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appear. If you could appear again, there is a lot more. You have aroused a lot of interest. If you

could arrange that, we would appreciate it.

THE WITNESS: If Mr. Jaffe will get in touch, we will set up a time.

By Mr. Jaffe:

There was another paper that you had that you were reading from, a newspaper. Would you object to putting that in the record?

A No. This is a copy of our Crusader, a paper we put out periodically and I would like to submit this to the record.

(EXHIBIT NO. C-19 WAS RECEIVED IN EVIDENCE.)

CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Thank you, Mr. Still, for coming.

MR. DRISCOLL: I think we are all indebted to

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Whereupon, and he was the week the same of the same of

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to and try to bring some to be Tity of Hampin.

called as a witness, first duly sworn, testified as follows:

EXAMINATION

By Mr. Jaffe:

Q I know you have to be in New York by one and we

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want to apologize for keeping you waiting, but Timothy Still was very informative and just took a little bit longer than we had planned in setting up the schedule. We will make you get out of here in time to be in New York at one, and we will ask you to come back another time. Obviously we are not going to have an opportunity to cover all the material we would like with you.

Would you state for the record your occupation now?

A I am the acting executive director of the United

Community Corporation.

Q How long have you been associated with the United Community Corporation?

A Since April 12, 1965.

Q What are your duties as head of the United Community
Corporation in twenty-five words or less?

A Well, in charge of the responsibility of conducting and administering Newark's anti-poverty program and monitoring the evaluation of our agencies that we subcontract programs to and try to bring some money to the City of Newark.

and other areas we are interested in, the Commission is interested in what is happening in Barringer the last day or two, and Timothy Still alluded to it in his testimony. I wonder if you have any thoughts on it or if you know what the situation is and how it is developing.

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A In fact, Mr. Still and I did go by there the second day because we were concerned.

There exists in the community now a kind of panic and crisis reaction even to small incidents or isolated incidents. I think the incident at Barringer has been viewed by many people as part of the overall picture in terms of the disorders we had this past summer in that many people in the community now are speaking up in this manner. I think this helps to escalate the problems and the hostilities and the antagonisms.

As you gentlemen know, the intent initially was not a racial confrontation in the first two antagonisms. But I think the community is responding this way, and even those who wish to be helpful and want to return the community to normalcy, it is very unfortunate for them.

Q Do you have the latest word of what has happened down there?

A No. I was getting ready to dispatch some staff people over there before I came over here. I would like to apologize for being late. You know how things develop at the UCC by looking at the paper. Everytime you turn around there is another crisis staring you in the face, so I am sorry I was late.

Q Is there any effort made by the UCC to reach into the younger members of the community over at Barringer to

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get them involved in some sort of a dialogue?

A we have been reluctant to do it because of the unfavorable publicity we received when we attempted to be of assistance to the community, and we didn't want our roles to be misinterpreted. We have gotten some feedback from the youngsters. A lot of this is not reliable. They have a tendency to exaggerate. Some of you deal with the law, and you know when you have two witnesses you get two different accounts of what occurred.

I plan to dispatch some staff people over there today, some of our community sides who are about the same age as these people, and try to get some feedback from the youngsters they know and see if there is anything we can do.

Q Do you know of any other organization in the city, whether it be through the city administration or any private organization, that is active now trying to establish the kind of dialogue or trying to talk to the young people involved?

A Yes, the Human Rights Commission has been involved. One of the members of that commission sits on our executive committee, and Mr. Lofton was there at our last meeting that we had. By her response to certain questions posed to her by Mr. Arthur Jones, who is an OEO representative serving on a task force to assist us to reorganize I have serious questions whether or not they can handle the situation. I

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am not speaking in terms of professionalisms. I can't address syself to that, but just her response to some of the questions.

One question was: Are any plans being made to develop some kind of constructive strategy to evert any further disorders in the city particularly since we have this climate of tension? She said that the commission plans to hold its monthly meetings in the community, and this response just didn't address itself to the community. So I seriously doubt whether they are capable of handling this situation. In fact, I told the executive committee that I plan to call Dr. Prederick B. Ralph, who is the executive director of FIRO.

Q Could you explain what NIRO is?

A We all use these abo's. National Organization of Intergroup Relations Officials of which I have been a board member and the Middle Atlantic chairman. It is a group of people who are professionally employed in the field of intergroup relations, most of them working for governmental agencies, most of them for city commissions. Some of them have many, many years experience in intergroup relations.

I want to convene with some of them to try to discuss and explore what has happened in Newark and what kind of positive things have been done in other cities that might lessen the possibilities of any further problems here.

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Q Do you think that your agency the UCC, can play a role in this type of riot response?

A I don't know if you gentlemen saw it, but drafted up a letter from our president as an appeal to the community through the editors of the two major dailies. We intend to be involved and many of our people, staff and board members, are members of the Concerned Citizens Committee. In fact, Mr. Lofton and Mr. Talbott first met, and maybe half the people there were UCC people. Most the people are concerned about our community, and they plan an important role in most of the things that happen.

What I meant, do you also conceive of yourself -you said before that as a result of the participation in the
riot in July the UCC now has a little bit of hesitancy
actually to send teams of young people in to try to "cool
the situation." Do you feel that this is a proper hesitation,
a proper role by the UCC?

A I first want to get some advice from people I consider experts. Our people, too, are not trained in intergroup relations and interaction. Many of our people are community people with limited education and limited experience. We try to give them an opportunity through employment at UCC. Before I took any action which might precipitate something or be interpreted that way, I wanted to get some advice from people I considered experts in the

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field.

Q I gather, then, you don't have any group now that is actually involved with the young people in Barringer?

There is no group of people who are attempting to deal on an intergroup relationship basis?

A I have no personal knowledge.

MR. GIBBONS: Outside of the Board of Education.

MR. JAFFE: Through PTA meetings.

MR. GIBBONS: Through teachers.

By Mr. Jaffe:

Q I wonder if we could get back to the general question. We would be interested in your opinion as to how effective the UCC has been in meeting the immediate needs of the underprivileged in our community in terms of the total universe you have to reach and how much of the universe you think you have reached and what effectiveness you had in reaching that group.

dealing with the young adults and the teenagers and particularly with the youngsters that are out of school. It is true we have the Upward Bound program and Youth Corps programs, but they really don't address themselves to the problems of the youths that are engaged in these kind of activities. I would like to preface my remarks, and I hope this isn't looked upon as an excuse or an alibi, but I think

The United Community Corporation attempts to do two things, and it has affected our organization. We attempted to get quality staff and at the same time we attempted to give people opportunities who never had them. We try to do both and we can't do both well. Very early in our existence, in fact two years ago we applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a grant to create a training institute for our board members, our staff and the community at large. I just heard word orally and we did receive a letter from Mr. Berry that funding is buildent. So what I am trying to indicate is in terms of our resources we have limited resources

to do the job we want to do. Also in terms of philosophy of our corporation we want to do these things. We want to involve the poor at several different levels -- policymaking, decision making and in the design of programs and in the administration of programs.

We also want to provide support for existing agencies

and institutions and create a new community corps where there is nobody in the community doing the job that had to be done. Newark Pre-School Council is one of the bodies we created and Newark Legal Services project is another.

Thirdly, we wanted to be the kind of corporation not to become a monster administering ourselves and at the same time we wanted to have responsibility, which we have not discharged, of monitoring and evaluating programs, again because of staff limitations.

Q Is there anybody monitoring and evaluating programs now?

A Yes. I have a team of auditors.

Q Are those from the national office?

finally granted us permission to transfer funds from accruals to allow us to bring these fellows in.

A No. They are consultants we have hired. OEO has

MR. DRISCOLL: What are their qualifications?

THE WITNESS: They are members of Puder & Puder,

the firm does our auditing, and most of them are CPA's.

MR. DRISCOLL: Is anybody evaluating your substantive programs?

THE WITNESS: Yes. We have staff doing it,

but only three people. OEO is aware of this. They
have sent teams in to evaluate us, and we carried
on some evaluations ourselves but not to the extent
they should be, to discover some of the deficiencies
and weaknesses in the programs.

the win By Mr. Jaffe: | Charle Unional Late . Combine a handadria

a very broad question but one we would like to hear about. What do you think the role of the UCC should be in the political processes? Do you think the United Corporation Council should take stands on political issues that affect the citizens in this city, or do you think it is a primary role of service?

A I think you should take a position on non-partisan

Q I wonder if you would like to address yourself to

issues. We have a responsibility to educate the poor to utilize their constitutional privileges, and to that extent I think we should be involved. In fact, when I was acting director the first time I had recommended to then President Dean Heckle that we establish a social action committee to look at community issues and, if it so desired, take a position where it felt it should.

I think there are many issues that affect the poor and,

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indeed, our entire community to which very few people address themselves. Our educational system, the fact that we at the present time have not one Negro principal, things like that in the school system, 76,000 youngsters, 98 percent Negro — this is something to the minority community. Whether their evaluation is correct or not or accurate or not is not really the question here. But I think it reinforces in their minds, in the minds of many other people that are in the minority community that there is a double standard.

we have the issue of Mr. Parker. I think some of you may have heard or read about that, the first Negro in the State of New Jersey to become a Certified Public Accountant, and he was a candidate for the position of secretary of the school board. The other candidate, although I don't know his abilities or skills or talents in terms of qualifications that he proffered, certainly had less. The fact that they intended to retain the present secretary as a consultant to the board for the year at a salary equal to or about \$1,000 more than the secretary was a slap in the face to the community. This is the only way I can put it.

I think that the administration of the city is hampered in some respects because there has been in our whole relationship in terms of black-white relationships a kind of dialogue of deceit, as I call it, and that some of the key advisors to the mayor may be saying to him things he wants

saying this is true, but I am saying maybe in terms of the kind of relationships we have had in the past because I know and Mr. Lofton and I were in the mayor's office after Wednesday night's disturbance. We were very pointed in expressing our fears for what would happen Thursday. We indicated that we did not believe that this was an isolated incident and that in all probability something would occur the next night or the night after, and we should prepare for this.

The mayor wanted his aides -- in fact the man's name is not really important, but they said, "We are elected by the people. We know the community; you don't." Mr. Lofton can attest if I am not stating it as I heard it. We were appelled by the attitude because as long as I have been here through the United Community Corporation I think we get a good deal of what the community feels and thinks, different segments of the community. We have a cross section of the community on our board -- almost every interest group, every segment of the community.

The first two years I was here in Newark, the first two summers, Mr. Tice and I both predicted to people there would be no disturbances in 1965 or 1966 of any magnitude, but in September of 1966 when I became the acting director we went to Washington. Some of you may recall Operation Concern, and

I also think that the mass media contributed to the

we expressed our concern about the lack of support of the cities. We expressed to all the public officials elected and appointed that 1967 was going to be Newark's year. We didn't say that to portend doom, but to alert them. We did that in private conferences.

I remember when I spoke to Senator Harrison Williams he said, "There is kind of a chilling logic here in what you are telling us," because we were saying cities where there has been calm relatively because everything was seething and brewing underneath should not be penalized because there had not been major disorders, and we should think in terms of prevention rather than ours.

When \$27 million went to Watts, people were beginning to think well, this is the way to get response from the establishment or the power systems, this is what we will do.

I would like for the record to make it clear what we had in Newark was much different than what happened in other cities. The wrath of the people was taken out on the store owners whom they felt were robbing them. It was primarily looting. We didn't have the destruction and burning. There were only four fires during the few days of the disturbances, and none of them, according to the Fire Commissioner when I queried him, was attributed directly or indirectly to the looting. There was a different kind of atmosphere.

escalation because of the way it was portrayed over TV. It looked like a carnival or a carnival atmosphere. This drew more people into the area. I think that many young people have said the same thing -- it is nothing new -- that there has to be some kind of monitoring of the mass media so when they report the news, they report it in such a way it does not add to but rather diminishes the problem.

Finally I think we might have been out of the woods -- we were a couple of times -- but Wednesday night the police were the key factor -- poor judgment, indiscretion, overt -- not covert -- overt racism as expressed by some of the epithets they hurled at the crowd and conduct completely unbecoming a law enforcement agent.

MR. DRISCOLL: Was this the city police?

THE WITNESS: The city police, the first

Wednesday night.

MR. DRISCOLL: Did you personally see cases where there was racism on the part of the police?

THE WITNESS: Inside the police station and outside.

MR. DRISCOLL: You were inside and outside? THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. DRISCOLL: And you saw it personally?
THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. DRISCOLL: What form did it take?

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THE WITNESS: The hurling of racial epithets, cursing community people. It was going on on both sides. It would be easier to relate what happened that Wednesday night. That is the thing that is most graphic in my mind.

OHAIRMAN LILLEY: How long will this take?

I am thinking of our promise to you.

THE WITNESS: About eight micutes.

CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Can you stand those eight minutes?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

We were at my house discussing corporation business, and I got a call from one of our board members inquiring if I knew where Timothy Still was because there was something about to explode outside the Fourth Precinct. Tim and I both spoke to the person, Mr. Winans. We went over there immediately with Mr. Lofton to the precinct. When we got there, there was a crowd there but nowhere near the proportions later. I couldn't judge or estimate. Somewhere around 25 or 50 people crowded around a car. There were people standing around outside the project on the streets.

In the car or patrol wagon there was a man

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which I found out subsequently was the cab driver, the prisoner they had arrested. The people were expressing orally concern that he was being transferred somewhere to be abused. Finally one of our staff people. Mr. James Walker, got in the car because we felt this was the way to avert the problem right then. This was after long discussion with the inspector to convince him of the wisdom of this. The car resained there for some time. Then Mr. Lefton and Mr. Still and I, or Mr. Robert Curvin and some other people requested of the inspector an opportunity to talk to him so we could get the information about what would happen, and because of what we thought was developing into a dangerous situation. After a half hour he finally agreed to meet us. We asked him whether or not he had a private meeting room. He told us he didn't. Mr. Lofton asked him whether or not he had an interrogation room where he interrogated prisoners. He informed us he did not. We later found out he did.

We went inside and some of the community people followed us in. He took us into the squad room, I guess they call it, right off the foyer. While he was giving his report of the arresting

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in. They were very incensed. They claimed they witnessed this fellow being beaten and kicked outside the precinct.

MR. DRISCOLL: But you did not see it?

the room we were in. About eight to ten policemen began to converge on the room. I told the inspector that this is not the way to respond to community concern. The only way they knew how to respond was by demonstration of force. "These people are unarmed. You have got guns, riot sticks. Why this?"

Pinally he told the officers to leave.

while they were in there they were yelling and screaming at the people, cursing the inspector because he wouldn't unleash them, all kinds of crazy things. Then things got very heated outside and Tim and Bob Curvin went outside to try to talk to the crowd. Mr. Lofton and I stayed inside. All of a sudden something hit the side of the building. I don't know what it was. When I was inside it sounded like a firecracker. Without any direction, because Mr. Lofton was in talking to the inspector, the policemen upstairs got their riot helmets and their nightsticks and charged out into the crowd.

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At that point I ran outside. First I was screaming at the inspector, "What is going on here?"

I ran outside to do two things: One, to see if my presence would help, and also to witness what took place.

MR. DRISCOLL: Did they go out the front door?

THE WITNESS: Yes, right past the inspector.

When they went outside they were almost face to
face with each other. I was in the middle and I was
getting nervous.

MR. MEYNER: Isn't that an understatement?

THE WITNESS: Right. I have been in the trade union movement where we organized a plant that was owned by an alleged of the syndicate, and I have also been in the civil rights movement in the South and faced vidence, but I was extremely nervous because the community people were yelling and screaming and the police with these nightsticks were there, and I didn't know what was going to take place. I asked the officers to please ask the inspector to come out here because "We are going to have an explosion right now," I was thinking. While I was asking them to get the inspector out. one man standing on the side of the station not in mufti, a windbreaker and a dark shirt and trousers

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It went through my mind he might be a policeman.

I was just too excited to think about it. He asked me who I was. I told him my name and my title and the corporation I worked for. At that point I thought it might be good to find out who he was. I asked him and he charged toward me. Fortunately the inspector was cutside the building then. He ordered two of his officers to remove the man, and they had to do this physically by the arms. I found out afterwards that he indeed was a police officer, but this was the kind of response we got, just attempting to assist.

Then we asked the inspector, and I am paraphrasing because I am shortening it, to give us an opportunity to talk to the people. He asked us would we guarantee that we could disperse the crowd. Nobody could guarantee that, and that crowd was in no mood for that. We told him no, we couldn't. We would attempt to channelize this energy, get them down to city hall, an all-night vigil. That was to get them out of the area. But knowing that it would not be successful, but we did want to have some kind of a protest and demonstration and move them away from the precinct.

In a half an hour or so he consented. We

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He gave us fifteen minutes, and he promised he would have his police go back in. He stayed outside with one officer or more; I don't recall. Then Mr. Curvin addressed the group, Mr. Still and Mr. Lofton. The essence of most of their statements was of a militant nature but not inflamatory. "Justice will be done, but there is a way to do it," et cetera.

We began to organize the march. I ran through the crowd identifying my staff members and telling them to look for people we knew because we were having a meeting that night, not us, but a board of trustees for the summer block program. This is why there were so many of us in there that night. They identified more members from our area boards and let them help organize. We were moving away from the station and people were cheering, and they began to sing, "We shall not be moved." They were in fact moving, and the police could see this out the window. Maybe they were twenty abreast. I was up at the other end of the block. We were running telling the kids to join in, et cetera.

By this time there were more spectators, a whole host of them. The police came out and the crowd said, "Here they come. You can't trust them. They lied to us. " That is when the first stone

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began to be thrown. I don't know what took place immediately in front of the station because I was up at the other end of the block.

MR. MEYNER: This is the second time they came out?

THE WITNESS: The second time.

MR. MEYNER: They came out the front?

THE WITNESS: Right past the inspector who talked to Oliver Lofton at the time, so he couldn't have given them an order. I told my staff to run through the crowds and tell them to cool it. There were kids sitting out of windows. These guys have guns, and a bullet could ricochet and kill some innocent person. One youth said, "Why don't I go get so and so and tell him to stop what he is doing?" Then a car was set on fire and the engines came. That added to it. We had quelled it the first time and almost the second time. The second time there was no stopping it when the police came out.

There were the rocks, the Molotov cocktails, et cetera. By this time there were several hundred people and more coming. We knew we couldn't control it anymore. It was useless. This must have been two o'clock in the morning. Some of our people went home. Tim went home because he got hit with a rock.

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So I left and got feeling guilty. I came back about two-thirty, maybe three o'clock in the morning. When I got back the streets were deserted. I think four stores had been looted. I saw the Director of Police standing on the steps of the precinct. I went over to talk with him and share with him what I thought should be his responsibility the next day. The return: "The entire situation is normal. Put the windows in early in the morning; get the place cleaned up. Just return it to normal and don't treat it as a situation because once you begin to look at problems as problems they become problems."

While we were talking there and I was venting some of my anger at what his police had done, rocks came again and it went through my mind, and I told everyone this because I had been in the South, paid as a civil rights worker -- I wasn't going to get killed up North by accident by Negroes, and I went home. Those rocks weren't discriminating.

I think we had two opportunities to have averted it on Wednesday night and I think the actions of the police prevented this. I mention this because I think it is key and important because you must recall that the police had, through the Human Rights Commission, requested the United Corporation funds

Commission, requested the United Corporation funds
for a relations institute. Our staff had informed
the police and the Human Rights Commission that the
funds are available through the Justice Department.
They got them directly, and they got a sizeable
grant, but that didn't produce the results we had
wented or desired.

Subsequent sectings have taken place in the community, city council sectings where the police used unnecessary force at one I witnessed on an individual but I don't know if he was a citizen of the community or not. They beat his right outside the city council steps, and the man was physically resoved by community people.

Another incident was the K-9 Corps where there were many policemen out of uniform who were demanding the K-9 and calling the people prostitutes and using the other words as substitutes for that, cursing the clergymen, Konsignor Roolihan, whom I knew and had a great deal of respect for. That night outside of city council there was physical violence, whites with tire chains and resors coming at community people. I said to many people, "We are not over it yet." There could be a little holocaust in the city because we have received

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information that people are araing themselves.

Black extremists are passing out literature of a racist nature, and so are the whites.

I am fearful there may be an armed conflict in the streets of Newark, and I tell you this, gentlemen, very seriously. I hope it is averted, but this is my fear because three weeks after the order had been restored, or a semblance of order, we had gotten reports there was an armed clash right outside the court house, which is across the street from us. We knew people in terms of the black militants or whatever label you care to give them because they could be militant reactionaries rather than a militant radical -- we asked them to get off the streets. We also had reports they were going to fire-bomb Prudential and Bamberger's and others. We tried to get our reports back to them because we told them for every action there was a reaction and retaliation may be of a greater degree than you expect, and nothing happened. I don't know if it was the results of our warnings and our pipeline.

I am very fearful for the future.

By Mr. Jaffe:

We have taken a lot of your time, and I am sure we

Wendell

would like to have you back again, and we apologize for bringing you in a bit late.

A Thank you, gentlemen. I am sorry I have to leave.

CRTIFICATE

I, JOSEPH F. READING, a Certified Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public in and for the State of New Jersey, do hereby certify that the foregoing is an accurate transcript of my stenographic notes to the best of my ability.

October 20, 1967

Joseph F. Reading

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