

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS  
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6 JAN 1969

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September 5, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: James E. Burns, Director

FROM: Richard Bowe, Human Relations Officer  
Housing and Community Services Division

RE: Events Witnessed on August 25 through August 29, In Lincoln and  
Grant Parks

Saturday, August 24

I was assigned office duty from 5:00 P.M. to Midnight. During that time I contacted Inspector Meyers at the Lincoln Park Police Command Post. He stated, shortly after 11:00 P.M., that a crowd of approximately 500 in the park was disbursing without incident, and that only 3 or 4 arrests on minor charges had been made throughout the day.

Sunday, August 25

At 2:30 P.M., I arrived at the south end of Lincoln Park, near the horse ring, where a concert by the "Fugs" (a singing group) was in progress before a crowd of approximately 2,000. Only a token detail (-20) was in evidence. Two Youth Welfare Commission cars were on the scene with approximately four men assigned. The crowd was seated and orderly, containing a large number of local spectators. An estimated 800 political activists had skipped the concert to march down town. Two problems observed were -- (YOUTH) interspersed among the audience were members of a white northwest side youth gang, the "Simon City Boys," chanting W-A-L-L-A-C-E. A group of approximately 30 Negro youth (probably from Cabrini Green), members of a northwestern Illinois motorcycle club "The Outlaws," and a few persons handing out Kody Bible Institute tracts. Youth Welfare personnel stated that they and a token police detail were on the scene merely in case of a small disagreement occurring among any members of what was a varied and potentially volatile crowd. (NARCOTICS) staff also witnessed what appeared to be a distribution of approximately 20 reefers. Commander Lynsky stated that his instructions were to avoid arrests for observable narcotics violations, since he felt that efforts had been made to use punk, incense, and dummy reefers to precipitate unwarranted arrests. He stated that his orders were that narcotics detectives in the crowd move only where they observed a large quantity of suspicious material being distributed or if they observed sale transactions of such material.

I left the concert and visited the Police Command Post in the Park District Recreation building on Lincoln Park West. Commander Lynsky was cordial, offering Commission representatives free access to the Command desk and radio installation. The police were operating away from their vehicles, so the Lincoln Park radio net consisted of military transmitters under police control in the Command Post, and military head and

hand sets distributed to approximately one policeman in each squad of ten. The park was divided into zones with a radio equipped squad operating in each zone directly under orders from the Command Post. The police were using an observation post on the roof of a 40-story apartment house in the 1500 block of North Dearborn, south of the park.

At approximately 3:45 P.M., a radio message was received stating that a truck that was crossing the ball field enroute to the concert, had stopped and was attracting a crowd. Within five minutes "10-1's" were received. I joined three squadrons of reinforcements which left the Command Post. Staff questioned Youth Welfare Commission personnel present, who stated that the truck carrying amplification equipment, and which had been denied permission the previous day by the police to leave the park roads, had appeared on the scene, and attracted a small crowd. Then, a man variously described by observers as a "wino" or "juice head" was taken into custody by approximately three officers. A small group of from twenty to thirty persons raced after the officers and their prisoner, throwing rocks and in one case a shoe. Then the crowd of over 2,000 attending the concert moved in the wake of the incident approximately 200 yards west in the direction of a prisoner van. The police formed a line along a walk in the center of a depression located between Stockton Drive and the ball field, with the bulk of the crowd to their east, but a substantial number (estimated at 150 to 200) of persons behind them. The concert, which was held with a permit and with use of a power line to amplifiers supplied by the park district, was then abandoned. Within a few minutes the mood of the crowd became placid, leaders in the crowd led them in patriotic songs and later in "Buddhist Worship." Small groups within the crowd approached individual policemen who engaged each other in low-key philosophical discussions about their respective roles.

To the west of the police line problems occurred through the unwise use of a detachment of approximately twelve "three wheelers." They attempted to make a sweep through a crowd including spectators with small children on an incline, the result was much milling around with little effect in clearing the area. Chief Lynsky was observed to have spoken to the Sergeant about this. Similar problems were caused by a Volkswagen bus with Red Cross markings and Connecticut license plates which dashed through this crowd. It was preceded by medical students in white coats screaming "There's a badly injured man up ahead." Ten minutes of checking with the police and the medical students failed to reveal the location of, or the existence of any casualty. Chief Lynsky requested that the medical students confine their driving to walk-ways, drives, or public parking lots. The group continued to disobey these instructions the rest of the day. Next problem concerned a gaily decorated booth described as a "medical facility" with a sign "freak out." Chief Lynsky stated to its occupants that it was unauthorized and requested that it be removed from the park. The booth was picked up by several persons, carried away to a different location, but Lynsky's order was disregarded. At this time on the police line at the walk, although the situation was serene, I observed several police officers who had removed their name plates and badges. I asked them why they had done so, and they stated that speeches had been overheard urging demonstrators to seize policemen in the lines, by these appendages, and pull them forward into the crowd. The officers also stated that they had just received orders to replace badges, and then did so. Staff then attended a series of speeches at the south field house, which included instructions to the audience to remove "love beads" and tie back long hair with head bands lest they be seized and pulled forward into the police line. Another speech drew a parallel between "rear guard actions in Lincoln Park after curfew" and the strategic withdrawal of certain military facilities from Kanoi under bombing. I dined with a U. S. Justice Department Community Relations Service Intern I met at the "Rumor Central" briefing, and returned to the Command Post shortly before curfew hour.

Chief Lynskey stated [redacted] was leaving the Command Post [redacted] form a police line to the east of Grant monument, for a sweep of the park. He asked if I would observe the crowd and report back. I did not know the crowds location, so I entered Lynskey's car to determine it by radio. I met Mr. Tyler Johnson, a representative of Military Intelligence who informed me that his office was covering the demonstrations, utilizing eight to twelve men in 2 man radio equipped teams with at least 4 automobiles. He was monitoring the transmissions of this net, and shortly received a report that approximately a thousand persons were marching out of the park across LaSalle Dr., blocking traffic on Clark street. M. I. was paying particular attention to the location and movements of Mr. Allen Ginsburg and attempting to identify his companion who was described as wearing a red helmet with a "boycott grapes" sticker.

The traffic on Clark street had backed up half a mile to a point parallel with the Police Command Post as a result of the march across LaSalle Dr. Walking south along the median strip next to a line of stalled cars halfway to LaSalle Dr., I encountered Allen Ginsburg and Mr. "Boycott Grapes" accompanied by several others. I joined this group long enough to hear Mr. Ginsburg state "the thing's out of control, let's go over and have a beer". I left this group continued south to LaSalle Dr., where Mr. Ginsburg's assessment of the situation was verified. Approximately six hundred people were milling in the street, running through traffic, and climbing over several safety islands. Three Police Officers, Lt. Skorsky, 18th District, and 2 patrolmen were on the scene attempting to direct traffic through the crowd. Lt. Skorsky stated that he radioed for assistance 15 minutes previously, but had received no help. I asked if there was anything that I could do and he asked me to dissuade a newspaper reporter with a flash attachment who was using it to blind him whenever he turned. Persons in the crowd had lighted a fire in a trash container (the first instance of something which became quite common), after several minutes this fire was pushed into the streets, further complicating the traffic situation. I removed it and was subjected to some cat calls. I noticed that perhaps as much as 20% of this crowd including some of its most vocal members were wearing press credentials. It formed an integral part of a mob and was clearly an unlawful assembly.

The first efforts at sweeping some of the crowd from the west edge of the park were undertaken by the unit of 3 wheelers and some detectives of the Intelligence Division. These efforts were largely unsuccessful. Soon approximately four hundred police formed a line, moved slowly across the park and into view behind the loud speaker car which broadcast a prepared statement warning persons of the Park Ordinance, and ordering them to leave the area. This line stopped and formed on the east side of Stockton Drive behind a line of parked automobiles. A crowd of approximately 800 persons with a heavy percentage of press, faced them across Stockton Dr. Objects were thrown across this drive at the police, and cries of "pig" and "Hell no, we won't go" were drowned out by more insistant cries of "m----- f-----". This seemed to be used as a deliberate tactic to proclude audio portions of events leading to a clash from being broadcast or printed. The police moved across Stockton Dr., the crowd broke, police disbursed those persons attempting to hold their position, straggling or tripping, with clubs. The police reformed at the edge of the park. At this point another solid formation of police (approximately 100) moved north on Clark st. Approximately ten minutes of isolated rock throwing and clubbing followed, several individuals were chased onto the steps of buildings and beaten by police. I left the scene but learned of a movement by 800 persons south on Michigan by way of Dearborn st., (with window smashing) to the bridge, while enjoying a post disturbance soft drink with Jeff Kamen WCFL News at the Billy Goat Inn. He indicated at that time he felt that the police actions he had

witnessed had been largely justified, and that National Press had arrived on the scene with preconceived notions about the situation which he felt were unfair to the city.

Monday, August 26

Handbills had been distributed in the park indicating that that evenings tactics would be to move about the near Northside between Lincoln Park and Grant Park in small groups, marching and countermarching to cause confusion and disarray among the police. Nothing serious occurred during this early evening period, the police had obvious difficulties tracking the small groups, but because of radio communication, they were under better control than the marchers. I returned to the park from the near Northside by bus with Mr. Tyler Johnson shortly after 11 P.M., his radio reported a crowd of between 2 to 3 thousand forming in the park, the message indicated an intent to resist police attempts to enforce the park ordinance. West of the south fieldhouse were isolated groups of the "Flower Child" element warming themselves by burning trash cans. Between the horse ring and South fieldhouse, to the east of this area however, we observed a large crowd (2,000 +). Some persons were seated on some type of platform, waving flags, our intention was to move through this crowd toward the Grant Monument where we expected the police to be forming. At the front of the crowd we determined that a snow fence and then a series of other obstacles including trash cans, picnic tables was forming a barricade approximately 300 feet long. Behind this were massed over 2,000 persons. We moved west behind the barricade until we came even with the flags where we found a gap. We passed through and avoiding an occasional rock or bottle, preceded to Grant Monument where police were moving into position. Approximately 800 - 900 police then gradually formed ranks and moved into a semicircle, facing the barricade at the foot of Grant Monument, out of the range of thrown objects. As they formed an occasional missile and a steady stream of obscenities emanated from the barricade.

At approximately 12:15, the police loudspeaker car moved up giving the standard warning, it was followed within a few minutes by a squad car which drove at the center of the barricade ramming it, and evidently damaging it at the location where the flags were being waved. Persons on the barricade jumped down swarming over the car and obscured it from view for some moments. This incident had a dangerous effect on the police ranks. They began to strain forward with cries of "those are our guys, there are three men in that car, let's help them". This indicated to Chief Lynskey that restraint of the police might become a problem, he stated that it was for this reason he then ordered a rush by sixty Task Force Patrolmen equipped with gas masks and tear gas grenade launchers against the barricade. Just before this rush, the squad car pulled clear, its rear window smashed, lights kicked out, but the occupants apparently unharmed. Three to four tear gas grenades and an equal number of smoke for marking purposes were fired into the eastern side of the barricade. This plus the rush of the sixty men caused the crowd of over 2 thousand to abandon the barricade and rush across the park in disorder.

Only 2 persons were taken into custody in the vicinity of the barricade. I observed a clergyman lying unconscious who had evidently been clubbed. A man near him wearing a make-shift red cross jacket, stated to police that they had beaten "Our Chaplin". While being carried to the squadrol the clergyman regained consciousness but said nothing. Both men had been arrested. Later discussions with another North Side Cooperative Ministry (N.S.C.M.) member revealed that their evenings strategy had been "to attempt to give witness by interposing our bodies between those of the demonstrators and the clubs of the police". He then stated that he felt this to have been an unsatisfactory tactic. Police control was hindered by holding an extended line formation, and lack of gas masks (Task Force only), they took approximately 30 minutes to cross the park.

Other gas explosions, an occasional sight of moving police indicated another Task Force detail a quarter mile west in the vicinity of LaSalle drive had



clashed with persons fleeing the barricade. This clash ended well before the main police formation reached Stockton Dr., several arrests were made in the parking lot of persons who seemed to be either asleep in cars or under the influence of drugs or tear gas. No police misconduct was observed in connection with these arrests. On leaving the vicinity in Mr. Johnsons' car the M. I. net reported that the crowd had followed a line of LaSalle Dr., to Eugenie and south on Wells being driven south on Wells from North Ave., by police and being pushed in the direction of police vans at Wells and Division where a number of additional arrests were made.

I visited the Police Command Post at approximately 8 P.M., there were reports of a "10-1" at LaSalle and Division and calls for reinforcements by a police detail at the Clark & Shubert C.T.A. bus garage, which was being picketed by a combination of concerned transit workers and persons from the park. I visited the garage site where a large but orderly group of 700 - 800 persons were marching. Occasionally passing Clark Street buses were subjected to cat calls, but the mood of most pickets was genial. Police had arrested a white driver shortly before I arrived who had attempted to enter the garage with moving his bus, through the picket line in a dangerous fashion. The Clark Street buses were then rerouted. Dick Elrod was on the scene as was Mr. William McKenzie. Bob Lucas of Chicago Core was the only demonstrator familiar to me. Elrod stated that President of the Young Socialist League was also in the crowd. Staff observed whites from the Lincoln Park contingent attempting to alter the tone of the demonstration by introducing anti-Daley chants and a more strident tone. There seemed to be an attempt by the Lincoln Park group to involve the transit workers in the Convention week festivities.

I observed then and later that this did not seem to have happened. The transit workers seemed pleased to have additional pickets, but to the command post with Mrs. Elrod and McKenzie where we were informed that the "10-1" at LaSalle and Division had consisted of a large estimated a thousand crowd of Hippies who started North from Division up the middle of LaSalle Street toward the park climbing over roofs of stalled cars, and creating what was described as a bedlam before joining the crowd in the park. During the early evening I had met with a member of the Northside Cooperative Ministry (NSCM) who stated that a group of Lincoln Park clergymen would be participating in the park post closing exercises. He said he felt that the groups tactics of the night before had not been successful and would be modified, but did not offer details. At the command post at approximately 10:00 p.m. I was approached by representative of the U.S. Attorney's Office here in Chicago who inquired about the sincerity and leadership potential of NSCM members who were reported to have gathered in the midst of the crowd near the south fieldhouse under a large wooden cross. I replied that I felt that the NSCM members were sincere, but perhaps, also attracted by publicity. I stated that they had no control over the actions of the crowd but were merely engaged in Missionary Work among the young people. I accompanied two U. S. Attorneys to the cross where they requested the NSCM members to attempt to lead "their flock" from the park. A minister stated that they had no control over the crowd, but considered their symbolic presence important as a matter of personal conscience. During this period speeches were made over bullhorns by spokesmen for various factions. One speaker urged that the park be cleared as resistance to the earlier police sweeps had proved pointless. There was some concern expressed in the crowd that if the cross, approximately 10 feet high were to topple backwards into the seated crowd, persons would be hurt, and the crowd rearranged itself to prepare for that eventuality. The U.S. Attorneys and I joined the police on Grants Monument. That evening a police lieutenant had been assigned as press liaison, a large number of the press had gathered behind the police lines. Approximately 500-600 police formed up in the same position as the previous night. Facing instead of the barricade and flags, a seated crowd under a large cross (the language however, was as deliberately foul as on the previous two occasions).

Police commanders on the scene explained that the use of gas was planned to disburse the seated members of the crowd, only to disburse the seated members of the crowd without physical contact. Two fire department light trucks and one Department of Sanitation dump truck carrying 3 policeman with a tear gas launcher moved into position in front of the line, after the standard warning by the speaker car, several tear gas and smoke grenades were fired and the police moved forward in good order and under illumination. The crowd immediately abandoned the cross and ran west towards the edge of the park. One young man who had seated himself in

a tree above the cross became enveloped in the tear gas - was removed from the tree by the police and taken into custody. I moved across the park behind the police lines with several Corporation Counsels and members of the press. The only incident in the park were a few tears caused by moving through concentrations of gas. At Clark street where the elements of the crowd had reformed there was some rock throwing and shouting took place. The police moved across Clark and up Lincoln Ave., to a point near Ogden.

On Clark st., and up Lincoln ave, the police were orderly, but there were attempts by the crowd to regroup on the Triangular park recently conveyed by the city, missiles were thrown from high floors in the Lincoln Hotel, where some members of the crowd resided, it was reported Mrs. Ginsburg and Genet had sought refuge from gas, in the lobby. The Corporation Counsel were very much in evidence, the police moved a few blocks into the neighborhood passing several cars in Lincoln ave. which had been jackknifed into the street in an attempt to barricade it.

I was dropped in Grant Park at approximately 1:00 P.M. by my Community Relations Service friend and observed that the crowd there had swelled and included the more aggressive political elements present in Lincoln Park the night before. I remained in the area until it became clear that Grant Park would not be disturbed, and the National Guard replaced the police in front of the Hotel Hilton.



Wednesday, August 28,

Word reached the office that trouble had broken out during a rally at the band shell in Grant Park. 5:30 p.m., I found the crowd on the band shell rally formed into a line which had been stopped and cut into three segments, the location of the line was on Columbus Dr., north and west of the band shell. A police detail occupied a position at the south edge of the crowd on Columbus. Another police line was inserted across Columbus dr., a position halfway between the first detail and Balboa dr. The line of demonstrators continued from this point up Columbus to Balboa. Balboa was occupied by 2 to 3 companies of the Illinois National Guard, spread into the park north and west of Columbus Dr. North of the National Guard line, facing north on Balboa was another crowd of several hundred. The mood of the demonstrators behind the police line to the south was quiet and orderly. North of the National Guard line a smaller group was being addressed by using bullhorns. These speakers first occupied themselves with pleas to the troops based on similarity in age, and supposedly similar feelings about opposition to the war. The affect of these speeches on the guardsmen was humorous, because the speakers by the use of prepared remarks indicated that they had no idea they were addressing National Guardsmen rather than members of the regular army. The speaker who stated that he did not want to speak with "lifers" or field grade officers but just you "draftees", seemed nonplussed when several guardsmen laughed.

For approximately 40 minutes, speeches went on, individual younger National Guardsmen were singled out by girls in the crowd who stared at them winsomely and occasionally asking them for their rifles. The situation changed when an unidentified speaker stated that the present situation was a trap, and that it would be foolish for members of the crowd to be beaten in the east portion of the park when another alternative was open. To paraphrase the alternative, 'the only thing important to the system and this city is money, the money is in the loop, if you're going to be beaten strike back, make them pay. Move into the loop in small groups, smash things, fight them on our terms, not here in the park on theirs.' Shortly after the speaker finished, the crowd north of the National Guard line at Balboa began to disburse moving north and west across an athletic field and starting to parallel the Illinois Central cut. A police lieutenant had stated to me earlier that as long as the demonstrators remained orderly they would be allowed to leave in small groups. They would be encouraged to move north in the park, hopefully out of it, and back to Lincoln park. Following the group along the Illinois Central line, it became apparant that the crowd was moving toward pedestrian bridges over the Illinois Central, hoping to reach Michigan Ave., rather than moving to the north. It seemed from my position among the first of the people to leave the police and National Guard lines that the disbursal was continuing under the previous plan. Token police and National Guard details were occupying the pedestrian bridge at Balboa and the two bridges at Congress Plaza.

At Balboa there were approximately 15 police patrolmen under the command of Lt. Lappi presently assigned to the 12th District, formerly of the Intelligence Division. My estimate of the crowds intentions the number of persons now moving parallel to the east side of the I. C right of way had swelled greatly. Lt. Lappi concurred, used his radio to report the situation and call for reinforcements. I then joined approximately 1 platoon of the National Guardsmen which were screening the divided lanes of the Congress Plaza crossing. The Guardsmen were quite nervous, as by now the crowd was turning, massing red and black flags had appeared, in clear evidence of an intention on the part of several hundred people to brush past the National Guard at Congress St., was evident. As this crowd moved forward a tear gas projector was utilized. The wind was quite light and off the lake, the dispenser and an object a device similar in appearance to a flame thrower could project the gas cloud forward only 30 to 40 feet, it still blow back across the bridge and on to Michigan causing discomfort to Guardsmen who's masks leaked and causing me to remove myself. I returned to the scene on Michigan Ave., learning that the crowd had finally moved across the I.C tracks at Jackson and massed north of the Hilton.

During this period the crowd on Michigan avenue had attempted to march to the Amphitheatre, starting south on Michigan and had been re fed. The crowd was much larger than any I had previously experienced. Estimates of the number probably better obtained from photographs taken from upper stories of the Hilton. The National Guard Battalion which had been operating in the park was not in evidence, a relatively small number of police officers in addition to those usually massed in front of the Conrad Hilton were in evidence. A crowd of several thousand occupied the park across from the hotel, the strip of park to the north of that across Balboa and the sidewalk in front of the Blackstone Hotel on the west side of Michigan, and massed there well north of the first block. North of Balboa on Michigan, a detail of fifteen Task Force Officers under a Sargeant were attempting to keep Michigan clear of the crowd, at least at the south end of the block. There were upwards of 4 hundred persons on either side of the street and as the 15 policemen moved back and forth in small groups they began to be taunted and defied. At this time I decided to enter an unmarked Military Intelligence car, occupied by special agent Bill Robinson, Negro, who was parked double next to 3 abandoned police vehicles on the west side of the street across from the IBM building. Shortly thereafter the Task Force detail in the block withdrew behind the police lines at Balboa, and approximately ten "organizers" moved from the crowd on the sidelines into the street. All wore a piece of black cloth tied around the sleeve armband fashion. They crouched moving in a shuffling gait and turning from side to side in a manner reminiscent of cheerleaders. They were chanting "Into the street brothers! The streets belong to the people, We are the people! The streets belong to us if we take them! join us". Several thousand persons quickly filled the vacuum on Michigan in this block effectively sealing our car off. A few minutes later, Mr. William McKenzie Registrar of Citizens Complaints was observed moving through the crowd, I suggested that he join us, he did. We remained in the car in that position for approximately an hour having ample opportunity to observe the mood and behavior of the crowd.

It was interesting to note that the majority of the crowd seemed caught up in the excitement of the moment but to have a rather low boiling point. The National Guard was not in evidence, and the bulk of the police had withdrawn on Wabash southwest of the Conrad Hilton. Police merely were holding a line at Balboa. Behind the rear and center of the crowd young men wearing black arm bands moved in attempts to change the mood of the crowd. They did this with growing success over a period of approximately 40 minutes. From our location a strong sense of anarchy was reinforced by the sight of one demonstrator who had stripped to jockey shorts, painted his body with slogans and danced in the middle of the street. I was able to discourage several persons in the crowd from damaging the police vehicle next to us, by tapping them on the back as they leaned in the car's window and played with its radio. As the mood of the crowd changed, trash baskets were rolled in front of our vehicle, and an occasional person noticing us leaned against the window to make threats. Mr. Robinson, seated on the other side of the car however, was hailed as a "Soul Brother", by several whites in black arm bands who were unaware of his role. Several members of the crowd were observed tying knots in the small radio aerial on the rear deck of the squad opposite us. Persons began to hammer on the abandoned police vehicles, and one threw a trash basket down on it which bounced against our car. Later, other police squads parked behind us were observed to have had their windows smashed during this period.

The tops of the Poor Peoples Mule Wagons could be observed by the Hilton over the heads of the crowd. Several small trash fires were lighted in the street, the M. I. radio began to report the movement of a battalion of National Guard north on Michigan from 14th street. Within ten minutes two lines of policemen preceding the National Guard moved forward into our block, pushing the crowd behind them, and Mr. Robinson was able to move his car to a position in front of the Hilton.

Thursday, August 29, 1968

I left the office with Sam Hilburn and arrived Grant Park in the vicinity of the General Logan Monument 5:45 P.M. The hill at the base of the statue was a crowd of approximately 1500 persons. Several hundred other persons were in sections of the Park to the north opposite the Hilton. We noticed that persons had dug to a water line in that section of the park broken at flooding section of the park. Members of the crowd were moistening handkerchiefs (for tear gas in the pool). I noticed 3 to 4 men in the crowd who had brought large dogs. In each case the dogs were unleashed and the owners had wrapped heavy chain leashes around his right hand. We engaged one such gentleman (middle age, apparently a local resident) in conversation. He observed that the gathering in the park that afternoon -- meant "these kids have been sucked into a police trap. I thank the government for teaching me how to deal with cops, just like the Dutch Belgium resistance. The way to deal with a squad car is to walk up casually and drop a Molotov Cocktail inside." He then observed "this country is just steps away from the ovens, but we are not going to stand still and let it happen." We said good-bye to him and wished him and his dog a pleasant evening.

During the next half-hour the crowd at the monument was orderly and of rather diverse make-up. Youths seated on the monument itself were boisterous and waved red, black flags and a N.L.F. tri-color with the drooping cross symbol super-imposed upon it. The national guard battallion moved into position on Michigan Avenue and negotiations apparently pertaining to a march route for the group to use on the way to the Amphitheater was discussed. After some 30-minutes

the group began to form itself into a file leading out of the park and onto the east side of Michigan Avenue in the vicinity of Illinois Central station. The group was led by approximately 20 delegates to the Democratic Convention. Great stress was laid on getting them at the front of the line. One such delegate was being pushed in a wheel chair. Another gentleman was bent almost double walking with the aid of a large cane. Also at the head of the line were Dick Gregory and a gentleman who may have been Eldridge Cleaver. The march down Michigan Avenue was orderly. The line stretched for several blocks and seemed to include upwards of 2000 persons. A battallion of 131st Infantry I. L. L. N. G. formed a screen beside them in the street. Beyond the troops in the middle of the street moved two large mobile television vans, several press cars and 3 to 400 members of the "World Press." The situation was complicated by an additional group of perhaps 1000 stragglers, largely seeming to be sympathizers of those in the march who filled the rest of the street and the west sidewalk.

At 18th and Michigan a road block in Michigan was formed by a armored personnel carrier. At least 10 barb wire covered jeeps, two companies of national guards and a task force detachment and two prisoner vans. From conversations with reporters and others who were within ear shot, the 40-minutes negotiations preceding the arrests. National guard general stated that the group could move to the amphitheater if they turned west on 18th street to Archer, south on Archer to Halsted, Halsted to the hall. Spokesman for the marchers then stated that the march was led by delegates to the convention who should be able to move about the city freely on their way to the hall. The delegates were then offered the

opportunity to move through the national guard lines by themselves after presenting their credentials. This was refused. (At this point I heard orders over bull horns "delegates take off your badges") Dick Gregory then apparently stated it was not the intention of the group to go to the convention at all but he did plan to take the friends that he had with him to his home on 55th Street. Bull horns "people you were all invited to Dick Gregory's house for dinner this evening, pass it back." At this point the head of the line was evidently informed that they could turn west on 18th street through a corridor in the national guard lines or pass across 18th street and be arrested. After several minutes, Dick Gregory, the gentleman in the wheel chair, the gentleman with the can and several other persons moved across 18th street and were taken into custody. There was no resistance by those arrested, or misconduct by officers observed. Leaders with bull horns were remaining the crowd, made statements to the effect that it would be impossible for the police to take the entire group into custody. From my position at the door of one of the vans parked east on 18th street the line of march was obscured by the corner of the building. National guard began to take persons at the head of the line into custody, marching them to the van where they were turned over to the police.

Dick Elrod and Mr. MacKenzie were present. I witnessed approximately 40 arrests, half were delegates, each accompanied by a youth. One youth identified as "Mr. Sunshine" complained of being momentarily relieved of his valise. This was placed in the van with him before he left. As the arrest continued the crowd became increasingly agitated. One man being taken into custody arrived at the van having been struck in the back of the head (evidently by a national guard rifle). He remained conscious until treated and removed from the scene by a squad car.



At this point a surge against the national guard line north of 18th street occurred. The national guard responded with tear gas projectors and the crowd disbursed northward to Grant Park.

Hilburn, MacKenzie and I followed. Some gas was released in Grant Park ahead of us but upon reaching the Hilton the situation seemed to have stabilized. MacKenzie and I left the area of the Hilton shortly after 1 A.M. The last incident was police saying "someone had thrown an ash tray from one of the upper floors of the hotel.

To: Jim Burns

From: Sam Hilburn

Re: Observation of Demonstrations, Thursday, August 29, 1968.

I. Incidents observed:

I arrived at the demonstrator's assembly area at approximately 5:45 P.M. The crowd was gathering at Grant Park at the General Egan statue. At this time it appeared to consist of about 1500 people, a sizable number of these were well-dressed men and women, middleaged as well as young people, containment of the crowd was entirely by National Guardsmen at the perimeter of Michigan Avenue. The crowd was orderly; during these events the leadership, included a large number of Negroes. Until shortly after 7:00 P.M. the crowd was addressed by speakers; it continued to grow; and the intention was announced to march south to Dick Gregory's residence in the area of 51st Street. Shortly after 7:00 the crowd was permitted to move, three or four abreast, keeping to the sidewalks, south on Michigan. The street was crowded with press and other vehicles; spectators spilled over the sidewalks opposite the demonstrators. Files of guardsmen closed demonstrators onto the sidewalk. The demonstrators were quiet and orderly; the marshalls of the group apparently demanding strict order.

At 18th Street the demonstrators were stopped. Michigan was blocked by armored personnel carrier and large numbers of Guardsmen. Another 40-50 minutes were spent in attempts of the demonstrators to negotiate further passage. The crowd became increasingly restless. An "arrest situation" was announced by the leaders and the confrontation continued for another thirty minutes. Police were entirely in the background. As arrests proceeded I was able to reach the police vans. The entire function of the police was to place those arrested in the vans. I saw one injured person placed in a van, but what violence occurred seemed to have been entirely between guardsmen and demonstrators. Spectators were backed away by guardsmen; tear gas quickly dispersed the crowd north on Michigan. I returned to the Grant Park area. The guardsmen were employing gas in this area. By 11:30 P.M. when I left, Guardsmen were again controlling the perimeter of Grant Park. The crowd was noisy and had increased to several thousand.

II. Evaluation:

On this evening, the police were very much in the background; violent confrontation was limited and spectators were largely uninvolved.

From my limited view of the events of a single evening, it seemed probable that the demonstrators would have remained largely

---Mace vs. Clubs I witnessed very sparing use of mace (apparently in line with the April riot study recommendations). Where used, reports of its use in confined areas predominated. The nature of the objections to mace clearly suggest that any possible adverse effects would be compounded in a confined space and lessened in the open air. In the open increased use of mace might have reduced the need for overreliance on clubs. In a closed space the club, used as a prod, rather than swung, is a superior police tool to mace (closed spaces are i.e. interiors of private automobiles and prisoner vans).

---Avenues of Escape It is an maxim of crowd control that a mob should never be boxed in. This was observed in every instance. However in my opinion, both in Lincoln and in Grant Park the avenue of escape provided lay in the wrong direction. Specifically crowds were driven out of Lincoln Park with ensuing window-breaking on Wells Street and were allowed to leak out of the eastern section of Grant Park with great danger to the central business district. Once the park closing ordinance was violated the crowd could have been warned to leave then pushed into open areas of the park where they could have been taken into custody under illumination or broken up and forced to disperse through the darkened northern portion. In Grant Park, if all the bridges across the Illinois Central right-of-way had been secured and north Lake Shore Drive left open the crowd could have been allowed a choice of movement back to Lincoln Park via the beach or to filter slowly across the I. C. bridges in small groups.

---Badges and Name Plates Some officers were observed to have removed these against orders and without necessity. Where witnessed, it seemed to be promptly corrected and I'm not aware of any large scale removal of these items during subsequent events. While news stories made this charge, I have not seen it born out in the accompanying photographs.

---Motorcycles Three-wheeled motorcycles used in Lincoln Park caused complications on Sunday. Their movement without instructions from superiors tended to endanger persons in the crowd without being able to control it effectively. Sgts. assigned to such details should not confuse themselves with the U.S. Cavalry.

---Flags I understand that city ordinances governing the use of generally offensive banners or symbols have existed since problems with the Bund in the 1930s. Relevant ordinances should be reviewed and a clear cut policy on the use of flags (Red, Viet-Cong, or "the black flag of anarchy") should be formulated. The use of these flags in current demonstrations seems to create important psychological effects both on demonstrators and law enforcement officials. Their use, combined with violations of city ordinances, the defiling of a large public monument and during periods of delay prior to confrontations is extremely dangerous.

---Bullhorns While law enforcement agencies had a clear superiority in communications equipment over dissidents, professional organizers in the crowds obtained local superiority through the use of voice amplification equipment. This, combined with the presence of electronic news media, gave agitators a psychological advantage in several instances. Since often this represents the only victory expected by agitators, the police or possibly the corporation counsel's office should be prepared and equipped to make announcements relating to the city administration's official stance and its legal justification prior to confrontations.

---Care and Feeding The basic 12-hour police tour was often extended and the men were sometimes neither released to buy a meal nor fed in the open. The absence of the Salvation Army coffee and doughnut Man which usually serves an important purpose was noted and the size of the police detail involved made alternate provisions necessary, in any event. Rudimentary attempts to feed the police might have contributed to their morale and behavior. Early release of individual officers showing signs of strain might have precluded unfortunate incidents.

## OBSERVATIONS

C C H R

This type of disorder is largely political in nature, therefore the Commission's role is a limited one. However, since the racial situation in the city can be considered tense and since efforts will be made to establish linkages between the white New Left, black extremists and inhabitants of volatile areas, limited surveillance by Commission staff is clearly warranted. Specifically over this 5-day period there was an increase in the racial overtones starting Tuesday when visiting Black Panther leaders, Cleaver and Seale, arrived (Cleaver was an accredited representative for Ramparts Magazine), and attempts were made by Mobe to involve the Concerned Transit Workers. On Thursday Dick Gregory, ignoring his earlier statement that he would lead no demonstration during the convention because he considered the city a tinderbox, played a leading role in what seemed to be less an attempt to march to the Amphitheatre than an opportunity to wander aimlessly among the C.H.A. projects on the South Side. Of approximately 1500 law enforcement personnel assigned only Dick Elrod, several Task Force officers and I were familiar with Gregory's earlier march tactics. Certainly General Dunn, who conducted the negotiations prior to the arrest, was not. The racial aspects of the recent disorders were merely interesting but could have become of major importance. For this reason I suggest that large scale political protests have sufficient staff assigned to them to permit accurate and comprehensive surveillance. Staff assigned should be provided with minimal identification and communications equipment.