

1 MR. YLVISAKER: Paul Ylvisaker,  
2 Commissioner of Community Affairs

3 Let me describe the department  
4 very briefly. As you know, it was created on  
5 March 1st. It was an amalgamation of a number of  
6 different operating units that the State plucked  
7 from this department and that department and sup-  
8 posedly by adding them up when we get a new de-  
9 partment and new approach, these units are the  
10 whole poverty program.

11 Second, housing, and we have  
12 added to that urban renewal and relocation. That  
13 includes also tenement inspections, building  
14 maintenance codes or multiple family dwellings  
15 throughout the State and codes enforcement.

16 The Legislature put on ac-  
17 count all the codes, both for construction and  
18 maintenance of multiple family dwellings.

19 Then, in that same housing  
20 shop we have created, through the thanks of the  
21 Legislature, a Housing Finance Agency, which now  
22 is just getting on the ground, to produce moderate  
23 income housing by going on the market with revenue  
24 bonds. We have no upper limitation, so that we have  
25 access to the bond market, depending upon what it

1 is at a particular time; and, therefore, can do as  
2 Mitch Lama has done in New York, almost an infinite  
3 amount of housing, depending upon the market.

4 In that same shop we have a  
5 housing demonstration fund, which you may want to  
6 look at during the course of your deliberations  
7 This is a million dollars which is available to  
8 do experimental rehabilitation and housing, writ-  
9 ten very inflexibly so that we can go in the  
10 direction that Senator Kennedy is trying to do.

11 But it is available for new kinds of experimental  
12 work.

13 We have also in our shop the  
14 Division of Planning, which is physical land use  
15 planning During the last fifteen years it has  
16 been a pioneer in the State of New Jersey working  
17 largely with suburban communities on their devel-  
18 opmental problems.

19 We are also responsible for the  
20 coordination of the State's manpower plan. That is,  
21 when we go to the Federal Government now for their  
22 different kinds of grants for employment, probably  
23 about twenty different federal agencies and state  
24 agencies are involved. So it gets to be our job to  
25 work with the interdepartmental committee and

1 coordinate that planning.

2 We also have the Division of  
3 Local Finance, which has been around since 1917  
4 It has, potentially, a very powerful operation  
5 It has control and supervision over the local bond  
6 issues and budgets in the state. It exercises  
7 that power mostly in the interest of keeping com-  
8 munities out of bankruptcy. But I think there is  
9 a potential here for going beyond that, and we  
10 hope to do so.

11 We also have a Division of  
12 Training, which is working to get younger people  
13 involved in local governmental problems This  
14 summer, for example, we have ninety interns work-  
15 ing with mayors, freeholders, other departments,  
16 trying to get into the community colleges and into  
17 the state colleges, to get these younger people  
18 involved in the problems we are talking about.

19 We have a rather loose charge  
20 to keep an eye on racial tensions. This is kind  
21 of a general charge. It says keep an eye on them,  
22 do what you can; and this involved us when the  
23 riots occurred and the type of work we did in  
24 Newark and Plainfield, which you might want to hear  
25 about later

1 We also have responsibility for  
2 Division of Aging and the Division of Youth In ad-  
3 dition, we have been asked to see what we can do  
4 post Governor Meyner and the Meadow Lands and see  
5 if we can bring that one along; and I may have for-  
6 gotten one or two other charges. But you can see  
7 it's quite an amalgamum of things put together

8 We have added to this the  
9 Division of Grant Programming and Coordination,  
10 because, again, the legislation, both from the  
11 1940's and renewed more recently, is a general  
12 charge to see what we can do to coordinate federal  
13 grants as they come to the State and affect the  
14 municipality, the local governments. We have had  
15 to play this one quite delicately because you do  
16 not go tramping around playing with other people's  
17 jurisdictions. It is an attempt to see if we can't  
18 get the four hundred forty separate grant programs  
19 coming out of Washington to come into the State  
20 with some sense of coherence. We are just beginning  
21 to work at that.

22 We have established an office  
23 in Washington and, we have recently established an  
24 office in Newark working on these problems. That's  
25 the structure and the anatomy of the department.

1 By and large, we have been  
2 staffed with relatively young people, some would  
3 say impotent and bushy-tailed people, with the  
4 idea that we do want to come in fresh with some  
5 enthusiasm and new energies and see what we can do.

6 We have more Negroes in our  
7 professional and clerical staff than in just about  
8 any other department in the State, highly because  
9 of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Poverty  
10 Program. But we have tried to move laterally into  
11 our department that whole philosophy and also the  
12 color composition, so that we are beginning to  
13 move from the Poverty Program people in to working  
14 with the other divisions

15 We feel very strongly, for  
16 example, that we have got to move not to suburban  
17 planning, having to do with water, sewage, zoning,  
18 but to get into the central city problems. We were  
19 beginning to do this just about the time the dis-  
20 turbances hit.

21 That, Mr. Chairman, is roughly  
22 the layout. Do you want me to say a few words  
23 about what has happened the last month to affect  
24 this? Or would you like to ask questions?

25 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Any questions?

1 MR. BROWN: I would like to hear  
2 him talk about last month

3 MR. YLVISAKER: When Newark was  
4 hit, this is about a little over a month ago, we  
5 were a convenient light brigade for the Governor  
6 That is, we had probably more people and more energy  
7 than we had clearcut assignments. The department  
8 has had to go looking for a lot of business and to  
9 redefine a lot of its business

10 As I indicated, our Division of  
11 Finance has a lot of legacy about it of the 1930's  
12 It's concerned with prudent management and resources.  
13 Our Division of Planning has a lot of legacy of the  
14 1950's, the housing, suburban development. So we  
15 tried to turn around a lot of this to try to look  
16 at the social problems.

17 At the same time, the legisla-  
18 ture was fairly generous in giving us positions  
19 beyond our immediate needs So we had men on board,  
20 and when the riot hit in Newark, about the second  
21 day, I should think, it was about Saturday, some-  
22 time on Saturday--

23 MR. BROWN: You were there  
24 Saturday morning about six o'clock. That's when  
25 you walked in.

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MR. YLVISAKER: When I heard you talking about swearing witnesses, I got scared myself I literally can't recall the chronology of what happened from moment to moment. I have impressions, but I don't have fact.

When we were called in, the Governor was at the point of recognizing that he had to begin reaching out beyond military or security action, to begin talking to groups in the community, Negro groups predominantly, who hopefully if they couldn't converse, if they couldn't regain control of the streets and stop some of the rioting still in effect, they could begin returning normalcy to the streets so people would have a sense of security so life could go on; because at that point we had arrived at enough security to control the situation. But the danger of overescalation became immediately apparent.

Much tribute must go to Colonel Kelley I admired his performance throughout. Colonel Kelley realized that he had to get something different, or something extra, than just the security action.

We had on our staff Jim Blair. Jim was knowledgeable about some of the people and

1 he began meeting and assembling with some of these  
2 groups Those negotiations helped the Governor  
3 throughout the very busy days and they then led to  
4 specific programs.

5 For example, we immediately got  
6 going on distribution of food. It became apparent  
7 that this was a problem. And each of our guys,  
8 without very much direction, very spontaneously  
9 was available to do a job if nobody else was avail-  
10 able.

11 Then we got into the question  
12 of people being held in custody There were mass  
13 arrests, and I don't want to use the word indis-  
14 criminate, but with less than full discrimination,  
15 the question of how quickly you might release these  
16 people and return them to society, such as the  
17 Vera Foundation in New York for developing a system  
18 of releasing people on their own recognizance, which  
19 got us into a position to do this Jobs began  
20 emerging. We worked hand-in-hand with Kelley

21 Then when Plainfield came, we  
22 went over to Plainfield and began negotiating at an  
23 early stage with people in the community and back-  
24 stopping again Kelley's work. Again it became a  
25 question of distribution of food, doing a lot of



1 different collateral things.

2           Then we deployed a lot of people  
3 in New Brunswick. With Mayor Pat Sheehan, new to  
4 the job, we had people helping her with recreation,  
5 law and the rest. It almost took a department go-  
6 ing in one direction by the scruff of the neck and  
7 moved it over here, and it has very much conditioned  
8 our later work

9           Since that time we have taken  
10 some of the fellows, who showed themselves able and  
11 brave on the street, and formed a community relations  
12 service, which is now going into Atlantic City and  
13 to just about all the major cities. And there is  
14 on hand with the Mayor to help establish connections  
15 with groups who are almost completely disconnected  
16 at present.

17           The Governor turned to us at that  
18 time and established connections with the federal  
19 government and it was we who had the dealings with  
20 Attorney General Clark and went down to Washington  
21 and met with about a dozen of the major agencies to  
22 talk about both the short term and long term of re-  
23 lief through grants-in-aid. So this became a part  
24 of our responsibility after the Governor decided  
25 to move quickly to see what he can do as far as the

1 short and long range things.

2 I don't know whether this has  
3 been distributed to you, but the Governor has de-  
4 cided to make certain that the State is a model  
5 employer, and with the help of other agencies,  
6 Labor and Industry, Institutions and Agencies--

7 MR. BROWN: What is that?

8 MR. YLVISAKER: This is a  
9 statement by Governor Hughes for release on Friday,  
10 August 18.

11 We have counted up, through  
12 both head counts and individual departments and  
13 by computer runs, the vacancies in the State em-  
14 ployment right now, which turn out to be about  
15 twenty-five hundred, fifteen hundred of which can  
16 be filled by people with high school and less edu-  
17 cation. We have discovered, as in many employment  
18 cases, that we have set the requirements in the  
19 past very rigidly and very high, and what we are  
20 now doing is to go out and to open up recruitment  
21 to people who were not formerly eligible, identify  
22 these spots and major groupings, develop training  
23 programs so that we can recruit a guy with no high  
24 school education, in some cases not able to read  
25 and write, and then put him into a training program

1 and fill him into spots, and we have determined  
2 that each of these spots should go into a possible  
3 career ladder, so they don't deadend at \$70.00 a  
4 week, by training and retraining and upgrading over  
5 a time so that now a person without high school edu-  
6 cation can move on up right into the high-paying  
7 jobs. This is just an example

8 We are also working on rat-  
9 control in the sense of environmental sanitation.  
10 We think that probably one of the very good things  
11 we can do right now would be to go to once a day  
12 the collection of trash and garbage in the slum  
13 areas of the State, which would generate both em-  
14 ployment and would do an awful lot to clean up  
15 these neighborhoods This is not intended to be a  
16 long-term solution, but one of them, things one  
17 might do immediately.

18 I have been in constant contact  
19 with Washington, the various senators working on  
20 this in the White House, to see what can be done  
21 with aids coming into the State along these lines  
22 And then, in addition, we have been working very  
23 closely with the Governor and David Ginsberg on the  
24 President's Commission, which is your counterpart.  
25 We were down to an informal meeting with them last

1 week, fifteen of our people, including Colonel Kelley  
2 and the Attorney General and others, and have gone  
3 through the same sort of thing you're going through  
4 here.

5 I think what this adds up to, it  
6 has turned out to be an available light brigade.  
7 We have gotten pressed into various duties, but I  
8 think it's to the extent we have been helpful and  
9 it has been a kind of historical convenience that  
10 put us where we were.

11 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Questions,  
12 gentlemen?

13 MR. LOFTON: In terms of your  
14 staff contact with the people in the areas affected  
15 by the hostilities, have you been able to sort of  
16 rank order the kind of problems that the people  
17 see in their minds as being the kind of things that  
18 the various governmental structures ought to address  
19 itself to?

20 MR. YLVISAKER: Yes, I already  
21 know how diverse those things are, too. Last night  
22 at three o'clock I was in a ghetto residence with  
23 an eighteen-year-old boy who had been in trouble  
24 with the law twice, who has a mother of extraordinary  
25 intelligence. I began thinking that the basic needs

1 were for something else other than material struc-  
2 ture There was a philosophic revolution going on  
3 in the household, almost a denial of our culture.  
4 And this scared me, because nothing is relevant  
5 that we have to offer to that mood and climate.

6 On the other hand, the conver-  
7 sation can switch inside of thirty seconds to the  
8 fact that look at the tin cans out in the front  
9 that haven't been picked up for three days; or we  
10 are going to be urban renewed right out of the  
11 place, they are going to put a by-pass and take  
12 out our houses And one can list a fantastic  
13 range of problems, all the way from philosophy to  
14 whatever.

15 I think it's terribly import-  
16 ant that we begin mapping who are really the dis-  
17 connected, who are not being touched by the Poverty  
18 Program, and there may be very few in the community  
19 But we have got to know who they are and start  
20 listening and getting in touch with them. They may  
21 not be articulate, but they are there when the explo-  
22 sion occurs.

23 I think it's terribly important,  
24 when we get into the law and public safety and the  
25 administration of justice, wherever these explosions

1 have occurred, they have been touched off usually  
2 with a police incident--and I am making no allega-  
3 tions here. There has been a frictional point  
4 here. And I can recite the other usual things:  
5 employment, housing

6           If I could add one statement  
7 to that, though, it is the basic feeling I have  
8 that this Commission has got to take a look at  
9 certain long-term trends and recognize that we are  
10 dealing probably with a rising crescendo of year  
11 after year of these incidents. And the basic facts  
12 are these, that the Negro ghetto is growing by  
13 five hundred thousand a year. Next summer, the  
14 nation faces half a million more in these circum-  
15 stances. The number of jobs relatively is declin-  
16 ing. The condition of houses is declining. So  
17 you can anticipate a thousand different points of  
18 explosion.

19           But the basic problem is this  
20 tremendous concentration of problems, with the  
21 attendant feelings of hopelessness and growing  
22 assertiveness and militancy.

23           So that even with the most fan-  
24 tastic response of government right down to this,  
25 you can still persevere through time for three or

1 four years the momentum we are dealing with this  
2 summer, and what is relevant to that is very basic  
3 changes in our whole attitude and policy.

4 MR. BROWN: What is this ma-  
5 terial change in thought? You say you were fright-  
6 ened by this particular philosophic discursion.  
7 Is it related to the fact that the family unit is  
8 no basis of authority or that the very young--I  
9 suppose it was a young person who expressed this  
10 particular point of view--or that that particular  
11 person has absolutely no new adherence to anything,  
12 as opposed to the idea that the press likes to  
13 give that there is a new leadership, a new con-  
14 fluence of thought? Is it rather a neolistic ap-  
15 proach which renounces family authority? Of  
16 course, religious authority, I think, is somewhat  
17 blind there. Is that in scope something what  
18 you're talking about, the frightening response?

19 MR. YLVISAKER: Yes. And, by  
20 the way, it is not racial entirely, though the in-  
21 cidences are highest in that population. But I  
22 find it even in my own seventeen-year-old, the  
23 explosiveness that you find in the ghetto. But  
24 what it is, it's kind of a search for our identity  
25 in the mass and not much of any kind of satisfaction,

1 emotional satisfaction in this condition of life,  
2 then kind of a tuning out.

3 For example, the mother last  
4 night said: I died three years ago, I am not even  
5 going to talk about all the old things. I have  
6 suddenly realized that I am nothing in this society  
7 I am not going to be nothing

8 And she said a certain seren-  
9 ity turns within her, but it's also a passivity  
10 when they become violent

11 The kid, on the other hand,  
12 has no father in this case. It's a maternal  
13 family. And he has almost a blind hostility to  
14 things, which turns out sometimes to be almost  
15 suicidal in nature. On two occasions he has  
16 really tried to kill himself by episodes of vio-  
17 lence in the streets. It was not so much to break  
18 society as to kill himself He just figured no  
19 purpose, no end, no nothing. And when you go into  
20 some of these major ghettos, like the Central Ward  
21 of Newark or North Philadelphia, you can begin to  
22 appreciate that kind of sentiment.

23 I have a feeling of something  
24 here, some of them will go to brand names of phil-  
25 osophy, to Mauism, Castroism, to the Deacons or to



1 the Rams, sometimes to the church, whatever But  
2 it's a striking out for something that they don't  
3 find in their present culture. It's a denial of it

4 MR. DRISCOLL: As I understand  
5 it, Colonel Brown's question had to do with the  
6 question of family life, marital--was that correct,  
7 Colonel Brown?

8 MR. BROWN: Yes Part of the  
9 question was this unit being disavowed, too.

10 MR. DRISCOLL: I think, from  
11 studies that I have made, it is a very real prob-  
12 lem, and a problem where we need a lot of help.

13 My second question was: you  
14 have a Department of City Planning?

15 MR. YLVISAKER: Yes

16 MR. DRISCOLL: Have some good  
17 men?

18 MR. YLVISAKER: Yes. I think  
19 you know some of them, Bud Shavusion, and the  
20 group that has been attracted, I think largely  
21 during Governor Meyner's term. They are very  
22 good, very dedicated. But their orientation has  
23 been to suburban New Jersey Their concern has  
24 been with the green space, the open spaces, the  
25 water and sewage, the street layout, all the rest

1 of this And by and large there has not been a  
2 planning emphasis on the central city

3 MR. DRISCOLL: So would it be  
4 your opinion that we would have to go outside to  
5 find a group of pros or a pro who would be an ex-  
6 pert in city planning?

7 MR. YLVISAKER: No. I think  
8 it's just a matter of leadership and redirection.

9 For instance, Bud Shavusian,  
10 during the middle of the riots, went into Newark  
11 and ended up in the apartments in the Colonades  
12 watching the thing It was a grandstand seat. He  
13 saw the snipers emerging from a nearby building  
14 and the National Guard literally firing up and  
15 down that whole building. This brings out in Bud  
16 what he started out to be, which was a downtown  
17 renewal guy, and he suddenly wants to go back in.

18 Our housing division, which is  
19 new right now, the housing and finance, and the  
20 Poverty Program has most people who are concerned  
21 with the downtown area. But if you say go outside,  
22 the facts are we are going to have to go outside  
23 just about any of our experience to deal with what  
24 we have seen now in New Jersey this summer. This  
25 takes an entirely different kind of skill

1 MR. BROWN: There are no dis-  
2 ciplines that really apply

3 MR. YLVISAKER: John Lindsay,  
4 who is a very close friend of mine, we spent last  
5 night about an hour together just musing And  
6 Lindsay has got something here which is badly  
7 needed, which is an obvious and sincere concern,  
8 and he is walking the streets of New York. They  
9 love that guy, and he is better than a thousand  
0 troops when he shows his concern. But the heart  
1 and sensitivity are very much needed.

2 John and I last night were also  
3 talking about that his magic will take care of this  
4 round, he will survive this summer; but his magic  
5 won't survive next summer

6 MR. BROWN: One of my favorite  
7 clients from Harlem, I said to him, "What about  
8 Harlem?" I was walking the streets with him for  
9 about three nights last week. I said, "Ray, what  
0 do think?"

1 He said, "Nothing going to hap-  
2 pen this time."

3 I said, " Why?"

4 He said, "This guy Lindsay, he  
5 knows that he doesn't know much, and he picked a

1       guy by the name of Waits, who is an inspector of  
2       police, along with Sealy, who is better known, and  
3       Waits has taken over here and he has made it clear  
4       to the white cops that when they get out of line,  
5       they have to get transferred."

6                   I said, "How is that a stick?"

7                   He said, "Most of these guys  
8       are buying homes in Queens. They get a normal  
9       shakedown and if that guy gets out of line, he  
10      loses the car and the mortgage. Waits has now  
11      moved in and says all you guys are corrupt. He  
12      says, Look, you go. And he has fired a couple of  
13      lieutenants who he says have cracked down too hard  
14      on us."

15                   And he says Waits walks the  
16      streets and he knows all of us and he says that if  
17      that guy falls I am going to kill me a bunch of  
18      niggers if they get out of line.

19                   This is the reality of the  
20      street. He says you don't get dragged in, and he  
21      says another thing he has done is he has made it  
22      clear that a cop turns his back on a Negro fight  
23      between a man and a woman. The traditional tech-  
24      nique is for the white cop or Negro cop, if he sees  
25      the fight, is to turn his back. So much of this

1 goes beyond the racial question. He said he walks  
2 away This leads to immediate mayhem and it's spread  
3 into the community And this woman says I am  
4 nothing A man beats me in the situation, he walks  
5 away.

6 The thing I'd like to get back  
7 to is this, in terms of something we have to dis-  
8 cussed here. In your opinion, being right in the  
9 front, could a commission of this kind be meaning-  
10 ful if it limited its scope so that it didn't get  
11 to that new--try to delve or interpret or respond  
12 to this new concept of philosophy of either the  
13 forty-year-old woman who says she died three years  
14 ago or in the younger man who says I want to get  
15 killed, could this commission, in your opinion, do  
16 a meaningful job unless it got somewhere in the  
17 heart of it?

18 MR. YLVISAKER: My answer is  
19 implicit in your question. I would hope this com-  
20 mission, just like the national commission, gets  
21 right down into the guts and feel of the situation.  
22 The national commission is taking it seriously,  
23 even gaining the situation, as Rand does with the  
24 war effort, to get the commission to begin playing  
25 roles that are not their own roles, just to exper-

1 ience the emotion of this thing.

2 I would also suggest an awful  
3 lot of walking and talking with these people in  
4 confidence and openly because there is a lot in  
5 what this guy says about Lindsay. He says he  
6 doesn't know a lot of things and he joins us in  
7 the kind of uncertainty in this situation. I  
8 don't know of a single guy in this business who  
9 really knows the answers right now. But every-  
10 body in our generation is a phony, and if they  
11 think they know the answers, something basically  
12 is wrong. There are an awful lot of people who  
13 feel that has to be in the situation.

14 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Commissioner,  
15 knowing you're coming back, I think you're getting  
16 into things we are allotting time for at another  
17 time.

18 MR. GIBBONS: Is your depart-  
19 ment doing anything about a study of the extent to  
20 which the fragmentation of municipal government in  
21 this state contributes in its ability to deal with  
22 these problems?

23 MR. YLVISAKER: Yes. My first  
24 several months, when asked that question, I was  
25 pretty ambivalent, I talked out of both sides of my

1 mouth I wanted to bide time. My answer at that  
2 time was don't force me to a categorical answer

3 There are some cases where a  
4 little town can do a job by itself Many times you  
5 need a county, many times you need a region. But  
6 it's becoming clear in my mind that five hundred  
7 and sixty-seven municipalities in New Jersey cannot  
8 survive or produce what this state needs The art  
9 is going to be in the next two or three years,  
10 when we don't have much time here to begin making  
11 basic structural changes in the revenue pattern and  
12 in the service pattern, which doesn't mean, I think,  
13 getting away from little access points, but almost  
14 like AT&T, which managed to develop a service sys-  
15 tem over a larger jurisdiction yet be extremely  
16 service-sensitive to complaints. I think we can go  
17 into both directions.

18 One of the problems in the  
19 Negro community is there are no access points down  
20 there. There isn't service on the one hand, and  
21 there is no complaint mechanism. And one of the  
22 big answers lies in getting some connections, get-  
23 ting the complaint mechanisms moving. They don't  
24 necessarily have to be tied to the running of the  
25 service

1                   But I do believe Jersey has got  
2 a major structural job ahead of it, and I am sure I  
3 will last about two years in this job if I take it  
4 to heart, as I should.

5                   MR. BROWN: From what you talk  
6 about in terms of access, most of the so-called  
7 moderate Civil Rights groups have advertised as  
8 the progress to an expression of power and recog-  
9 nition the political route, that is, the normal  
0 business of registration, educate the voter to  
1 vote for candidates

2                   Is it your feeling that this  
3 root with its systematic development, has to be  
4 superseded for the time by some governmental or  
5 some community participation and lines of commu-  
6 nication which ought to be developed in government,  
7 so that for example, instead of having the tradi-  
8 tional representative being responsible on the ward  
9 council of a city basis, is it your feeling that  
0 that, while it may be the ultimate solution, is not  
1 going to apply in this particular circumstance and  
2 that other lines of communication and force have to  
3 be devised?

4                   MR. YLVISAKER: Let me answer  
5 that in two ways, and then I will subside.



1                   Let me give you the big saying  
2           again    I mention that figure that the Negro ghetto  
3           is growing by five hundred thousand every year  
4           This means that you have got the emergency faced  
5           with two choices: one, five hundred thousand Negroes,  
6           at least, a year move into white neighborhoods,  
7           which is now about fifty thousand, at most. Now,  
8           that would just keep the Negro ghetto of Newark its  
9           present size. You are not reducing it that scale.  
0           If you're to reduce it, you would have to up that  
1           migration to seven hundred fifth thousand, or more.

2                   On the other hand, if you go  
3           with our present rate of development, it means  
4           that five cities join Newark and Washington by  
5           1973 with Negro majorities, and by 1983 twenty-  
6           five cities, which means Chicago, Philadelphia,  
7           Detroit, the rest of them.

8                   Now, this would be alright, but  
9           the trouble is the central city, this is becoming  
0           the depressed area. Forty percent presently live in  
1           poverty

2                   But to answer your question,  
3           this means that if we are not going to integrate,  
4           which seems to be the majority vote right now, if  
5           we are not going to integrate, we must look forward

1 to transitional politics to put the Negro in control  
2 of those cities so that you do not delay the day  
3 there is the mayor and council, and the rest. The  
4 transitional politics gets to be pretty dirty pol-  
5 itics. This is part of the facts Transitional  
6 politics is dirty politics because of the buy-off  
7 and trade-off of votes. This produces a disillu-  
8 sionment that really eats at the heart of the thing

9 So I think that if it's to be  
0 implicit, such as in New Jersey, that we are going  
1 to have segregated cities, then I think we have to  
2 really work toward a clean transition toward Negro  
3 leadership and making sure that there are people  
4 brought into the system and not excluded by ward  
5 practices or political practices.

6 The second thing is the real  
7 meaningful participation comes in something that  
8 emerges. You have to see a tangible result. You  
9 can't play games in this business A lot of games  
0 are being played with the Negro communities, as we  
1 are used to in politics You put a guy here, des-  
2 ignate a person here, whatever.

3 We are going through some  
4 agonies now. The medical school in Newark, where  
5 a medical school is moving in, with one hundred and

1 fifty acres and has been fought bitterly The facts  
2 are that most of the Negroes who live in the area  
3 want to move out, but they don't want to be pushed  
4 out. That's where the main protest is One inter-  
5 est is now taking over a piece of Newark. I think  
6 the planning of that medical school acreage has  
7 passed its immediate needs. It's very important.

8 This is why Governor Hughes  
9 announced, as he did recently, there ought to have  
0 some very significant community participation here  
1 to make sure that school fits community needs as  
2 well as its own needs And I am satisfied, after  
3 talking with the Surgeon-General and Secretary  
4 Gardner at the White House, that such service  
5 facilities have to be knit together with the com-  
6 munity so that there is a feeling of mutuality

7 If that can be worked out in  
8 Newark, as a pioneering effort, where there was  
9 real mutual participation, we would be far ahead  
0 in the game; and that even admits the fact that  
1 you're going to have difficulty getting two or  
2 three Negroes to represent any part of their commu-  
3 nity. But at least they have been involved in de-  
4 cisions of their community It's the lack of par-  
5 ticipation that produces a lot of the neolism that

1 we are talking about.

2 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Thank you,  
3 Mr. Ylvisaker

4 (Off the record.)

5 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: In accord-  
6 ance with the rules of the Commission, there will  
7 be a transcript made up of everything we say during  
8 your discussion, Colonel Kelley. But I think we  
9 agreed among ourselves that this is not for the  
0 press; this is for the Commission. And if there  
1 is anything you want to read, you will get a chance  
2 to read it. But I think you should know the gentle-  
3 man there is taking down everything.

4 Thanks for being with us, and  
5 my apologies for the wait. I try not to keep  
6 people waiting, but it sometimes happens. So just  
7 be as informal as you like. The floor is yours.

8 COL. KELLEY: As I understand  
9 it, you're looking for background information so  
0 that you have the basis for whatever questions--

1 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Just what  
2 you have got. We would expect that at some future  
3 date you would be here with lots of time for dis-  
4 cussion.

5 MR. MEYNER: I think what we