

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1967

1:30 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Tom

FROM: Tom Johnson

Attached are the notes of the President's activities during the Detroit crisis from 10 p.m. to 12:30 a.m., on July 24, 1967.

Those involved in the activities were:

Secretary McNamara
Attorney General Clark
FBI Director Hoover
General Johnson
Secretay of the Army Rezor

Mr. Marvin Watson
Mr. Abe Fortas
Mr. George Christian
Mr. Harry McPherson
Mr. Joe Califano

Attachment.

SERVICE SET

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

BY OC/4 ON 2-22-82

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Crisis period:

10 p.m. to 12:30 a.m.

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NOTES OF THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIVITIES
DURING THE DETROIT CRISIS

July 24, 1967

At 10 p.m. George Christian came out of the President's office and said, "The situation is worsening." Mr. Christian took a copy of President Roosevelt's Proclamation number 2588 which was issued on June 21, 1943, entitled, "The President Directs the Detroit Race Rioters to Disperse." A copy of that proclamation is attached.

With the President in the Oval Office were Secretary McNamara, Attorney General Clark, FBI Director Hoover, General Johnson, Secretary of the Army Resor, Mr. Marvin Watson, Mr. Abe Fortas, and Mr. George Christian. The President was reading the June 22, 1943, issue of the New York Times concerning President Roosevelt's actions in Detroit. The President read aloud excerpts of an article entitled "Rayburn assails Roosevelt critics." The President then went to the AP and UPI Ticker machines and read the wire copy on the Detroit riots. The President then went to his signing desk with Marvin Watson and read over several memos. His secretary, Mary Slater, entered shortly after 10, and the President signed a few nominations and appointments, including that of Deputy Attorney General Warren Christopher.

Attorney General Clark advised the President that he had an "open line" to Secretary Vance and Mr. Christopher in Detroit. "Two more National Guardsmen have been wounded, and there are spotty fires," he reported.

As the President continued to read documents on his signing table, Secretary McNamara, Attorney General Clark, and Mr. Fortas read the tickers while the other Presidential advisors discussed the possibility of the President signing a proclamation and an Executive Order which would authorize federal troops to be sent to Detroit from Selfridge Air Force Base and the federalizing of the Michigan National Guard.

Mr. Vance called at 10:08 p.m. and spoke to the President by a speaker phone in the President's office. Mr. Vance said, "The situation is continuing to deteriorate. There are 1200 persons now being

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detained in Felony Court. Reports of incidents are increasing throughout the area. I am getting many calls from local citizens."

Mr. Vance advised the President: "You should sign the Order and federalize the Michigan National Guard. I urge this. It would put the Guard under General Throckmorton."

The President asked what type of incidents these were. Mr. Vance responded that they included arson, shooting, and burglary. He said there was heavy fire by snipers in the fifth precinct. Secretary McNamara asked how the 4300 Michigan National Guardsmen were now being used. Mr. Vance said they were being used in trucks, jeeps and in conjunction with fire departments. "Throckmorton says we can take care of this better when the troops are federalized."

The President asked, was there any doubt in anybody's mind, including the Governor, that the troops should be federalized and U. S. forces sent in. Mr. Vance said, "There is no doubt in the Governor's mind."

The President said, "We will look at it and call you back shortly."

The President said Mr. Vance should consider the best, quickest way to deploy the troops and that perhaps at present it would be best for them ^{not} to go to the Fair Ground Assembly area.

The President said to Mr. Vance, "We will follow your recommendations on the matter. I will sign the Executive Order and Proclamation."

General Throckmorton then came on the phone from Detroit and spoke to General Johnson and Secretary McNamara. The General explained his strategy.

General Throckmorton said he intended to split the city into two parts with Woodward Avenue as a dividing line. He said he would put U. S. troops on the east side and the National Guard on the west side. The President asked how this would affect the U. S. troops in relation to heavy sniper fire. General Throckmorton said that this danger would about be evenly distributed.

The President said, "Well, I guess it is just a matter of minutes before federal troops start shooting women and children." General Throckmorton assured the President that every precaution would be

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taken to guard against unnecessary fire power. The General told the President that the men would be issued live ammunition but that they would not be authorized to load the ammunition into their weapons until specifically approved by an officer.

The President asked, "Can the Guard take care of the sniper incidents?" The President said he was "concerned about the charge that we cannot kill enough people in Vietnam, so we go out and shoot civilians in Detroit."

General Throckmorton said, "Mr. President, we will only shoot under the most severe provocations."

The President told General Throckmorton to save as much time as possible by moving the troops without stopping en route. The President said the proclamation, which is required to get the troops into position, would be signed within the half hour. The President said, "Aren't we talking about an hour to an hour and a half before the men can be dispersed?" General Throckmorton said that was correct.

The President asked Mr. Vance under what type of legal arrangement was the state being operated. "Are they operating under martial law?" Mr. Vance said that the Governor had declared a "state of emergency", and that a state of martial law had not been declared because of some questions concerning the effects of a martial law on the court system of the city.

Mr. Califano said that a state of martial law was declared in 1943. The President went to his TV cabinets and picked up the bound volume of the New York Times and took it to his desk, where he referred to the martial law declaration in his discussions with Mr. Vance over the telephone.

Mr. Vance said it was "six of one, a half dozen of the other."

The President said, "This would show he (Governor Romney) has taken all the steps which he can take."

The President said that Mr. Vance should consider some preliminary steps to the troops actually being deployed. The President suggested that Mr. Vance call a news conference and make a strong plea for law and order. The President also suggested that loud speakers be used

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throughout the area to announce a last-minute appeal before troops were sent in. (The President urged that the Mayor, the Governor, General Throckmorton and Mr. Vance go before the press to say that Mr. Vance had talked to the President and that all parties joined in an appeal for reason. The President advised that he would be making a nationally-televised statement later. It was decided that Mr. Vance should go with his appeal immediately rather than waiting for the President to speak. The President said, "I want you to appeal to the people before we have to put in those troops. Ask them to cease and desist and obey the law. Tell them you are committing Federal troops if necessary."

At 10:28 FBI Director Hoover said, "They have lost all control in Detroit. Harlem will break loose within thirty minutes. They plan to tear it to pieces."

At 10:31 the President signed the Proclamation -- number 3795 (attachment 2). At 10:46 the President went to the adjoining conference room with Mr. Fortas to work on a television statement. He was joined by Mr. Harry McPherson and Mr. George Christian. Between 10:46 and 11 p. m. the drafts of the statement were read and edited by the President and his advisors, and physical typing and reproduction was begun by the Press Office and Appointments Office. The networks were notified by Bob Fleming of the possibility of a television statement, and the Q-TV (teleprompter) personnel were summoned.

At 11:09 Secretary Vance read his proposed statement from Detroit on the telephone. It was approved. At 11:10, the President said for Mr. Vance to go with his statement in ten minutes. The President told those advisors assembled in his office that he would sign the Executive Order in ten minutes. The President went into Marvin Watson's office and then returned. He read over sections of the five-page proposed statement which was being retyped and edited. At 11:22 the President signed the Executive Order (attachment 3). Shortly after this, Mr. Christian released copies of the Proclamation and the Executive Order to the White House correspondents who were assembled in the West Lobby. The correspondents were advised to stand by in the TV Theatre for a Presidential statement.

At 11:43 Mr. Vance talked over the speaker phone with the President.

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At 11:45 the President was seated at his desk waiting for the physical work to be completed on speech cards and the teleprompter. The President walked into the corridor adjoining the Press Office and watched as Connie Gerrard and Rosemary McBride completed work on the stencils and the speech cards. As the first card was typed, the President read it aloud with George Christian standing beside him. The President returned to his office.

The President went to the T. V. studio. He made a nationally televised address beginning at 11:58. The address ended at 12:08 (attachment 4.) It was carried live by all three networks. Standing with the President as he made the speech were FBI Director Hoover, Attorney General Clark and Secretary McNamara.

The President went directly from the studio to his bedroom with Mr. Christian, Mr. Fleming, Miss Mary Slater, Mr. Tom Johnson, Mr. Joe Califano and Mr. Harry McPherson, and watched Dan Rather of CBS as he analyzed the President's statement and the riot conditions. The President then returned to his office at 12:11 with Mr. Califano, Mr. McPherson, Mr. Watson, Mr. Christian and Mr. Tom Johnson.

The President read over the tickers and commented that UPI was on the wire with their story and AP was not. "Why is that?" George Christian said it was because of Merriman Smith.

The President then said, "Well, I guess that is all for tonight." As the group departed, Mr. Califano said to the President, "Mr. President, I think you handled everything real well tonight." All agreed. The President said thank you.

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64. *Detroit Race Rioters Directed to Disperse*

Q. Mr. President, does Mr. [Chester] Davis think he has all the power he needs to do his food job?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I have heard nothing to the contrary. The only thing I have heard from him lately was, "For goodness' sake don't give me the O.P.A. job!" (Laughter)

64 ¶ The President Directs the Detroit Race Rioters to Disperse. Proclamation No. 2588.

June 21, 1943

WHEREAS, the Governor of the State of Michigan has represented that domestic violence exists in said State which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress; and

WHEREAS, it is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect each State in this Union, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence; and

WHEREAS, by the law of the United States in pursuance of the above, it is provided that in all cases of insurrection in any State or of obstruction of the laws thereof, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, on application of the Legislature of such State, or of the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, to call forth the militia of any other State or States and to employ such part of the land and naval forces of the United States as shall be judged necessary for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection and causing the laws to be duly executed; and

WHEREAS, the Legislature of the State of Michigan is not now in session and cannot be convened in time to meet the present emergency, and the Executive of said State under Section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States, and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, has made due application to me in the premises for such part of the military forces of the United

65. *Tribute to Russian Armed Forces*

States as may be necessary and adequate to protect the State of Michigan and the citizens thereof against domestic violence and to enforce the due execution of the laws; and

WHEREAS, it is required that whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the President, to use the military forces of the United States for the purposes aforesaid, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peacefully to their respective homes within a limited time;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do hereby make proclamation and I do hereby command all persons engaged in said unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings to disperse and retire peacefully to their respective abodes immediately, and hereafter abandon said combinations and submit themselves to the laws and constituted authorities of said State;

And I invoke the aid and cooperation of all good citizens to uphold the laws and preserve the public peace.

NOTE: The race riots in Detroit in June, 1943, were probably the worst the country had experienced since the East St. Louis, Ill., disturbances in the first World War. Federal troops of the Sixth Service Command aided the city police, home guards, and State troops in quelling the rioting. Not many hours after the President's proclamation, complete order had been restored, and the Federal troops were then withdrawn.

65. *Message to Stalin Paying Tribute to Russia on the Second Anniversary of the Nazi Attack on Russia. June 22, 1943*

Two years ago tomorrow, by an act of treachery in keeping with the long record of Nazi duplicity, the Nazi leaders launched their brutal attack upon the Soviet Union. They thus added to their growing list of enemies the mighty forces of the Soviet Union. These Nazi leaders had underestimated the extent to which the Soviet Government and people had developed and strengthened

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JULY 24, 1967

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

LAW AND ORDER IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the Governor of the State of Michigan has informed me that conditions of domestic violence and disorder exist in the City of Detroit in that State, obstructing the execution and enforcement of the laws, and that the law enforcement resources available to the City and State, including the National Guard, have been unable to suppress such acts of violence and to restore law and order; and

WHEREAS the Governor has requested me to use such of the armed forces of the United States as may be necessary for those purposes; and

WHEREAS such domestic violence and disorder are also obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States, including the protection of federal property in the City of Detroit:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, do command all persons engaged in such acts of violence to cease and desist therefrom and to disperse and retire peaceably forthwith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-seven, and the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-second.

/s / LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE

July 24, 1967

JULY 24, 1967

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Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROVIDING FOR THE RESTORATION OF LAW AND ORDER

IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

WHEREAS on July 24, 1967, I issued Proclamation No. 3795, pursuant in part to the provisions of Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code; and

WHEREAS the conditions of domestic violence and disorder described therein continue, and the persons engaging in such acts of violence have not dispersed;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, and Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The Secretary of Defense is authorized and directed to take all appropriate steps to disperse all persons engaged in the acts of violence described in the proclamation and to restore law and order.

SECTION 2. In carrying out the provisions of Section 1, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use such of the Armed Forces of the United States as he may deem necessary.

SECTION 3. The Secretary of Defense is hereby authorized and directed to call into the active military service of the United States, as he may deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this order, any or all of the units of the Army National Guard and of the Air National Guard of the State of Michigan to serve in the active military service of the United States for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders. Units, or members thereof, may be relieved subject to recall at the discretion of the Secretary of Defense. In carrying out the provisions of Section 1, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use units, and members thereof, called or recalled into the active military service of the United States pursuant to this section.

SECTION 4. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to delegate to the Secretary of the Army or the Secretary of the Air Force, or both, any of the authority conferred upon him by this order.

/s/ Lyndon B. Johnson

THE WHITE HOUSE,
July 24, 1967

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OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION
THE THEATER

11:58 P.M. EDT

In the early morning today, Governor Romney communicated with Attorney General Ramsey Clark and told him of the extreme disorder in Detroit, Michigan. The Attorney General kept me advised throughout the morning.

At 10:56 this morning, I received a wire from Governor Romney officially requesting that Federal troops be dispatched to Michigan. This wire had been sent at 10:46 a.m.

At 11:02 a.m. this morning, I instructed the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, to initiate the movement of the troops which the Governor had requested.

At the same time, I advised the Governor by telegram that the troops would be sent to Selfridge Air Base just Northeast of Detroit and would be available to support and assist the 8,000 Michigan National Guardsmen and the several thousand State and local police under the command of Governor Romney and the Mayor of Detroit. I informed the Governor that these troops would arrive this afternoon.

I also informed the Governor that immediately Mr. Cyrus Vance, as Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, and others would proceed to Detroit for conferences with the Governor and other appropriate officials.

This plan proceeded precisely as scheduled. Approximately 5,000 Federal troops were on their way by airlift to Detroit, Michigan, within a few hours. Mr. Vance, General Throckmorton, and others were in Detroit and in conference with Governor Romney by the middle of this afternoon.

Their initial report was that it then appeared that the situation might be controlled without bringing the Federal troops from the Selfridge Air Force Base into downtown Detroit. They, therefore, recommended to the President that the troops be maintained on a 30-minute alert and they advised that they would be in continual touch with the situation and with Secretary McNamara and me, making periodic reports about every 30 minutes.

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At approximately 10:30 this evening, Mr. Vance and General Throckmorton reported to me by telephone that it was the then unanimous opinion of all the State and Federal officials who were in consultation -- including Governor Romney, Mr. Vance, General Throckmorton, the Mayor, and others -- that the situation had developed in such a way in the few intervening hours as to make the use of Federal troops to augment the police and Michigan National Guard imperative. They described the situation in considerable detail, including the violence and deaths that had occurred in the past few hours, and submitted as the unanimous judgment of all concerned that the situation was totally beyond the control of the local authorities.

On the basis of this confirmation of the need for participation by Federal troops, and pursuant to the official request made by the Governor of the State of Michigan, in which Mayor Cavanaugh of Detroit joined, I forthwith issued the necessary Proclamation and Executive Order as provided by the Constitution and the statutes.

I advised Mr. Vance and General Throckmorton to proceed immediately with the transportation of the Federal troops from Selfridge Air Force Base to places of deployment within Detroit -- a movement which they had already provisionally begun, pursuant to their authority.

I am sure the American people will realize that I take this action with the greatest regret -- and only because of the clear, unmistakable and undisputed evidence that Governor Romney of Michigan and the local officials in Detroit have been unable to bring the situation under control.

Law enforcement is a local matter. It is the responsibility of local officials and the Governors of the respective States. The Federal Government should not intervene -- except in the most extraordinary circumstances.

The fact of the matter, however, is that law and order have broken down in Detroit, Michigan.

Pillage, looting, murder, and arson have nothing to do with civil rights. They are criminal conduct. The Federal Government in the circumstances here presented had no alternative but to respond, since it was called upon by the Governor of the State and since it was presented with proof of his inability to restore order in Michigan.

We will not tolerate lawlessness. We will not endure violence. It matters not by whom it is done or under what slogan or banner. It will not be tolerated. This nation will do whatever it is necessary to do to suppress and to punish those who engage in it.

I know that with few exceptions the people of Detroit and the people of Newark and the people of Harlem and of all of our American cities, however troubled they may be, deplore and condemn these criminal acts. I know that the vast majority of Negroes and whites are shocked and outraged by them.

MORE

So tonight, your President calls upon all of our people, in all of our cities, to join in a determined program to maintain law and order -- to condemn and to combat lawlessness in all of its forms -- and firmly to show by word and by deed that riots, looting and public disorder will not be tolerated.

In particular, I call upon the people of the ravaged areas to return to their homes, to leave the streets, and to permit the authorities to restore quiet and order without further loss of life or property damage. Once this is done, attention can immediately be turned to the great and urgent problems of repairing the damage that has been done.

I appeal to every American in this grave hour to respond to this plea.

END

12:05 A.M. EDT