

1 Q Is it a statement?
2 A A statement of this
3 Q Before the House Committee on Education and Welfare?
4 A Yes, the House Committee on Education and Welfare.
5 but they were going to have it before the House.
6 indicates the funding and the history and development and
7 Whereupon,
8
9 called as a witness, duly sworn, testified as follows:

10 EXAMINATION

11 By Mr. Jaffe:

12 Q Mr. Still, tell us your position, please. By whom
13 are you employed?

14 A I am a consultant for the Newark Housing Authority.
15 I am also the home district secretary to Congressman Joseph
16 Minish.

17 Q Could you tell me your official position with the
18 United Community Corporation?

19 A I am the president.

20 Q Will you describe generally for us the setup of the
21 United Community Corporation, when it was set up and how it
22 is set up, please?

23 A First, I would like to submit this document into the
24 record. It is the document we sent to the House Committee
25 on Education and Welfare.

1 Q Is it a statement?

2 A A statement of mine.

3 Q Before the House committee?

4 A To the House committee. I wasn't able to appear,
5 but they asked me to write up a document, and this document
6 indicates the founding and the history and involvement and
7 some charges made against our agency by Councilmen Bernstein
8 and Addonizio and two other people from Newark.

9 Q When was that?

10 A This was August 1st they testified before the House
11 committee.

12 Q That was sent right after that?

13 A This was sent sometime afterward in time to be
14 inserted in the record.

15 MR. JAFFE: Please mark it as a Commission
16 Exhibit.

17 (EXHIBIT NO. C-18 WAS RECEIVED IN EVIDENCE.)

18 THE WITNESS: The United Community Corporation
19 was an outgrowth of a project called Project
20 Southside. The Ford Foundation gave a million
21 dollar grant to Rutgers to study urban centers.
22 This was 1961-62. They formed a group of people
23 who put concentrated services into one area to see
24 if they could treat these services as a pilot
25 project. If it could be done this way, then they

1 would expand on what they were doing. This really
2 never got off the ground, and in 1964, after they
3 began to talk about founding the Office of Economic
4 Opportunity, the mayor, who initially set up this
5 group called these people together -- Dean Heckle,
6 Rabbi Prince, Monsignor Dooling and some of the
7 other leaders in the community; Reverend Cantrell
8 and a number of others.

9 They proceeded to form a non-profit corpora-
10 tion to run the Community Action Program coming
11 into Newark. They used to meet at 32 Central Avenue,
12 and out of these meetings came this corporation.
13 It was formed in 1964 with Dean Hecele as the
14 president. He served for three years.

15 The kinds of program we have are listed here,
16 and I will run down them and give you some idea
17 what they try to do. Seton Hall University, Head
18 Start Program is a program that takes about 100
19 children for the summer for a two-month period.
20 These are children who graduated from junior high
21 school and are going onto high school. The courses
22 that the youngsters are going to be taking in high
23 school, they are giving them remedial help in these
24 courses so that when they get into high school
25 they will be able to move ahead in the subjects

1 they have taken.

2 This program has been tremendously successful,
3 and I would like to point out one thing about the
4 Newark School system. My daughter was an honor
5 student at Central High School. When she graduated
6 she enrolled in Howard University and I went and
7 saw a friend of mine, a teacher. She said, "Why
8 don't you send your daughter down to take a special
9 reading course?" I said, "She was an honor student."
10 She said, "Send her anyway."

11 She took the reading course and took a diag-
12 nostic test, and it showed she was reading below
13 level in all of the areas except spelling. Only
14 in this area did she have a good mark. The professor
15 sent for me and said, "Well, she evidently knows the
16 work, can understand the work, but she doesn't
17 read fast enough." She was not able to read. In
18 six weeks she was able to go from 177 words a
19 minute to 688 words a minute. There is no question
20 in my mind had she not taken this course she would
21 have been in great difficulty when she got to
22 college in her freshman year.

23 This is the kind of a program with concentrated
24 help that these youngsters hopefully will get in
25 the Head Start program.

1 Blazer work training program is another.
2 That program is a program run by community people,
3 organized by community people, organized by people
4 who are just set up for it. They give training
5 help in fixing cars, upholstery, cooking and a
6 number of other things. People in this program are
7 welfare recipients, and what has happened, the
8 federal government picks up the stipend for the
9 people in this program. The City of Newark was able
10 to save over \$1 million in welfare costs because
11 the federal government picked up the stipend for
12 the people, about 450 people, and put them in this
13 program. That saved the City over \$1 million.
14 Even though it did save \$1 million, Newark couldn't
15 cut back \$1 million. As a matter of fact, the
16 welfare rolls continue to grow and grow. They had
17 to put even more than that in. They had to put
18 even more to meet the needs of this program.

19 So this particular program is one that takes
20 welfare people, and many of them have gotten jobs.
21 I think about 70 percent of the people who went
22 through the program have received jobs. Although
23 there are not that many, about two or three hundred
24 in the Blazer work training program, I think the
25 fact that a high percentage of people are being placed

1 on jobs and taken off welfare is certainly something
2 worthwhile.

3 The Leaguers Youth Culture Program we just
4 funded this year for \$16- \$17,000. Many of you
5 know Mrs. Bircher and the work she has done and is
6 still doing. With the cost of the program and the
7 enrichment, the remediation for youngsters going
8 onto school, many of the people who are showing
9 leadership qualities are people that came out of
10 Mrs. Bircher's organization. We are glad to have
11 this.

12 and We also have provisions for our central staff
13 at United Community Corporation, and a great deal
14 of criticism has been made of the way it functions.
15 Recently in the papers you saw articles about our
16 fiscal situation, about other things that our
17 corporation is not doing properly. We are not
18 running the administration of the corporation
19 properly, they say. Let's take for the last three
20 months, for instance, when the riots started. Our
21 agency was involved from the beginning until the
22 end. Of course, we couldn't work on programs
23 because we had a riot going on, and immediately
24 after that the aftermath of it was with us and
25 we had to take care of that. We had ten committees

1 from the House of Representatives, from the Senate,
2 from the FBI, from the OEO, from the President's
3 Commission on Civil Disorder, from the Governor's
4 Commission on Civil Disorder, from the state
5 legislative committee, and two or three others.
6 There are in everyday, and they want to talk to our
7 staff. We are an agency funded with public funds,
8 and we can't refuse to talk to anybody. As a result
9 of that we are not able to do anything else but this.

10 One of the things I think in the fiscal
11 situation is the fact that the books are not posted,
12 and I just learned these terms. Because they are
13 not posted, some claim that somebody has absconded
14 with \$1 million, and this was absolutely false and
15 untrue. Because of the problems we had we weren't
16 able to keep the books in order.

17 We recognize these are things in our admini-
18 stration that we have to correct. Let me point out
19 one. One of the things we tried to do was to give
20 people who have the disadvantage and have not got
21 what it takes -- we try to give them help to
22 develop themselves. We hire our secretaries who
23 type 35 words a minute. I understand it should be
24 60 words a minute. We do this because we feel that
25 somebody who types 35 words a minute has some ability

1 and needs help to develop this. To some degree we
2 have succeeded. We have girls come in who are
3 typing 35-36 words a minute who went and learned to
4 do better jobs. About three or four girls that
5 developed this way I can think of. But to the degree
6 we hire people who did not have exactly the quali-
7 fications that private business or others have we
8 diminish our ability. Yes, we feel that sacrifice
9 is necessary if we are going to help the people to
10 develop into something useful. We are doing all
11 we can. I think we are doing a fairly good job.

12 *setup.* We have to correct some of the things. We are
13 *A* moving through that with our reorganization now.

14 *trustees* All in all, I think the administration is good.

15 *run by the tr* I think the next area is one of the most
16 *trustees* controversial, the Area Board concept.

17 *Q* By Mr. Jaffe:

18 *Q* Could you explain the membership of the UCC and then
19 explain the Area Board concept and how it is set up?

20 *gonA* *on.* The United Community Corporation has a membership
21 of 10,000. *BISHOP BAYLOR:* Does that mean the board of

22 *Q* How do you belong to the UCC?

23 *A* To belong to the United Community Corporation you
24 have to work in, live in or have an interest in Newark.
25 This is all that is required to be a member.

1 Q Is there a fee?

2 A There is no fee.

3 MR. MEYNER: Do you just sign a piece of
4 paper or an application?

5 THE WITNESS: Yes, and send it to Ed Cooke
6 and you are a member automatically.

7 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Are there benefits of
8 membership?

9 THE WITNESS: You are able to vote.

10 By Mr. Jaffe:

11 Q For whom do you vote? Give us a little bit of the
12 setup.

13 A As a member of the corporation you vote for the
14 trustees. You hear reports. Actually the corporation is
15 run by the trustees, but the membership does elect the
16 trustees.

17 Q All the trustees?

18 A All the trustees for a period, but the board of
19 trustees elects the trustees who have resigned or who have
20 gone on.

21 BISHOP TAYLOR: Does that mean the board of
22 trustees fills vacancies?

23 THE WITNESS: Right.

24 MR. MEYNER: How do you notify these 10,000
25 members?

1 THE WITNESS: We have to send them letters.

2 know MR. MEYNER: You mean you spend \$100 sending
3 out notices?

4 THE WITNESS: Our constitution calls for
5 notifying the membership when a meeting is going to
6 be held ten days in advance, ten days in advance
7 on any constitutional members. We have to send out
8 mail.

9 MR. DRISCOLL: What percentage of your member-
10 ship votes for trustees?

11 THE WITNESS: It is according to how many
12 there are. We have had meetings with 800, 500,
13 200, you know.

14 MR. DRISCOLL: In other words, they don't
15 vote by mail; they vote when present?

16 THE WITNESS: That's right. They have to be
17 present.

18 MR. DRISCOLL: Two hundred out of 10,000
19 might elect your trustees?

20 THE WITNESS: Right.

21 BISHOP TAYLOR: Suppose you send out 10,000
22 letters and 10,000 people came. Where would you
23 have them?

24 THE WITNESS: We would just have them out in
25 the street. That is all. What else could we do?

1 We ain't got no place for 10,000 people, and we
2 know that number ain't coming. Let's be practical
3 and realistic. If they do come, we leave them out
4 in the street and put sound out there.

5 By Mr. Jaffe:

6 Q Does the board of trustees appoint the director
7 who actually runs the day to day operation?

8 A Right.

9 Q And the director in turn appoints the staff people,
10 is that right?

11 A Right. What happens is we have a personnel commit-
12 tee and the personnel committee reviews all the department
13 heads. They send to the director three people, and the
14 director choses from these three whom he wants. All the
15 other staff he hires directly.

16 Q Would you explain to us how the Area Board concept
17 fits into the setup and how it was created?

18 A The Area Board, like most multi-purpose centers,
19 is set up to help the community to develop programs to
20 run themselves and help in the area that they are involved
21 in. We have area boards that have been involved in many
22 things. We have area boards that are conservative and we
23 have area boards that are way out. It is according to
24 where you are and the people who belong. One of the area
25 boards, Area Board No. 3, has been involved in a number of

1 movements that have been criticized by some and praised by
2 others. Of course, there was a falsehood that the paper
3 indicated that Jesse Ireland, who was one of our employees
4 in the organization of the area boards, had said federal
5 funds were being used to get the boycott of the schools.
6 This was not true. Jesse did not say that.

7 What happened was the parents who are members of Area
8 Board 3 came to the area board and asked them could they
9 use their mimeograph machine to draw up a flyer which they
10 had the paper for, could they run it off. They said yes.
11 Of course, I said that this was the area board's responsi-
12 bility to respond to what the people in the community
13 wanted. It may not have been the best thing to boycott a
14 school and keep kids out, but the parents were concerned
15 about this and their kids were going off on half session.
16 I felt that this was within their realm.

17 Q The area board chairmen are appointed by the
18 director or trustees?

19 A Area boards have their own membership. Area Board
20 2 of which I am a member where I live has 2600 members on
21 the rolls. They have maybe two or three hundred people
22 out to some meetings when something of interest is involved.
23 When Carmichael came there was 400 people that night.
24 These area boards then elect their own officers. Their
25 presidents and so forth.

1 We have staff people working, an organizer, a community
2 worker, a researcher, clerk-typist. Now we have three aides.
3 We have about seven people in each area board.

4 MR. DRISCOLL: Who pays them?

5 THE WITNESS: These are paid out of our funds,

6 Q UCC funds.

7 BISHOP TAYLOR: Is each area board autonomous
8 within itself?

9 A THE WITNESS: They are. Each area board has

10 Q its own constitution and rules and regulations.

11 A What we are moving to do now is to try -- one of

12 the recommendations we are making in the reorgani-

13 zation is that it be run on an international local

14 union situation where they have their own consti-

15 tutions and can't conflict with ours. We are trying

16 to get tighter controls on what they do in our

17 new organizational structure.

18 By Mr. Jaffe:

19 Q As it is now, an area board can take a position
20 on an issue that would be different than the position of
21 your office?

22 A Yes.

23 Q How do you resolve the conflict, for example, where
24 the area board wants to do X and the UCC is not in favor
25 of it and your employees are working for them? Would your

1 employees follow the instructions of the UCC? Has that
2 problem come up?

3 A That is where the money comes from. They have to
4 or they get fired. That hasn't come up, but theoretically
5 that is what would happen.

6 Q Mr. Still, I wonder if you would have just an approxi-
7 mation of the amount of money that has been spent by the
8 UCC since this operation in Newark in the anti-poverty area.

9 A About \$10-11 million through our agency.

10 Q This, of course, is a very open ended question, but
11 I think we would be interested in your evaluation as to
12 how effective that money has been in terms of the need in
13 the community. How much of a dent do you think you made
14 and how far do you think the needs are met?

15 A I think in the area of pre-school it has done an
16 excellent job.

17 \$3,014 can't MR. DRISCOLL: How much has been spent on that
18 almost program?

19 Q THE WITNESS: We spent about \$1.9 million

20 A the first year, about the same the next year, \$1.5
21 unless I see that we have for this coming year. This has
22 poverty, been a substantial part of our budget, about \$4
23 money million.

24 MR. MEYNER: How many children have you
25 reached?

1 THE WITNESS: Twenty-eight hundred. Their
2 present budget calls for 2800 children in this
3 program.

4 MR. MEYNER: How many have you had?

5 THE WITNESS: In the later years they have
6 been nearly up to par, but this year they have
7 problems with the children. This is because the
8 law provides certain economic practices are involved.

9 BISHOP TAYLOR: How many did you have last
10 year?

11 THE WITNESS: Twenty-six hundred-twenty-eight
12 hundred.

13 By Mr. Jaffe: prepared for going to school.

14 Q This is just an approximation? innovative way that

15 A I am not positive of this, but I know it worked
16 successfully. The problem is a family of four that earns
17 \$3,014 can't get in the program. People on welfare earn
18 almost this kind of money. So, that, there are two Head

19 Q Who set that regulation?

20 A This is a national thing, and it can't be changed
21 unless from there. They hook in urban poverty with rural
22 poverty, and the people here have to earn this kind of
23 money just to stay alive.

24 MR. MEYNER: You mentioned Operation Head
25 Start. You were talking about from junior high

1 school to senior high school. Is this part of the
2 2600?

3 THE WITNESS: No. This is another program
4 altogether. Upward Bound by Seton Hall.

5 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: This is pre-school.

6 MR. MEYNER: The only reason I mentioned it,
7 he said there was a Seton Hall project called
8 Head Start. You meant Upward Bound?

9 THE WITNESS: No, high school Head Start.
10 This is a program run by Seton Hall called High
11 School Head Start.

12 MR. MEYNER: I always thought Head Start was
13 getting people prepared for going to school.

14 THE WITNESS: This is an innovative way that
15 Seton Hall thought they could get something going
16 when the kids come out of junior high school to go
17 into senior high school.

18 MR. GIBBONS: So, then, there are two Head
19 Start programs?

20 THE WITNESS: This is really a part of the
21 project. This only involves 1,500 children. The
22 other one involves millions of children throughout
23 the country.

24 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: We also referred to it as
25 Upward Bound. We have a continuation of that new

1 called Degree Bound for college. Some of those in
2 the Upward Bound are now in college at Seton Hall
3 in the Degree Bound program. But I have observed
4 they have roughly about 125 high school boys and
5 girls in the Upward Bound-Head Start program.

6 ~~dollar~~ MR. DRISCOLL: Would it be fair to say that
7 of the ten or eleven million dollars that has been
8 spent by the United Community Corporation that
9 approximately \$6 million or less has been spent on
10 these educational programs? You mentioned the
11 figure of a million and a half and a million-two
12 as I remember it.

13 THE WITNESS: A great deal has been spent on
14 education. This has been one of our main thrusts --
15 education.

16 MR. DRISCOLL: How much has been spent? Let's
17 put the question direction. How much has been
18 spent by the United Community Corporation for
19 educational purposes?

20 THE WITNESS: Well, I can't give a concise
21 figure.

22 MR. DRISCOLL: Give me approximately.

23 THE WITNESS: High School Head Start, Seton
24 Hall, \$55 million.

25 MR. DRISCOLL: How much?

1 THE WITNESS: Fifty-five thousand dollars.

2 The remediation and cultural, \$17,000. COPE is a
3 work-training program.

4 MR. DRISCOLL: How much is that?

5 THE WITNESS: One hundred forty-eight thousand
6 dollars. FOCUS is a Spanish program which is
7 going to give service to the Spanish community in
8 terms of a community center. They have only
9 \$24,000. We are hoping to get some more money to
10 try to get this developed.

11 MR. DRISCOLL: What is the name of that
12 program?

13 THE WITNESS: FOCUS. Pre-school, Newark,
14 \$1,559,000. Hilary School, a pre-school program,
15 \$11,000. Fuld Neighborhood House, \$26,000 or
16 \$29,000. Summer Block program, which is a program
17 which they run in the summer, reaches 15,000
18 youngsters, \$268,000 for that. Some of our
19 youngsters went on plane rides where they went to
20 see the Giants play, the Giants and the Eagles
21 train. This is a very excellent program.

22 MR. DRISCOLL: How much was that?

23 THE WITNESS: Two hundred sixty-eight thousand
24 dollars.

25 MR. DRISCOLL: To go see the Giants train?

1 THE WITNESS: No, they have fifty blocks to
2 run for a ten-week period during the summertime to
3 have the youngsters living in the area come into
4 the streets, have equipment and to be occupied with
5 some kind of supervision during the day. Out of
6 that group, bus rides, plane rides, going to games
7 and seeing things, which is a very useful and
8 healthful program in the summer.

9 MR. GIBBONS: Is that the program where the
10 PAL pulled out?

11 THE WITNESS: Right.

12 By Mr. Jaffe:

13 Q As I understand your testimony, you felt that the
14 educational programs have been the most effective of the
15 United Community Corporation over the past years?

16 A Let me get back to your original question. Your
17 original question was what have we done.

18 Q And I think just as important is your opinion as
19 to how effective it has been and where you think the
20 problems are and what you think you have reached.

21 A I don't think really \$4 million a year is doing
22 anything for poverty. We are talking about poverty.
23 People who have been in poverty and who have four million
24 problems. How are you going to treat this kind of thing
25 with the kind of problems Newark has with \$4 million? It

1 What we have done is to do the best we could with what
2 we have. There is no question all these areas need to be
3 quadrupled in terms of treating this problem. For instance,
4 in Brooklyn, Bedford-Stuyvesant has 206,000 people in the
5 area alone with 257 community aides out working in the
6 community. We have 50. We have 50 for the City of
7 Newark. So in terms of treating this thing, we can't do
8 it.

9 BISHOP TAYLOR: If you had \$50 million instead
10 of what you have, \$4 million, what in general would
11 you be doing that you are not now doing?

12 THE WITNESS: Well, give me this kind of money
13 and we would have something to work with.

14 MR. DRISCOLL: But as I understand you to say,
15 you have \$4 million and in your anti-poverty program
16 it is not doing anything.

17 THE WITNESS: No, I didn't say that.

18 MR. DRISCOLL: I beg your pardon.

19 THE WITNESS: I did not say that now.

20 MR. DRISCOLL: Go back and look at the record.

21 THE WITNESS: Go back and look at the record.

22 I didn't say that. I did not say that. It has
23 done something. It has done something with education.

24 I said that in the area of helping our young
25 people, pre-school, it has done an excellent job

1 because it has treated so many of them.

2 MR. DRISCOLL: But ten or eleven million
3 dollars which you said you have received, you talk
4 in terms of less than one and a half million dollars
5 in your budget this year for various educational
6 programs.

7 THE WITNESS: We have got one and a half million
8 dollars for pre-school alone, Governor.

9 MR. DRISCOLL: I am just adding up your figures
10 that you gave me.

11 THE WITNESS: If your question is do I say
12 we have done nothing, I didn't say that. If I said
13 that, I didn't mean it.

14 MR. DRISCOLL: I accept that.

15 By Mr. Jaffe:

16 Q Just taking Bishop Taylor's question, Mr. Still,
17 where do you think the greatest need is? How do you think
18 it could be most effective?

19 A I think, first of all, there are three major things.
20 I think everybody knows this. In terms of jobs, as I leave
21 my house in the morning -- I live on Seventeenth Avenue.
22 On coming downtown I have to come down Court Street, Spruce
23 Street, Springfield Avenue. You see twenty, thirty, forty,
24 fifty men standing on the street with nothing to do. The
25 unemployment rate is fantastic, and the effect of this is

1 greater than any other thing in our city.

2 Q Do you have an opinion as to what you think the
3 unemployment rate would be in the Central Ward area?

4 A We know what it is. It is 16-17 percent. The
5 national level is less than four percent, and the Newark
6 level is eight percent. Newark has as a whole an unemploy-
7 ment rate of eight percent, twice the average of the national
8 level. In our Central Ward it showed it was 17 percent
9 that were unemployed. So this is one of the major things;
10 there is no question about that. Of course, education in
11 my own view, one of the things we could do with \$50million
12 dollars.

13 John McCone said, and I certainly feel he is a man who
14 knows what is going on -- he suggested the major thing
15 that America needs now is to educate the people from the
16 ghettos, people who never had a chance before. He said the
17 only way you really can do this is to have classes of 15
18 pupils in a class. This way you would be able to spend the
19 time and give the child the time it takes for him to learn.

20 We have fifty schools in the city where they are there
21 for twenty-four hours a day. I can't see why a school has
22 to be used for five and a half hours. I would suggest that
23 the city take all the schools, put them on double sessions --
24 not four hours but five and a half hours apiece -- break
25 classes down into 15 a class. This is going to cost some

1 money and cause some problems. The parents are not going to
2 want to do it, but education is the most important thing
3 we have to have. In this time of cybernation and all this
4 phrase means, if we don't concentrate on education we are
5 not going to be able to make it. Across this country
6 everybody is talking about what we can do about education
7 in the urban centers. I think you have to take some kind of
8 new way. This may not be the way, but some new drastic
9 method must be used in order to educate because we have
10 thousands and thousands and thousands of youngsters coming
11 out of school every year with the same kind of tie-up, the
12 same kind of backwardness, the same kind of primitiveness
13 that we have out here now. Unless we address ourselves to
14 it, we are in for some real trouble in times to come.

15 Already the attitude of many of the young people has
16 hardened and become embittered. If we don't treat this
17 problem, we are in real trouble. has given up all hope.

18 Q Do you think that based on your experience in Newark
19 and in the Newark educational system has been an upward
20 movement or a downward movement in the last few years in
21 terms of educating the children? by hope that we can

22 A I think they have really tried, but there is nothing
23 new. They haven't had the money to do the job. We have
24 overcrowded schools, split sessions going on. The problem
25 is not being treated. Unless we really make an effort to

1 treat it, we are just wasting time.

2 We are going toward a situation that is going to be
3 even more explosive. I have sense enough to know that
4 22 million Negroes can't whip 78 million white people, and
5 they have the guns. But there are some people who feel I
6 would rather not live than live like I am living now.

7 "If I ain't got no job, everytime I go to welfare, this is
8 no kind of life." I think it is the fault of society
9 because if you don't train these people and give them a
10 chance to learn, it is nobody's fault but yours. Whatever
11 they do, you deserve it, really.

12 Q You said there are measured things. You have dis-
13 cussed jobs and education. I wonder what your feeling is
14 as to the third.

15 A The housing. The housing in Newark is in such a
16 high degree of decay. You just walk throughout the Central
17 Ward. It is so bad that the city has given up all hope.
18 They don't even send the inspectors in there to try to
19 save that because that is as good as gone. Yet we don't
20 have plans for tearing this down. We have got plans for a
21 med school up there, and I certainly hope that we get a
22 med school because we need a med school. We have serious
23 problems about the health of this community. The second
24 highest infant mortality rate in the country. The highest
25 venereal disease rate, and other things that out weigh most

1 communities outside. TAYLOR: You said the city no longer

2 We need a med school to augment what we have at the city
3 hospital, but we don't need no med school on 150 acres. I
4 understand there is only one med school in the country that
5 has more than 35 acres, and that is Houston. So why does
6 the school have to have 150 acres? It seems to me they
7 could take 46 acres and build a school and build around it
8 enough housing to house the people there. If they had this
9 kind of an objective or if they talked to the people who
10 live in the area, who are involved, about what they thought
11 they wanted, it would help. Where are the people going?

12 Let's take this 150 acres. In there is some of the worst
13 housing in the city. If you don't believe it, leave this
14 room and walk up on Bedford Street between Fifteenth Avenue
15 and South Orange Avenue. The area they are talking about
16 building on now doesn't even touch this area. This area
17 is in a high degree of decay now. They say they are not
18 going to build nothing for five or ten years. What is
19 going to happen? Nobody is going to build if it is going
20 to be torn down in the next ten years. What is going to
21 happen to that land? Newark is land poor. To give 150 acres
22 for one hospital is ridiculous in my opinion.

23 A Well. BISHOP DOUGHERTY: I concur with what you said,
24 and I had to run a med school before. I think
25 150 acres is deplorable. What do you mean?

1 A I think
2 BISHOP TAYLOR: You said the city no longer
3 sends inspectors out to check on violations of the
4 department property because it is so dilapidated and hopeless?

5 THE WITNESS: Only if they request they send
6 them out.

7 BISHOP TAYLOR: Has the city condemned these
8 houses?

9 THE WITNESS: No, they have not.

10 BISHOP TAYLOR: The city merely ignores the
11 situation?

12 THE WITNESS: Where are the people going?

13 How are they going to put people out in the street?

14 That is where the problem lies.

15 By Mr. Jaffe:

16 Q Mr. Still, just to leave this area for a few minutes,
17 and I would like to come back to it, but I wonder if you
18 would like to address yourself to the riot that occurred
19 here in Newark in July. Tell us first your opinion as to
20 what you think the causes of it were, then I would like to
21 discuss with you your view of it. I understand you were in
22 the Fourth Precinct that evening. I think you ought to
23 first address yourself to the causes of it.

24 A Well, I hold the cause of it was the action of the
25 police department.

Q Would you expound on that? What do you mean?

1 A I think most policemen in Newark are decent fellows
2 trying to do a good job. I know there are a few in the
3 department who are not good men, who are brutes, who do
4 take advantage of people. I think that the indictment of
5 the Newark Police Department is that they know they have
6 got some bad guys on there and they don't do anything
7 about it. I think this is a great danger. A policeman is
8 the most important friend any citizen has. He is supposed
9 to be out there to protect the community. That is his job.
10 Yet, you know, it seems to me when he does wrong he shouldn't
11 be able to get away with it. If I do wrong, they put me
12 in jail. They should do the same thing for him.

13 I think this is what it amounts to, that the police are
14 permitted in our community -- certainly police brutality
15 is nothing like it was when I was a young man coming up. I
16 came up in Newark, and I know about policemen and how they
17 act and what they do. Certainly the treatment by police
18 now doesn't approximate the kind of thing that used to
19 happen in the city, but it does occasionally raise its
20 head, and usually by few policemen. The police department
21 knows these men and they know they take advantage of people.
22 I have talked to some of the high police officials, and
23 they know this and they don't do anything about it. I
24 think this is basically what the situation is.

25 What caused the riot -- I would like to tell you about

1 this because that Wednesday evening --

2 Q Before you get into it, I wonder if you would just
3 give us your views on the general feelings between the
4 police and the community, particularly the Central Ward
5 community and then I would like to zero in on the night of
6 the twelfth.

7 A I think you have to get two views. If you talk to
8 the young people, you get one view and if you talk to the
9 older people, you get another view.

10 Q Could you give us both based on your experience in
11 Newark?

12 A I think the older people all know that the police,
13 if you are a Negro, may get you out there and beat you.
14 They know this from experience. Not just anybody, me too,
15 you know. This kind of thing has developed during our
16 lifetime and we have experienced this. But I think they
17 also have a feeling that they need the police to protect
18 themselves. Crime in our area is fantastic. People are
19 getting beaten up and mugged. So they want the police,
20 but there is still distrust because in the history of the
21 City of Newark, and Newark is one of the oldest cities in
22 this country, there has never been a single instance --
23 there is one. Let me qualify that. One that just happened.
24 I will break this down later.

25 In the history of Newark where a white police officer

1 was charged -- you see, when a police officer beats some-
2 body, he has to have a reason. He can't take somebody and
3 beat him up unless the man tried to assault him. Not a
4 single case in the history of the city where a police
5 officer charges a man assaulted him after he beat him up.
6 He assaulted him and he had to subdue him. Not a single
7 case in the history of Newark have they ever found a white
8 policeman guilty and a Negro innocent, not a single time.

9 We have the Simons case. The Batts case, the Brown case
10 and a number of other cases which have had five, six and
11 seven Negro witnesses who testified they never saw the man
12 before, who testified that the cops took advantage of the
13 man, and not a single incident -- we have six or seven
14 different cases that we knew about and not a single case
15 where the cop was found guilty or anything done to the
16 policeman.

17 I am not a Black Muslim, and I don't believe all white
18 people are devils, but all Negroes don't lie either. I am
19 going to tell you this.

20 I think in the history of the city all of us must recog-
21 nize there must have been at least one time when a cop
22 took advantage of somebody. I tell you it is a great deal
23 more than that.

24 I think jobs are important. This is a contributing
25 factor. The fact that education is so important -- my

1 daughter is in college now. She came through the system. I
2 think she was lucky and fortunate. She has tenacity. My
3 son won't go to school. He has a better mind than she has.
4 This is personality. I think at least here we have a chance
5 to do something.

6 Q You were going to talk about the attitude of the
7 young toward the police. I wonder if you would give us
8 your thoughts on that.

9 A I live in a housing project.

10 Q Which one?

11 A William P. Hayes.

12 Q That is the one right opposite the Fourth Precinct?

13 A Right. We have 2,500 school-going youngsters. I
14 guess all kinds of attitudes. I think that the leaders,
15 the young, more aggressive teenagers have an attitude that,
16 well, they don't care. They hate the police for some reason.
17 I guess the police must signify to them the authority or
18 maybe dislike for their parents or everybody. It is a
19 hatred, a bitterness I have never seen before in my lifetime.

20 When you go to reasoning with these youngsters -- we
21 have got a boxing team in the Hayes project. We were the
22 state Golden Gloves champions for three years. As a matter
23 of fact, we gave a boxing show the seventeenth, and raised
24 about \$1700 for our scholarship fund. We are giving
25 another on the seventeenth, at the school, and we hope it

1 will be at least that successful.

2 These kids, well, some of them have been Black Muslim-
3 oriented. Black Muslims have done a tremendous job in
4 saving young Negroes. I know Negroes who are drug addicts
5 or former drug addicts who became Black Muslims and left
6 the habit and lived clean. I think this is the only thing
7 that this was able to do. They have done more in terms
8 of this kind of thing than I think anybody that I know of
9 at this point. But some of the things that they talk about
10 I certainly can't agree with and disagree with entirely.

11 I think most of our young people take that part of what
12 the Black Muslims teach and use that part they want, but
13 the kind of sacrifice you have to make to be a Black Muslim,
14 to belong to the temple and do what they say and not eat
15 pork and not do this and that, they disregard that part and
16 just use the worse kind of things and make this a part of
17 what their philosophy is.

18 I think this kind of thing is really a great deal more
19 widespread than a lot of people realize or know.

20 MR. MEYNER: What percentage of these young
21 people do you think are the leaders or have enough
22 gumption to go out and kill or engage in heinous
23 crimes? How much of it is talk and how much of it
24 is activism?

25 THE WITNESS: I think there is a great deal

1 more talk, a great deal more talk than activism.
2 Beckwith couldn't be walking free in Mississippi
3 if they had this kind of thing. Those three guys
4 that killed that woman couldn't be walking around
5 boasting. So it is really in my view only when they
6 are touched directly, only when it involves something
7 personal -- many of these young people will fight
8 and die if they are tested. But I don't think
9 there is any kind of conspiracy going on. No, I
10 suggest there is a minimum amount of those.

11 MR. MEYNER: Someone said to me the other day
12 that he was convinced there was a small group in
13 Newark who had a cache of arms and were ready to
14 really go to work.

15 THE WITNESS: I was here during the riots
16 when them tanks and machine guns and them police
17 were shooting at people's houses and killing them.
18 I didn't see none of them guys, and all that
19 sniping I suggest was a lot of malarkey, and the
20 National Guard and the State Police themselves set
21 up this trying to terrorize the town. I think
22 they were basically successful on most people.
23 There is an element that would rather --

24 MR. MEYNER: Do you think amongst these young
25 people there is a certain pride in having a record

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20 National Guard and the State Police themselves set
21 up this trying to terrorize the town. I think
22 they were basically successful on most people.
23 There is an element that would rather --

24 MR. MEYNER: Do you think amongst these young
25 people there is a certain pride in having a record

1 or having been to Jamesburg or having been to
2 Annandale or having been on probation?

3 THE WITNESS: Amongst the hipsters, yes, but
4 among most of the youngsters, no. Amongst the guys
5 who call themselves hip, in the know, part of the
6 click or part of the gang, yes. But not the average
7 youngster, no.

8 By Mr. Jaffe:

9 Q Mr. Still, in terms of police relations with these
10 youngsters, what do you think can be done, if anything?

11 A What needs to be done is when a policeman takes
12 advantage of a Negro they do the same just like they do to
13 everybody else. That is all we ask. If they do that, then
14 the community can change overnight.

15 MR. MEYNER: Do not some of these people have
16 a chip on their shoulder and expect they are going
17 to be mistreated and accuse the police in advance
18 of their actions?

19 THE WITNESS: This is true. I don't doubt
20 that. This is true, right. There is an element
21 there. There are some who really ask for it and
22 get beat. I am not talking about that; I am talking
23 about when a man lays on the street helpless and
24 they beat him and still continue. That is what I
25 am talking about.

1 MR. DRISCOLL: Mr. Still, have there been
2 instances to your knowledge where similar situations
3 have occurred between the police and they hit
4 people where there has been no punishment?

5 THE WITNESS: Oh, yes. Italian boys always
6 tell me the police take advantage of them. This
7 happens. This is not one-sided. If you have a
8 crazy policeman, he is not only crazy in our area;
9 he is crazy wherever he goes.

10 By Mr. Jaffe:

11 Q You were beginning to tell us the role, the
12 attitudes of the community and the police on the night of
13 the 12th of July.

14 MR. MEYNER: Before you move in there, how
15 about the law enforcement with reference to speeding
16 on the streets? What is your impression of that?

17 THE WITNESS: I live on Seventeenth Avenue.
18 They have got to go up and down a hill. They
19 don't really -- well, this is one of the problems.
20 Whenever people get mad with the police, they
21 cite things like the cars running up and down the
22 streets and the kids walking. We had a couple of
23 kids hit by cars. The people resent these cars
24 going up and down the street. We have a police
25 headquarters right up the street. They see them

1 and don't stop them. There is no effort at all to
2 do anything about it. The people say they don't
3 care. don't know about. The police have to find

4 MR. MEYNER: How about parking violations?

5 THE WITNESS: They say they don't care because
6 we are Negro. That is what they say. Maybe in
7 other areas the same thing, but they say they don't
8 care because we are a Negro. darker than yours?

9 MR. MEYNER: How about playing the numbers
10 or putting a bet on horses? that is all.

11 THE WITNESS: I don't play numbers, not
12 because I think it is wrong. I went to the racetrack
13 yesterday. I could have lost a million dollars,
14 and I made fifty dollars.

15 Let's take the numbers. You can't expect me,
16 if a guy is in my area writing the numbers, to tell
17 the police. That is ridiculous. What is a number?
18 I think the government, if they could tax numbers,
19 it would be all right. They say this means you
20 can get money to do other things. I don't agree
21 with that. MEYNER: But there is a lot of that going

22 MR. MEYNER: Don't these people realize when
23 they give money to the fellow for the numbers he
24 might have some agreement with the police and
25 there is a bigger guy around who is sort of taking

1 advantage of those people?

2 THE WITNESS: Well, you can't do anything the
3 police don't know about. The police have to find
4 out about it. There is no question in my mind about
5 that.

6 MR. DRISCOLL: Mr. Meyner, you are not sug-
7 gesting that playing the numbers is confined to
8 people whose skin is somewhat darker than yours?

9 MR. MEYNER: Did I say anything about that?
10 I am just asking him about it; that is all.

11 THE WITNESS: I don't play numbers because you
12 get a hundred to one and it is a thousand to one to
13 start. They pay you five to one and take ten percent
14 of that. That is ridiculous.

15 MR. MEYNER: You mean the odds are bad?

16 THE WITNESS: That's right.

17 MR. MEYNER: The odds a bookie pays you on a
18 horse are bad, and that is why so many people go to
19 the tracks?

20 THE WITNESS: I don't play with the bookie.

21 MR. MEYNER: But there is a lot of that going
22 on, is there not?

23 THE WITNESS: There is number writing going
24 on, but horse betting, Negroes don't play horses.

25 JUDGE WACHENFELD: There has always been

1 number writing going on, even in better days numbers
2 were still being written.

3 MR. DRISCOLL: Are you under oath?

4 JUDGE WACHENFELD: I know after fourteen
5 years of experience.

6 By Mr. Jaffe:

7 Q Do you think police failure, whether it be in the
8 Central Ward or South Ward of Newark, or any other city,
9 to enforce the numbers laws or to enforce the liquor laws
10 or to enforce any laws leads to a general feeling in the
11 community for lack of respect for the law enforcement and
12 lack of respect for the police? Do you think that exists
13 in the Central Ward?

14 A I would like to get back to the kids because that
15 is what they tell me. You are talking about the cops. We
16 see them. They come to the precinct and take stuff out
17 of their cars, take radios out of the cars and put them in
18 their cars. They double-park and they see other people
19 double-park. Some sergeant sleeps around on the other
20 street, and they see it. They never will forget that.

21 For everything the police do wrong -- you have got
22 1400 policemen and maybe six or seven guys who do things,
23 the whole area is tainted by it because these were negative
24 things that they saw. You can't tell them of all they are
25 doing wrong because they are going to defend what they are

1 doing because the cops are doing wrong. This is the atti-
2 tude amongst many of our young. Many of them will make it
3 on their own. They have the tenacity, the will, the desire
4 and the drive to keep it going, but there are many who
5 don't. There are some in the gray area who are bitter and
6 with hate.

7 I think the potential in this area for the kind of thing
8 we are talking about forming is there, but I don't think
9 at this point it has been reached. The potential of having
10 the people who would be willing to fight is there. I think
11 if it were developed with proper leadership it could be,
12 but at this point I don't think it is.

13 By Mr. Jaffe:

14 Q If we could go to the night of the twelfth, Mr.
15 Still, you were just beginning to describe what happened
16 and your reaction. I wonder if you would tell us about it.

17 A On the night of the twelfth, I was at a meeting
18 about the United Community Corporation business at Don
19 Wendell's house, the acting director of the United Com-
20 munity Corporation, and with the vice president, Mr. Oliver
21 Lofton. Mr. Winans, one of our trustees, called Don and
22 told him that a crowd had collected out in front of the
23 Fourth Precinct, about 150 or 200 people and urged us to
24 come right over because it looked like it might be very
25 difficult.

We got in the area and we drove over to the precinct.

1 When we got there the man had been taken out to the radio
2 car. As I came out of the station on Seventeenth and went
3 around on Livingston Street where the car was the crowd was
4 merging toward the car, and there is no question in my mind
5 they were going to physically take the man out of the car
6 and take him away from the police. However, one of our
7 fellows on the staff got into the car with him, one of the
8 fellows on the United Corporation staff got in. Our staff
9 was there because Esther Williams, who is vice president
10 of it at Hayes Project is also a member of our corporation
11 and a member of our executive committee. Somebody called
12 her over to the area board and told her what was going on
13 in front of the police headquarters, and she in turn told
14 the people there and they all came over. They were having
15 a special meeting on the summer block program. All of them
16 came over. As a result our staff was there.

17 One of our staff men got into the car with the man.
18 When the crowd seen he was in the car with the man, they
19 let the car go. I could only assume that the man, they
20 were fearful the cops would beat the man or hurt him if
21 they took him.

22 MR. GIBBONS: Who was the man that was in the
23 with him?

24 THE WITNESS: Jim Walker, Mr. Walker. We
25 then went to talk to Inspector Melchior and asked

1 him about what had happened and we would like to
2 see the report.

3 By Mr. Jaffe:

4 Q Was there still a big crowd?

5 A About 200, 250 people.

6 Q Do you know how the crowd got there to begin with?
7 Was it as a result of rumor? Was there anybody who sent
8 the crowd there?

9 A Nobody sent the crowd there. There is no question
10 about that. Not at that point anyway. Maybe later on. I
11 don't know what happened later on, but to my knowledge this
12 didn't happen. What happened was -- well, let me go on with
13 the story.

14 After talking to the inspector for ten minutes or fifteen
15 minutes, he finally took us in the precinct and he told us
16 what had happened. He said the police report showed that
17 the man had been tailgating, the taxi driver, and the car
18 then went and cut him over to give him a ticket for tailgating.
19 The man then assaulted the policeman. They had to use enough
20 force to subdue him and in so doing they banged him around
21 a little.

22 There was a woman in the cab and she got away during the
23 confusion. The cops brought the man down to the precinct.
24 I am not sure myself now. There was a cab and a radio car.
25 I am not sure how they got down there, but they got there.
When they got to the precinct and they took the man, they

1 claim the man was stiff and he wouldn't move and they had
2 to drag him. I don't question that. This is a possibility.
3 That might have happened. The man said, if I recall, that
4 he was paralyzed by being hit with a blow in the car.

5 But some of the women who live in the community homes
6 I have known for many years, women who are not black power
7 advocates, not extremists, just plain, ordinary community
8 people, came and told me that they saw the policeman strike
9 and kick the man as the other policemen drag him into the
10 precinct.

11 These are people that I have known who come to me and
12 would not lie in front of everybody. There was not just
13 one, but a number of people around willing to say this and
14 did say this.

15 MR. DRISCOLL: You didn't see this?

16 THE WITNESS: No.

17 MR. DRISCOLL: So your testimony now is
18 hearsay? This is something you have heard from
19 someone else?

20 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. There were scores
21 of people in the area when that happened. This was
22 a warm night and Hayes Project is a big project
23 where 144 families live in each building. This is
24 right across the street from Building 9. This is
25 the area where there is a lot of people. There

1 were scores of people out in the street because it
2 was warm and scores of people saw what happened.

3 This is the thing that incensed the people so bad.

4 As a matter of fact, the first night they threw
5 stones at the policemen but they did very little
6 breaking in. The only place they did break in
7 were places where the merchants were guys who take
8 advantage of them. But I am ahead of my story.

9 We went into the precinct, and they told us
10 what the driver said. By that time the crowd had
11 grown to maybe 300-400 people. We left Oliver
12 Lofton and Don Wendell talking to the inspector
13 and Bob Curvin and myself went out and said we
14 better talk to the crowd and try and get them to go
15 home. Bob Curvin first got up and spoke to the
16 crowd. Then I got up and I spoke to the crowd. I
17 urged the people to go home.

18 By Mr. Jaffe:

19 Q Did you have a bull horn?

20 A Not this time. I talked to them twice. The first
21 time I told them to go home, this would serve no useful
22 purpose, and the police had guns and somebody was going to
23 get hurt. There were a lot of young kids around. We don't
24 want our youngsters hurt or killed. "Please go home. We
25 will meet you tomorrow morning down at the mayor's office and

1 we will demand the mayor get Director Spina and have him
2 come into his office and make sure this kind of thing never
3 happens again."

4 We saw they wasn't going home. Somebody at that point
5 threw some fire bombs. These were fire bombs, gasoline
6 bombs against the precinct.

7 Q That came from the crowd?

8 A Right. It lit up like day, but because it was
9 brick it just burned out. It didn't take that long. It
10 burned out pretty soon. About fifteen minutes later the
11 cops came rushing out of the precinct with helmets and
12 sticks in their hands.

13 Q Did they come out the front door or the back door?

14 A The front door.

15 Q About how many policemen were there?

16 A There must have been 20, 25, something like that.
17 I am not sure what the number was. There were from 15 to
18 30 anyway. They rushed out.

19 The inspector came out and he stopped people. They were
20 lined up on the one side and the crowd was on the other
21 side.

22 Q This was in front of the police station?

23 A Yes.

24 Q What time was this?

25 A We got there about ten-thirty, and two hours later.

1 All this happened between ten-thirty and twelve-thirty.

2 Q Wednesday evening?

3 A Right. When they rushed out there the inspector
4 came out. We went and begin to talk to him again and he
5 sent the police back inside.

6 Q Was there any contact at that point between the
7 police and the group of people on the outside in the street,
8 but did the police just form a line?

9 A The only assault was verbal and the crowd was
10 throwing racial epithets at the police and the police were
11 throwing racial epithets at the crowd. It was verbal and
12 not physical.

13 We talked to the inspector and eventually about fifteen
14 or twenty minutes did get the men to go back inside, all
15 but him and another policeman.

16 Then Bob Curvin spoke. We asked for a bull horn. They
17 gave us the bull horn. Bob Curvin spoke to the crowd first.
18 I spoke to the crowd second and Oliver Lofton third. We
19 told them we were going to form a picket line and demonstrate,
20 and we were going down to city hall to the mayor and make
21 sure this kind of thing never happened again. We were
22 trying to move the people. We started the picket line
23 moving, and some of the group began to follow in the line.

24 Q What was your philosophy, to move the crowd in a
25 demonstration rather than confrontation?

1 A Right. We had some success. Although there were
2 quite a few people who didn't get in line, many people were
3 just there observing to see what was going on. They didn't
4 feel they would start. The police came out of the precinct
5 and they begin to throw at them.

6 MR. DRISCOLL: What was that? Throw?

7 THE WITNESS: My understanding is when we
8 got up to the corner of Belmont Avenue with the
9 picket line, at this point the police came out of
10 the precinct. I don't know why they came out, but
11 they came out of the precinct. They had agreed to
12 stay in the precinct for fifteen minutes, give us
13 fifteen minutes.

14 MR. DRISCOLL: This was the result of a
15 conversation between you and the inspector?

16 THE WITNESS: We had three people that were
17 kind of acting spokesmen. There was Oliver Lofton,
18 myself and Don Wendell. We all had talked to them.
19 We had agreed to fifteen minutes. We told them
20 they had agreed to a fifteen-minute period for the
21 cops to be inside. It was only about seven or
22 eight minutes from the time we got the line moving.
23 They came out and then people began to throw stones
24 at the policemen. Then the fire broke out in the
25 parking lot from an old car that was there for two

1 or three months. It broke out into fire, and from
2 that point on it was sporadic. It never really
3 stopped again.

4 By Mr. Jaffe:

5 Q Were you still trying to march up toward Belmont
6 Avenue? It had not been dispersed. It was growing, not

7 A After the fire started everybody spread out. It
8 was like a useless thing. Then I went down to the tavern
9 on the corner of -- my mouth was really dry, and I went to
10 get a soda. I sat in the bar to wait. The guy took about
11 five or ten minutes, and it was so long I said I better go
12 back out. This must have been about twelve-thirty.

13 I came back out of the tavern and started back up
14 Seventeenth Avenue. As I started back up somebody had thrown
15 a Molotov cocktail or fire bomb under a police car, and it
16 was burning and they were trying to get the police car out
17 of the way.

18 As I got up near the policemen, one stone just missed
19 my head. Another bottle broke at my feet and a brick hit
20 my leg and almost knocked me down. I went upstairs and locked
21 my door.

22 Q That is when you were walking back home? I called

23 A Walking back to the precinct, and I turned around
24 and I locked my door.

25 Q What happened to Smith at that point? Had they

1 already left?

2 A They had taken Mr. Smith to the hospital.

3 Q When you went back up into the house, had the
4 crowd dispersed? Was there much of a crowd in front of the
5 precinct?

6 A It had not been dispersed. It was growing, not
7 getting smaller.

8 Q What was the next thing that happened?

9 A The next thing that happened, I went upstairs, but
10 I could watch out my window and see the cops were chasing
11 the people down the block and they would withdraw and come
12 back up to the precinct. Evidently when they would come
13 down this end they would go up on Belmont Avenue. They
14 would rush back up there. They simply didn't have enough
15 men to do the job.

16 When I got upstairs I made a number of calls to the
17 people I thought wasn't there who should have known what
18 was going on.

19 Q Were these people in the community?

20 A I called Larrie Stork who was the director of the
21 Department of Health and Welfare of the City of Newark. I
22 called Lou Danzig of the Newark Housing Authority. I called
23 Joe Silvalella, who was the director, to indicate to him
24 that we did have a problem.

25 Q What did Mr. Danzig do?

A He was concerned about the people and about the

1 buildings, what would happen, what should we do. I told
2 him to stay where you are and see what develops.

3 Q Were the people in the crowd who were throwing these
4 stones mostly young people or not?

5 A I would say so, yes.

6 Q Was the crowd mostly made up of young people?

7 A They had a mixture of people. Everybody was really
8 incensed at the kind of thing they saw originally happen,
9 and by the time they got through telling it, what dimensions
10 it had reached at this point I don't know. The initial
11 thing was the cop hitting the man and the man was like
12 helpless. As it spread, this kind of thing, everybody was
13 concerned about that. Everybody was concerned that some-
14 thing be done about the way the police treated the man.

15 MR. DRISCOLL: Is this the taxicab driver
16 and for you are referring to?

17 THE WITNESS: Right. One store really. They

18 MR. JAFFE: Off the record.

19 (Discussion off the record.)

20 MR. MEYNER: Did you reach Larrie Stork?

21 THE WITNESS: Yes, I talked to her.

22 MR. MEYNER: What did she say she was going

23 they th to do?

24 THE WITNESS: Larrie was going on her way to

25 Boston to a convention of the NAACP. She indicated

1 she had reservations and everything but for me to
2 keep her informed and notify her, and asked if there
3 was anything she could do. I said, "What can you
4 do? But maybe in the morning we can get together
5 and try to get to the mayor or you can call the
6 mayor and point this out and see what kind of
7 action can be taken."

8 By Mr. Jaffe:

9 Q At this evening did you reach out to the youngsters
10 in the community to enlist their aid in cooling it?

11 A No, I did not. This was one o'clock in the morning.
12 I got upstairs. I begin to call those adults I thought
13 should know about it and try to enlist their help in doing
14 something in the morning because I thought nothing could
15 be done that night. By that time they were running back
16 and forth down the streets, and they began to break in
17 stores. They broke in two stores. One store really. They
18 sacked a liquor store on the corner of Lilley and Seventeenth
19 Avenue. I think the way they robbed the liquor store should
20 be interesting also because originally only the most
21 aggressive, the boldest of guys would go in. Originally
22 about two or three guys went in through the window. First
23 they threw the stones and broke the window. They kept
24 breaking it more so somebody could get in.

25 A I see MR. BRISCOLL: Did you see this?

1 THE WITNESS: I was standing in my window
2 looking right at it.

3 MR. MEYNER: Was this Wednesday night?

4 THE WITNESS: Thursday morning.

5 By Mr. Jaffe:

6 Q About one o'clock?

7 A Yes. As a couple of guys went in and got whiskey
8 and came out, maybe some of the bolder fellows would go
9 over, or women and youngsters also. They went in. Well,
10 the radio cars were going back and forth and they saw them
11 in there. They saw them in there getting the whiskey.
12 They just kept going. They didn't try to stop. As result
13 of that, all the people saw that the cops didn't care so
14 they went in, too.

15 I did watch as many as ten or twelve people bring
16 whiskey out. The cops passed back and forth, and it was
17 like, "Go ahead; you have got permission." I think if the
18 cops had moved in and did something they may have been
19 stoned, but I think this would have been the proper thing
20 to do. A lot of this stuff could have been avoided at
21 this point.

22 Q Was the whole store emptied out?

23 A The last can of beer. I understand about \$25,000.

24 Q What else did you observe?

25 A I observed until four-thirty, and then I went to bed.

1 Q When you went to bed, was there still a crowd?

2 A When I went to bed it had cooled down and the crowd
3 had retreated up to Fairmont Avenue and Seventeenth. It
4 was about four-thirty in the morning. There were crowds
5 still out there but not out there in the proportion they
6 were earlier. Just small crowds. The looting had stopped
7 at this point.

8 Q You went to bed. Could you tell us what happened,
9 what time you woke up?

10 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: May I interrupt? I would
11 like to hear him describe the police action that
12 took place from roughly one to four-thirty. You
13 spoke of the cars passing.

14 THE WITNESS: First of all, they really cleaned
15 out the store. The police just rode by. They
16 didn't do anything.

17 BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Were there several cars?

18 THE WITNESS: No. In all honesty I would
19 have to say there was only one car at a time, but
20 they saw it. They could have reported it. I think
21 at the initial time if they had reported it and
22 done something, I am positive -- well, I am not
23 sure now either, because what happened the next
24 night was that they stopped them in one area, and
25 they spread out to another area. So I am not really

1 sure this would happen. But I am reasonably con-
2 vinced had the initial effort been made the first
3 night, it might have been avoided.

4 By Mr. Jaffe:

5 Q We were asking you about what happened when you
6 woke up in the morning.

7 A When I woke up in the morning, I went immediately
8 down to the city hall to see if any of the people we had
9 been talking to had come. After what had happened I guess
10 everybody realized that this was something else, another
11 kind of ballgame. But there were two people there. I took
12 these two people, and I took them over to the court house,
13 over to the Municipal Court where the case was supposed to
14 come up. One of our staff people was there, and I told
15 him, "You stay and find out the situation. I have got to
16 go to the agency because we have a lot of work to do."

17 Q When you got up in the morning were there any
18 crowds in front of the precinct?

19 A There was some people, not a crowd.

20 Q Were there any policemen outside?

21 A There was a number, just a few, just coming and
22 going. They had a television camera there.

23 Q But there was no throwing of rocks or anything?

24 A No, no. We had television there, and they are the
25 greatest parveyors of this thing that ever did happen, then

1 cameras getting people on there talking away, and they don't
2 represent nothing or nobody. Making statements inflaming
3 the whole city of people. If you do anything, do something
4 about the television folks and the radio folks and the
5 newspaper people.

6 Then I went to the agency, and this was the night we had
7 decided to ask for the executive director's resignation.
8 We had a problem there. We met. What happened was we
9 were supposed to have a meeting in front of city hall and
10 we found out it had been called by the staff and cancelled.
11 We had a meeting of the executive committee at four o'clock,
12 and we discussed certain things that we ought to try to do.
13 I can't remember them now, asking the mayor to do certain
14 things. I just forget what they were now.

15 We moved to try to do what we could about the problem, to
16 get help, ask for Brendan Byrne to convene a grand jury
17 to look into that matter forthwith, and things like that.

18 Q Did you talk to Brendan yourself?

19 A I did. I talked to him later on myself. I didn't
20 talk to him at that point. I think our lawyer got in touch
21 with him.

22 I left the meeting about eight o'clock. When I got
23 back into Seventeenth -- I came up Eighteenth Avenue and
24 I went to get some soda before I got home. We turned into
25 Boyd Street. Then cars were backing out and said, "Don't

1 go in there." I said, "I live in there, man. I have got
2 to go in." They said, "Go ahead and drive on around."

3 As we got to the corner of Seventeenth Avenue and drove
4 around to my house, which is west of Boyd Street, the crowd
5 of people was out in the street and the police had helmets
6 on and clubs. The police would charge down the street and
7 the people would fade back. Then the police would withdraw
8 and the people would come back.

9 I went upstairs. I am not able to do any running now.
10 So I got on back out of the way. I went upstairs. After
11 a little while the police began to charge down the street.
12 The people, the kids really -- these were kids between
13 the ages of eight and nine years old, ten, twelve, thirteen,
14 just throwing stones at the police. The police would charge
15 at them. They charged one or two times. They would over-
16 run somebody and beat him in the head with the club and
17 arrest him and take him onto the precinct.

18 Eventually they came into my parking lot. I have got
19 a big, open field in the project there. They ran some
20 kids up all the way to Building 3, which must be about a
21 hundred yards, open space. When they ran in there, all
22 the kids were throwing stones there, but they got an
23 innocent boy who was just walking, and when he didn't run
24 they surrounded him and beat him. I guess this is going
25 to happen in this kind of a situation.

1 They went up to the end of the area, and when they came
2 back the youngsters followed them back and they begin to
3 stone them again. They ran them out to 17th Avenue and they
4 ran up to the precinct. The youngsters followed them up
5 there and began to throw stones around General Electric.
6 By this time it began to get a little dusky and dark.

7 Q How many people would you approximate were involved
8 in this?

9 A We are talking now about maybe four, five, six
10 hundred people altogether in all areas.

11 Q But mostly young people?

12 A Mostly young people. Eventually the policemen
13 formed squads of ten, sixteen, twenty men and sent them
14 out, and they would run the kids and the kids would run
15 back. The cops would stop because they couldn't catch the
16 kids. They would retreat back. If they ran too far this
17 way, the kids would get between them and throw stones both
18 ways.

19 Q Was there looting going on?

20 A At this point, no. As the evening wore on.

21 Q I am just talking about the afternoon prior to
22 dusk on the thirteenth?

23 A To my knowledge, no. Certainly not in my area. By
24 the next morning you couldn't tell because everything was
25 going. As it grew dusky I stood in the same window and

1 watched. First there was a fire on the corner of Marsh
2 Avenue and Springfield Avenue in a toy store.

3 Q Before we get into that, were there any efforts
4 during the day of the thirteenth by anybody that you know of
5 to reach the younger members of the community up in the
6 Central Ward?

7 A Our agency had some of our staff out trying to get
8 some of the leaders of kids who live in the area.

9 Q How successful was that?

10 A It wasn't too successful because we couldn't find
11 the kids. They were the leaders. We couldn't find these
12 kids. We had so many other things going on we couldn't
13 concentrate on all of them.

14 We had a meeting with the mayor, some of our people. We
15 had our own meeting as to what we had to do in terms of our
16 own problem. So we really didn't get to the kids.

17 Q Do you know of anybody who was trying to get to the
18 kids outside of your organization? Were there any other
19 organizations or any part of the administration?

20 A Not as I know of.

21 Q We are at the point in your narrative where it was
22 dusk.

23 A As it became dark the fire happened on Marsh Avenue
24 and Springfield Avenue. It looked like it spread to two
25 or three buildings. By that time the people were out on

1 Springfield Avenue. The cops had secured around the project.
2 They had some stationed at the corner by GE. We had people
3 working in the plant that night. They were stationed there,
4 and they would go around the project, and after they rounded
5 the people out of the project, the people who were fighting
6 and throwing stones at them and just the people in the
7 crowd out of the project, they went into Springfield Avenue.
8 I never went to Springfield Avenue. I know what they did
9 because I was there the next day.

10 Shops were looted and broken into, but I could see the
11 people bringing back into the project area all kinds of
12 merchandise, big chairs, lamps, different other kinds of
13 merchandise. I stood in my window and waited until about
14 four-thirty. I went to bed because I knew we had a big
15 day the next day.

16 Q In your opinion was it the evening of the thirteenth
17 that the disturbance really developed into a major problem?

18 A No question about it.

19 Q Is that when the major part of the looting occurred?

20 A No question about it. As a matter of fact,
21 Friday morning there wasn't nothing else to loot really.
22 I went to bed at four-thirty in the morning before that.
23 I still couldn't sleep. I had this suit in the cleaners,
24 and this was my favorite suit. The only thing I could
25 worry about was my suit still there.

1 A We started working this Friday morning. We had it
2 on the air Friday afternoon sometime. They kept repeating
3 it over and over again. I heard it a couple of times when
4 I got home Friday night.

5 They had another meeting with the mayor and some of the
6 ministers to go into the community the following day with
7 arm bands to urge the people to be calm and keep their
8 children in the house.

9 That Saturday morning we met -- well, I am getting ahead
10 of myself. We made these statements for the radio. This
11 is one of the things we did. Through Oliver Lofton, who
12 was the Governor's representative during this crisis, we
13 set up a meeting with the Governor Friday night and Saturday
14 morning. Of course, one of our concerns was that there
15 was no food available; that the services the people had
16 been getting had been almost totally destroyed, and with
17 the troops in town now there was a great deal of fear.
18 Many people never left their house.

19 Q What was the atmosphere like in Central Ward
20 Friday afternoon? Would you describe it for us?

21 A I was at the agency Friday morning on this kind of
22 stuff. We had our people out in the field. There was a
23 great deal of anxiety in the ward because all you had to
24 do was to look around and see things were destroyed, and
25 where were you going to get services from? This was a small

1 faction of the community involved in it, and the bulk of
2 the people were concerned about what kind of effect
3 that would have, what kind of response would they get from
4 this kind of situation.

5 I know there was a great deal of anxiety about this.

6 Again we left the agency about eight o'clock with the
7 understanding that we would be picked up and taken over to
8 meet with the Governor. We met with the Governor and we
9 talked to the Governor.

10 Q This is Friday evening?

11 A Friday evening, Saturday morning. The Governor
12 then promised to provide some food, and we wanted to make
13 sure that the food at places to be located at and have people
14 there to see that the food was distributed. We talked
15 about medical supplies, medical attention. Legal services
16 were provided for people with problems and complaints. We
17 thought that this was a valuable service to have during
18 that time.

19 Well, the Governor agreed on most of these things. We
20 left there about four o'clock Saturday morning. At eight
21 o'clock Saturday morning we met with the ministers who
22 appointed five members, five co-chairmen of a committee,
23 and we met with the Governor. We had a news conference on
24 what we were trying to do.

25 We went back to the agency after the meeting with the

1 Governor and put the program in operation, Operation Arm
2 Band. Three hundred people went out on the street urging
3 people to be calm and cool and to stay off the street. This
4 was Saturday. Needless to say Saturday was one of the
5 worst nights of all.

6 Q Before you get into that, it is eleven o'clock and
7 our reporter has been going for almost two hours, and we
8 would like to give both of you a ten-minute recess.

9 A (Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

10 It will be by Mr. Jaffe:

11 Q Mr. Still, I think when we left off we were talking
12 about what occurred on Saturday.

13 A On Saturday, as I have already indicated, we had
14 people go out into the community, about 300, to urge the
15 people to be cool and stay in the house and make sure they
16 knew where their children were. We had broadcast on the
17 radio programs Saturday also urging people to be calm and
18 to stay at home. We also made arrangements with some of
19 our staff to open the food centers for distribution the
20 next day. As a matter of fact, we had a meeting that night
21 with the Governor's counsel, Mr. Stanley Van Ness, and
22 Stan had promised that we would be able to get home that
23 night. He promised to give us an escort back home. He
24 found that he couldn't do that because they weren't letting
25 any vehicles at all in the Central Ward that night. We had

1 to stay at the agency. ~~There had been an established there~~

2 But after I came down to the agency Saturday evening I
3 went home for a while to eat dinner and to talk with my
4 family. While I was home about seven-eight o'clock there
5 was a great deal of noise, like a battlefield really. I
6 could see they were firing at one of the buildings in my
7 area on Sixteenth Avenue across Belmont.

8 Q Who was "they"? ~~They were there Sunday morning.~~

9 A This was the National Guard and the state troopers.
10 It might have been the police, too, but they were firing.
11 Which segment of them I don't know. There was machinegun
12 fire. There was automatic weapons fire, so I evidently
13 thought it must have been the National Guard. This kept
14 on sporadically. There would be a burst of maybe three
15 or four hundred shots. Then it would stop and another
16 burst. This went on for about an hour, hour and a half.

17 Finally some police officers went up on the roof and
18 nobody was on the roof. They had their helmets and held
19 their helmets up to indicate they were police officers.
20 The firing stopped on this building at that point. It
21 was shortly after that I was picked up and taken down,
22 picked up in a car from the Fourth Precinct and taken down
23 to UCC to meet with Stanley Van Ness. ~~They said,~~

24 At this meeting with him we worked out plans for the
25 food distribution the next day because this time -- as I

1 said, Friday the entire area had been so demolished there
2 was no place for food and milk and drugs. We made the
3 arrangements. We met up until about one o'clock or twelve
4 o'clock. I started home. I couldn't get there so I spent
5 the night in the agency. All during the night it was just
6 like a battlefield.

7 Q This is all through early Saturday?

8 A All through Saturday night and Sunday morning.

9 Q Was that the worst morning?

10 A That was the worst morning. That was the morning
11 when they deliberately tried to intimidate the community.

12 Q I couldn't hear that.

13 A That was the morning that the state troopers and
14 the National Guard and the Newark police, to a lesser
15 degree really, intimidated the community.

16 Q Will you explain what you mean by that?

17 A I mean they were firing knowing there was nobody
18 there. I mean, for instance, Director Spina already said
19 he went into Columbus homes and that there was a great
20 deal of shooting going on there. People shooting up at
21 the roof, and he went into find out what was going on.
22 He walked into the project and talked to a couple of
23 National Guard and asked them what happened. They said,
24 "I saw some people looking out the windows so I wanted
25 to frighten them." This is what Director Spina has said.

1 MR. DRISCOLL: This is a National Guard man?

2 THE WITNESS: Right. All this firing was
3 provoked by that. There have been cases where the
4 state troopers and the Newark police were shooting
5 at one another. This is public information. This
6 is a factual thing. There were cases where the
7 state police shot into Negro businesses, broke the
8 windows with the butts of their guns in the middle
9 of the night, nobody there, just deliberately.
10 They did it because they had on the window "Soul
11 Brother" which indicated they were Negroes.

12 MR. DRISCOLL: You say they broke the windows
13 with the butts of their guns?

14 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

15 MR. DRISCOLL: Were the state police armed
16 with rifles? WACHENFELD: Who has those affidavits?

17 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. Legal Services

18 MR. DRISCOLL: You saw them personally?

19 THE WITNESS: No, I did not see them.

20 JUDGE WACHENFELD: Nobody saw them. Nobody
21 was there. the riot. This was the element of

22 THE WITNESS: But we have affidavits from
23 people who did see it. When you say they were

24 JUDGE WACHENFELD: The state police armed
25 with rifles?

1 THE WITNESS: Armed with rifles, right.

2 And the state troopers -- the state police and the
3 National Guard, too. Some of them, not to the
4 degree the state troopers. According to the people
5 who saw it, they saw it say the state troopers were
6 the worse violators of this, but there were isolated
7 cases where the Newark police department also was
8 reported to have knocked out windows. I have no
9 affidavits on this. This is word of mouth.

10 The other thing there are people with affidavits
11 who saw this, deliberately come in front of some-
12 body's window and shoot in the window, and they
13 have got pictures of it.

14 MR. DRISCOLL: With a rifle?

15 THE WITNESS: With a rifle.

16 JUDGE WACHENFELD: Who has those affidavits?

17 THE WITNESS: Mr. Lofton, Legal Services
18 Department.

19 People went to church that Sunday morning,
20 they were intimidated. These were not the people
21 involved in the riot. This was the element of
22 people that certainly -- for their children.

23 JUDGE WACHENFELD: When you say they were
24 intimidated, what do you mean? How were they
25 intimidated?

1 THE WITNESS: When they were going to church.

2 JUDGE WACHENFELD: What did anybody do?

3 THE WITNESS: "Get along, get along." Call
4 them names, cursing at them. We have this on file.

5 This is what the people said. If they thought
6 strongly enough about it to make it a legal document,
7 then I would have to take their word for it.

8 By Mr. Jaffe:

9 Q What happened next? What did you do next?

10 A What we did next, we were so concerned about the
11 outcry from every quarter of our city about the conduct
12 of the state police and of the National Guard, we immediately
13 got ahold of Mr. Lofton and urged Mr. Lofton to get an
14 appointment with the Governor to pull the National Guard
15 and the state police out, because there is no question
16 that there couldn't be no looting because there wasn't
17 nothing else to loot. There wasn't nothing in the area to
18 loot then. It would be a prophesy to say they were there
19 to prevent looting. The calm had come. People had not
20 been out on the street. As a matter of fact, they were
21 shooting up into people's houses, shooting people in the
22 house while they were fixing food for their children.

23 This woman, Lois Spellman on the tenth floor at Hayes
24 project, that is the E apartment, an apartment with five
25 rooms designed for children. In 9F or 9E, 10E, 11E and 12E,

1 there is at least 150 bullets in each of those apartments
2 where the windows, on the front room, the kitchen, the
3 bathroom, the two bedrooms are all shot up. This is the
4 apartment, 10E where Lois Spellman lives, who was killed
5 with eleven children laying on the couch fixing her kids
6 dinner or supper.

7 Another woman, Louise Gaynor, she was killed sitting
8 in her kitchen or front room at the window. Many people
9 were shot innocently. It was the kind of experience never,
10 I hope, happens again in my lifetime.

11 Q Mr. Still, I wonder if you might also want to tell
12 us briefly your views of the aftermath, what the riot has
13 done to the community in the Central Ward. What are some
14 of the feelings there now and what is the general attitude?
15 Could you describe it for us?

16 A There ain't nothing changed except perhaps I think
17 there may be some hope in what Prudential is trying to do
18 and the business community. There may be some hope in the
19 fact that they are now going to spend some money to build
20 some houses in the area. This certainly meets one of the
21 crucial needs, but it hasn't that much of an effect on
22 these unemployed.

23 We have a program, the Nineteen Cities Program, it was
24 called. It is the concentrated employment program. We
25 get \$4.3 million from the federal government for this

1 program. This program is supposed to find work for 2,000
2 people. Actually we really don't have enough space. We
3 have got more people than we can handle. We had a figure
4 of 200 for a week. We had 800. We weren't able to meet
5 that. There is so many people out of work this is one of
6 the present problems we have.

7 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: What is that called?

8 THE WITNESS: CEP.

9 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Is this the one where there
10 was a dispute about the board of directors and it
11 was finally settled five from business, five from
12 the community and five from the administration?

13 THE WITNESS: Right. That is run by a team.
14 It is called TEAM. This is the three-pronged
15 representation. The city runs certain projects
16 and we run the day care to take care of the children
17 who are in the program while they are training or
18 on the job, while they are getting orientation.

19 The Outreach Project is to send people out
20 of the community, in the taverns, into the barber-
21 shops and beauty parlors and all areas of the city,
22 the most difficult people to reach, and have them
23 brought into the program, point out what is available
24 and the kind of training and the kind of efforts
25 being made by the government to give them a chance

1 to learn and develop, and get people in. The
2 response has been terrific.

3 The Board of Education is in Head Start.
4 They needed 400. They got 2,000 applications. So
5 they have many, many people who want to work.

6 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: You have got hope for this
7 program, I take it?

8 THE WITNESS: What we are doing, a lot of
9 people are coming into the program, so certainly
10 this gives hope. How substantive it will be, I
11 don't know. One of my concerns is when we are
12 talking about a training program, what are you
13 going to train people for? How effective is it
14 going to be? Are we really going to train them
15 where they will be able to have the kind of skills
16 to earn enough money that will give them some hope
17 or just give them jobs paying \$70-\$80 a week but
18 will not lift them up but keep them at a place
19 where it is not effective? We hope we can get
20 programs that will do this, but I am concerned
21 about that, talking about 2,000 people, will we
22 be able to do it. One of the things I have done
23 as president is set up a special committee to look
24 into and sift out and find out how these programs
25 are going and what we can do to strengthen them if

1 they are not doing the job properly.

2 MR. MEYNER: I assume that you have a pretty
3 good feeling of the pulse of these people in the
4 area in which you live and in which the Community
5 Corporation is working. Can you tell us how willing
6 these people are to work and how willing they are
7 to travel some distance to be employed?

8 THE WITNESS: Well, willing to work -- I think
9 the fact, as I indicated, pre-school wanted 400
10 teacher aides. Two hundred, not 400, and 2,000
11 people applied.

12 MR. MEYNER: This is teacher aides where you
13 have to have some skill?

14 THE WITNESS: No. A teacher aide is taking
15 care of the children. These are sub-professional
16 people. They have a teacher, a teacher in training,
17 and a teacher's aide. A teacher's aide is a
18 community person who doesn't necessarily have to
19 have any academic background, but they have to have
20 some experience in working with people and working
21 with children.

22 MR. MEYNER: This is essentially a woman's
23 job?

24 THE WITNESS: Right. But we had 2,000 people
25 make application for this.

1 MR. MEYNER: This is obviously women who want
2 to work. How about the men?

3 THE WITNESS: We have many men who want to
4 work, but we have no place to send them. Like in
5 the CEP Program we were supposed to process 200
6 and we got 800. The people want to work. There is
7 no question in my mind about that. They want a
8 chance to earn a living. There are some who don't.
9 There is no question. There are some white folks
10 who don't want to work.

11 By and large most people want to work and
12 earn for themselves. Most people don't want to
13 be on welfare. You have got some guys who are
14 willing to sit by and let other people take care of
15 them, but I suggest this is a small minority.

16 MR. MEYNER: I have talked to quite a number
17 of employers and they tell me, yes, they want to
18 work, but then they want to take a day off whenever
19 they please, and when you hire them you have some
20 security problems; they have a record. How do you
21 answer this?

22 THE WITNESS: As far as the day off, I worked
23 on jobs and the attendance of Negroes where I worked
24 was certainly better than the white people who worked
25 on my particular job, Budweiser. Before I became

1 ill, I worked in Budweiser for ten or eleven years.
2 The attendance rate of Negroes in that plant was
3 much better than of the white, so I don't know about
4 this point you raise, but the other point about
5 records, it is not difficult to get a record in the
6 Negro community. When young people get involved in
7 things, the priest goes to the station house, looks
8 after the youngster, many white youngsters, and is
9 able to get them out of trouble. Unfortunately,
10 we don't have the same kind of counterpart in our
11 community who, either because of lack of interest
12 or lack of knowing how to do it, doesn't. So
13 many of our young people have records who shouldn't
14 have records.

15 We have to think in terms of people who serve
16 time. Certainly I think we have to make some gauge
17 of how we do it, but simply because somebody
18 served time should not be something to keep them
19 from getting a job. If they can't get a job, they
20 are going to make it some way. We are going to
21 make thieves out of them. While I realize there is
22 a problem in getting people with backgrounds that
23 might be questionable, how are they going to live
24 unless they are permitted to work?

25 I think this is one of the tragedies we face

1 and one of the things our corporation is going to
2 try to do, and Oliver Lofton is the chairman of this
3 committee, that is, to see what we can do to have
4 the state Civil Service laws changed or rectified
5 so that people who have records, unless they are
6 really the kind of records that might demand this,
7 be permitted to take civil service tests and when
8 they pass, to serve in these jobs. A man who has
9 served his time that society has asked of him, we
10 can't say, "You can't have a job." If we do, we
11 are going to say you are going to have a criminal
12 who will knock somebody in the head or sell dope.

13 MR. MEYNER: How much of this volume of
14 unemployed is attributable to people who come here,
15 find jobs, and then send for their relatives?

16 THE WITNESS: There is a lot of that.

17 MR. MEYNER: So isn't it possible if you
18 provide these jobs, that the people who are here
19 will send for their relatives and then you will
20 have the problem complicated again?

21 THE WITNESS: This is America, Governor
22 Meyner, you know, and we live in the greatest
23 economic boom of the history of mankind. We have
24 more money, everything going now, than at any time
25 in the history of this world. If I have got a

1 cousin of mine, or a niece or nephew or a friend
2 and I can help them, I would tell them to come on
3 in. Some of the people that have jobs, this is
4 America. They have a right to come here and look
5 for a better life.

6 MR. MEYNER: And it is our duty here in New
7 Jersey and Newark to provide the opportunity?

8 THE WITNESS: Right, with the government. I
9 think the government must recognize this is a
10 national issue; it is not a local thing. The
11 problem is created in education and all the other
12 fields are created in Newark and a lot of the other
13 cities because we are getting fed into Newark
14 problems that were developed in Georgia, Alabama,
15 Mississippi and all the other states, and we get
16 these. This is a national thing. Now we have to
17 pick up the tab for all of it. I think the federal
18 government should try to help supplement people
19 who come from other areas because these problems
20 are not ours.

21 MR. MEYNER: Would you subscribe to a program
22 by which after, say, six months on relief or a year
23 on relief you would transport them to a separate
24 community and try to give them some training and
25 some independence?

1 think this was an important thing.
2 THE WITNESS: If they wanted to go.

3 MR. MEYNER: But if they didn't want to go,
4 you would say it is their right to stay here and
5 take relief?

6 THE WITNESS: It is like Nazi Germany if you
7 are going to do that.

8 By Mr. Jaffe:

9 Q Mr. Still, I wonder if, based on your observations
10 during the disturbance in July, you have an approximation
11 of the number of people from the community who participated
12 in the riot in one sense or another. If you don't, please
13 say so. It is a very vague figure.

14 A We have in Newark at least 50 percent of the
15 populace. All sides agree it is 50 percent, and some say
16 it is up to 60 and 55. When you are talking about 50 percent
17 of 400,000 people, you are talking about 200,000. That
18 would mean that if one percent took part in the riot, that
19 would be 2,000. If two percent took part, that would be
20 4,000. I suggest it couldn't have been over three percent
21 of the people involved. Some because of the criminal element;
22 there is no question about that. Some people were criminals,
23 who robbed. This is a part of their livelihood, but I
24 suggest to you there are many others with frustrations,
25 bitterness. There was a laxity on the part of the police
to do any part about it. The cops wasn't stopping them. I

1 think this was an important thing, too.

2 But in terms of the people involved, I would say it was
3 a very small percentage of the Negro community involved.

4 Q Do you think there was any type of organization to
5 the riot? By that I mean were there any groups that particu-
6 larly organized it or organized a phase of it?

7 A What is his name, the guy who wrote the articles?

8 Q Hayden?

9 A No.

10 Q Louis Lomax?

11 A Lomax. This man. All the articles were lies,
12 half truths and just way out, ridiculous, ridiculous.

13 There was no organization to this. I have been in this town,
14 and I know this town well where I live. I know this town
15 well. What I don't know I have got friends who will tell
16 me. This was really no organization. Them guys doing that
17 talking. You know when them folks went to shooting, they
18 left town. The guys doing all the hollering and screaming
19 I mean. With them cats doing the screaming and hollering,
20 they got out of town. This is not true. If it is, it would
21 really surprise me.

22 Q Just along those lines I wonder if you would give
23 us your opinion on just how strong or powerful in numbers
24 or influence the Black Nationalists movement is in Newark.
25 Does it exist?

1 A There is no Black Nationalist movement in Newark.
2 Black Nationalists believe in going to Africa. That is New
3 York. They have Black Muslims here. They have Black Power,
4 guys who call themselves black power advocates here. But
5 if you tell Negroes about going back to Africa, in New York
6 this is nothing but talk. They do have an element of people
7 in the city who feel that Negroes should come together on
8 their own. You have this in various phases. It is according
9 to how you are talking about doing it, if you are talking
10 about black power. By black power you mean Negroes opening
11 up training and opening up businesses or supporting business
12 so these Negroes can earn some of the money being earned
13 elsewhere and then using some of this money for the things
14 like the Jewish merchants use, this is good and I am for
15 black power in that degree.

16 If you are talking about political power, Negroes coming
17 together and registering in large numbers with votes and
18 then picking out people to support them on the basis of what
19 they do for them and on the basis of their records and the
20 programs they project, I am for that.

21 But if you are talking about black power like some guys
22 said we have got to make this merchant leave and give it to
23 a Negro, I am not for that.

24 Q What I am wondering is the extent in Newark of the
25 revolutionary movements of militants who believe in violence.

1 I wonder if you have an opinion as to how extensive it is
2 in Newark.

3 A I think you have got some guys here, them talkers
4 here. But this is no problem to my view. There is no
5 question in my mind there are some people who feel so strongly
6 in the whole city there may be one or two or three people.
7 I don't know them, but I wouldn't discount the possibility
8 there are one, two or three people who are so bitter, filled
9 with so much hate that a little something might set them off
10 on something that involved them as individuals or that in-
11 volved somebody in the community. But to organize and go
12 out and do something, I would say there is no danger.

13 Q Would you give us your views on the role of the
14 political machinery in Newark that relates to the Negro
15 community? What I specifically mean is: Does the Negro
16 community feel that the political machinery here is responsive
17 to its needs? Does it feel it meets its needs? Does it feel
18 it can communicate its needs to the machinery and the com-
19 munity?

20 A Maybe I am the wrong man for you to be asking that
21 because I was Addonizio's campaign manager for the Central
22 Ward in 1962 and 1966. I would say that Addonizio's record
23 as a congressman for fourteen years was excellent. He had
24 a one hundred percent voting record for the NAACP and for
25 labor. Negroes are workers, so if you help labor, you help

1 Negroes. So as a congressman he did an excellent job.
2 Foolishly he ran for Governor of Newark -- I mean mayor,
3 with all the problems of Newark.

4 The mayor and I -- I like Hughie, and I think he is a
5 good politician and I think he has done as good a job as he
6 could in the city. I think the problem in Newark is that,
7 first of all, Newark in 1950 had a Negro population of 17
8 percent. Today our population is 300 times that, it is 300
9 percent rather or more than 51 percent. In seventeen years
10 this has happened. The city has turned around and changed.
11 With it all of the problems of this kind of statistics
12 imply.

13 We have had some people from the South who have been
14 skilled, teachers and professional people, doctors, lawyers,
15 but the bulk of the people who have come here have been
16 people who are looking for hope. They didn't have no
17 education. All they had was hope and the desire to make a
18 better life. They didn't bring the equipment to do this.
19 As a result of that we have all these problems. I think
20 if Oliver Lofton was the mayor we would still have real
21 serious education problems. What are we going to do about
22 that? No matter who is the mayor that is still there. We
23 are spending \$55 million on education today. What are we
24 going to do about the fact we have 10,000 pupils?
25 The welfare problem is growing. How could anybody do anything

1 about that? It seems to me we have problems in Newark,
2 which is so large, that it is going to be bankrupt and the
3 federal government is going to have to take over the city.
4 It is the only major city in the country that has over 50
5 percent Negro population that takes care of itself. We have
6 taxpayers who own property and who pay taxes. In Washington
7 they have the same thing, but the government picks up the
8 tab. But here the people who live here pick up the tab.

9
10 MR. MEYNER: The state pays part of the tab.

11 THE WITNESS: Not nearly as much as the tax-
12 payers pay. It is the highest tax rate in the
13 country. It is growing every year. At the meeting
14 I understand there is going to be another 100 points
15 rise. It reaches the point where people can't pay
16 this. You have got a mayor. What are you going to
17 do about the problem? The problem is so massive
18 and overwhelming until I don't think anybody can
19 do anything about it.

20 I think the mayor made two serious mistakes.
21 One of the mistakes was on the med site thing. No
22 contract should have been signed with the state for
23 150 acres no matter what they say. They are not
24 going to get 150 acres. I think if they signed a
25 contract for 50 acres, the community could live
with that with the idea of building other housing.

1 MR. MEYNER: What was the second mistake?

2 THE WITNESS: The second mistake was the fact
3 of the appointment or the effort to appoint Jim
4 Callahan. Jim Callahan is a good friend of mine,
5 and he belongs to my international. I used to
6 belong to the IUE. He was my national representative.
7 I've always been a good friend of him. Jim Callahan
8 knows he ain't got as much fiscal sense as Mr.
9 Parker. This kind of thing was a serious mistake.

10 MR. MEYNER: Is he as much of a politician?

11 THE WITNESS: I talked to the mayor on both
12 of these points. I have talked to him about the
13 appointment to the board, and he said that he had
14 made the commitment to Jim Callahan before any of
15 this hit the papers; that Jim Callahan went to the
16 council and asked the council to back him for the
17 post, and nobody had any idea this kind of stuff
18 would hit the fan.

19 Then Jim Callahan went to the mayor and told
20 him he had to support the council. He said, "If
21 you have to, I have no man. I will give you the
22 job. The job is yours." He felt after he had made
23 this kind of commitment he couldn't back away from
24 it. That is what he said, but I point out sometimes
25 when you make mistakes you have got to recognize it.

1 MR. MEYNER: I was interested in your earlier
2 testimony in which you indicated that some of the
3 housing is hopeless. There are state tenement house
4 laws and there are ordinances in the City of Newark
5 governing the housing and how it is to be conducted.
6 Is there any enforcement in this area?

7 THE WITNESS: They can't enforce it because
8 if they enforce it, they have to declare to move
9 the people out of the house, and where are they
10 going?

11 MR. MEYNER: Maybe not so many of them will
12 move in then if they do that. Maybe some of them
13 from outside will find places here if they do that.

14 THE WITNESS: Where are the people who live
15 here going when you condemn their houses without
16 some new housing being built to replace it?

17 BISHOP TAYLOR: As I understand, you said that
18 other than the two major mistakes that the mayor
19 has made that the real problem you have here in
20 Newark is the result of an overburden of poor
21 population which has moved in here.

22 THE WITNESS: This is one of the factors, yes.

23 BISHOP TAYLOR: But you would not say that is
24 the only factor?

25 THE WITNESS: Of course not. I think the mayor

1 could have certainly done a great deal more than he
2 has done in terms of giving a Negro -- they talk
3 about Negroes being involved. We have nine depart-
4 ments. We have one Negro as a department head, and
5 we have 55 percent of the population. This doesn't
6 gel.

7 BISHOP TAYLOR: Do you feel the politics of
8 this city has had anything to do with the corruption
9 of it?

10 THE WITNESS: Well --

11 MR. MEYNER: Do you want to go off the record?

12 THE WITNESS: Off the record.

13 (Discussion off the record.)

14 MR. DRISCOLL: I think the last two questions
15 were a little broader than the reference to the
16 mayor. At least I sensed that the intent of the
17 questions was to try to get your opinion as to
18 whether there had been a lack of communication
19 between the city hall and citizens of Central Ward
20 and a feeling on the part of the citizens of the
21 Central Ward that there was a real concern in the
22 city hall. Do you think there was a breakdown in
23 communications?

24 THE WITNESS: No. I think it has been stated
25 much more aptly by someone else, that there is no

1 question that the mayor -- the previous mayor,
2 Mayor Carlin, who was mayor for eight years, nobody
3 could see him. I tried for eight years, and I only
4 saw him twice. Since Addonizio has been the mayor
5 anybody can get into see him and he will talk to
6 anybody.

7 The charge has been made it is a dialogue, but
8 it is a sterile dialogue. You go to talk to him
9 and he makes commitments, but nothing is done
10 about it. Except for these two major points, I
11 think my own dealing with the mayor has been very
12 fruitful. I tried to point out to him how important
13 these two items were, but he had his own ideas,
14 and I told him, "I can't defend this because you
15 are wrong here." Like when we voted against the
16 Police Review Board and during the campaign in 1966
17 a fellow told me, "Listen, are you for the Police
18 Review?" I said, "Yes." He said, "How can you
19 support Addonizio and he is against it?" I said
20 that fourteen years the man is a congressman and
21 has done everything right. To that point he has
22 done a good job as the mayor. Of all the things
23 he has done I am not going to turn against him for
24 this one thing. We can disagree with him on that.
25 Addonizio as the mayor has made mistakes and has done

1 the wrong things. All of us are human beings and
2 make poor judgments.

3 But in my view these things that were wrong,
4 these things that were ill-advised on his part are
5 not enough for me to sign a petition to recall him,
6 which they are trying to do now.

7 MR. DRISCOLL: Mr. Still, I wasn't trying to
8 pinpoint the mayor alone, but government in general
9 in the City of Newark. Has there been a breakdown
10 in faith in government in general on the part of the
11 people in the Central Ward?

12 THE WITNESS: Well, I think what has really
13 happened is that during the med site hearing, during
14 the Parker hearings, Councilmen Turner and West,
15 who are the two Negro representatives, have not
16 spoken out on either one of these issues. I kind
17 of thought it was unfortunate because I think a
18 Negro certainly can -- I think these guys should
19 have expressed the feeling of the community no
20 matter how they felt. They are representing com-
21 munity people, and they should have articulated
22 their point of view at this meeting even if they
23 didn't support it. If I was a councilman and if I
24 felt something strongly, like you asked me about
25 the mayor, well, my feeling is one thing. I have

1 always said there are feelings in the community
2 that the dialogue is sterile. I figure it was at
3 least their duty to let the people who are on the
4 council know that there were people in the community
5 who felt other than the way they felt. They even
6 do that.

7 I think in terms of community government many
8 Negroes did feel that they were locked out because
9 the two guys they had really wasn't representing
10 their point of view.

11 MR. DRISCOLL: In other words, they were locked
12 out?

13 THE WITNESS: Right.

14 MR. MEYNER: There are some people who say
15 that maybe the crucial situation arose because of
16 lack of communication between the various groups
17 in Newark. For instance, it has been pointed out
18 that the Newark Chamber of Commerce, when they
19 have a dinner or when they look over their member-
20 ship rolls, have very few Negroes and yet you have
21 50 percent of the people in Newark who are Negroes.

22 The Italian group goes off by itself and the
23 Negroes are off by themselves and there are other
24 ethnic groups. Have you any thoughts as to whether
25 this lack of communication has brought about the

1 crucial situation, and do you have any thoughts as
2 to how that might be remedied if you think it is a
3 difficulty?

4 THE WITNESS: There are two points I would like
5 to make. The first one is on the chamber of commerce.

6 MR. MEYNER: Or the interrelationship of ethnic
7 groups.

8 THE WITNESS: I want to get to both of them.
9 The first one is the chamber of commerce. Newark
10 has over 50 percent population. I don't think
11 there is any Negro businessman in the city that hires
12 over seven or eight people. Do you know any, Oliver?

13 MR. LOFTON: Not to my knowledge.

14 THE WITNESS: I don't know any.

15 If a city which is one of the industrial centers
16 of this nation which doesn't have a single business-
17 man owning a shop that has over five or six people.
18 Why, I don't know. Evidently, the Negroes haven't --

19 MR. MEYNER: Couldn't it be your Negro popu-
20 lation has expanded so quickly?

21 THE WITNESS: We have expanded.

22 MR. MEYNER: I am on this interracial for ICBO,
23 and you have a better record than southern cities
24 in regard business.

25 THE WITNESS: There is no question about it. We

1 don't have people who have developed in this field
2 to a point where they are associated with the kind
3 of businessmen that belong to the chamber of commerce.

4 On the other thing, in a group relationship,
5 my son, for instance -- I talk to my son occasionally.
6 He has got some way-out ideas. One of the things,
7 he says, "I don't know no white kids." He is going
8 to school all his life in Newark. He hasn't met in
9 the schools over five or six white children in the
10 time he spent there. He don't know anything about
11 them except what he is told and except the negative
12 things rather than the positive.

13 MR. GIBBONS: I think that is the most signi-
14 ficant thing you have said today.

15 JUDGE WACHENFELD: How old is he?

16 THE WITNESS: Seventeen. He will be eighteen
17 soon. All of the bitterness, all of the hostility,
18 all of the mistrust and all of the fault he finds
19 is on the white people. The white people is the
20 cause. He don't get up and wash his face. His
21 face is dirty because of white people. No matter
22 what the fault is, it is because of white people.

23 I think we have one white youngster on our
24 boxing team. He was an Italian youngster. His
25 father owned an ice house. He and his brother came

1 to our team. When they first came in they were
2 real hostile. They wanted to beat them, but as this
3 kid came to be known, everybody like this boy because
4 he had a nice personality. It was only on this
5 personality basis they judged him. They judged him
6 because he was the only one my son ever had any
7 close contact with, to learn, to see as a human
8 being. Because of that these youngsters have no
9 experience with knowing white people, and they
10 accept whatever others say and they just believe it.

11 I say: How can it be remedied? I don't know.

12 MR. DRISCOLL: When did your son drop out of
13 school?

14 THE WITNESS: When he was sixteen.

15 MR. DRISCOLL: What grade was he in?

16 THE WITNESS: The ninth grade.

17 MR. DRISCOLL: First year of high school?

18 THE WITNESS: He was in the ninth grade in
19 junior high school.

20 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Barringer High School is very
21 much on our minds. This is a school where there
22 is an opportunity for whites and blacks to be
23 together. Do you have any views on that type of
24 school?

25 THE WITNESS: There is no question that in my

1 own mind the thing I just said, kids going together
2 and knowing each other, the aspirations of all of
3 us are basically the same. They may differ in
4 certain things, but primarily the human personality,
5 the desire of every individual to better himself,
6 I think if we meet and knew each other's personality,
7 they would say, "This white guy is all right, but
8 this one is no good," just like this Negro is all
9 right and this one is no good. They can make
10 judgments like that, but they are not able to do
11 that. This is an ideal thing to happen.

12 Barringer concerns me for another reason this
13 morning. They have a critical matter at Barringer,
14 and in my own view it is the outgrowth of a lot
15 of things. You can't divorce three or four months
16 ago from what is happening today. You can't
17 divorce the council meeting on Wednesday last from
18 what is happening today. I think all these things
19 are interwoven. I think these things are connected
20 together and interlocked and the potentiality here
21 is really a serious thing.

22 MR. DRISCOLL: What happened last Wednesday
23 in the council meeting?

24 THE WITNESS: They met and they voted down the
25 issue on the dogs. You read the outline of what

1 happened. Fistfights outside, acrimony and bitter-
2 ness inside. There were racial remarks thrown back
3 and forth with an equally divided audience.

4 MR. DRISCOLL: In the high school?

5 THE WITNESS: No. These were grown ups.

6 These were not children. These were adults, grown
7 people, and the kind of bitterness and hatred,
8 I've never seen this kind of thing before, and I've
9 lived here all my life. I have never been fearful
10 of going anywhere in the city, but I think with the
11 kind of tense atmosphere in the city one must be
12 apprehensive.

13 MR. DRISCOLL: They had mounted, helmeted
14 policemen around the high school this morning when
15 I came in from the country.

16 THE WITNESS: Right.

17 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Mr. Jaffe has a question
18 and we have a witness waiting.

19 MR. MEYNER: How about the other ethnic groups
20 and the Negro community?

21 THE WITNESS: The thing I tried to answer in
22 terms of my son's experience, he hasn't had any
23 contact. I think far too often there are no places
24 where people can get together and learn from one
25 another.

1 MR. DRISCOLL: May I ask another question?

2 Mr. Still, early in your testimony you referred to
3 a Ford Foundation grant of \$1 million. Just for
4 clarification, to whom was that grant made?

5 THE WITNESS: That grant was made to Rutgers
6 University.

7 MR. MEYNER: But it was for what?

8 THE WITNESS: Urban study center.

9 MR. DRISCOLL: Were you referring to that
10 program as a program, and I think I quote you
11 correctly, never getting off the ground?

12 THE WITNESS: It really never did because by
13 the time we were trying to get something up there,
14 the Office of Economic Opportunity was set up. This
15 was the way to do it rather than the other way.

16 MR. DRISCOLL: Do you know whether the \$1
17 million was spent?

18 THE WITNESS: I would hope that somebody would
19 check the books of Rutgers to find out if they
20 were stealing it.

21 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Could you appear before
22 this Commission again soon? I will tell you why
23 I am asking this. There are lots of questions by
24 commissioners, but we are keeping a witness waiting
25 and I don't like to have any witness come and not

1 want to appear. If you could appear again, there is a lot
2 was very more. You have aroused a lot of interest. If you
3 we had could arrange that, we would appreciate it.

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

6 By Mr. Jaffe:

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

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

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

14 Q CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Thank you, Mr. Still, for
15 coming.

16 A Well, MR. DRISCOLL: I think we are all indebted to
17 you.

18 (Witness excused.)

19 Whereupon,
20
21 DONALD M. WENDELL
22 called as a witness, first duly sworn, testified as follows:

23 EXAMINATION

24 By Mr. Jaffe:

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