

**Harry S. Jaffe and
Tom Sherwood**

DREAM CITY

**RACE, POWER, AND
THE DECLINE OF
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

S I M O N & S C H U S T E R
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Source Notes

We've drawn most of the material for this book from our direct reporting of events, court records, official documents, newspapers, magazines and books, but we based our work primarily on interviews with more than two hundred people who were directly involved in the events that we describe. One person whom we did not interview specifically for the book was Marion Barry, Jr. Tom Sherwood interviewed Barry countless times since 1979 during the course of his coverage of city politics for *The Washington Post* and WRC-TV, and we relied often on transcripts and notes from many of his published and unpublished interviews of Barry and many others. I interviewed Barry a number of times in the 1980s. However, Barry declined to participate in any way in the research for this book, though we made repeated written and verbal requests. Effi Barry also declined written requests for interviews.

In order to achieve our goal of bringing the story alive for the reader, we present many scenes through quoted dialogue. In each instance, the quoted dialogue is reconstructed from the recollections of at least one person who participated in the conversation or who observed it and took notes. Most scenes and conversations are a product of more than one independent account, backed up by court testimony, affidavits, newspaper stories or other written accounts. Tom Sherwood's contemporaneous notes and transcripts were primary-source material for the chapters covering the 1980s. Other principal primary sources include the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee archives in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress; congressional hearing transcripts and committee reports; police records; confidential FBI memoranda and field reports; legal affidavits and court testimony; the Washingtonia Room of the Martin Luther King Public Library; the Washington Historical Society, and the Howard University Founders Library. The *Washington Star* and *The Washington Post* provided most secondary source material, and we are indebted to the many journalists who covered the city during the past thirty years.

In *Antecedents*, the first chapter, our description of the Barnes murder comes from police reports and court testimony, interviews with Barnes's roommate, Toof Brown, aides on Senator Richard Shelby's staff, and *Washington Post*

coverage. For our brief history of the city we relied on documents from the House committee on the District of Columbia with the guidance of staff member Nelson Rimensnyder. Senator John Tyler Morgan's speech comes from the *Congressional Record*. Congress's treatment of the District under Senator Thomas Bilbo and Representative John McMillan came from committee reports, *Current Biography*, and Constance McLaughlin Green's *Washington: A History of the Capital 1800-1950*. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.'s comments were related to us by the Reverend David Eaton.

The account of Barry's arrest in *Roots of Anger* is based on interviews with the arresting officer, Thomas Tague; Mary Treadwell, who was at the scene; Landon "Jack" Dowdey, Jr., Barry's attorney; and court testimony. For Barry's early life we used, among other sources, a 1978 profile in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* and interviews with Dr. Calvin Rolark and the Reverend Carlton Veazy, who knew him in Memphis. Barry's activities during the civil rights years were drawn from SNCC archives in the Library of Congress (especially a memo from Barry to SNCC Educational Workshop—September 3, 1966, which describes in detail Barry's thoughts on creating a mass movement in the District); Clayborne Carson's *In Struggle, SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*; and interviews with Representative John Lewis, Diane Nash, Connie Curry, Jane Stembridge, Mary King, John Wilson, Courtland Cox, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Charlie Cobb, Tom Rose, Lyn Wells, Joseph Rauh, Lonnie King, James Gibson, and Betty Garman. Sam Smith helped describe the 1966 bus boycott. Dave Levy, F. Elwood Davis, and David Abramson, together with Barry's SNCC memo, provided details of the Free D.C. movement. The account of Barry's trial stemming from the Tague arrest came from Landon Dowdey, court records, and newspaper accounts.

In chapter three, Willard Wirtz described his role in the creation of Pride, Inc. and the Johnson administration's concerns about potential racial violence in the District. The significance of Clarence Booker's shooting and Rufus ("Catfish") Mayfield's relationship with Barry came, among other sources, from our interviews with Landon Dowdey, Carroll Harvey, and Mary Treadwell. Roger Wilkins gave us insight into President Lyndon Johnson's appointment of Walter Washington as mayor, but we also relied on Joseph Califano's book, *The Triumph and Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*, and Walter Washington's talks before the Washington Historical Society. John Hechinger described, among other events, his appointment as city council chairman.

For *Uprising*, we are indebted to Ben Gilbert's account of the 1968 riots in the book *Ten Blocks From the White House*, especially in tracking Stokely Carmichael's movements. Mary Treadwell and Carroll Harvey described Pride's role. Frederick Cooke, who was a student at Howard University at the time, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Frank Smith, and Carol Thompson Cole provided indispensable accounts. Patrick Murphy, former D.C. public safety director and now a consultant to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, gave us a sense of the politics and the White House response to the riots. For the riots' aftermath, we relied on the following primary sources: confidential FBI reports describing Barry's role; a U.S. Department of Labor report, "Profile of Rioters"; the Senate committee on government relations hearing report; "The Response of the Washington D.C. Community and Its Criminal Justice System to the April 1968 Riot" in the George Washington University *Law Review*; and transcripts from field hearings held by the District of Columbia city council.

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To describe the birth of elective politics in chapter five, *Bombthrowers to Bureaucrats*, and the 1978 mayoral race in chapter six, *Man For All People*, we relied on newspaper coverage, FBI files, the House District committee report "Governance of the Nation's Capital: A summary history of the forms and powers of local government for the District of Columbia, 1790-1973"; and interviews with members of the early political organizations, such as: Joe Rauh, Jason Newman, and Jacques Dupuy, who were active in the home rule drive; Max Berry, Bitsy Folger, Polly Shackleton, Dave Abramson and John Wilson, who helped elect Walter Fauntroy. Thornell Page provided an account of Barry's first school board race; Dwight Cropp gave us insight into Barry's role on the board; and Delano Lewis, Stuart Long and Jeff Cohen described their roles in Barry's 1978 campaign. Other key interviews came from Mary Treadwell, Cora Masters, Peggy Cooper Cafritz, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Florence Tate, R. Robert Linowes, and the Reverend David Eaton.

Our sources for the *Black Power* chapter included Betty King, Jim Gibson, Delano Lewis, Dwight Cropp, Carroll Harvey and Carol Thompson Cole. *Regardie's* magazine first published excerpts from Karen Johnson's diaries in a story by Mark Feldstein, "The Mayor and His Mistress," December, 1988. We corroborated the incident at This is It? by police reports and interviews. In *Greed City*, Jeff Cohen's land deals were verified by land records and interviews with real estate brokers. William Fitzgerald's testimony comes from a hearing before the Redevelopment Land Agency on October 9, 1979. Dr. Vincent Reed described to us the school system's dealings with minority business contracts. Cronyism in the District's contracts to house the homeless is based on "Mismanagement in Programs for the Homeless in Washington, DC," a report by the House committee on government operations from the hearing on June 12, 1990. Barry's property deals with Jeff Cohen in Nantucket were first reported in *The Washington Post*. Ivanhoe Donaldson's embezzlement scheme and the dialogue reported in chapter nine, *White Power*, was drawn almost entirely from court documents in the case of *U.S. v. Ivanhoe Donaldson*, criminal No. 85-0433, especially the government's memorandum in aid of sentencing and government's oral proffer of evidence at plea of guilty proceedings, though we interviewed many of the other players. E. Bob Wallach's ties with Barry, Jeff Cohen, and Edwin Meese were described in *Legal Times*, "A Web of Influence and Favors," April 17, 1989.

In chapter ten, *Boss Barry*, Barry's early relationship with Hazel Diane "Rasheeda" Moore, came from testimony in the 1990 trial *U.S. v. Marion S. Barry, Jr.*, criminal No. 90-0068. Wall Street bond firms' contributions to Barry's 1986 campaign were verified by internal campaign documents. The government's investigation of David Rivers and John Clyburn came from the indictment handed down on June 3, 1987, and interviews with Clyburn. Barry's cocaine overdose in 1987 was part of Jeff Mitchell's testimony in the 1990 Barry trial. The November trip to the Bahamas was part of the same court record.

Our account of the District's illegal narcotics business and the violence surrounding it in *Crack Attack* and *Murder City* came from legal documents, extensive interviews with law enforcement officials, and my coverage of the Rayful Edmond trial in the fall of 1989. James ("Dumptruck") Smith's network was described in *U.S. v. James Smith*, criminal No. 88-0073BDP, especially the sentencing memorandum. Cornell Jones's cocaine operation came from *U.S. v. Cornell Jones*, criminal No. 85-412. Most of the details and dialogue we used to describe Rayful Edmond's cocaine ring was drawn from

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trial coverage, affidavits and trial transcripts from *U.S. v. Edmond et al.*, criminal No. 89-0162. We also relied on interviews with FBI Special agents Charles Anderson and Athena Varounis; Drug Enforcement Agency agent John Cornille; and MPD Lieutenant Shawn Maguire. For statistical support we used "Drug Abuse Indicators Trend Reports" issued by the District's office of criminal justice plans and analysis.

The three chapters that encompass the investigation, arrest, and trial of Marion Barry—*Smell of Death*, *Knife in the Heart*, and *City on Trial*—were drawn from two primary sources: my trial coverage and extensive interviews with Albert Arrington and other officers attached to the Metropolitan Police Department's internal affairs division. R. Kenneth Mundy described his strategy and events surrounding his legal defense of Barry. Benjamin Bradlee's meeting with Barry in January 1989 was based on a Bradlee memorandum. The substance of Delano Lewis's March 22 meeting with top Barry officials came from interviews with all the participants. Press secretary John C. White took notes. R. Robert Linowes and David Wilmo described their meetings with Barry on the afternoon of January 18, 1990. All dialogue from the actual arrest that night came from verbatim transcripts. I covered the Barry trial and attended Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam rally on June 28. Our description of jury deliberations came from *The Washington Post* article by Elsa Walsh and Barton Gelman, August 23, 1990, and our interviews with alternate juror Anne Freeman.

In *Resurrection*, the final chapter, Meg Greenfield described her luncheon discussion with *Washington Post* publisher Don Graham during a phone interview with me in November 1990 for a story published in the January 1991 issue of *Regardie's*. Barry's pleas for leniency were gleaned from court documents. Both Sherwood and I covered Sharon Pratt Kelly's night tour in March, 1991, and the critique of her administration was included in "Running On Empty," a story I wrote for the January 1992 issue of *Washingtonian*. Sherwood and I covered Barry's prison sentence, his release, and the subsequent Ward Eight council race and return to public life.

Harry Jaffe

It would be impossible to list every person whose recollections and insights contributed to our understanding of the city and the events described. Thousands of people have touched us in the course of our reportage over the last decade and a half. We'd like to mention some of those we interviewed specifically for the book who were not mentioned in the Source Notes above:

Roger Adelman, former federal prosecutor; Claude Bailey, assistant D.C. corporation counsel and former counsel spokesman; James Banks, a housing activist who hired Barry and others to work in the United Planning Organization in 1967; Jack Bond, 1991 city administrator for Sharon Pratt Kelly; Anita Bonds, Barry's longtime political aide; Donna Brazile, chief assistant to D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton; Marshall Brown, a veteran local activist who worked in the recreation department and created crowds for Barry's events; Joel Broyhill, former congressman from northern Virginia who opposed home rule; Peggy Cooper Cafritz, arts advocate; Joseph Caldwell, Washington attorney and first chief of staff for Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly; David Clarke, veteran civil rights activist and city council chairman; Maudine Cooper, executive director of the Washington Urban League and former Barry chief of staff; Mary Cox, a radical African-American attorney who

advised Barry during his trial; Ken ("Looselips") Cummins, *City Paper* columnist; G. Alan Dale, attorney who represented Karen Johnson; Harley J. Daniels, former political activist; Jane Danowitz, public relations executive and former director of the Women's Campaign Fund; Leon Dash, *Washington Post* reporter who covered Barry's 1978 campaign; Joseph di Genova, former U.S. attorney; Tom Downs, president of AMTRAK transportation department and a former D.C. city administrator under Barry; Lt. Lowell Duckett, MPD; Virginia Fleming, former assistant city administrator and chief of staff of the Potomac Institute; Isaac Fulwood, veteran police officer who retired as chief in 1992; Jeff Gildenhorn, restaurateur; Donald Graham, *Washington Post* publisher; Katharine Graham, *Washington Post* publisher from the mid-1960s through the mid-1980s; Lawrence Guyot, SNCC activist and community organizer in D.C.; Gary Hankins, MPD labor leader during the Barry years; the Reverend Beecher Hicks, pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church and anti-violence activist; Julius Hobson, Jr., Barry's liaison to Capitol Hill; Charlene Drew Jarvis, Ward Four councilwoman since 1979; Phyllis Jones, veteran D.C. political strategist and secretary of the District of Columbia Council; Betty Ann Kane, former city councilwoman whose committee investigated the Virgin Islands scam; Max Krupo, assistant chief in the MPD; Bill Larman, former MPD detective; Jane Freundel Levey, local historian and writer; Terry Lynch, housing activist; Patricia Matthews, business consultant and former *Washington Post* editorial page writer; the Reverend Douglas Moore, early civil rights activist, former city councilman and businessman; Kojo Nnamdi, WHMM-Channel 32 talk show host; Jerry Phillips, native Washingtonian and radio and TV personality; Mark Plotkin, political analyst for WAMU-FM; Brigid Quin, longtime aide to John Wilson; Marcus Raskin, Institute for Policy Studies director who hired Ivanhoe Donaldson and other SNCC activists in the mid-1960s; Bill Rice, freelance journalist; Ron Richardson, executive secretary treasurer, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 25; Audrey Rowe, former human services aide and personal friend of Barry; Annette J. Samuels, former Barry press secretary; Arthur Schultz, public relations executive; Sally Scott, press and public liaison for the Greater Washington Board of Trade; Charles Siegel, former council aide to Marion Barry and Ivanhoe Donaldson; Kathryn Smith, of the Washington Historical Society; Sam Smith, acerbic editor of the *D.C. Gazette*, author and statehood advocate; the Reverend A. Knighton Stanley, politically active pastor of the Peoples Congregational Church; Jay Stephens, former U.S. attorney; Harry Thomas, Ward Five city councilman; Joan Thornell, editor of the 1990 House report on home rule; Leroy Thorpe, community activist; Sterling Tucker, local Urban League director in the 1960s and city council chairman who narrowly lost the 1978 mayoral race to Barry; Maurice Turner, former police chief; Emily Durso Vetter, mayoral aide in the first Barry term, and business leader; Superior Court Judge Reginald Walton, former national deputy anti-drug czar under President Bush; Jackie West, welfare activist; Ernest White, community activist and WDCU-FM talk show host; Joslyn Williams, president of the local AFL-CIO central labor council; and Joseph Yeldell, veteran city official and political advisor.

Tom Sherwood and Harry Jaffe