

1 never start. MR. GLEBONS: Commissioner, we have  
2 of the for another witness waiting. Unless there are some  
3 to be the specific questions, I want to thank you very much  
4 in on behalf of the Commission for giving us your  
5 immediate time. I hope you make the resources of your  
6 have made Department available to our office.

7 unified approach JUDGE WACHENFELD: If you can get us some  
8 Now, information about those Small Business  
9 many separate Administration loans that would also help us.

10 particularly in the youth areas, the vocational areas, and  
11 MAYOR LAWRENCE F. KRAMER,  
12 sworn.

13 EXAMINATION BY MR. PORTUNATO:

14 Here Q I would like to start you off with two questions  
15 and I think that will be a good launching point, namely:  
16 What is your general approach to the problem of civil  
17 disorders and why didn't Paterson have a riot this summer?

18 A Well, Bishop, gentlemen, good morning. I'd like  
19 you to know at the outset that Paterson has no magic formula,  
20 we have no ten easy steps to the cure that America and  
21 particularly this panel is searching for. I would be  
22 delighted to tell you about the kinds of things we have  
23 been doing in Paterson. But as I say, I want to set them  
24 out correctly, that we are about the activities of trying  
25 to see that problems are eliminated by making sure that they

1 never start. But I want you to know that we are very aware  
2 of the fact that it is a day-to-day business and there has  
3 to be the continued effort.

4 In Paterson we saw the problems as basically threefold,  
5 immediate immediate, immediate tomorrow and long range. We  
6 have made effort to see that we for the first time got a  
7 unified approach to the good works that were going on.

8 Now, let me explain that just a little bit. We have  
9 many separate phases that were busy trying to do things,  
10 particularly in the youth areas, the recreation areas, and  
11 work areas, but everybody was sort of missing each other.  
12 There were some groups that were getting a lot more attention  
13 than others. In fact, others were being missed completely.  
14 Here we made an effort to bring together in March and in  
15 April specifically all of these active organizations to  
16 come into the Mayor's office and discuss what they saw as  
17 the problems.

18 Is this the area you want me to go into?

19 Q This is good. What were these organizations?

20 A When I say organizations, we had specifically  
21 groups that were not titled as organizations as such. They  
22 were community areas, a neighborhood council, a group from  
23 Task Force, a youth group by this name, a youth group by that  
24 name. And what we attempted to do at these sessions was  
25 develop out of listening to all of them common denominator

1 gripes, common denominator approaches, without their being  
2 aware of it. And we did discover, and I think in all  
3 honestly I should report, that there existed many minor  
4 jealousies and little resentments between even these groups  
5 that came forward.

6 MR. LEUCHTER: Were some of those under  
7 O.R.C. anti-poverty agencies?

8 THE WITNESS: Yes, in various stages. In  
9 other words, three members of it might even  
10 have been on their payroll and two more members  
11 were not. There was a great complex of this kind  
12 of a thing.

13 But we did discover that by bringing them  
14 in separately and allowing them to feel that,  
15 look, the Mayor's office is really interested in  
16 your opinion here and wants to know how you see  
17 things, and wants you to list what you see as  
18 the assets and what are the things we are doing  
19 wrong, what should we be doing to really be  
20 answering the needs of the community, this kind  
21 of a thing, the effort there really was one of  
22 communication as well as education.

23 Gentlemen, I am going to have to say to you  
24 that no matter where our discussion goes I think  
25 we are going to end up on those two words as

1 probably the foundation on which we tried to  
2 approach things in Paterson this past summer.  
3 Education two ways, by the way. Education to  
4 the power structure at City Hall and education to  
5 the community of things that they weren't aware  
6 were even going on, good efforts being made in  
7 specific areas and other things that we found we  
8 were really not doing a job on and therefore we  
9 were able to change direction a little bit. But  
10 let me say what we did at this point then was  
11 to draw out common denominator areas that each  
12 group would at some point put forth as a specific.  
13 Then we began to try to blend these groups together  
14 and we would do this with our agenda for the  
15 meeting by bringing in two groups that might or  
16 might not have harmony at the moment, immediately  
17 getting on the table with our format, the areas  
18 that were common denominator areas so that they  
19 could identify to them and say good, my message  
20 got across here, I am beginning to be heard and  
21 somebody cares what I am saying.

22 We have then structured under one umbrella  
23 whatever avenues for aid were available so that they  
24 couldn't come in hit or miss, they couldn't come  
25 in in shotgun fashion of we were doing too much

1 for teenagers or we were doing too much for  
2 Head Start areas or too much in another area and  
3 not enough here. We spread it out so that we made  
4 sure there was diversification of the youth that  
5 was involved and we tried to catch from 3, 4 up  
6 to about 21. In the later years it was difficult.  
7 With the 19, 20, 21 year olds we weren't as  
8 effective. In the 13, 14, 15 year olds we got  
9 great response. But by bringing these groups into  
10 one structure and allowing them to then create  
11 the programs for the summer. So that there was  
12 no immediate, automatic, and I would put that down  
13 as a negative on the side of the deprived  
14 community, if that's the phraseology we'll use,  
15 that there is almost an automatic, without  
16 analysing in many instances, negative attitude  
17 that if this is what the power structure wants  
18 it must be wrong and it ought to be done another  
19 way. We tried to get them in so that when it came  
20 to the level where they were beginning to have  
21 the programs presented to them there was an  
22 understanding, it was presold to a degree. That  
23 kind of thing. But we had this way in which

24 Then we put forth our programs in concert  
25 approach.

1 BY MR. PATRICK: We took Title I money, we took recreation  
 2 money, we took the city's money that we normally  
 3 about normally spend for playground activities, and spent it in  
 4 a different way. We had some good sessions.  
 5 to spread out I think the record should also indicate the  
 6 the accept great help that Commissioner Yldeaker's office  
 7 structure was in allowing us to get our hands on some good,  
 8 be there. qualified talent, which is the great, great  
 9 void in urban problems today at the Mayor's level,  
 10 of them finding good, qualified people that have the time  
 11 men in our or that you can afford to pay, to come and help us  
 12 some of the move some of these programs forward.

13 a total program Once we got this going it was certainly not  
 14 really was the only answer but it made a great effect because  
 15 we in Paterson we had jumped from a participation of  
 16 largest of 2200 children in recreation programs to 35,000.

17 94, 95, 96 BY MR. LAUCHTER: In how long a period of time?

18 far kids who THE WITNESS: Between the previous summer and  
 19 areas. this summer. Those in all honesty were in varying  
 20 participate degrees of participation. We had some that said  
 21 You've got your program is lousy and I'm going home and we  
 22 when had others that said it's great, it's marvelous  
 23 separate and I love it. But we had this many in numbers  
 24 summer so involved that we never involved before.

25 wanted to do the job and did it well.

1 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

2 Q Can I stop you right there? Are you talking only  
3 about Negroes at this point?

4 A Oh, no. We made very, very concentrated effort  
5 to spread out the approach in our city. You've got to have  
6 the acceptance of your middle income and upper income  
7 structures of what you're doing or the participation can't  
8 be there.

9 We went out to private enterprise and got \$25,000 out  
10 of them when we were falling short of money. The big business-  
11 men in our community stood up and put money on the line and  
12 some of the smaller business people because they could see  
13 a total program here and it was sold on the basis of they  
14 really wanted to do something.

15 We held a luncheon and we asked one of Paterson's  
16 largest employers to come to the luncheon. We got about  
17 94, 95, 96 in attendance and asked them to get jobs for us  
18 for kids who couldn't involve themselves in the recreational  
19 areas. We asked them to find jobs for them. We had  
20 participation in that luncheon. We got jobs for them.  
21 You've got to have that assist.

22 When I say we went under one umbrella there was no  
23 separate program going on. We appointed a Director of  
24 summer activities, non-salaried, just a devoted soul that  
25 wanted to do the job and did an excellent job. Again,

1 you've got to have good people at these levels there or  
2 programs break down. And they then coordinated the programs.  
3 The Board of Recreation in Paterson was taking care of  
4 playgrounds, the Board of Education was enriching those  
5 programs so that we had arts and crafts we never had before.  
6 So we'd hook another kid with sincere interest.

7 We went for neighborhood swimming pools and this is  
8 where the Commissioner's office was a great assist. We got  
9 matching funds for neighborhood pools in Paterson. We put  
10 up seven pools and it was generally accepted very, very  
11 well. We had problems with pools but by and large they were  
12 a great asset.

13 Q Were these pools only in the poor areas or through-  
14 out?

15 A Throughout the community. We put them on the basis  
16 of population more than anything else. And we put them at  
17 Inca sites. Inca was an abbreviated name for the excuse  
18 we needed to go out and solicit private funds. It was a  
19 combination of priests, ministers and rabbis that ran these  
20 sites. And then we married to it other facilities the city  
21 could provide.

22 When we were growing up the old playground after June  
23 we remember, the Board of Education dropped off the famous  
24 green box with two volley balls, a basketball, and one broken  
25 net. We didn't allow this to happen. The site was worth going



1 to. The worst critic of the kids would have to say this is  
2 a good thing, I like what's happening here.

3 MR. LEUCHTER: Were some of them school  
4 sites?

5 THE WITNESS: Oh, yes. In some instances they  
6 were and other instances they were church sites.  
7 But they were diversified throughout the city, the  
8 diversity based on population demands, but  
9 diversification so that the program could be  
10 accepted that way. It couldn't be -- and we  
11 believe it was a factor in its success, that you  
12 can't let this be a program for a particular  
13 community.

14 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

15 Q I think you've answered the question about your  
16 general approach. Now I would like to direct you to the  
17 question of why didn't Paterson specifically have a riot  
18 this summer.

19 A I would say unquestionably of the three main  
20 factors in our ability to come through the summer was one,  
21 the local press. I thought, and other people did, there  
22 was a quality of journalism here that rose to the occasion.  
23 They printed the news. They printed the facts as they  
24 happened. But they never allowed sensationalism for the  
25 sake of sensationalism. They never made the adaptation that

1 bad news is big news and let's write it that way. They wrote  
2 it as it existed. I think responsible journalism was the  
3 number one reason contributing to Paterson's success.

4 MR. LEUCHTER: Specifically what news, the  
5 news of the Newark riots or something in Paterson?

6 THE WITNESS: The Paterson newspapers. We  
7 had problems and I want you to know that we had  
8 problems if you've got to know all the facts. We  
9 had bottle throwing incidents and we had rock  
10 throwing incidents. But they were never  
11 catapulted into anything greater. The difficult  
12 days when -- I'm sorry to refer to other communities  
13 but these are the facts of life -- when ten miles  
14 off the port bow Newark was having strife that  
15 had been unequalled in the country, it had a  
16 tremendous impact on the attitude. You could cut  
17 the tension in our city with a knife during the  
18 difficult days. There was no question about it.  
19 We went around the clock watching and nursing our  
20 problem. The T.V. and the news is a big factor  
21 in my opinion in taking this level and being the  
22 stimulus to greater levels.

23 JUDGE WACHENFELD: What you mean is those  
24 things are contagious and the press helps that  
25 contagion?

1 And three, THE WITNESS: No question about it. Well  
2 that stood stated, Judge. In our opinion. And the two  
3 leadership Paterson newspapers and the Passaic paper which  
4 mite and be affects Paterson, as I said practiced responsible  
5 in the hall journalism. They wrote it as it happened. I  
6 They'd talk am not saying to you that they didn't put the  
7 into the facts in, because they did. But they didn't get  
8 fantastic carried away, if you will. They didn't sensationalize  
9 times. You just for the sake of a newspaper headline.

10 MR. LEUCHTER: Can you tell us specifically  
11 the incidents that took place?

12 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

13 Q We will come to that. I think you mentioned three  
14 factors. I think one was the local press.

15 A Number two was the Paterson Police Department  
16 and their new approach to the problems of the day, the  
17 turning of our clock in on today's time, awakening to the  
18 facts the way they happen to be today. It's a new era to  
19 the policeman. The way the Paterson policeman handled  
20 himself, the Chief and his officers, I think again would  
21 have to be the number two factor. And believe me it just  
22 shows you the esteem in which I held the newspapers to put  
23 them over the police department. They did a brilliant job  
24 of handling difficult problems that you were hinting at,  
25 and we will talk about if you like.

1 And three, a responsible leadership, Negro and white  
2 that stood up. Negro particularly. We had some great  
3 leadership that stood up and really did something at the  
4 nuts and bolts level, if you will allow the phrase. They got  
5 in the ball game. They were there on the street with me.  
6 They'd talk to the kids eye to eye. They would get right  
7 into the guts of the problem. They would dispel the  
8 fantastic rumor mill which is probably unequalled at such  
9 times. You know our rumors these three or four weeks of  
10 hell that we all experienced in this country. It was  
11 difficult in Paterson too. The rumors were out of the  
12 world. And some of these Negro leaders would face up to  
13 these kids and challenge them on a rumor. "A policeman just  
14 shot a colored boy on the corner of so and so and so and so."  
15 "Who did he shoot?" This kid would report it in front of  
16 15 other kids on the corner and the fire is off and running.  
17 I am talking about leadership that would say, "Who was shot,  
18 George? Tell me who was shot. I don't believe it, George."  
19 And they would pursue it in just that fashion to dispel  
20 immediately the monger and the troublemaker in that sense  
21 of the word.

22 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Was leadership young or  
23 was it in an older group?

24 THE WITNESS: Basically young I think,  
25 Bishop, I would have to say. When I say young,

1 the basis I am talking about the 20 to 30 crowd. Yes, that's  
2 in fact a very interesting question that I never really  
3 was that put together before. But I would say the fellows  
4 broke the I am thinking about that were there were in that  
5 at least age group, 20 to 30. They didn't want a problem.  
6 I forget. 85 per cent of the Negro community in our city  
7 responsible didn't want any problem. They were embarrassed  
8 level. to tears at what was happening. But it was  
9 and problem happening and it's one of those situations that  
10 so much never before did so few speak so loud or something.

11 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

12 Q Could you elaborate a little about the part that  
13 the police department played?

14 A Yes. We in our skull sessions that I referred to  
15 in the first part discussed the problems of the policeman  
16 and the problems of the police department and the image  
17 of the people that came to that table, it is polite to say  
18 left a little to be desired. The image of the whole police  
19 department was not one would hope it would be in a  
20 community. And we worked hard on this. We worked hard on  
21 it in maybe a little razzle-dazzle approach.

22 In an effort to change the image of the whole police  
23 department we changed the color of all our police cars to  
24 colors chosen carefully because we thought they were a  
25 sensible approach to make to this kind of thing. We changed

1 the basic approach of the type of arrest that was happening  
2 in Paterson. I want you to know that there was never any  
3 time that we equivocated from law and order. If somebody  
4 broke the law they went to jail or they went to the courts  
5 at least. While I am on that subject of the courts, before  
6 I forget, a major factor in Paterson's success was  
7 responsible, qualified municipal action at our judicial  
8 level. Our municipal judge we happen to be very proud of  
9 and prejudiced toward. I submit that with his handling of  
10 so much of the tension problems and so many of the problems  
11 that had nothing to do with tension that the community was  
12 beginning to feel that there was real justice at that court  
13 and that went a long way. At any rate let me get back to  
14 the changing of the image. The moving arrest. Arriving  
15 at the scene without the sirens blaring, who would react,  
16 when and where, how the approach should be made if the  
17 terrible whistle did blow, where would we go and when, how  
18 fast did we go, these kind of things were all ironed out  
19 ahead of time. They were put in effect and they worked with  
20 great success. There was good detective work. There was  
21 good police function. And if somebody broke the law in  
22 Paterson he went to jail.

23 MR. LEUCHTER: Can we get more specifics

24 on this or do you want to wait until later?

25 Q On moving arrests, some of the things you are

1 indicating to us, could you just sketch them in for us?

2 A Talking about changing the image of the police  
3 department, for instance, by changing the color of all  
4 their equipment it was an effort to psychologically, if you  
5 will, convey it's a new department with a new attitude.

6 JUDGE WACHENFELD: What did you do with these  
7 colors? Did you subdue them or accentuate them?

8 MR. LEUCHTER: What were they before, red?

9 THE WITNESS: Our colors were orange and  
10 brown with white roofs. They were very loud.

11 They were well recognized immediately as the law.

12 We ordered all white cars and we put a burgandy

13 band around it and wrote in script, "Paterson  
14 Police Department," in an effort to give it,

15 I guess, an upper image, if you will. The colors

16 were chosen because they are the colors of aid

17 and help. This is the color that comes to help

18 you, the red and white is the uniform of a nurse.

19 This kind of a thing. He comes to help you, he

20 doesn't come to hurt you was what we were trying

21 to portray there. It also was a lot cheaper,

22 by the way. We had to go to police headquarters. When

23 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Did you have a motivation  
24 psychologist in this or was this something off  
25 the top of your head? walking and who now wears

1 THE WITNESS: No. We have created talent  
2 teams in Paterson and this idea was checked out  
3 with a couple on talent teams. For youth guidance  
4 we have a psychologist, psychiatrist and a  
5 sociologist.

6 JUDGE WACHENFELD: You didn't get the  
7 colors from the ship called Hope?

8 THE WITNESS: No, but that's the thing we  
9 had in mind, Judge, exactly. If there was a call  
10 that there was bottle throwing on the corner of  
11 Graham and Twelfth the car went to Graham and  
12 Twelfth without screaming sirens and blaring  
13 lights. He went there in a hurry but he didn't  
14 go as he would answer a Code 1, which is, say,  
15 somebody lying in the street that needs assistance  
16 immediately, a total emergency. He got there with  
17 all deliberate speed as the court says. At that  
18 time when he would arrive he didn't arrive with  
19 an entourage. He arrived with two men in the unit  
20 as it normally was. Now, if there were people to  
21 be arrested, we had in the area plain-clothes men  
22 with separate radio to police headquarters. When  
23 I say separate radio, there are two radios, the  
24 radio that is operated in the switchboard to a car  
25 or a motorcycle or a walking man who now wears



1 a radio in Paterson on his hip. This gets tacky  
2 but I think it is important. We had a microphone  
3 that went into the ear of the man on the radio  
4 who spoke to the car radios. Is that clear?  
5 Because I am not explaining it probably as well  
6 as it should be. When a unit was dispatched to  
7 the area one man would get out of the car and the  
8 other man would stay by his car, ready for action,  
9 but not implying it -- or implying it but not  
10 enforcing it. The policeman would walk up to  
11 this individual, from the secret microphone,  
12 shall we say, or our plain-clothes man in the area,  
13 he would say, "George, it's the man with the  
14 yellow pants." Now, he has said this to the  
15 radio operator at police headquarters, the radio  
16 operator then says -- . By the way, when they  
17 jump out of the car there is a switch that you  
18 turn your car radio on so that it's heard all  
19 over, heard outside the car in case they are in  
20 pursuit of somebody. This would be done. They  
21 put it on audio outside the car. He would walk up  
22 and start to arrest the man with the yellow pants  
23 because over the radio would come, "George, it's  
24 the gentleman with the yellow pants." Now, this  
25 has a devastating demoralizing effect as to who

1           Q     is looking at us and who is watching us and how  
2 of accept did they know enough to grab him. We had  
3           A     instances that were really effective when he would  
4 really dis start to grab this man and the detective unit would  
5 a better say, "He is grabbing the wrong man, he wants the  
6 And their one with the green jacket," and over the radio  
7 I think it would come, "You're grabbing the wrong man. You  
8 than per want the one with the green jacket." He would  
9 one was be apologize, "I'm sorry, sir," and take him. All  
10 being for those kids knew very well he threw it. And we

11           Q     found that this had a great retardation effect  
12 to this p on who is going to throw the next one and where  
13 gets ar because there's a lot of kids around and we had

14           A     units, one on the roof to watch the one on the  
15 I just do ground in case he was discovered. This kind of  
16 detective work we think was very effective in  
17 holding down action when it happened.

18                     Now, it got progressively worse. In Newark  
19 I think it was on a Tuesday --

20           MR. LEUCHTER: Thursday and Friday.

21           MR. GIBBONS: Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

22 BY MR. FORTUNATO:     Things we would do. And another

23           Q     Before you get to that, in terms of your remodeling  
24 you had an incident two years ago in Paterson?

25           A     Oh, yes, sure, a bad one.     Really get involved in

1 Q Did something good come out of that in terms  
2 of acceptability by the police department of the changes?

3 A I think the police department, without anybody  
4 really discussing it, was aware of the fact that maybe there's  
5 a better way. I mean the last time it was kind of messy.  
6 And their willingness to accept what we were trying to do  
7 I think therefore was in better posture to accomplish it  
8 than perhaps would have been. Because, you know, the other  
9 one was bad. It had an effect. It was no party. I am  
10 being facetious.

11 Q I was just wondering whether there was something  
12 to this philosophy of it takes a riot before a municipality  
13 gets around to doing some of these things.

14 A I can't honestly say whether it's true or not.  
15 I just don't know.

16 MR. McMANIMON: Was Arthur Holland in  
17 Paterson or was he in Passaic?

18 THE WITNESS: Passaic.

19 MR. LAUCHNER: Can you keep on with this  
20 listing of things you were doing?

21 THE WITNESS: These are the immediate  
22 immediate things we could do. And immediate  
23 tomorrow in creating community relations we used  
24 the muscle of the office, if you will, to see  
25 that the police department really get involved in

1 this kind of a thing. What we find, working in  
2 these areas, is the communications lie not in  
3 what's said at the table but the fact that people  
4 are now sitting at a table and saying it. And  
5 the policeman's gripe has always been, look,  
6 you're looking to educate me. Who is educating  
7 him? You keep training me but who is training  
8 him?

9 In our community relations approach we  
10 got a grant for a \$9,000 study and Reverend  
11 Joe Ford was hired for the job and is doing a  
12 very, very excellent job. He has now at the  
13 table -- . What he has done, he has gotten  
14 the president of the P.B.A. and they won't  
15 miss a meeting because they are afraid they will  
16 miss something. Before the attitude of the  
17 police department was, look, you just stay out  
18 of all this stuff because first thing you know  
19 somebody is going to be talking about a civilian  
20 review board. Well, they're at all these meetings  
21 and we want to be at these meetings because  
22 action is happening there. What is happening we  
23 are getting on a first name basis. The policeman  
24 is all of a sudden a man. He has a wife and kids,  
25 he has a name. He is an individual. He has

1 problems. And he is discovering that many people  
2 from our community have the same thing, they have  
3 problems, they have legitimate beefs and some  
4 illegitimate beefs. We experience a lot of that.  
5 This I say is not in terms of what they're putting  
6 on a piece of paper but it's the byproduct all  
7 of a sudden of everybody competing to belong to  
8 this sort of thing and learning about each other.  
9 This is still in its nucleus stages. It's a  
10 little past that I guess. But it has been begun  
11 and is beginning to become effective for the  
12 immediate tomorrow.

13 In the immediate long range what makes sense  
14 by better minds than ours that makes sense to  
15 us that we can adapt, that we put into effect.

16 MR. LAUCHTER: Did you have what you consider  
17 a top flight sympathetic, committed police  
18 commissioner or Director of Public Safety who  
19 said we are going to do this and we are going to  
20 communicate and get on a better image with our  
21 people or is this how it happens?

22 THE WITNESS: No. In all honesty it has been  
23 a tough sell. When you become a police commissioner  
24 of there you become part of the organization as such and  
25 you can't help I think but be more sympathetic

1 of activity toward their problems than toward any other  
2 toward problems, and as a result that is not where the  
3 had a law muscle came from.

4 throws at them MR. LEUCHTER: The muscle came from City  
5 a Friday Hall you mean?

6 of the great THE WITNESS: To a large degree. To a large  
7 degree. And, you know, if I am portraying here  
8 that we are off on this image of these things  
9 The police have got to be done, we go a step at a time and  
10 during the law and order is the rule we will never break.  
11 from 7:00 You start throwing bricks through windows you're  
12 don't know going to jail and they know we mean it. When I  
13 we kept say, "They," I mean the total community.

14 BY MR. PORTUNATO:

15 Q Are you then a believer in meeting these riots  
16 with an immediate show of force?

17 A No question about it. No question about it.

18 Q Maybe we can get at this by asking you: How close  
19 did you come to a riot this summer and what steps did you  
20 take when it was brewing?

21 A Well, now let's see. How close did we come?  
22 Well, I don't know. I really think that we got about as  
23 close to the well as you can get, got a drink and got out  
24 of there I suppose. There were some very difficult times  
25 in Paterson this summer. We did not have any great burst

1 of activities of that type. We did have what might best be  
2 termed as abnormal delinquency. We had rock throwing, we  
3 had a laundromat burn down, we had cars getting rocks  
4 thrown at them, all pretty much in the same area. And on  
5 a Friday night I remember well at 10:30, it was the days  
6 of the great tension --

7 Q Is this before or after the Newark riot?

8 A After. And it was very, very bad everywhere.

9 The police department went on a light duty, skeleton shift  
10 during the day and we brought everybody in that we could  
11 from 7:00 at night until eight hours later which is, I  
12 don't know what, two o'clock or something like that. And  
13 we kept them in three pools. You can pretty well target  
14 where your trouble is going to be if you're going to have  
15 trouble. At least this has happened in Paterson. We could  
16 always say it's going to be in the Graham Avenue area.

17 We put our police in three separate pools surrounding  
18 that Graham Avenue area, one in a motor pool, one in a  
19 firehouse, one in the basement of a housing project. When  
20 one of our deputy chiefs was driving down Graham Avenue there  
21 were great milling crowds of kids that were happening every  
22 night now and there was about 75 or 80 kids on a corner and  
23 he saw a boy pick up a trash can, ready to throw it through  
24 a drug store window on the corner and he hit the alarm.  
25 We had determined ahead of time we would strike fast and

1 be ready to strike fast if the problem developed. He hit  
2 the alarm, which perhaps in all honesty was unwarranted,  
3 but I am delighted that he did, and I think it was a great  
4 deterrent to any problem in Paterson this summer. We put  
5 on the street in two and a half minutes 150 policemen and  
6 as far as the eye could see there was a helmeted policeman  
7 with a shotgun in hand. He was polite, he was about his  
8 business. And we closed down the taverns in the area  
9 immediately. There were no problems in the taverns but we  
10 wanted the effect of 200 out of this tavern and 150 out of  
11 that tavern to leave those taverns and walk past this  
12 display, if you will, of instant power, if it were needed.

13 The exodus of the taverns was extremely orderly. The  
14 tavern people were not the problem people. The tavern people  
15 were an older group that was sitting there, drinking under  
16 the normal activities of a Friday night. But the message  
17 I think was a great impact at that moment as far as these  
18 policemen were 30 yards apart and people walked through  
19 that and realized that Paterson could mobilize a great force  
20 in a hurry. Certainly our teenagers were impressed.

21 Now, another reason that we chose to close taverns,  
22 and we do it often, is because we have discovered that  
23 opinion molders in many of these communities are the bar-  
24 tenders. They affect what's happening in front of their  
25 taverns and in the streets. We also discovered that a lot



1 of them work on a commission basis of what comes over the  
2 bar. So if there is any trouble in your bar we close it  
3 because we catch you right in the wallet. That's the one  
4 thing they understand. We will close your tavern if there  
5 is a problem. Then this guy is out of business for the  
6 night. Now, this we think was a help too because the next  
7 night he didn't want his place closed again. He has an  
8 attitude here of cool it man because it ended up costing  
9 me money.

10 That night was not the closest we came. That night  
11 was a night I think a very important but subtle message was  
12 delivered.

13 MR. LEUCHTER: Excuse me. Did that trash  
14 can go through the window or not?

15 THE WITNESS: No. When he hit the siren  
16 the kid dropped the can and scattered. The kids  
17 scattered. But the difficult part in handling  
18 the youth is that if you have an 18 year old a  
19 policeman can handle him but when you've got an  
20 11 or 12 or 13 year old there's a great factor  
21 here where they will stand in bold defiance and  
22 now if a policeman makes a move he is moving on  
23 a child to the emotional community. These are  
24 the kids that are tough to get through to because  
25 they're busy showing off for the kids they are with,

1 they're busy creating other impressions here.  
2 They're the ones that are tough to handle. They  
3 are the ones we particularly use the moving  
4 arrest with, that is, to grab a kid and talk to  
5 him as you are going. He doesn't know he is being  
6 arrested and certainly the crowd doesn't get a  
7 chance to gather. They would walk him 50, 60  
8 yards into a car and then he's gone, so that you  
9 got off the scene as fast as you possibly could.

10 JUDGE WACHENFELD: What would you do with  
11 him after you put him in the car and took him  
12 away? Would you give him a talking to, take him  
13 home or take him where?

14 THE WITNESS: The first four that ever came  
15 off the street for bottle throwing were to come  
16 up in court the following morning and I asked for  
17 the four of them to come over to the mayor's  
18 office and I talked to them about what's your  
19 problem. What makes a guy throw a brick through  
20 a window? And I got various and interesting  
21 answers. I said I have absolutely nothing to do  
22 with your court case. That's the law of the land  
23 and you're going over there and the judge is going  
24 to handle your case but I want to know what makes  
25 you throw a brick through a window. This was a

1 great insight again because it became obvious  
2 to these kids that there was really no reason.  
3 I was looking for something that they were really  
4 angry at. As such we didn't get it put to us  
5 there. They went to court. I think one was from  
6 out of town and three were from Paterson. They  
7 were given one year jail sentences and this  
8 word went back to the street as well. This did  
9 not make for good editorials. I mean some of the  
10 press felt that this was much too stiff.

11 **JUDGE WACHENFELD:** Were those year sentences  
12 imposed or were they suspended?

13 **THE WITNESS:** They were eventually reduced  
14 but at the time they made good press. Is it  
15 really worth it? Because he wasn't there the  
16 next night. He threw the brick last night and  
17 he has a year in jail waiting for him.

18 At any rate, I am trying to get to our worst  
19 nights. We had this showing on a Friday night  
20 of the police force. Saturday night we had no  
21 problem. On Sunday night we had no problem.

22 Then Monday night it started to get bad again with  
23 larger crowds, more instances of the bottles.  
24 Tuesday night it got even worse. It seemed to be  
25 getting a little bolder. Almost a carnival atmosphere

1 was beginning to develop on the street. Tuesday  
2 night at one o'clock or 12:30 I went to the  
3 street and again asked, "What's your problem?  
4 What are you out here about?"

5 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

6 Q Who did you ask? Who did you talk to?

7 A As soon as I arrived, of course, a big gang of  
8 kids would gather and they would say there is the Mayor,  
9 let's tell him and I said that's what I want you to do,  
10 but you're not going to stand out here and break up the city.  
11 If you have some complaints, if you have some requests, you  
12 come down to my office and we will talk all you want, but  
13 you're not going to stand out here on Graham Avenue breaking  
14 windows and bouncing bricks off cars because we're not going  
15 to put up with it. It was then determined they would come  
16 to my office the next day at five o'clock. The next day  
17 at five o'clock the crowd that came was a percentage of  
18 what was in the street, but a lot of self-appointed  
19 spokesmen for the scene too. You know there are those who  
20 are automatically in charge of things. They were there.  
21 We had a one and a half hour session of airing all their  
22 gripes about the policemen and the mayor's office that  
23 wasn't doing enough, and it all developed down to a youth  
24 center, a new youth center and a place to go; there is no  
25 place for us to go, this kind of thing. It was now about

1 seven o'clock and they said there's nothing for them to do  
2 and presenting all the programs that we had going wasn't the  
3 kind of thing this crowd would listen to. They would say,  
4 well that's okay but --. Somebody said we should have a  
5 block dance. And this is not the way to quell a riot by  
6 any stretch of the imagination. It was a gimmick but it  
7 worked like a magic wand. Somebody at that table said a  
8 block party and I said there will be a block party tonight  
9 on Graham Avenue.

10 We went to the worst joints, the Bobaloo and the  
11 Dew Drop Inn, of revered fame, and got their bands. We put  
12 them in back of Public Works' trucks. We parked them on  
13 Graham Avenue. I told the chief of police what we were  
14 doing and he immediately had a mental hernia because here  
15 we were collecting six or seven hundred kids, the last thing  
16 he wanted to do. And it just worked. It worked very well.

17 MR. McMANINON: Did you stay on the scene,  
18 Mayor?

19 THE WITNESS: Yes. We spent a lot of time  
20 on the street. We spent a lot of time on the street,  
21 myself and other people in the administration that  
22 are close to the mayor's office, spent a lot of  
23 time walking, talking, listening to the problems  
24 and trying to do something about them. Sometimes  
25 the simplest things. We would stop in the play-

1 grounds. All through these difficult days we  
2 would go to the playgrounds and there would be  
3 no net on the basket. That's almost standard  
4 procedure. If it's up, it's up for today. We  
5 would say what do you need? Well, we need a  
6 net here. We would immediately get that up the  
7 next day so that they would say boy, somebody is  
8 listening.

9 The stores that were harrassing the police  
10 about boy, you've got to put a policeman on my  
11 doorstep tonight because they're going to get me,  
12 we opened those stores. One was a delicatessen.  
13 He cooked hot dogs. Another was an ice cream store  
14 and he gave away soda. We made this a real party.  
15 That was a Wednesday night.

16 Right after that it quit. They came in and  
17 said we want a series of block parties, and we  
18 held a series of block parties and they got  
19 progressively less attended. They became a flop  
20 as time went on. The second one wasn't as good  
21 as the first and the third wasn't as good as that.

22 But I would hasten to say to you that this  
23 kind of a thing is strictly a gismick and is not  
24 any meaningful answer to the problem. But it worked  
25 that night.

1 JUDGE WACHENFELD: What is the supposed  
2 percentage of your colored population?

3 THE WITNESS: Approximately 35 per cent,  
4 Judge.

5 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: What's the population of  
6 Paterson?

7 THE WITNESS: 150,000.

8 MR. GIBSON: What's the percentage in the  
9 public schools?

10 THE WITNESS: About 41 or 42 per cent.

11 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Mayor, I wonder if you  
12 could tell us what is the rate of unemployment  
13 in Paterson generally and also in the Negro  
14 population?

15 THE WITNESS: Well, in the Paterson area we  
16 are not qualified to be a distress area. Our  
17 urban renewal ratio went back to 25 - 75 rather  
18 than one third - two thirds because of it. The  
19 actual statistics I can't give you.

20 MR. FORTUNATO: I think perhaps we can  
21 obtain some statistics from you in another form.

22 THE WITNESS: Any statistics you want I will  
23 be glad to provide, sure.

24 MR. FORTUNATO: It would be unusual if you  
25 had these figures at the top of your head.

1 MR. GIBBONS: I was just asking for an  
2 approximation.

3 THE WITNESS: I just want to make the point  
4 dramatically that in our opinion we are all looking  
5 at this thing in the wrong direction, if you will.  
6 I think we are trying to solve the problems of  
7 the impacted area, we're all trying to find the  
8 simple solution to this kind of a thing and,  
9 gentlemen, I submit to you that in urban America  
10 it is not the approach that's going to be the  
11 answer, although it may be part of it. We have  
12 got to find ways of keeping the middle-incomer  
13 in the city. The middle-incomer cannot and  
14 will not stay in the city. He wants to. I get  
15 letters every day, Mr. Mayor, I want to stay,  
16 I've tried, my whole family has been Patersonians  
17 for 50, 80 years. We can't take it another  
18 minute. We can't pay your taxes.

19 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

20 Q What solutions do you have for us on that?

21 A We believe that what the government has got to do  
22 is give us what they owe us. I am not saying I want to go  
23 to Washington with a basket and ask the government to fill  
24 it up and cure my problems. But let them give me what they  
25 owe me. Pay me for what I am legitimately doing. They want



1 me to educate the kids on welfare. We all agree it is  
2 education to communication. Fine. Give me the money to  
3 educate them. I have 4700 kids on welfare in my school  
4 system. It costs me \$500 to educate one of those children.  
5 And if he is held over in a grade it costs me \$1,000 or  
6 \$1,500 to get him out of the grade. I submit to you, give  
7 me the \$1,000 times 4700 kids so that I can make those  
8 kids worth something. You're not allowing cities to come  
9 up with dough that don't sincerely deserve it. You're  
10 putting it where they need it. It's unrealistic to think  
11 that suburbia is going to all of a sudden start picking up  
12 my welfare problems. If you give me that money alone I  
13 would have \$2,305,000 to pump into my budget just to educate  
14 those children alone. Do you know what that would do to my  
15 tax rate? I could drop it a hundred points. These are the  
16 things the cities need, the total approach.

17 The white man is now in a position where he is forced  
18 out and the Negro middle-incomer and upper-incomer is  
19 leaving because they can't pay the bills. And these are  
20 the people we need in those cities. They are the talent  
21 sources, they are the ones who the exposure has to come from  
22 through association. They're the ones that we are busy  
23 integrating with and it isn't going to happen because he can't  
24 stay. He wants to, he is willing to. Now we've got the  
25 impacted areas. He is going to pursue the white man across

1 suburbia. I submit to you that the Federal government has  
2 been underwriting the cost of developing suburbia for  
3 25 years, nobody bets an eye. We have F.H.A., we have vets  
4 housing, we have all kinds of things.

5 MR. LEUCHTER: What you are saying is the  
6 money has to come from somewhere, there just  
7 has to be a change in tax structure instead of  
8 throwing it all on real estate taxes in the cities?

9 THE WITNESS: But I give it to you in a  
10 formula that I think is an honest formula to the  
11 cities that sincerely have the problem and are  
12 trying to do something about it. The way to  
13 do it The second phase of it is you say eliminate  
14 the ghetto. That's easy to say. So we eliminate  
15 the ghetto by building another project. So I  
16 should swap in 30 tax paying pieces of property  
17 with 30 families living on them who pay taxes  
18 for 300 families that don't pay taxes? My school  
19 roll is jumping 1200, 1300 kids a year. I can't  
20 pay the teachers. I have to give them more police  
21 protection, I have to collect more garbage. I've  
22 compounded my problems on problems if I eliminate  
23 the ghetto. So I submit to you give me what I have  
24 coming. Let the Federal government pay me for a  
25 building just as if a legitimate builder put it up.

1 Give me full taxation for it. Then you say here  
2 is a city not trying to eliminate anybody, here is  
3 a city trying to eliminate ghettos. There is no  
4 ghetto.

5 MR. LEUCHTER: How about the private people  
6 putting up houses and the Federal government  
7 giving you rent supplements so that you can get  
8 taxes out of those properties?

9 THE WITNESS: Rent supplement leads to rent  
10 control in my opinion and there is no greater  
11 deterrent to the legitimate, qualified builder  
12 coming to any city than rent control. The way to  
13 beat the ghetto is not with inspectors, it is  
14 to price them out of the market.

15 You create a tax base in my community or  
16 any community with my problems that the legitimate  
17 builder can come in and he will build an  
18 apartment and rent it for what these poor people  
19 are paying those slum lords. And when they can  
20 have so much better facilities at the same or  
21 less money, my friend, the slum lord is out of  
22 business. I say we beat him in the market place  
23 and any place else is a band-aid rather than a  
24 cure.

25 MR. LEUCHTER: But you're saying that the

1 private enterprise builder cannot do this now  
2 because his taxes are too high?

3 THE WITNESS: He cannot come out. He comes  
4 in and figures out a piece of property and says  
5 okay, I can put three hundred units here and he  
6 says what's your tax ratio? Oh, my, God, I've  
7 got to charge \$185 for this apartment and the guy  
8 that's going to pay \$185 isn't going to come to  
9 that area. But if we could have a tax base I  
10 see it as the stimulus to the whole problem  
11 because, one, I've stopped the exodus of my  
12 middle-income, be he Negro, white or otherwise.  
13 He is not running any more because he can fight  
14 it. MR. LOUGHER: Did you understand?

15 Now Gentlemen, I have to give you one figure.  
16 I own a \$35,000 home in Paterson. I pay \$1800  
17 a year taxes. I pay \$150 a month taxes. Now,  
18 where Crooks Avenue separates Paterson from  
19 Clifton I've got a home owner living on the same  
20 street as the guy across the street who lives in  
21 another city and he's paying half the taxes in  
22 Clifton he is in Paterson, and he says what, am  
23 I crazy? He's looking to sell. The whole city  
24 is looking to sell because they can't pay the  
25 taxes until a stimulus is put back in that will

1 work on the private enterprise builder, because  
2 that's the guy you have to get interested.

3 Now you're getting it with the Insurance  
4 Department decision of a few weeks ago which is  
5 a monumental decision. Until you can put back  
6 a fundamental tax structure in those cities there  
7 is no longer a stimulus to a legitimate, free  
8 enterprise to come in there and build.

9 Do you know how many more inspectors I would  
10 have to have to inspect slum lords? When I catch  
11 up with that slum lord he puts the house in his  
12 wife's name and when I catch up with her she's  
13 in Miami. I'm half crazy.

14 MR. LEUCHTER: Suppose you condemned a  
15 house, where would the people move anyway?

16 THE WITNESSES: That's exactly right. So beat  
17 him in the market place. Make it so that they  
18 don't want to pay him \$27 a week for that pigsty.  
19 Make it so that they can pay that money on some-  
20 thing where they're getting full value for their  
21 dollar and then his place can't rent. Then he's  
22 going to turn around and start building these.

23 These are the two places that we feel are  
24 the most important problems and any other stimulus  
25 is just going to be one more program. I don't

1 need a program, gentlemen. I need what's coming  
2 to me. I need a fair evaluation of what the  
3 city is paying for. I will educate these children,  
4 I will give them a good education, as well we  
5 should. It's our responsibility. If we're going  
6 to solve the problem we've got to catch that  
7 generation coming. And the improvement of the  
8 quality of education is the greatest tool we can  
9 work with. But now we are being forced in the  
10 city to provide education of quantity rather  
11 than quality. I am more concerned about where  
12 I am going to put the next ten kids than I am  
13 of hiring a remedial reading instructor.

14 MR. GIBBONS: Mayor Whelan testified before  
15 us that in his view the entire school problem  
16 and the entire welfare problem should be transferred  
17 to the state and cease to be a municipal function.  
18 Would you care to comment on that?

19 THE WITNESS: Well, I think that you would  
20 have to at first blush with it, agree that  
21 certainly if we could unload our welfare costs  
22 it's a great savings to us. We spend a tremendous  
23 amount of money. I just think it's a little  
24 unrealistic for people to think in the cities --  
25 the cities that are now the magnet to all the

1 loan that problems, not by intention but by the structure  
2 work for of the way we built things -- to assume that  
3 top control suburbia is going to come in and pick up their  
4 from our fair share of it. I think that the Mayor's  
5 pay for the idea is, if it were paid at another level every-  
6 people the body would be paying a fair share. Well, certainly  
7 problem I can't be in opposition to it. But elimination  
8 I am in of the problem is a better approach.

9 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

10 Q You mentioned two things I want to get. Do you  
11 have as the Mayor a staff of people to handle these  
12 problems? We're getting down to nuts and bolts again.  
13 You spoke of a talent corps and I know you've got this  
14 problem of coordinating the various groups you might say.  
15 How is that handled on a nuts and bolts basis?

16 A We are forced to do so much of it on a volunteer  
17 basis. We would be in much better shape if talent sources  
18 were available that we could reach into. We experienced  
19 through Commissioner Ylidesaker's office -- I don't mean this  
20 to be a testimonial to him, but in all honesty I have to  
21 give you the facts. We were able to get some talent out of  
22 there this summer.

23 You know big daddy Government is blamed for everything,  
24 is supposed to cure all our problems. But I would like to  
25 see big business for instance, pay qualified personnel and

1 loan that personnel. They pay the payroll but they let them  
2 work for the city. Let me have them for a year. Give me a  
3 top controller. Give me a finance man. This kind of talent  
4 from our major corporations where the corporations would  
5 pay for talent, would be a great assist, real qualified  
6 people that could come in and face up to some of these  
7 problems that today we have to do. I need a controller and  
8 I am in search for one. Today Paterson pays \$11,000 for the  
9 guy doing the job, and with all due respect to him, he is  
10 retiring, I need much more than the expense of what his job  
11 was. When I announce to the taxpayers of the city of  
12 Paterson I am going out to hire this guy from free enterprise  
13 or some place else and it's going to cost \$22,000 a year  
14 somebody will have a fast stroke that's paying a tax bill  
15 and say no wonder I can't pay my taxes, and you get into  
16 that cycle that has to be broken. Talent banks would be a  
17 great help. I would hope that maybe something could be done  
18 to stimulate free enterprise to provide them.

19 Q What help have you been getting from Federal  
20 agencies, if any? It's not perfect, it's not excellent.

21 A Well, under the normal programs that have existed  
22 to the cities we have gotten our share I guess. I don't  
23 think there is any value in really evaluating it any further  
24 than that. I think Paterson has had her share of what's  
25 been available to this degree.



1 Q Are you in favor of the procedure whereby the  
2 funds are not administered through City Hall?

3 A No, I am not. No.

4 Q Could you elaborate?

5 A You get the funds back in the power structure.  
6 We're in the service business. People always want government  
7 to be a great corporation and run like one. We are in the  
8 service business. I have to clean streets and I have to  
9 run snow plows. These are the places, in rendering a  
10 service and things of that nature. Think of it in those  
11 terms. And getting the money at the level where you can  
12 provide the most service for that dollar is going to be the  
13 most effective tool that we can have.

14 MR. LEUCHTER: Would you give us an  
15 assessment, Mayor, your personal assessment  
16 of the O.E.O. financed agencies in Paterson?  
17 What's your relationship with them? What kind  
18 of a job are they doing and so forth?

19 THE WITNESS: Our relationship with them  
20 is good. It's not perfect, it's not excellent,  
21 but it's good. The philosophies inherent there,  
22 I don't think anybody can debate with. The problem  
23 comes from the choice of personnel, if you're  
24 looking for my honest criticism.

25 MR. LEUCHTER: This is what I want.

1 say, THE WITNESS: The choice of personnel they  
2 make. You know these two men are applying for the  
3 job. It isn't the understanding of qualifications  
4 and ability that will get him the job, it's well,  
5 he needs it so after all this is a poverty program  
6 and if a man is in poverty we should help him out  
7 of it. They at the talent level I think are  
8 hurting in lots of areas.

9 MR. LEUCHTER: How much money, for example,  
10 has come into Paterson in terms of total dollars  
11 through the O.R.C.?

12 THE WITNESS: They've had a lot of money. I  
13 will have to get you the figures. But they've had  
14 a lot of money and they've done a lot of good  
15 things, but we are not getting the maximum return  
16 for the dollar there because of the personnel.

17 MR. GIBBONS: Can you furnish us from your

18 office the breakdown of what they received and  
19 where it has been going?

20 THE WITNESS: Sure.

21 MR. GIBBONS: Can you also furnish us with a  
22 further breakdown of your population?

23 THE WITNESS: Yes. We're a senior citizen  
24 all honest city.

25 MR. GIBBONS: Would that be possible to do,

1 say, on a comparison basis with ten years ago?

2 THE WITNESS: Yes. I think those things are  
3 all available in our 701 Master Plan.

4 JUDGE WACHENFELD: I just want to make one  
5 comment. I want to compliment the Mayor. I think  
6 he has been magnificent.

7 MR. LEUCHTER: I would like to second that.  
8 I just have another question. Mayor Whelan of  
9 Jersey City said to us this morning I think rather  
10 bluntly that in his opinion outside agitators  
11 were the cause of all rioting, while the tinder  
12 was there that in all cities the riot wouldn't  
13 start unless a match was thrown by an agitator,  
14 using his words. Do you agree with that? Could  
15 you have had a riot in Paterson this summer without  
16 agitators?

17 THE WITNESS: Oh, unquestionably.

18 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

19 Q Could I ask the question in these terms: Were there  
20 outside agitators in Paterson this summer?

21 A Not to my knowledge. Not to my knowledge. And to  
22 further expand it: Our problems came from ourselves, the  
23 way we were doing things or not doing things, and I think in  
24 all honesty, you know, it's very easy to say outsiders. But  
25 it's not. Your problems are your own.

1  
2  
3  
4  
MR. LEUCHTER: You didn't need a fellow  
in robes and a turban to come into the city and  
tell the people to riot?

5  
6  
THE WITNESS: No. But when he comes he's  
going to know I am waiting for him.

7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
Reporter of MR. FORTUNATO: The reason I asked the  
that the question that way, it avoids getting into a  
the proce problem of whether or not your statement was an  
place an accurate statement as to what Mayor Whelan  
testified. In that regard we will let his  
testimony speak for itself. My question was  
quite apart from what Mayor Whelan testified.

14  
15  
MR. LEUCHTER: Would you prefer that to be  
stricken?

16  
MR. FORTUNATO: No.

17  
18  
19  
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21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
THE WITNESS: By the way, the rumor mill on  
the subject was murder all day long. Sixteen  
bus loads just left Newark on their way to  
Paterson or Rap Brown just paid his toll on the  
George Washington Bridge and mentioned Paterson.

\* \* \* \*