of our property tax  
11 than any city in the world because our vocational school is  
12 financed off the property tax. Milwaukee has to spend this  
13 kind of money because if Milwaukee didn't have this kind of  
14 training, it couldn't exist. It would be done away with by  
15 Detroit or Chicago.

16 The only reason for Milwaukee's existence is the  
17 basic skills of the city. It has always been described, I  
18 believe fairly so, as the machine shop of the world.

19 MR. WILKINS: I think Connecticut would dispute that.

20 CHAIRMAN KERNER: So would Ohio.

21 MAYOR LINDSAY: I had one more question. What is the  
22 size of your police force, your police department?

23 MAYOR MAIER: 1800 uniformed men.

24 MAYOR LINDSAY: And what percentage are black?

25 MAYOR MAIER: Pardon?

1           MAYOR LINDSAY: What percentage are black in your  
2 police?

3           MR. NEWCOMB: The last time I checked, it was about  
4 70 officers that were -- of course, that is the whole region  
5 for the program.

6           MAYOR MAIER: He said about 70 officers.

7           MAYOR LINDSAY: I suppose you are under constant  
8 pressure for more police and don't have the funds to do it.

9           MAYOR MAIER: Well, we are spending \$23 million of  
10 this budget for our police and I have asked the Governor to give  
11 us \$10 million which we are not about to get or any part of it,  
12 but it is going right to the ceiling, this total police budget.  
13 Our direct housekeeping municipal budget now, it accounts for  
14 just about 23 per cent of the total. I am talking only the muni-  
15 cipal budget exclusive of the school, vocational school and  
16 county which are separate budgeting units in Milwaukee.

17           CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Wilkins?

18           MR. WILKINS: Mr. Chairman, I am sorry I missed the  
19 Mayor's presentation but I depended on some of our airlines  
20 and they don't do as well by me as they do by John Lindsay.

21           MAYOR LINDSAY: Have to get the 7:00 o'clock shuttle.

22           MR. WILKINS: I was interested in Mayor Maier's state-  
23 ment about the extent of the vocational training in Milwaukee  
24 and my question is how many of these trainees for all of this  
25 highly skilled industry and jobs that are available in Milwaukee.

mbh/22

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1 how many of the trainees are not white and what efforts are  
2 made to enroll them, as the second question, and the third one  
3 is when they finish the training, if they do, can they get  
4 jobs? And if not, why not?

5 In support of that last question, I mention the  
6 fact that the last time I was in Milwaukee somebody told me there  
7 was one Negro waitress in the downtown area. One. In spite  
8 of the fact that many of them had been trained in these training  
9 programs as waitresses but they couldn't get jobs. They were  
10 all working -- those that were working were out in the Negro  
11 neighborhoods working in hash houses for which they needed no  
12 training, of course. But I am interested, for example, in the  
13 brewery industry, in the screw machine industry, in all the highly  
14 technical industries that absorb this population to keep up  
15 Milwaukee's reputation, how many of them are Negro?

16 MAYOR MAIER: Well, I don't know but I think you will  
17 be in for a surprise in that there is a demand -- I think we  
18 have about 6,000 Negroes now in vocational schools. Graduates  
19 of that school are almost invariably placed. I don't know any-  
20 thing about that particular situation of the waitresses. I  
21 have no facts and figures on it. But I wouldn't want to make  
22 any kind of a judgment on any of these things just merely  
23 from guess work. If we are going to talk about guess work I  
24 can say this to you, that it was probably one of the first cities  
25 in the country that was economically integrated. It has had

mbh/23

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1 the mass industrial unions. I guess the first one, Mr. Abel,  
2 was the Federal union which is the forerunner of everything  
3 else we have got. We have been tremendously well organized.

4 The problem we did have was our building trades. Our  
5 building trades circularized the whole inner core, rented the  
6 auditorium, had all the business agents down there to help people  
7 get started in a special program, and hardly anybody showed up.  
8 They circularized the wards, sent loudspeakers into the wards,  
9 into the inner core to try to get this thing moving.

10 MR. WILKINS: For trainees or for journeymen?

11 MAYOR MAIER: For trainees, of course, because if you  
12 get to the journeyman stage, you don't have that problem. But  
13 to help them get into the trades, to help people who were  
14 interested get into the trades.

15 MR. WILKINS: I am very interested. I am glad to  
16 hear this. And it simply points up the fact that it was several  
17 years ago that the brewery industry, which is the leading or  
18 was the leading industry in Milwaukee until a lot of them  
19 decided to move away and build breweries elsewhere, the brewery  
20 industry was lilywhite and it took a tremendous campaign, very  
21 bitter, led by a very moderate organization, the National Urban  
22 League, to get Negroes into the brewery industry.

23 Now, that, of course, eventually was overcome and I  
24 assume that there are now a few Negroes in the brewery industry,  
25 drivers and others. But up to that time, which is less than a

mbh/24

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1 dozen years ago, the brewery industry in Milwaukee was absolutely  
2 lilywhite, in contrast, for example, to the Anheuser-Busch in St.  
3 Louis which, while no paragon of virtue did have some Negro  
4 employees.

5           MAYOR MAIER: Well, that hasn't been true in recent  
6 times. Of course, you must remember it wasn't too long ago that  
7 Milwaukee had a three per cent Negro population. It had the most  
8 rapid acceleration of in-migrants -- this may surprise you but  
9 it had the most rapid acceleration of in-migrants of any city in  
10 the United States in the fifties.

11           MR. WILKINS: Probably the greatest in proportion to  
12 the resident population.

13           MAYOR MAIER: Not in the aggregate, but in terms of  
14 percentage.

15           MR. WILKINS: You see, Mr. Mayor, these community  
16 tensions build up over the years. The fact that this condition  
17 existed in 1957 is reflected in the extreme actions of 1967 and  
18 Milwaukee, and unfortunately, I think, probably due to that  
19 three per cent, wasn't terribly concerned about the three per  
20 cent. It managed to get employment on the fringes. It  
21 managed to live where the real estate dealers could find a place  
22 that would accept Negroes. And it wasn't concerned.

23           Now, you have a tremendous segment of your population  
24 occupying the center city and it is making raucus and sometimes  
25 crude demands for things that should have been granted in 1957,

mbh/25

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1 in 1947, but they weren't. Now, here it is 1967 and they still  
2 aren't, and with respect to the department stores, the member  
3 of the Commission who made that remark is perfectly capable  
4 of substantiating it but I happened to be in that particular  
5 store myself and it is the largest department store in Milwaukee  
6 and the oldest, and the fact that it had only two visible  
7 Negroe employees, one of whom was in the cafeteria department,  
8 regardless of whether one down the street had ten, 15, 20 or  
9 200, it didn't sound very good for the oldest, the largest and  
10 the biggest department store complex in Milwaukee.

11 MAYOR MAIER: Well, I don't think it is representative  
12 of the effort.

13 MR. WILKINS: Well, if the oldest and largest one is  
14 not representative, what is representative of the department  
15 store industry in Milwaukee? If Gimbel's doesn't represent  
16 Milwaukee's department store industry, what does?

17 MAYOR MAIER: What I am saying is that I don't think  
18 that is representative of the employment effort in the City of  
19 Milwaukee. I believe that you will find that we got our -- we  
20 got MEVOC established about as quickly in the field as anybody  
21 in the country. I think the results overall have been just  
22 about as gratifying as any other city in the country.

23 Now, I am not going to debate what I consider an  
24 unrepresentative sample. I don't know anything about Schuster-  
25 Gimbel's reasons for their situation in this particular store.

mbh/26

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1 I just make the point, Roy, that I don't think it is represen-  
2 tative and I don't think it is a very good technique of sampling  
3 to look into a store and say I see three Negroes, so, therefore,  
4 Milwaukee has a bad employment practice in terms of nonwhite.

5 MR. WILKINS: I will accept that --

6 MAYOR MAIER: I don't think that is representative.

7 MR. WILKINS: I will accept that but I point out the  
8 City of Chicago did not regard the isolationist policy of  
9 their biggest store as unrepresentative. In fact, they regarded  
10 it as very representative and the city government addressed  
11 itself to the fact that this department store had an obvious  
12 policy of discouraging Negro employment, whereas Carson, Pirie  
13 and Scott embarked on a very sensible training program and  
14 enfolded Negroes into their employment policy. But the other,  
15 the leading one, the one known all over the world, for many  
16 years maintained a stubborn policy but the City of Chicago did  
17 not maintain that this was unrepresentative of the department  
18 store industry.

19 Now, if Milwaukee wants to take that view, all right,  
20 but I am not able to see how Gimbel's, which started in  
21 Milwaukee, which has a chain, can be dismissed by saying it  
22 isn't representative of Milwaukee. It is the heart of Milwaukee.

23 MAYOR MAIER: The particular store you are talking  
24 about is not the biggest department store.

25 MR. WILKINS: Of course, it is. It is a branch.

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1           MAYOR MAIER: It is a branch of Gimbel's, yes. Are  
2 you saying that Gimbel-Schuster has a general policy of discrimina-  
3 tion?

4           MR. WILKINS: I say that a store they maintain in  
5 the Negro shopping area where nine out of ten, or eight out of  
6 ten customers certainly are black, to walk in a branch depart-  
7 ment store and find nobody employed there behind the counter  
8 doesn't speak very well for Gimbel's or the city administration  
9 of Milwaukee because you could call the manager of Gimbel's  
10 into your office and say, look, you are making it tough for me,  
11 the Mayor. Why don't you do something about your policy? I  
12 am sure he would listen.

13           MAYOR MAIER: Any other questions, gentlemen?

14           CHAIRMAN KERNER: Congressman Corman, please?

15           MR. CORMAN: Mr. Mayor, what is the population of the  
16 total metropolitan area of Milwaukee?

17           MAYOR MAIER: A million two.

18           MR. CORMAN: Incidentally, though you can't live your  
19 life over, you might have taken a page from Los Angeles. We  
20 didn't metropolitanize our water and my district is about like  
21 the top third of that map and they are all in the city because  
22 they are all thirsty.

23                   What is your relationship with the Police Department?  
24 I mean, just legally. As the Mayor, what control do you  
25 have over it or is the police chief the next one down or is

1 there a commission in between you and the chief? What is the  
2 situation?

3           MAYOR MAIER: Well, the Department is autonomous.  
4 The chief is an autonomous person. He has got a favored position.  
5 He can't be removed except for gross malfeasance or misconduct  
6 in office. He is appointed by the Commission. The Commission  
7 goes through a nationwide search and then hires a Milwaukee man  
8 and that is the traditional pattern.

9           The Mayor cannot give the chief an order except  
10 to detach an officer or group of officers to a certain point in  
11 the city. This is as far as he can go with the police. He  
12 does appoint the Fire and Police Commission. It is a civilian  
13 body. In fact, it is the oldest civilian review board in the  
14 United States. And its job is to recruit and grade policemen.  
15 But it can also hear citizen complaints against the Police  
16 Department.

17           MR. CORMAN: And the Commission is appointed by the  
18 Mayor, right?

19           MAYOR MAIER: The Commission is appointed by the Mayor  
20 subject to ratification by the Common Council.

21           MR. CORMAN: I take it that at least theoretically  
22 it is the policy making body for the Police Department.

23           MAYOR MAIER: No.

24           MR. CORMAN: No?

25           MAYOR MAIER: It is not. It has jurisdiction only over

1 recruiting people. It can hear complaints against an individual  
2 in the Department.

3 MR. CORMAN: The balance of the policy making decisions  
4 is in the chief?

5 MAYOR MAIER: The Milwaukee police force is virtually  
6 autonomous. By state statute.

7 MR. CORMAN: I understand some year or so before the  
8 disturbances that the Department had begun some riot control  
9 planning, training. Could you give us a little summary of  
10 what the plans were and then how they worked once the trouble  
11 started, whether you could make any changes or not.

12 MAYOR MAIER: I don't think that -- our police didn't  
13 do anything unusual in this thing except as far as the riot  
14 control is concerned, there were perhaps two things that we  
15 might have done that were different. One was that I had  
16 determined earlier that I was going to call the Guard quickly  
17 because, first of all, I didn't want to leave the city unpro-  
18 tected, and secondly, it is a great morale booster even for the  
19 officers, although many chiefs don't like the presence of the  
20 Guard. But the officers, the men themselves, like the idea of  
21 the reinforced support. So there is a little problem. I think  
22 the record shows that quite a few chiefs want to wait and wait  
23 and wait on the theory we can control the situation. Well, I  
24 waived that very early in the decision when this thing happened  
25 and in advance I had decided that I was going to waive it very

mbh/30

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1881

1 early and we were going to call the Guard in.

2           Secondly, of course, there were many reasons for the  
3 total curfew which enabled our police to operate effectively.  
4 If you were on the street, you were a rioter. The curfew was  
5 uniform. It applied to everybody. It had a good psychological  
6 effect in my opinion, in that everybody got it, not just a  
7 barricaded area. Although to hear the opposition describe  
8 this thing it didn't work that way, that it was supposed to be  
9 an oppressive curfew. It wasn't at all because if there is  
10 economic loss, it wasn't just the people in that area. It was  
11 the entire metropolitan area.

12           The curfew itself, of course, as a total curfew, meant  
13 that people couldn't come in. It gave us only one problem and  
14 that only very briefly in that we had to send special Guard units  
15 moving around for a while with milk and that sort of thing.  
16 But we found that nobody suffered. We had enough organization  
17 of that kind so that everybody seemed to get along pretty good  
18 during the first period of the total curfew. But the fact that  
19 you couldn't get in and the fact that if you were seen on the  
20 streets made you subject to arrest and the fact that it was  
21 uniform, gave a decided advantage and, of course, our police  
22 because they could move so much more freely. They didn't -- if  
23 you were out there and you got hurt, it was your own damn fault.  
24 They are not a gentle Police Department. And I wouldn't try to  
25 kid anybody that they are. They are a very rough Police Depart-

1 ment.

2 They can be gentle. For 35 days they have been  
3 protecting Groppi and his demonstrators.

4 MR. CORMAN: We discussed this here before and that  
5 is this problem of -- I suppose we may anticipate more legal  
6 demonstrations. It seems that the people have a rather wide  
7 latitude as to how they can express their dissatisfaction. And  
8 what do you recommend is the proper role of the police in pre-  
9 venting violence when the people who are protesting are staying  
10 within their legal obligations so far as not interfering with  
11 traffic or whatever the reasonable exercise of police power, they  
12 can become a factor in the community and still stay within the  
13 law and then I suppose be protected under court decisions to  
14 do what they are doing? What do the police do in that respect?

15 MAYOR MAIER: All I can say is that Milwaukee's history  
16 is, of course, our police accompanied them into the south side  
17 and day after day after day and protected them and used tear  
18 gas on formation of the white mobs. Of course, it was anticipated  
19 that there would be white mobs because a parade route was laid  
20 out three days before the first march. The thing was duly  
21 publicized.

22 It is like the old story of the ABC on the draft  
23 card burners, you know, give us an hour to get our cameras there.  
24 That is all right. We will hold up. We will wait until you  
25 get there. Are you ready, ABC? All right. Burn draft cards.

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1 Well, this was sort of the thing we had in this  
2 business and, of course, we had every bigot from the midwest  
3 coming in there and this is why I put the original ban on,  
4 quite contrary to the conception -- it was not to stop the  
5 marchers. It was to stop the mob until the weekend because on  
6 the weekend the ban couldn't have been effective under the  
7 hours I had to lift it and I knew I would have to but for two  
8 days I was able to make an appeal to the businessmen of our  
9 south side particularly to help keep these people away and let  
10 the people march and it worked, and then for about a ten-day  
11 period, then the mob started to build again.

12 So, I went through the procedure -- we wouldn't have  
13 had a mob the first time except that we had a communications  
14 failure. At 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon I had asked for  
15 people to stay home but the message did not get out. Television  
16 didn't do a job. Television had done a tremendous job for us all  
17 during the curfew but this message did not get out and that  
18 mob formed. With plenty of time, with two days to advocate  
19 staying home, with telephone squads backing up the Mayor's  
20 office, calling businessmen, asking their help, keep these  
21 people home, let these people march, it worked. And they formed  
22 -- they started coming in again after a ten-day period and  
23 then we went right back to the same procedure and dissolved it  
24 again. They kept on marching. Of course, now we have got  
25 three groups marching.

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1

MR. CORMAN: What were the hours --

2

MAYOR MAIER: We have got a counterpriest marching

3

now.

4

MR. CORMAN: A what?

5

MAYOR MAIER: A counterpriest. We have got another

6

priest. He is against open housing.

7

MR. CORMAN: That presents a problem for the Archbishop.

8

What were the curfew hours? Was this curfew in dark-

9

ness or --

10

MAYOR MAIER: The first one was 24 hours. We lifted

11

it for two hours for the milk run. And then the second night,

12

starting the second night, we put it on only in the evening.

13

MR. CORMAN: Are you satisfied with the authority

14

you have as Mayor in declaring curfews and also in your capacity

15

to get National Guard troops when that is necessary?

16

MAYOR MAIER: Well, we had worked with the Governor's

17

office. We had worked with the Adjutant General's office very

18

early in the game and we had established the hot line so we

19

were -- the cooperation, the coordination from that end was

20

great. And I found that -- this is the only case where I had

21

sufficient powers. Otherwise, I operated under a weak Mayor

22

form of government.

23

I, for instance, found this, John. I had only one

24

troubleshooter during all this time. I had one man in community

25

relations work and I couldn't get any more from the Common

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1 Council. So I had to go through this damn thing with one guy and  
2 volunteers on the telephone which is inadequate for this kind of  
3 thing, you know, because problems of communication, they had to  
4 reach sometimes a hundred people.

5 We were trying to enlist the aid -- trying to cool  
6 this thing. We did get the help of -- in cooling, I think we  
7 got a lot of economic help. The bartenders didn't want that  
8 curfew. Neither did the barbers. And the businessmen, you  
9 know. And I think they helped us a lot because when I said --  
10 when we got right down to the final wire, I said, now, this  
11 weekend we are going to take the curfew off and if we got -- if  
12 it is cool, it will stay off. If we have trouble, you will  
13 have a curfew next week. And we had no problem.

14 Now, I don't know how much effect it had. I am only  
15 assuming it had an effect. The same way in the south side.  
16 When they were marching in the south side I would threaten a  
17 curfew. If you businessmen don't help us keep these people home  
18 so the marchers can go unmolested, you will have another curfew.  
19 I think that had the same kind of magic. It is an indirect  
20 sanction that the Mayor's office had and the only time I know  
21 of in our history when we have had any kind of real authority.

22 MR. CORMAN: During periods when there is no unrest,  
23 how do you maintain communication with the ghetto area? Do  
24 you think it is satisfactory? Do you have any suggestion as to  
25 how you could do it better?

1 MAYOR MAIER: Well --

2 MR. CORMAN: I take it, from your comments about  
3 your community relationsman that you don't --

4 MAYOR MAIER: My problem is, I don't have enough  
5 people in this area and I haven't been able to get them so far.  
6 We have a tradition of a strong Council and a Council zealously  
7 guards its powers. A couple of our 29 points were to strengthen  
8 our Community Relations Commission and enable me to get an  
9 additional staffman. I have even had this kind of a problem.  
10 We have tried to hire Negro staff people but we haven't been  
11 able to pay them enough. People we wanted, we couldn't pay  
12 them enough to get them on our staff. So we do have some  
13 unique problems which I don't think John has in New York and  
14 I know Dick Daley doesn't have them, some of the other mayors,  
15 but we do have some unique problems of getting the kind of  
16 personnel we need to establish the kind of a basis of communica-  
17 tion that we ought to have.

18 I try my best to keep in contact. I was a Senator for  
19 ten years for the area and I had a very good liaison, but un-  
20 fortunately, as Mayor I wasn't able to keep my liaison because  
21 I had many, many problems. When I took office in 1960,  
22 Milwaukee had this tremendous area of decadence and decrepitude  
23 and not one urban renewal project completed on the ground. And  
24 we further were barred from having an urban renewal project  
25 because we had a constitutional requirement for a jury verdict

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1 of necessity. It took me two years to get that out of the  
2 constitution before I could move a project in Milwaukee.

3 MR. CORMAN: What form of county government do you  
4 have? Do you have a Board of Supervisors?

5 MAYOR MAIER: Board of Supervisors?

6 MR. CORMAN: With an executive head?

7 MAYOR MAIER: With an executive head, yes.

8 MR. CORMAN: Do they maintain any kind of human  
9 relations commission or similar activity?

10 MAYOR MAIER: They have no activity. They lead a  
11 charmed life. Actually, the ratio is better, I mean, this is  
12 one of the confounding things about the open housing thing.  
13 The ratio is six and a half to one, nonwhite to white. In  
14 other words, we have got two Negroes in the county board, only  
15 one Negro in the Common Council. On a majority basis, therefore  
16 the ratio is one to ten, and why the drive had never been put on  
17 in the county was always a mystery to me. I have a -- I think  
18 it is a joining of two forces. I think it is a joining of  
19 the suburbanites or at least the suburban-oriented civic  
20 conscience on the one hand, plus the Negroes who would just as  
21 soon keep their power centered in the central city. Both  
22 understandable reasons, but it doesn't help City Hall.

23 MR. CORMAN: The Congress these days is addressing  
24 itself, and perhaps taking a new look at city-Federal relation-  
25 ships. The trend seems to be that the Federal Government will

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1 diminish its direct control with cities and metropolitan areas  
2 and deal almost entirely through states. I wonder if you could  
3 comment for us on what you anticipate will happen in the metro-  
4 politan areas and large cities as a result of that course?  
5 Would it be --

6           MAYOR MAIER: I think it would bereft us of any real  
7 help. Part of our problem now is the state. The state govern-  
8 ment in our state could do a hell of a lot more for us than it  
9 does. It is doing little or nothing for us. It has the same  
10 tax sources as the Federal Government. We have an income tax in  
11 Wisconsin. We have a sales tax in Wisconsin. But we have got  
12 a Governor who is constantly saying that he can't raise taxes.  
13 He is going to be the only Governor in the U.S., our Governor  
14 in Wisconsin -- he is going to be the Alf Landon of 1967, will  
15 be the only one that isn't going to raise taxes, but that is a  
16 unique situation.

17           But I Don't think -- I don't know of a mayor in the  
18 country, big city mayor, that favors a system of channeling  
19 through the states because our experience has been too bad with  
20 states.

21           MR. CORMAN: Thank you very much.

22           CHAIRMAN KERNER: Mr. Thornton?

23           MR. THORNTON: Mayor, that is an interesting remark  
24 you just made, that the cities can't -- they do better dealing  
25 with the Federal Government than they do their own state

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1 governments. Isn't that reversing a trend of the whole concept  
2 of our government, both Federal and state and community form  
3 of government?

4 MAYOR MAIER: Well, if that state government in  
5 Wisconsin as an example wanted to step in there and effect a  
6 metropolitan government, it could. Now, if it did that, many of  
7 our problems could be solved within our own resources of  
8 Wisconsin. Here you have a Balkanized situation. This is worse  
9 than Central Europe. John, you have got it far, far worse.  
10 I have only got 19 scattered around.

11 MR. MC CULLOCH: Would you yield for one question?  
12 Under the Wisconsin Constitution do you now have authority  
13 for countywide metropolitan government? Under the Wisconsin  
14 Constitution do you now have authority for countywide or multi-  
15 countywide metropolitan government?

16 MAYOR MAIER: Certainly.

17 MR. MC CULLOCH: Thank you, Mr. Thornton.

18 MR. THORNTON: That leads into the next question I  
19 have, almost supplementing that. One of your problems as I  
20 understood you, Mayor, where the lines of the City of Milwaukee  
21 as indicated on the map there, if those lines encompassed the  
22 metropolitan area, would your problems in Milwaukee be less or  
23 greater?

24 MAYOR MAIER: Well, we would have the added income  
25 from the shared tax, from the State of Wisconsin. We would

1 have the endowment that the suburb has in talent.

2 We would have these people sharing in the burden  
3 that the -- the extra cost here that they don't share in.

4 MR. THORNTON: So, you would be better off.

5 MAYOR MAIER: We would have a better base for this.  
6 We would win all the way around.

7 MR. THORNTON: Well, now, if this is typical of all  
8 American cities, as you indicated earlier, what steps could be  
9 taken to cause the central cities to encompass more of the  
10 suburban areas? If any?

11 MAYOR MAIER: Well, I think, of course, the Federal  
12 steps would have to be whatever carrots on whatever sticks you  
13 have. I imagine they would be considerable if you stop to take  
14 an inventory.

15 MR. THORNTON: Which would just be money, wouldn't  
16 it? It would only be money. The Federal Government can do  
17 nothing more than just appropriate money.

18 MAYOR MAIER: Well, I think you can --

19 MR. THORNTON: It is a local problem.

20 MAYOR MAIER: I think you are already taking some  
21 steps -- they haven't maybe come to light though -- to force  
22 metropolitanization, with your disbursement. I think you are  
23 heading in that direction.

24 MR. CORMAN: Would the gentleman yield? As I understand,  
25 many of the Federal programs require regional planning before

1 you can qualify for funds and I take it, that that is the step  
2 that moves you towards regionalism.

3 MAYOR MAIER: One of the steps.

4 MR. CORMAN: And if the Federal Government makes  
5 a decision to deal solely with the states, then a regionalism  
6 will be lost. Is that a fair observation? In other words,  
7 if the state makes the decision as to where to put the funds --

8 MAYOR MAIER: Of course, I can't really respond to  
9 that, Congressman, but our big concern with the states, we just  
10 don't trust the state governments to give us a fair shake. We  
11 have lived too long with maldistribution of state aids and shared  
12 taxes.

13 MR. CORMAN: Just to refresh my memory and the  
14 record, you were State Senator for ten years before you were  
15 Mayor for seven, is that right?

16 MAYOR MAIER: That is correct.

17 MR. CORMAN: And that observation comes from a fair  
18 amount of experience.

19 MAYOR MAIER: This was my district for those ten  
20 years. This is what I represented. Ten years in the fifties.  
21 That is before I got to be a bigot.

22 (laughter)

23 MR. THORNTON: Mayor, if you had open housing for the  
24 central city that Father Groppi and those that he leads and  
25 represents want, would that stop the demonstrations of Father

1 Groppi and his group or would there be other issues that would  
2 have the similar fervor that he would start, he would continue  
3 his demonstrations?

4 MAYOR MAIER: I think Groppi has said that as long  
5 as he is the leader, there will be demonstrations of one cause  
6 or another. Of course, I think if we -- I don't know whether  
7 we are at a particular advantage or disadvantage with Groppi.  
8 I think we tend to be at a disadvantage while he is the leader  
9 of the movement because he has been able to practice a certain  
10 amount of deception that I don't think he would practice if he  
11 didn't have a Roman collar. It is a matter of opinion, however.

12 MR. THORNTON: He also charges police brutality. Do  
13 you have any observations?

14 MAYOR MAIER: He came to my office and charged police  
15 harassment and he had his Commandos with him and he brought  
16 in four sets of television cameras to have a dialogue. And he  
17 sat in front of the television cameras and he -- we took a depo-  
18 sition from him. I got the city attorney down there. Then  
19 for two days we tried to get him to sign it. He wouldn't sign it  
20 and he said his own attorneys would file it with the Fire and  
21 Police Commission. To this day it hasn't been filed. And oddly  
22 enough no reporter has asked him why he hasn't filed it. He  
23 is a great showman.

24 MR. THORNTON: Father Groppi also has mentioned that the  
25 Milwaukee attitude of whites, of the lack of acceptance of the

1 Negro on an equal status, both in jobs and socially, or whatnot,  
2 but it is the attitude of the whites that that is one of the  
3 reasons that he is demonstrating, and he certainly condemns  
4 the attitudes of the whites.

5 Do you know of any legislation or anything else that  
6 is going to cause the attitude of the whites to change?  
7 Whether they are right or wrong, it still is resented not only  
8 by the Negroes in Milwaukee but in many other cities or all  
9 other cities and localities. It is the white attitude that upsets  
10 them, it seems to me, as much as anything else.

11 MAYOR MAIER: Well, I think that there is an awful  
12 lot of work to be done in this area but Groppi, unfortunately,  
13 isn't doing it. We have an approach in our city government.  
14 We hired the Greenly people to outline and document a report, a  
15 procedure to attack discrimination, prejudice in the Milwaukee  
16 metropolitan area, and then we appropriated money for -- we  
17 have the appropriation to help us carry out the report. But  
18 the whole thing right now is lying fallow. It is hanging in  
19 suspension because you can't get anybody's ear these days  
20 unless you are stage managing it properly.

21 So, I personally have great confidence in our procedure.  
22 We mailed out several of those reports. We asked for replies.  
23 We first want our Commission to take the replies, to go through  
24 them, to amend the report according to the community's  
25 conscience, and then move from there into the execution of the

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1 report. This was a formal attack on prejudice. It has such  
2 things in it as number 1 priorities, metropolitan open housing,  
3 which is -- I find this, that in establishing -- I have had  
4 a hell of a time trying to get people to serve on our Community  
5 Relations Commission. For instance, the publisher of the  
6 Milwaukee Journal turned me down. So did the Chairman of the  
7 militant Negro groups. So I have now -- I have reorganized the  
8 commission. We knocked it down from a 30-man commission to a  
9 nine-man commission, which was one of the tenets of the  
10 recommended Greenly report, was the first action we took, and  
11 now we are trying -- we have a resolution in the Common  
12 Council. We are trying to shore up the personnel.

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13 MR. THORNTON: I have one other question, Mr.  
14 Chairman.

15 We have heard also that the rising expectations of  
16 the Negro is the cause for much of the unrest and that some of  
17 the expenditures that have been made by the Federal and state  
18 governments in their poverty program activities and Federal  
19 housing where crime rates have increased, where Negroes have  
20 moved into federally-sponsored low rent housing, but that these  
21 rising expectations caused by promises made by at least some  
22 politicians as to what he is going to do if elected, and also  
23 the programs have caused these rising expectations and that they  
24 want to move faster, is the cause of much of the unrest that  
25 brings about riots and dissatisfactions. Have you any comments

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1 on that?

2 MAYOR MAIER: Well, I know the theory. I am familiar  
3 with the theory. I can't quite associate it with the rioters.  
4 It escapes me, it eludes me.

5 In our own Negro community I find it very difficult  
6 to make an assessment. We do not have a vast unemployment in  
7 our Negro community. I repeat we do not have have a vast unem-  
8 ployment. We have higher relatively unemployments in our  
9 Negro community than we do in the white community. I have yet  
10 to find anybody that I feel can speak for our Negroes any more  
11 than I can have yet to find anybody that can speak for our white  
12 people. I will be damned if I know anybody that can tell  
13 what I am thinking half the time because I don't know myself, or  
14 why. And we have -- I know the theory of rising expectations.  
15 I say I can't quite associate it with rioting.

16 MR. THORNTON: What would you associate it with  
17 primarily?

18 MAYOR MAIER: Well, we haven't classified the  
19 Milwaukee situation. I don't know what the findings are from  
20 Detroit or the findings from Watts. Any of you know how many  
21 were recent in-migrants? In Watts?

22 MR. THORNTON: Roughly half, hasn't it been?

23 MR. WILKINS: Some --

24 MAYOR MAIER: Recent arrivals.

25 MR. WILKINS: Some in-migrants but the in-migrants

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1 found in Watts, for example, were not found to be the principal  
2 participants in the riots.

3           MAYOR MAIER: They found a great many educated advanced  
4 Negroes, didn't they?

5           MR. WILKINS: Not so much that but they found a  
6 great many older residents of Watts who were participants,  
7 not new fresh in-migrants, which I might add tends to bolster  
8 my statement that these conditions grow over many years and they  
9 just don't blossom out and explode in 1967 but they explode  
10 because of something that didn't happen in 1947 and 1957,  
11 and I think your city, Mr. Mayor -- I sympathize with many of  
12 your problems, some of which are common to all mayors and some  
13 of which are unique, and we have a common problem also, I might  
14 say, without further elaboration, but I think part of your prob-  
15 lem is the fact that Milwaukee among other cities, has failed  
16 to do anything about this, for 20 years and now you have got to  
17 face it and it is terribly difficult, terribly expensive. There  
18 isn't any reason for the Negro population being concentrated  
19 in Milwaukee or Detroit or Cleveland or New York where it is  
20 and exploited like it is and it was put there deliberately by  
21 the real estate interests and the bankers and the rest of the  
22 people, the apathetic public opinion, in the 1930's, in the  
23 twenties, in the forties, and here in 1967 we are reaping the  
24 whirlwind.

25           MAYOR MAIER: I agree with you. One of the lost

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1 causes that I am espousing is that we decentralize our slums  
2 and that every suburb take a percentage.

3 MR. THORNTON: You would propose that in deference  
4 to rebuilding the central city areas and just giving better  
5 housing to the Negroes that live in those central city areas?

6 MAYOR MAIER: I can't -- what was your question?

7 MR. THORNTON: Would you prefer that dispersal to all  
8 areas of the Negroes from central cities or better housing,  
9 federally-sponsored better housing, or sponsored by someone, to  
10 rebuilding the urban areas to give better housing?

11 MAYOR MAIER: Oh, I think -- I am absolutely convinced  
12 if you could arrive at a policy of dispersion that everybody  
13 would be better off. I mean the suburb would be better off, the  
14 central city would be better off, the people who are dispersed  
15 would be better off. I just can't see a real flaw in this.  
16 But this is the kind of thing when you talk about it people  
17 say it is unrealistic. I always find any damn time you ask the  
18 suburb to do something, except open housing, it is unrealistic  
19 but any kind of an affliction you put on the central city, that  
20 is realistic. This is true. I mean, I may sound bitter but it  
21 is the kind of thing I am running into in Milwaukee on the open  
22 housing fight.

23 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Any further questions?

24 Chief Jenkins?

25 CHIEF JENKINS: Mr. Mayor, I enjoyed my visit very much

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1 in Milwaukee and I think I learned a great deal and I think you  
2 and your Police Department handled your situation in as fine  
3 a manner as any place I have seen. You have a lot of broken  
4 glass but no looting or burning, which speaks very well. I  
5 think you did a fine job.

6 While you were pinpointing the problems of Milwaukee  
7 I was amazed at the similarity to the problems of Atlanta, since  
8 they are so far apart on the map, but all the problems including  
9 your relationship with your state government are very similar  
10 to that in Atlanta.

11 The question I wanted to ask you, with the police  
12 problems what they are today with recruitment and police pay  
13 and, of course, in Atlanta the police are tied to the Firemen,  
14 Sanitary and School Association -- you can't do anything for  
15 the Police Department from the appropriations standpoint, with-  
16 out doing it for the firemen and schools -- the question I  
17 wanted to ask, what do you believe the state government and the  
18 Federal Government -- what assistance should they give city  
19 police departments from the financial standpoint and if the  
20 state government fails, then should Federal Government assume  
21 that percentagewise and how would it be activated? Do you  
22 have any thoughts on that?

23 MAYOR MAIER: Well, I can only relate to our situation.  
24 We have got a lot of work to do with our Department, in our  
25 Department. It seems to me, that while we have an excellent

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1 force we do have a problem of broadening their attitudes.  
2 This takes training. This takes upgrading. We feel in my  
3 office, at least, that there has to be some expanding of the  
4 horizon and we think that we should -- a contemporary police  
5 force should be funded so that you can enter heavier into the  
6 college classification. We think that, for instance, standards  
7 of our force eventually should be the standards damn near of  
8 the FBI. This is our thinking. We feel that we are gradually  
9 making headway in this direction. We are asking the state of  
10 Wisconsin to give us 50 per cent of the money to finance our  
11 force. Now, if we are going to have big trouble, big, big  
12 trouble as NBC indicates we are going to have, then we had  
13 better get that 50 per cent. So with St. Louis and New York  
14 and everybody else; Atlanta. We can't do it off our property  
15 tax. We are not going to kid ourselves any more. We have  
16 added policemen and policemen and pretty soon we won't have  
17 anything but policemen. We won't have anything going, no garbage  
18 collection. It is right through the moon now. And I have used  
19 the argument in the past that we don't have enough money for  
20 our social services because we are putting on too damn many  
21 policemen, but I have decided there are two things you can sell.  
22 Policemen and highways. So I just call everything now police and  
23 highways. I don't try to sell anything else.

24 (Laughter)

25 So if I want money for building inspectors, code enforcement, I

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1 try to get money for the police so I can have some money over  
2 here, and that is what I am working on in the State of  
3 Wisconsin. I think it is going to come because people are  
4 scared, and it is hard to get a businessman to back you on  
5 spending a buck unless he is scared.

6 CHIEF JENKINS: Just one more question.

7 MR. THORNTON: Mayor, I would like to discuss that  
8 with you in private, being the only businessman on the  
9 Commission.

10 CHIEF JENKINS: Obviously, the answer to many of the  
11 problems in the cities would be annexation. We found that that  
12 is impossible for many reasons. Last week Mayor Ivan Allen  
13 came out strong for one government, combine the city and the  
14 county governments, the city of Atlanta and Fulton County. It  
15 has been discussed for many years behind doors but he brought it  
16 out in the open and I have been surprised at the support he has  
17 picked up in the last week for such a movement.

18 I think maybe the statement that you just made about  
19 people being frightened had a great deal to do with it but it  
20 is taking on considerable support at this time.

21 Do you have any strong feelings on that? Is that an  
22 answer to the problem?

23 MAYOR MAIER: Well, you mean metropolitan government?

24 CHIEF JENKINS: Yes, sir.

25 MAYOR MAIER: As I say, I don't know what other answer

1 we really have got if we want to get the resources in that those  
2 central cities need -- and every central city has got the  
3 resources laying right alongside of them, not being used --  
4 to face up to the problems.

5 I was showing this map, Mayor Cervantes, which gets  
6 our inner core which costs us an extra \$9 million a year to  
7 service, that cross-hatched area. It is all in the City of  
8 Milwaukee. I know, you have got the same thing in St. Louis.  
9 I know John Lindsay has got the same thing and these people here  
10 with Federal sharing on welfare, now, they get a free ride on  
11 this. This is the only place where the Statute of Liberty  
12 stands in our metropolitan area, because these people can't  
13 get in up here.

14 MR. THORNTON: Mayor, I notice that is from the  
15 Milwaukee Journal, 1963. Do you think that is still represen-  
16 tative of the Milwaukee urban area?

17 MAYOR MAIER: Well, maybe not. I imagine that the  
18 pink is a little bit broader, the cross-hatch has spread a  
19 little more since then really. Even though we have a renewal  
20 program, it just doesn't cut that deeply. As far as the title  
21 is concerned, that is an impeccable source, the Milwaukee  
22 Journal.

23 CHAIRMAN KERNER: Any further questions?

24 Mr. Abel?

25 MR. ABEL: I really don't have a question, Mr. Chairman.