

MR. GIBBONS: I think we can proceed.

Swear in the Mayor.

MAYOR GEORGE P. HETFIELD, Sworn.

MR. GIBBONS: Do you want to present a statement or would you rather have Mr. Fortunato ask you questions?

THE WITNESS: Well, I have a statement here which I have submitted to Mr. Fortunato. I will be glad to read it.

MR. GIBBONS: Fine.

THE WITNESS: Plainfield contains six and a quarter square miles and is situated in North Central New Jersey, 24 miles southwest of New York City via United States Highway 22. This is for the information of the Senate Commission. It is a completely integrated city with a population of 49,000, of which approximately 25 to 27 percent is ~~one~~-white. It is the hub of a suburban area which includes parts of three counties, 11 different municipalities and more than 200,000 inhabitants.

It is surrounded by predominantly white communities such as North Plainfield, Dunellen, Watchung and Scotch Plains. No one is justified, in

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1 my opinion, in placing the cause of Plainfield
2 riots on unemployment, inferior schools,
3 oppressive housing or on inadequate recreational
4 facilities.

5 There is no ghetto. These factors which
6 may be critical in large cities do not exist in
7 Plainfield.

8 Further, civil riots played no part in the
9 Plainfield disturbances. According to a recent
10 local Chambers of Commerce report, there were only
11 598 cases of unemployment in the city, repre-
12 senting 2.8 percent of the total work force.
13 Skilled and unskilled jobs are constantly being
14 advertised, the unskilled position paying in
15 excess of \$2 an hour. Every effort is being made
16 to obtain employment for many of the unemployed
17 through personal appeal to industry, business and
18 commercial houses.

19 Our Community Action Committee has been
20 actively carrying on an on-the-job training program.
21 Many Negroes, however, are not equipped for either
22 skilled or unskilled labor. Hundreds of jobs
23 are available but few persons are qualified to
24 fill them.

25 Our school system has been praised by Conant,

1 former president of Harvard, in a national survey
2 and the system was recently complimented by the
3 New Jersey State Commissioner of Education.

4 We have had two low income housing projects in
5 existence for more than ten years.

6 We have now a senior citizens project under
7 consideration. We have been enforcing a rigid
8 property maintenance code under which slum
9 dwellings have been demolished and substandard
10 housing improved.

11 Plainfield has long had a competent recreation
12 commission with a current annual budget of
13 \$149,000. They schedule more than 100 programs
14 throughout the year and during the summer months
15 13 playgrounds are maintained and operated.

16 A teen center was opened in June of this
17 year. It now has 773 active members. We have had
18 an active Human Relations Commission consisting
19 of 27 members functioning efficiently for the
20 past four years.

21 In addition to the work of the Human
22 Relations Commission I personally have made a
23 practice of meeting with minority groups. However,
24 none of these groups with which I met to discuss
25 civil rights have had any apparent communication

1 with groups that sponsored or stimulated the
2 recent riots.

3 I might say the Human Relations Commission
4 has been in communication with the group that
5 stirred up the trouble. The net cost to
6 Plainfield in 1966 for public assistance and
7 relief was \$56,016.

8 However, the cost to the Union County
9 Welfare Board for Plainfield recipients totaled
10 \$1,089,615, of which \$626,000 was for aid to
11 dependent children.

12 The breakdown of that, Mr. Chairman, I have
13 given you that on those sheets. The vast majority
14 of the Negro community in Plainfield are hard-
15 working and responsible citizens. Negroes are
16 found in all income levels in the community and
17 reside in all sections of the city. Housing and
18 education are completely integrated by law and
19 in fact.

20 However, there is a segment of the Negro
21 community where unrest seems to center. It con-
22 sists of the can't or won't work, unemployed
23 or unemployable, uneducated, hoodlums, misguided
24 youth and militants. This segment of the Negro
25 community is increasing rapidly largely by reason

1 of the extremely high birth rate and because of
2 an influx from the South attracted by generous
3 welfare benefits.

4 There is a lack of stable family relation-
5 ship. The CBO and other poverty programs to
6 improve the lot of Negroes have never reached
7 these people.

8 There is no communication between this
9 group and our responsible Negro citizens. The
10 young people tend to drop out of school. Many
11 drift into a life of crime and are a fertile
12 field for Black Power organizations.

13 The demands which they make are unreasonable
14 and unrealistic and they have resisted all
15 attempts to include them as members of our
16 integrated community.

17 I believe that the press and T.V. coverage
18 played a large part in the Plainfield riots.
19 The sensational coverage of the Newark riot showed
20 persons looting stores while the police took no
21 action to halt the looting. It appealed directly
22 to the criminal or susceptible element. This in
23 turn created a mob hysteria which affected weak
24 persons who normally would be law-abiding.

25 Knowledge or belief that there is no law

1 enforcement induces and encourages riots.

2 I would like to stress this point. I
3 believe when people realize there is loose law
4 enforcement and no law enforcement, why, riots
5 is taken to be permissive and a way of life.
6 When the riot broke out in Plainfield young men
7 with criminal backgrounds became the leaders
8 in the violence and the weaker people became
9 willing participants once the looting had
10 started.

11 Concerning allegations of police brutality
12 made from time to time in the past, investigation
13 has failed to disclose any substance to them.
14 The allegations were generally from people who had
15 been constantly in trouble with the police. Every
16 complaint was thoroughly and immediately
17 investigated. There is no doubt that the Plain-
18 field riots were planned, not spontaneous. There
19 were no specific incidents to initiate the riots.
20 They were organized, precipitated and exploited
21 by a small hard core group. They were aided and
22 abetted willingly or otherwise by misguided
23 youths and believers in violence and extremism.

24 Liquor stores and bars were looted with the
25 obvious purpose of keeping the mob intoxicated

1 in order that they might be more easily led.

2 It was no coincidence that the over-all pattern of
3 fire bombing and property destruction was
4 highly selective and that the targets were
5 plainly agreed upon.

6 Certain places were selected to be hit
7 while others were spared. Councilman Judkins
8 received a report that the Friday night, July
9 14 disturbance would take place. It did.

10 On that night a group of approximately 175
11 apparently leaderless was successfully contained
12 by the police. The group was addressed by
13 Councilmen Judkins and Lattimore. The principal
14 grievance of the group was police brutality and
15 this was discussed fully.

16 Evidence that the riots were planned was
17 the discovery by the police on Friday night,
18 July 14 of a dozen or more fire bombs. A meeting
19 was held on Saturday night at the teen-age center.
20 I with Councilmen Judkins and Lattimore again
21 met with a group of young people, many of whom
22 had been present at the Friday night meeting. It
23 was evident that the hard core group was intent
24 on rioting. They refused to listen to any
25 reasoning whatsoever. The following subsequent

1 events formed a similar pattern or design common
2 in riots of other cities. The entering and
3 looting of liquor and other stores, drawing of
4 the Fire Department out to fires for the purpose
5 of bombing the fire engines, ringing in false
6 alarms, the infiltration of out-of-town partici-
7 pants, the rifle squads protecting the looters,
8 the selection of stores to be looted or destroyed,
9 the spreading of false rumors of police brutality,
10 the theft of 46 automatic carbines from a nearby
11 manufacturer, laying siege to the fire headquarters
12 to prevent the response to fire calls, the CB
13 radio messages between Muslim groups during the
14 riots and the continuous sniping.

15 I personally am convinced this pattern
16 proves that the disorders, agitation and riots
17 are all highly organized and are directed by
18 organizations or groups having a thorough knowledge
19 of the science of rioting, if not guerilla
20 warfare.

21 Plainfield has learned that there can be no
22 compromise with Law and order, that violence in
23 any form cannot be tolerated as a means of social
24 protest, that reasonable grievances should be
25 corrected, impossible demands should be refused,

1 lines of communication to all segments of the
2 people should be developed and kept open at all
3 times.

4 This is extremely difficult since responsible
5 Negro leadership is lacking. Those who attempt
6 to assume leadership are referred to as Uncle
7 Tom. No one represents the entire Negro
8 community. Constructive criticism is lacking,
9 and denunciation of government rather than
10 presenting of practical or feasible remedies
11 is a line followed by the vocal self-styled
12 leaders.

13 Then, gentlemen, I have also submitted
14 suggested or corrective measures to prevent
15 future riots. These are off-the-cuff ideas I
16 have and I don't pretend to be an expert on the
17 remedies. I will go into that now or later in
18 the questioning.

19 MR. GIBBONS: Before we go into your list
20 of recommendations I have a few questions about
21 your statement.

22 Now you indicated that each allegation of
23 police brutality had been investigated and found
24 to be unfounded. We have had a number of witnesses
25 before us who not only with respect to Plainfield

1 but with respect to all of the places where
2 there had been civil disorders have put police
3 attitudes at the head of the list of friction
4 causes.

5 Now without going into the specific charges
6 of -- I assume when you say charges of police
7 brutality that have been investigated --

8 THE WITNESS: Physical brutality. I think
9 the harassment exists on certain members. They
10 call that police brutality too.

11 MR. GIBBONS: The ones that were investi-
12 gated were specific allegations of violence by
13 police officers?

14 THE WITNESS: Physical brutality, yes.
15 There is no doubt that 1, 2 or 3 members of the
16 force are guilty of harassment or not saying the
17 right thing or saying it the wrong way which is
18 offensive to the Negro people, like one incident
19 we had where one fellow was wearing a Confederate
20 Army buckle down there. It was brought to our
21 attention and he was told to take it off. This
22 was waving the red flag, things like that.

23 MR. GIBBONS: Realizing that there is at
24 least some attitudinal problem in the police
25 department, have any steps been undertaken in

1 Plainfield to correct or ameliorate the friction
2 growing out of this attitudinal problem?

3 THE WITNESS: Let me say this: We have
4 recently in the last two or three months set up
5 something -- complaints can be made not only
6 direct to the police department or the chief of
7 police, which is provided by the police rules,
8 but we have also set up a service where complaints
9 can be filed with the Human Relations Department
10 and which ultimately get to the police board.

11 This breaks down to criticism that no one
12 is going to file a complaint down at the police
13 department itself, so we have opened up another
14 channel to process complaints.

15 Now so far as delving into and singling
16 out the ones who may be guilty of this harassment,
17 we haven't got that far yet. We have many more
18 serious problems in the police department than
19 going that far, but they are all put on notice
20 that it will not be tolerated.

21 We have also set up guidelines which I can
22 leave a copy of with you here if you wish, the
23 policeman's role in enforcing law and order and
24 guidelines for the police in using reasonable
25 force.

MR. LEUCHTER: Were they pre-riot or

post-riot?

THE WITNESS: Post-riot. This is what we

have done since.

MR. FORTUNATO: If that is an extra copy

we would like to mark it in evidence.

THE WITNESS: Yes. There are just one or

two words changed here on the original. There is

a minor changing of a word here.

MR. GIBBONS: Mark it in evidence.

(Document marked Exhibit C-48 in evidence.)

THE WITNESS: For the most part that has been

approved by the police board and whether it needs

ratification and approval of the council I don't

know but it has been also greeted by the Human

Relations Department and everyone seems to be

happy with it.

MR. GIBBONS: Is it contemplated that the

Plainfield Police Department will undertake any

kind of training program to see to it that the

new guidelines are followed enthusiastically by

them?

THE WITNESS: We contemplate an entire

reorganization of the whole police department

from every aspect.

1 MR. GIBBONS: Is this growing out of the
2 riots or growing out of other problems in addition?

3 THE WITNESS: Well, the riots emphasized
4 the condition.

5 MR. LEUCHTER: Is this an implication that
6 the police were operating with less than
7 maximum effectiveness after the riots, at the time
8 the riots were beginning?

9 THE WITNESS: It lacked dynamic leadership
10 in the chief and, of course, we have an under-
11 staffed force.

12 I believe there were 77 at the time of the
13 riots and a couple of those were cripples.

14 We have a complement of 95, I think.

15 MR. LEUCHTER: An authorized complement?

16 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. We have been very
17 diligently recruiting or trying to recruit
18 members to the force.

19 We lifted the residential requirement.
20 They can live within 5 miles of the city now.
21 We have recruiting stations and big ads in the
22 Courier, our newspaper. We are fully intent
23 to move ahead along those lines. We are taking
24 definite actions to correct the condition.

25 MR. GIBBONS: You referred in your statement

1 to a hard core group which you felt was responsi-
2 ble for starting the disorder.

3 Has that group been indentified by the
4 police?

5 THE WITNESS: Well, I must state that we
6 have had a murder, you know, in the town and
7 that has been investigated and lots of the
8 evidence that they have uncovered, in answer to
9 your question, it has not been released.

10 MR. LEUCHTER: Are you referring to
11 Patrolman Glesson?

12 THE WITNESS: Yes. We feel and it is our
13 opinion and the police opinion too that it is a
14 hard core MUSLIM group that started it. When I
15 say Muslim, why, they are a group that no one has
16 been in contact with and haven't been in touch
17 with by any of the recognized minority groups or
18 leaders.

19 Our feeling is that the inciters were within
20 this group and after reading how easy it is to
21 start a riot, why, it is no wonder how it started.

22 MR. GIBBONS: You referred to citizens band
23 radio transmission?

24 THE WITNESS: Yes.

25 MR. GIBBONS: Were these transmissions heard

1 by any public agencies? as related to us by

2 THE WITNESS: This information we delved
3 into yesterday, as a matter of fact, I heard it
4 after the riot and I passed it on to the
5 authorities but apparently no one checked into
6 it. Muhlenberg Hospital was set up during the
7 riots on an emergency basis, they set up a
8 command post and they have all types of communi-
9 cations there, one of which is the CB band radio.

10 MR. GIBBONS: Whose communication center
11 was that? was it of whatever it might be.

12 THE WITNESS: Muhlenberg Hospital.

13 MR. GIBBONS: Operated by the hospital?

14 THE WITNESS: Operated by the hospital.

15 They had to keep in touch with other hospitals
16 and I don't know the intricate set up but they
17 have to keep in communication with the police and
18 hospital and so forth and so on.

19 MR. GIBBONS: Is this part of the civil
20 defense organization?

21 THE WITNESS: It is part of the civil defense
22 organization. About 7 o'clock Sunday night, in
23 the presence of Director Ed Daly, Howard Carter,
24 president of the hospital, the secretary, Miss
25 Guthrie, and a couple of others -- there were about

1 five present and this is as related to me by
2 Mr. Daly yesterday, and I did have the information
3 as to their frequency and the technical details
4 of this CB band, but they received this talk from
5 somewhere through their CB band of talk of
6 Mosque 4 calling Mosque 14.

7 "We are moving into Plainfield." They were
8 definitely Negro voices and this went on for 10
9 or 15 minutes.

10 The next night the Mosque changed to Smash,
11 Smash 1 or Smash 15 or whatever it might be.

12 Now they did not tape Sunday night's
13 recording but they do have tape, and I have not
14 heard it yet, a Monday night recording of this.
15 We are very anxious to hear this. I passed this
16 on to the Senate Commission investigating it,
17 the staff investigators, and this was before
18 I got the details of it, and they went to a ham
19 radio bug or follower and, of course, ham radios
20 don't tune in to this citizens band at all.

21 These citizens bands, I understand the
22 transmitter and receiver you can pick up for
23 \$58 or \$100 from any Lafayette chain store and
24 without a license. They are supposed to become
25 licensed but they give you a license to fill out

1 after you get it.

2 MR. GIBBONS: Our investigators could get
3 the information then at Muhlenberg Hospital?

4 THE WITNESS: Yes, I don't want to create
5 a flood on the Muhlenberg Hospital. I made
6 arrangements for Mr. Walsh of the Senate Com-
7 mission to call me when he wants to go there.

8 In other words, there is only one tape
9 and there are four investigating commissions going
10 on now. I don't want everyone breaking down the
11 hospital routine for information when maybe we
12 could get one tape or maybe I could call you
13 when this meeting is set up and we can hear this
14 tape together because it is a big imposition on
15 these four investigating bodies going around
16 demanding this and demanding that.

17 Now this is a definite tie-in I think of
18 the Muslim group.

19
20 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

21 Q Can you tell us what commissions have talked
22 to you?

23 A The Presidential, the Senate, The Governor's and
24 now the FBA, the Police Benevolent Association. I was with
25 them last night, four of them. Human Relations tried to start

1 up an investigating commission and I stopped them by saying
2 they had no power to do so.

3 It seems everyone wants to get in the act in this
4 investigation.

5 MR. LEUCHTER: Mayor, when was this
6 information from the hospital brought to you?
7 Is it just recently?

8 THE WITNESS: Shortly after the riots,
9 by Howard Carter, the President. I mentioned it
10 different times but no one seemed to take it up
11 to investigate it or they took it for common
12 knowledge that they are walking around with
13 walkie-talkies in Plainfield. I did not see it.
14 Lots of these things, and for the record too,
15 I have taken an oath and many things I can say of
16 personal knowledge that I have seen and many
17 things as an opinion I say and many things are
18 hearsay. I trust what I say will be taken in
19 that spirit.

20 I am trying to be informal here.

21 Now we go back to when you say what group
22 started this and as I say, my information comes
23 from the police too and they will undoubtedly
24 tell you it is a hard core of 8 or 10 Muslim
25 followers there. They get the lowest economic

1 type of Negroes in the following and it is very
2 easy to whip up a mob or organize a mob if you
3 have a well-organized core that know what they
4 are doing, whether it is a riot or demonstration
5 or any other thing.

6 MR. GIBBONS: I have no further questions
7 about your statement.

8 Do any of the other Commissioners have
9 any questions?

10 MR. LAUCHTER: I had only the one question.

11 There seemed to be a conflict which was
12 confusing to me, Mayor.

13 At one point I think you said to us that
14 on the first night of the violence there was a
15 crowd of approximately 175 people whom you termed
16 apparently leaderless. Yet elsewhere in your state-
17 ment you said that there was planning, organization
18 and direction.

19 Of course, my question therefore was this:
20 Can a planned, organized and directed riot be
21 leaderless?

22 THE WITNESS: The only thing I can refer you
23 to, I can refer you to this for an understanding
24 of the actions of a mob "collective behavior" and
25 the information that I received is that a mob

1 can be started, a leader can start a mob but
2 can withdraw from its leadership when it gains
3 momentum.

4 MR. LEUCHTER: You said it was not only
5 planned but it was organized and directed.

6 THE WITNESS: Yes, it is directed but not
7 continuously. A leader can incite, or let's say
8 an instigator or an inciter can start up, can
9 start up, can direct and get it moving and then
10 he can withdraw very easily and sometimes --
11 this was Friday night I am talking about now, not
12 Saturday night or Sunday night because that's
13 when more definite leadership came in but on
14 Friday night the core was there but the mob was
15 sort of not an angry mob that night. This was
16 Friday night. No liquor stores were broken into.
17 This was sort of a rumble, you might say. They
18 gathered at the housing project and one mob
19 gathered at the White Towers on the west end,
20 West Front Street, and they merged down here by
21 the housing project and then they meandered down
22 Front street to Watchung Avenue and back again.
23
24 Now this crowd seemed to be -- well, they
25 didn't know what they were headed for and they
only broke one or two windows and the police kept

1 their distance and gave no cause for any
2 incident and the police sort of coached them
3 back to the housing project again.

4 So it was an uneventful mob or rumble that
5 night. Then at the housing project the Negro
6 councilmen, Lattimore and Judkins, spoke to them
7 down to two or three or four o'clock in the
8 morning with a promise that they wouldn't commit
9 any acts of violence until they spoke to them
10 again at the teen center on the following
11 Saturday night at six or seven o'clock.

12 In other words, on the surface it appeared
13 that they lacked definite leadership on the
14 rumble. I claim that there was definite inciters
15 or starters of this. The leader did not come
16 to the front on Friday night or the leaders.

17 The action of the mob, the leadership also
18 changed from one to the other but the smart ones
19 can stay in the background. I think this happened
20 here.

21 I have no written confession to this effect
22 but that's my deduction.

23 MR. GOLDMAN: I would like to get into this
24 aspect a little bit of the leadership versus the
25 mob. It seems to me that if you have no sub-

1 stantial element that is interested in getting
2 something changed or getting something done in
3 some area or other, some crazy guy can come
4 along or eight or ten of them can come along and
5 scream their head off or try to organize and
6 nothing much will happen.

7 In a good suburban neighborhood they would
8 just be forgotten about and not listened to.

9 THE WITNESS: Right.

10 MR. GOLDMAN: So my question is, if they
11 have any success in getting together a mob, as
12 you call it, or a large group of people, there
13 must be some reason why these people gathered or
14 why they listened to anybody and there must also
15 be some reason why the large majority which does
16 not take part in the thing at all, doesn't yield
17 up some leadership that would counter this or
18 that would take the sting out of it.

19 Now my question is this: What in your
20 estimation is it that makes it possible, assuming
21 that there is professional or malicious leadership
22 instigation, what makes it possible for them to
23 get as large and damaging a group of people
24 together as got together in Plainfield to do
25 what they did?

1 THE WITNESS: Well, you have built-up
2 tensions. In other words, you had many con-
3 tributing factors. You had the T.V. and the press,
4 particularly the T.V. You had the Newark
5 riot started on Wednesday and that was very close
6 to home. You had this very close feeling of
7 proximity.

8 You also had too the inciters, evidence
9 of inciters going around stirring up the people,
10 particularly -- of course, the tension is always
11 there, black, white and police brutality.

12 This talk has been going on for some time
13 probably and the various grievances, economic
14 complaints or lack of jobs or also the hoodlums
15 element that can't get jobs or won't work in
16 this particular neighborhood area and they are
17 hanging on the streets as bystanders and what-
18 not and it is very easy to whip up a gathering
19 of 50 or 60 and they draw on other groups that
20 want to join.

21 Of course, the racial tension and the black
22 and white tension is always there as it is in
23 every city, if we can call it tension.

24 You can stir up passions with a few good
25 inciters. You can take a wedding party, for

1 instance, and cause some incident and create
 2 something like that and turn a party of joy
 3 into a party of hate and destruction.

4 Mob psychology is just that way.

5 MR. GOLDMAN: You speak about tension
 6 that is always there. What I am trying to get at
 7 is this, what are the sources?

8 THE WITNESS: It is always there or can be
 9 built up to a maximum.

10 MR. GOLDMAN: What are the sources of
 11 that tension? You say there is talk of police
 12 brutality, there are people who don't want to
 13 work, et cetera.

14 Would you narrow this down to what the
 15 sources of legitimate tension are or not legiti-
 16 mate but what the sources of tension are, what
 17 are the problems of Plainfield, that if they
 18 were solved would make any inciter less successful?

19 THE WITNESS: Can I tell you what the group
 20 said? That would be more evidential than anything
 21 else, wouldn't it? It is not what we guess.

22 MR. GOLDMAN: I would really be more
 23 interested in your opinion as the Mayor of what
 24 the problems of your city are.

25 THE WITNESS: As I say, they had no beef

1 about education or housing or unemployment.

2 This was not their complaint. Maybe those who
3 are out of work or didn't want to work, sometimes
4 I call this a riot or a revolt for economic
5 equality.

6 I think this is a fundamental basis of it.
7 They want swimming pools, they want air con-
8 ditioners, little minor things were stirred up.

9 Like a group in the housing project wanted
10 the right to install air conditioners. They
11 wanted more time to stay in or not to pay rent or
12 a default period or a grace period in paying rent.
13 Little things can be magnified. They wanted an
14 investigation of the Housing Authority.

15 Their charge of police brutality, maybe it
16 is harassment, they were brought and nothing
17 specific but maybe they meant more harassment
18 than anything else and I think probably that is
19 so. They didn't like to be pushed around. There is
20 always a resentment there.

21 Swimming pools are another thing. Of course,
22 some of these complaints were surface complaints.
23 I think one of them they brought up at the teen
24 center that night was the track system, the
25 classification in the school causing many dropouts.

1 I don't recall hearing that but they said they
2 did make that complaint.

3 The big thing that night was a repetition
4 of police brutality and also the discrimination
5 of the press, that the press weren't reporting
6 things right and that no one would listen to
7 them at City Hall.

8 I am down at the office half past seven,
9 8 o'clock every morning for two or three hours
10 and I certainly made it clear that Saturday
11 night that my door is always open and every Negro
12 group that had anything to do with me knows it
13 is open.

14 We started a big teen-age center there right
15 in the heart with 7 or 8 hundred membership.

16 So you say what is the basic reason of this
17 group? I think basically it is a cry or a want
18 for economic equality of some kind. They want to
19 live like you are living.

20 MR. GOLDMAN: I am more interested in seeing
21 how you as the Mayor view the problems of the
22 city.

23 MR. GIBBONS: The Mayor has a bunch of
24 recommendations that we haven't gotten to yet and
25 perhaps if Mr. Fortunate proceeds with his questions,

1 when we got into them then what you are looking
2 can see that the issue is covered and with a complaint.
3 for may be covered.

4 THE WITNESS: We are covering the waterfront
5 here, gentlemen, and if I jump around you may get
6 a hodgepodge picture of the thing.

7 MR. FORTUNATO: Much of it has been covered
8 by the statement for which we thank you.

9 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

10 Q What is the nature of the job of Mayor in
11 Plainfield?

12 A Well, in Plainfield we have an archaic form of
13 government called the weak mayor-strong council type that
14 has been in effect since 1859 and the only inducement that
15 I became a candidate for Mayor was to change the form of
16 government. I made that in the platform.

17 Since then we have a charter revision or charter
18 study committee about to make a report and the report is
19 in the hands of Bill Miller of Princeton to come up with a
20 strong form of government.

21 However, under the present setup the Mayor has very
22 little, of any, powers. We take the blame for everything that
23 is wrong but there is very little we can do about it as an
24 individual.

25 For instance, the charter powers are that I am to see

1 that the laws are enforced. Well, I don't know how any citizen
2 can see that the laws are enforced and make a complaint.

3 I am also to sign permits, sign licenses. I am to
4 appoint the members of the board of education, which is a
5 strong power, and make certain other appointments with con-
6 firmation of the council.

7 I have a veto power which can be overruled by a majority
8 of the council.

9 MR. LEUCHTER: A plain majority?

10 THE WITNESS: Yes.

11 MR. FORTUNATO: Is it a six-member
12 council?

13 THE WITNESS: Eleven, two from each ward,
14 four wards and two at large.

15 The council is divided up into committees
16 and they are burdened down not only with the
17 policy-making and the legislation but also with
18 the administrative details of running the city.

19 MR. LEUCHTER: You do not appoint department
20 heads then?

21 THE WITNESS: I do not appoint department
22 heads. Only one I appoint and that is with the
23 confirmation of the council and that is the city
24 engineer. The police and fire are all under
25 Civil Service. Now the police board, the police

1 department is headed by the Police Committee and
2 the police board which is the Mayor and the
3 President of the Council and maybe five or six
4 councilmanic members. That is the police board.

5 A councilman is chairman of the police
6 board. I am not. The only real power I have and
7 to quote the charter, is that in case of riot or
8 tumultuous assembly, The Mayor takes charge of
9 the police department, which I did Sunday about
10 2 o'clock when I tried to get in touch with the
11 Governor to get help.

12 MR. FORTUNATO: What is the pay of the
13 Mayor's office?

14 THE WITNESS: \$300 a year, no change in 100
15 years.

16 Q What is your term of office?

17 A Two years.

18 Q What hours do you spend on the job, the approxi-
19 mate amount?

20 A About half past 7 to 8 to 10 or 10:30 every
21 morning. I haven't missed a morning. Then at nighttime, any-
22 wheres from 7 or half past 7 to 11 or 12 o'clock at night.

23 Q And sometimes on Saturdays and Sundays?

24 A Saturdays and Sundays, yes. Let's say I have only
25 played a couple of games of golf the whole year.

1 Q You are a practicing lawyer of New Jersey?

2 A Yes, I am supposed to make a living. I did
3 have a remunerative practice at one point.

4 MR. LEUCHTER: Do you appoint the Housing
5 Authority or does the council?

6 THE WITNESS: The council does. The
7 council makes many appointments. There are very
8 few appointments the mayor makes. I appoint the
9 Human Relations Commission. After they are
10 appointed I have no control over them or
11 direction.

12 There is another serious thing too. This
13 is then subject to Civil Service and my policy is
14 that I am not going to appoint any head or
15 director of the Human Relations Commission that
16 is subject to Civil Service because it is so
17 sensitive a position.

18 If you get a rotten egg in there you can't
19 move him out and you are licked.

20 MR. LEUCHTER: Are you really telling us
21 therefore that Plainfield's government is very
22 similar to the structure of a riot, that they are
23 both leaderless in practicality?

24 THE WITNESS: Well, yes. Now let's say
25 90% of the things I do I have no authority to do.

1 I bluff by yelling or they think I have the
2 power. Even the councilmen sometimes think I do
3 but I don't.

4 Sometimes when an important thing is up I
5 yell or I get the press behind me or I come out
6 strong and they follow.

7 Certain things I just have to take six
8 votes on that council to get something done or to
9 take action. They have to act as a unit. I have
10 no assistant. I have a secretary and that is
11 all.

12 I don't have any public relations man or
13 press agent or someone interviewing these people
14 all day long. Let me tell you, the complaints
15 come in.

16 They know I am down there at the office at
17 eight o'clock or half past seven every morning and
18 these phone calls come in right then and there.
19 If you have ever been mayor you know you get all
20 kind's of complaints that probably should be
21 looked after.

22 Q Do I understand correctly that one of the
23 commissions -- I believe the Senate Commission -- may be
24 zeroing in on Plainfield as a city to give more detailed
25 study than others?

1 A I was informed, whether it was through the press
2 or through members of the investigating staff of the Senate
3 Commission, that Plainfield was picked out as one of the
4 cities as being unique that they wanted to go into thoroughly,
5 unique probably because of its small size and unique because
6 they didn't have these critical conditions that big cities
7 did have such as slums or housing and so forth and so on.

8 Q Did you have any control in terms of the search?
9 Were you consulted as to the search that took place in
10 Plainfield?

11 A No.

12 Q I think I would like to read your suggested
13 corrective measures to prevent future riots. I will have it
14 marked and I will read it. Where you think it needs
15 elaboration perhaps you could give it to us.

16 A It is in outline form.

17 Q We understand that to be the case and I think we
18 can go into some of it.

19 Under the heading of "A: Immediate", you have "Increase
20 local, state and federal police protection and efficiency.

21 "(2) Increase salaries of local police (aid from
22 state or federal government".

23 Is any elaboration needed?

24 A No. I was encouraged by Senator Parskian, I
25 think it was, but I guess he was defeated and he was very

1 strong for the state assuming half of the expense of the
2 police department or police protection for cities that were
3 troubled with these riots.

4 MR. LEUCHTER: What you are telling us
5 then, are you not, is that the tax picture is
6 such, the local real estate tax picture is such
7 that Plainfield municipally cannot afford to do
8 much of an increase of police salaries?

9 THE WITNESS: Yes. Right on that point,
10 we jacked up the pay of our police \$500 last
11 year so that now the starting pay is \$6,000 and
12 they can work up to \$7,600.

13 Now we are thinking about a tentative revis-
14 ion for that this year of around \$7,200 starting
15 and working up to \$9,200.

16 The police are after \$10,000. The question
17 is whether or not we can afford it and of course,
18 the firemen want the same treatment. The question
19 is that we can't afford the same treatment or to
20 jack up everybody like this.

21 We have to increase this through. When you
22 are there with a riot going on you are just so
23 helpless, you have to have manpower. Other-
24 wise any well-organized guerilla group or otherwise
25 can take over control of your whole city. It is

1 a helpless feeling if you don't have enough staff
2 for protection.

3 This is only to protect yourself. You should
4 have a much stronger force if you are geared up
5 to break up the riots before it starts, in which
6 strong action should be taken right at the
7 inception.

8 MR. GIBBONS: On your Recommendation 1A,
9 Mayor, there is a report in the press this morning
10 that the International Association of Chiefs of
11 Police came out against the proposed federal
12 statute for a broader role for the federal govern-
13 ment in training facilities and in financing that
14 training.

15 THE WITNESS: If the federal aid is going
16 to have a lot of strings attached to it you
17 might as well forget about it. That goes for
18 the state too.

19 If there are going to be a lot of strings
20 and restrictions of how to spend the money, taking
21 it away from local judgment, I think it is a
22 waste of money.

23 BY MR. JAFFE:

24 Q How would you raise additional state funds?

25 A You would divert a little bit of that sales tax

1 money.

2 MR. LEUCHTER: From the schools to the
3 police?

4 THE WITNESS: From let's say the state
5 coffers. We don't get it all from the school
6 either. That sales tax doesn't come to the
7 school. They cut down the school appropriation
8 of the sales tax too.

9 I do say that the local taxpayer can't
10 take any more and particularly with the fact that
11 you have to realize this, while I am on the
12 subject, that with this school busing situation
13 Plainfield is losing its white residents.

14 We have more houses for sale. They want to
15 move out. They don't want this trouble and they
16 don't want the high taxes particularly when they
17 have children.

18 They are fed up with this busing situation.
19 Now this is killing our town. The law better be
20 changed some way because we are going downhill
21 fast as far as losing good citizens.

22 MR. LEUCHTER: Can you amplify this for us,
23 Mayor? Is it that they have an antipathy to
24 school buses?

25 THE WITNESS: Yes.

1 MR. LEUCHTER: They just don't like their
2 children to ride to school? They prefer them
3 to walk to school?

4 THE WITNESS: Well, they just don't like
5 going two or three miles away from the nearest
6 school or school that they could go to and going
7 to all parts of town.

8 MR. LEUCHTER: It is cross-busing?

9 THE WITNESS: Yes.

10 MR. LEUCHTER: It is not the school buses
11 they are opposed to?

12 THE WITNESS: They don't like the idea of
13 busing. In other words, they like the neighbor-
14 hood concept.

15 They don't mind integration, they don't
16 mind any Negro that wants to come into their
17 area, whether it is voluntary or whatnot -- let
18 them go to whatever school they want to -- but
19 this compulsory school busing they object to.

20 The people with families are not putting
21 up with it. People that can send their kids to
22 private schools probably will remain, but we have
23 more homes for sale in Plainfield, it certainly
24 is scary.

25 MR. GOLDMAN: Don't these people who send

1 their kids to private schools send them often at
2 long distances by bus?

3 THE WITNESS: : Not particularly. Right
4 within the city we have Wardlaw Schools right
5 within town and they go to Pinghy too.

6 MR. GOLDMAN: It is not the question of
7 busing or distance so much, is it?

8 THE WITNESS: They usually send their kids
9 to private school when they are grown up more.
10 I am talking about people with large families at
11 tender ages and whatnot.

12 MR. LEUCHTER: Are taxes substantially
13 lower in surrounding municipalities?

14 THE WITNESS: Much lower.

15 MR. GIBBONS: I think we ought to get on
16 with these recommendations.

17
18 BY MR. FORTUNATO:

19 Q Under A, 1(b), "Use fire department when and
20 where feasible for police duty."

21 How about that one?

22 A That is a radical or desperate measure to be
23 taken but if we have to do it I recommend it. Now I think
24 Clifton has undergone a study of this and I think an article
25 was written in the Reader's Digest some months ago of

1 Milwaukee or some Midwest town.

2 As I say, we want manpower, a display of manpower and
3 if we have to put the police and firemen to work, if it is
4 feasible, I am all for it.

5 Whether it is feasible I don't know. I put the
6 question as a possibility for thought.

7 Q "(c) Increase police reserve of civilian
8 defense."

9 A MR. GIBBONS: Was any use made of the
10 and let me civilian police reserves?

11 THE WITNESS: Yes, to the fullest extent.

12 We have a staff of 27 and maybe 22 responded.

13 Of that 22 maybe 12 were authorized or empowered
14 to have pistol permits. They did yeoman duty
15 in directing traffic and going around with
16 policemen on different tours and what not, a very
17 loyal dedicated bunch.

18 MR. GIBBONS: Were they used to replace
19 the police in services where the police were
20 moved out?

21 THE WITNESS: Yes, non-critical areas
22 like direction of traffic or diverting traffic
23 out of town, they could be used for that and you
24 need a lot of men, particularly when your place
25 is hit with a riot, to keep these curiosity-

1 about and seekers from pouring into town.

2 and you are. We were trying to beef that up to 100, It

3 I am is now 45 or 47. We are trying to make it to

4 the way 100 or 150, It is 11 for the police and they can't

5 quality, so. This I recommend for any town. On a

6 it is the wartime basis they do have this built up to 150.

7 police. There is no reason why they shouldn't do it now.

8 Q "(d) Increase State Police force."

9 A On the State Police you have only 1,100 or 1,200
10 and let me tell you, they are spread pretty thin during a
11 riot. What scares me is that they are spread pretty thin
12 with riots happening in Newark and Plainfield and, of course,
13 they had, as you know, scares and worries in other parts too
14 but when real riots hit four or five cities at a time in this
15 state and you only have 1,200 State Police when you have to
16 call first to get the local situation evaluated before you
17 get into the National Guard, then I think you better up your
18 State Police force so they can cover the state.

19 Q "(e) Induce recruitment by draft exemption
20 and lower age limit for police."

21 A These may be radical ideas and I think Mayor
22 Lindsay advocated draft exemption at one time, but you have
23 to do something and even though it is desperate and you might
24 say unorthodox, you have to increase the police force because
25 if you don't have this law and order that you are talking

1 about and enforcement and a display of strength, you are lost
2 and you are going to have these riots.

3 I say lower the age limit because they take them in
4 the army at 18 and now it is 21 for the police and they can't
5 qualify, so you would have that age problem there. I think
6 it is just as worthy and noble a thought to serve on the
7 police force as it is to serve your country.

8 Q "(f) Develop mobile anti-riot units in State
9 Police, National Guard and federal troops."

10 A Well, I feel that when you need help you need
11 it in a hurry and we didn't get it in a hurry in Plainfield.
12 I'll tell you that. This is a very important point. If you
13 want me to go into that I will.

14 Q Go into it to this extent: When did you first
15 request help from State Police and when did you get it,
16 do you recall that?

17 A Between 2 and 2:30 Sunday afternoon. Now I had
18 a hard time making a telephone connection. We were given
19 two or three numbers to call in Newark and when we did hit
20 them they said "Call back" or "We will call you back" and
21 no call came back and maybe I hit a connection with Sills
22 about 3, or that is my recollection.

23 I was trying to get the Governor because I knew at
24 that time the increase of trouble from noontime on, it was
25 increasing in a crescendo there and I knew if this was day

1 time, Lord knows what would happen at night time and it
2 didn't take any military expert to figure that out.

3 This is when I told the chief to move aside, that I
4 was going to get in touch with the Governor. The nearest to
5 the Governor I got was Sills and he was afraid, he told me
6 he was afraid and he hesitated to send out help because he
7 thought Plainfield was a decoy.

8 That's the word he used, that it was a decoy to
9 distract, that they were waiting for it to hit Newark again
10 and they were stirring up a little trouble in Plainfield to
11 distract Newark.

12 Well, you know my reaction to that. Now they promised
13 me 26 State Troopers out here and they didn't come out and
14 this was maybe at three.

15 I don't know because time is a bad element. I don't
16 know what time they finally got up. The telephone thing of
17 call somebody else and call this and that and try to make
18 my connections in Newark to get help was ludicrous.

19 The State Police had to come out first. I yelled for
20 National Guard troops because Saturday night we had a
21 standby or we were told we had a standby of 300 troops in
22 Westfield somewhere.

23 We never called upon them. We didn't need them.
24 Where these troops were on Sunday night I don't know. They
25 disappeared. I know as mayor in evaluating the thing that we

1 needed more than state troopers.

2 We needed a mass display of force because our business
3 area was unprotected and we had no force to protect the business
4 area. This was kept untouched and they hadn't started in that
5 area.

6 So I think the state troopers showed up about 6:30,
7 7, and then without the top man. I wanted him to go out and
8 evaluate the situation so he could call in the National
9 Guard, but he couldn't do it.

10 He had to wait for the top man to come in. Thenames
11 have escaped me now. The top man came in about three-quarters
12 of an hour after the troops came in. He was intent on setting
13 up the command post and he sent the original fellow that came
14 in to evaluate it and he came back and he said "Sure, you
15 better get the National Guard in here."

16 Now there will be a conflict of timing of Kelly and
17 Sills. I think Sills said that he was first called or he
18 first received any call at around 6 o'clock or 6:30. Kelly
19 says he was notified at 6 o'clock or 6:30.

20 Now this does not make sense. The Governor in his
21 proclamation admits to four o'clock.

22 MR. GIBBONS: Mayor, I think in Mr. Sills'
23 testimony before us he acknowledged receiving
24 a call in the afternoon.

25 Isn't that your recollection?

1 MR. LEUCHTER: Yes.

2 THE WITNESS: He did?

3 MR. LEUCHTER: Yes.

4 THE WITNESS: Well, that is contrary to a
5 report that came back to me. I am a little bit
6 emotional on this subject because the reports
7 that I have received were to the contrary.

8 MR. GIBBONS: His chronology is consistent
9 with yours.

10 THE WITNESS: I am very happy to hear it
11 because up to now the reports have been to the
12 contrary and this is from the State Police and
13 all of the reports too and also from the Senate
14 Commission.

15 So I wish they would get together on time.
16 I have even had Colonel Kelly say I was stretching
17 the truth when I said some of these things at
18 a meeting.

19 I don't do it to do anybody harm. I am
20 just trying to do good here to show you people
21 that the time lag, if it could be shortened we
22 would probably prevent the fiasco that went on
23 in Plainfield on Sunday night and if we could
24 have showed a display of strength there Sunday
25 afternoon during the daytime we would have pre-

vented many things, the theft of the guns and the guns being distributed and the murder and a few other things because this crescendo of drinking and rioting goes on and on and the mobs go on and there is no stopping to it.

We didn't put a force of State Police or troopers until midnight and that is a big time lag.

Q "Infiltrate small Negro groups advocating violence with intelligence."

Well, I think that is self-explanatory.

A Yes.

Q "(h) Improve police-community relations".

I think you have indicated to us already what the need for that is and what steps you have taken.

A Yes. That covers a wide range.

MR. GIBBONS: That was covered in Exhibit C-48.

Q "(i) Establish spheres of authority, local, state and federal."

A You could put "county" after "local" so it would be local, county, state and federal.

Q Could you in a few words tell us about that?

A This I think is very important. I don't want to repeat what you know but I am just giving you my impression.

1 There is confusion not just in Plainfield with me and I have
2 talked to other mayors and they are in a fog too about who's
3 who and what's what and who they turn to.

4 My authority under the charter is that I am to take
5 over charge of the police in time of riot or tumultuous
6 assembly. Well, I immediately called up the Governor or as
7 close as I could get to the Governor and said we wanted help.

8 Now when help came in I assume that the State Police
9 were in charge or there had to be one leader or one general
10 in charge. Then we had Koplowitz, the county prosecutor.
11 Now by judicial decision or by statute, I don't know, but he
12 is supposed to be the chief law enforcement officer of the
13 county.

14 MR. GIBBONS: It is a judicial decision,
15 State vs. Winne.

16 THE WITNESS: There is some confusion
17 there and some mayors eventhink the sheriff
18 comes into play. There is confusion there.
19 Well, then when the state comes on the show we
20 have in Plainfield under the Governor, we have
21 Yivissker, we had Sills and Kelly and then we
22 had Governor Hughes over the three of them and
23 it was a confused picture of who talked to the
24 Governor last and who was giving what order to
25 whom and this created a lot of confusion. You

1 know that and I don't want to go into those
 2 details about the search, the revocation of
 3 orders, the threatened resignation of the local
 4 police because they were pulled off the search
 5 and Ylvisaker was revoking the orders of pro-
 6 cedure in the name of the Governor and they were
 7 called back to take the Plainfield police off
 8 and they didn't trust the Plainfield police going
 9 into the riot area to look for the guns.

10 I assume you have that information. When
 11 the police came back from this incomplete
 12 search the men were up in a high pitch and they
 13 wanted to walk out because they didn't know who
 14 was leading who.

15 They didn't know who was giving orders.

16 As a result of that protest I immediately called
 17 Governor Hughes and asked him or requested him
 18 to please withdraw Attorney General Sills and
 19 Ylvisaker out of the town or out of the police
 20 headquarters because the police were only willing
 21 to serve or follow one leader and that was
 22 Colonel Kelly.

23 So from then on we had one leader and
 24 things went on very smoothly to completion.

25 This was confusion, gentlemen, and I say this

1 meaning no harm to anyone.

2 I like Dick Hughes. He is a good friend
3 of mine and so is Sills and so is Ylvisaker.
4 They are high type men.

5 I just say that confusion reigned and if
6 they are frank or as frank as I am I think they
7 will admit that we didn't have a clear-cut line
8 of authority.

9 It raised the devil with our police force.

10 Q Still under "A, Immediate", now we have this:

11 "2. Formulate guidelines for restraint of mass
12 media",
13 and under that,

14 "(a) Control inflammatory and riot-inciting speech
15 and T.V. Flashes. Free speech must yield to
16 society's right to protect itself from threatened
17 or real riot and rebellion. (Example: Representative
18 Cramer's proposal, Interstate Communications Bill
19 and British Press Relations Act)."

20 Do you want to go into that more deeply?

21 MR. GOLDMAN: That raises very serious
22 issues.

23 THE WITNESS: You know what I have in
24 mind. I think something definitive should be
25 done because there is no question in my mind

1 that this is a very serious problem and I just
2 hope the statesmen have some gumption to do
3 something about it or the press has some
4 intelligence to set up their own police force.

5 May I make one observation which is very
6 impressive? We had all through the country the
7 flashing of television in every home in the
8 country which showed that there was a breakdown
9 in law enforcement.

10 I think you will all agree that we had
11 these flashes that showed looting and nothing
12 being done about it and it was almost as though
13 riot was a way of life.

14 The thing that happens is that it
15 illustrates what can happen when there is a
16 feeling of no law enforcement to suppress them.
17 That is brought out, in my opinion, by the
18 police strike in 1919 in Boston where the police
19 went off on strike and word got around that
20 there was no law enforcement and hoodlums started
21 in and before you know it, ordinary law-abiding
22 citizens were joining in the act of looting, of
23 robbing and raping and throwing the whole town
24 into one tumultuous riot.

25 This is all because of the feeling that

1 I think there is going to be no punishment, that it is
2 about, an accepted way of life, that nothing will happen
3 if they do riot or act like a mob.

4 Q "(A) I think a parallel can be drawn to this
5 to be because these fellows wouldn't riot if they knew

6 "(B) there was going to be a payoff day or enforcement
7 sense of law and order or some retaliation or some

8 "(C) punishment for this act. be carried out
9 controlled You've got to have it and this is why I am

10 then so hepped up upon increasing the police force
11 "(1) and showing a display of force around.

12 Q "(b) Media should police itself to discourage
13 riots and not promote them."

14 Under that "(1) More accurate and less inflammatory
15 headlines are needed"

16 "and under "B, 2, "Authentic and phony Negro leaders
17 should be distinguished by media."

18 A I believe they are all self-explanatory.

19 Q "(3) Advance publicity should not be given
20 to professional bigots and hate-mongers of all races.
21 Papers can and do create the Frankenstein such as
22 Rapp Brown and Carmichael.

23 "(4) Avoid unnecessary use of Negro and white."

24 Now again, still under "A, Immediate", this is

25 Number 3, "Foster respect for law, more rigid enforcement."

1 I think some of these things we have been talking
2 about.

3 A Yes.

4 Q "(A) Courts should consider society's rights
5 to be protected over the rights of the individual.

6 "(B) Educational campaigns should be conducted in
7 schools.

8 "(C) Police harassment should be curbed and
9 controlled."

10 Then under "B, Long Term Measures" you have:

11 "(1) Discourage the continuance of migration of
12 Southern Negro to northern cities."

13 "(a) Provide inducement to remain in rural South.

14 "(b) Restrict welfare and ADC relief in Newark.

15 Then you have:

16 "Establish with federal and state aid mass child day
17 centers that will enable fatherless children to get
18 a fair start in life.

19 That was B,2.

20 Then B,3:

21 "Promote and encourage birth control to prevent
22 further illegitimacy".

23 and under (b):

24 (4) Reestablish on massive scale CCC Camps for
25 unemployed and functional illiterates."

1 MR. GIBBONS: Mayor, do you want to enlarge
2 on any of these recommendations?

3 THE WITNESS: No. I haven't gone into
4 great depth on them but I would like to refer you
5 to this new book out which is called "Race And
6 The News Media".

7 MR. GIBBONS: By whom?

8 THE WITNESS: It is edited by Fisher and
9 Lowenstein.

10 It is a record of a conference of news-
11 papermen held at Columbia, Missouri in 1965 and
12 it is on this very same subject. They are
13 conscious of it. Here they admit it and show
14 you what remedies are and what they should do
15 and it is very critical.

16 Either they should police themselves or
17 they have to be subjected to some kind of
18 guidelines promulgated by law because it is a
19 very serious thing, I think, about how this
20 distortion of the truth gets back and no one
21 has the guts enough to stop them and particularly
22 so when you have a monopoly of the press all
23 throughout the country or a newspaper being
24 controlled by very few chains.

25 MR. GIBBONS: I think we already have a

1 copy of that map to which you have been making
2 reference, do we not?

3 THE WITNESS: One is the riot area and one
4 is what we call a depressed area which we are
5 using for our model cities and some economic
6 factors on that.

7 I didn't know whether you wanted to go into
8 that as to a comparison of where we had the
9 trouble.

10 MR. GIBBONS: Are they extra copies?

11 THE WITNESS: No, they are not. I don't
12 know what I gave you.

13 MR. GIBBONS: We do have a map showing the
14 riot area, I know.

15 THE WITNESS: This is my only copy of
16 this and, as I say, I don't know what value
17 it is.

18 MR. GIBBONS: If our staff are interested
19 in the model cities application, will they be
20 able to get that information from your office?

21 THE WITNESS: Yes. I have some statistics
22 on the inhabitants of this area which is our
23 target area which would show you the influx of
24 the South moving in, Southern Negroes moving
25 in and the problem of illiteracy and so forth

1 and so on.

2 It is quite a breakdown compiled by our
3 planning department.

4 MR. GIBBONS: Instead of bothering you
5 then perhaps they could approach the planning
6 department directly.

7 THE WITNESS: Or I could have them make
8 up another set and send it to you. It has
9 some interesting statistics there. I have no
10 idea of what depth you wanted to probe these
11 things.

12 MR. GIBBONS: Do any of the Commission
13 members have any other questions?

14 MR. LEUCHTER: Yes.

15 Mayor, what response have you had to the
16 recruitment drive for the police force? Number
17 1, has there been any Negro response at a
18 starting salary of \$7,200 a year?

19 THE WITNESS: Well, we haven't published
20 this. This is fresh off the thing and it hasn't
21 been made public.

22 MR. LEUCHTER: What is the published
23 salary?

24 THE WITNESS: \$6,000 to \$7,600.

25 MR. LEUCHTER: And you have ads in the

1 papers on this?

2 THE WITNESS: Yes.

3 MR. LEUCHTER: No Negro response?

4 THE WITNESS: We have Negro response but
5 none of them seem to qualify at all. Of course,
6 they are subject to Civil Service and none of
7 them come anywhere near qualifying.

8 Of course, we may have perhaps 15 or 20
9 but maybe only 8 of them will pass the exams.

10 MR. LEUCHTER: They haven't taken the
11 exams yet?

12 THE WITNESS: We have had them take as
13 many exams as are given and we have them
14 periodically.

15 MR. LEUCHTER: Are you saying now that you
16 have 15 or 20 applicants?

17 THE WITNESS: They are just taking the
18 exams.

19 MR. LEUCHTER: How many Negroes took these
20 recent exams?

21 THE WITNESS: Maybe eight out of the
22 twenty. I don't know. I couldn't accurately
23 answer that now but we do encourage it. We set
24 up recruitment shops and posts and things like
25 that.

1 MR. LEUCHTER: Recruitment centers?

2 THE WITNESS: Yes.

3 MR. LEUCHTER: Any in the Negro neighbor-
4 hood?

5 THE WITNESS: Yes. We opened up in the
6 empty stores of the downtown area away from the
7 police headquarters. Let me say this: We would
8 like very much to encourage that. We have only
9 five Negro patrolmen on our force and we would
10 fill up the rest of the force with capable,
11 qualified Negroes and I say that sincerely and
12 the police force say it sincerely.

13 Those that do take the examinations don't
14 come anywhere near qualifying and those who can
15 qualify can get much better jobs than the
16 police force as far as pay.

17 For example, this teen center which I
18 opened up in June -- I say I opened it up because
19 it was an empty building and I started the ball
20 moving -- we leased it for \$1 from industry. It's
21 a terrific building.

22 Recreation ran it for three months. After
23 the three months expired, why, this factory
24 wanted to involve a Negro group and have them
25 run it maybe under the name of the Recreation

1 Department or the Recreation Department being
2 the lessee and paying the insurance and whatnot.

3 So we have real Negro involvement there.
4 They wanted to pick their own director and they
5 advertised for it and they wanted the best. We
6 got a fellow by the name of Everett Christmas,
7 who was the former director of Camp Kilmer's
8 Youth Corps, and his salary is \$13,000. We pay
9 the head of our Recreation Department only
10 \$10,500.

11 I am just making a point, that you have to
12 pay a premium today for qualified Negro
13 responsible employees. This is a good example.
14 We did hire him too.

15 Through industry and whatnot we are paying
16 that salary and he is doing a good job.

17 MR. LEUCHTER: Can the average high school
18 graduate pass the police entrance exams?

19 THE WITNESS: That I don't know because
20 they have the physical too. Well, you are
21 talking about the mental side of it?

22 MR. LEUCHTER: Yes. I hope I am not
23 taking the Commission's time but I think it is
24 a very important aspect of where we are digging.
25 I assume Plainfield has a graduating class from

1 Plainfield High of five or six hundred a year
2 at the present rate, I would think, somewhere
3 in that neighborhood.

4 THE WITNESS: At least that, yes.

5 MR. LEUCHTER: I don't know how many
6 Negroes and I don't know whether you know how
7 many Negroes graduate from Plainfield High out
8 of that five or six hundred.

9 THE WITNESS: The public schools are over
10 50% or 55%.

11 MR. LEUCHTER: Let's say the graduating
12 class probably would have a lower percentage of
13 Negroes, figuring on a somewhat higher dropout
14 rate.

15 THE WITNESS: That's right.

16 MR. LEUCHTER: Even so, would there be
17 100 Negroes who graduate each year from Plain-
18 field High?

19 THE WITNESS: I would think so but sex is
20 another matter too, I think there are more
21 females graduating.

22 MR. LEUCHTER: Are we saying that the
23 average young Negro male who could pass a police
24 entrance examination at the municipal level, not
25 State Police but at the municipal level, can be

1 offered or can acquire employment in your area
2 at a better financial opportunity than \$6,000 or
3 up to \$7,600?

4 THE WITNESS: That is my conclusion and
5 opinion.

6 Now what the Negroes want us to do is set
7 up special classes, tutoring classes, to put
8 these Negroes in a position where they would
9 qualify and pass these examinations.

10 MR. GIBBONS: The dropouts?

11 THE WITNESS: The dropouts. Of course, I
12 think you have to hit them or you have to
13 encourage these fellows of high school age when
14 they graduate and that's why I introduced this
15 part about draft exemption, to make it quite an
16 honor to be on the police force and get them
17 before they go in the army.

18 Anyone with skills is certainly going to
19 go higher and they want to get a better job.
20 You take public relations. Any Negro with an
21 education draws down a pretty good salary. They
22 are scarce.

23 MR. LEUCHTER: That requires a college
24 education. You don't get \$12,000 or \$15,000 a
25 year jobs out of high school.

1 THE WITNESS: That's true. Banks and
2 different places of employment are not looking
3 for college graduates. If they are competent
4 they are scarce. There is a big demand for
5 Negroes today, Negro employees, particularly in
6 those places that want to show that they are
7 unbiased and so forth and so on.

8 MR. GIBBONS: We have taken a lot of your
9 time, Mayor, and I know you must be sick and
10 tired of talking to the Commissioners but thanks
11 a lot for coming today. I must say you have
12 done a lot of homework.

13 THE WITNESS: It is one of these things
14 that you can dwell on. There is one thing that
15 I haven't said that bothers me quite a bit now
16 and that is the inability to communicate with the
17 groups you want to communicate with. Now this
18 is a big problem and a serious problem and it
19 bothers me.

20 Whether it is your concern or not, I don't
21 know, but how to hit the problem I don't know
22 either. Locally we have that problem and I can
23 discuss that off the record now if you want.

24 MR. GIBBONS: Let's go off the record.

25 (Discussion off the record.)

1 MR. GIBBONS: Mark the recommendations
2 as Exhibit C-49.

3 (Document marked Exhibit C-49 in evidence.)

4 A My education was all through the Boston public
5 school system, graduated from high school up there and
6 attended Wentworth Institute for two years and left to enter
7 the service. That's my public school education. You want
8 **G E O R G E C. C A M P B E L L, Sworn.**

9 **EXAMINATION BY MR. FORTUNATO:**

10 Q Are you a resident of Plainfield?

11 A Yes, I am.

12 Q How long have you been a resident of Plainfield?

13 A Since the latter part of 1948.

14 Q Your present occupation?

15 A I am a captain of police, City of Plainfield,
16 commanding officer of the uniformed division.

17 Q How long have you held that position?

18 A Since February of 1966.

19 Q Did you rise up through the ranks?

20 A Yes, sir.

21 Q When did you come on the Plainfield police
22 force?

23 A In March of 1949.

24 Q Where had you been before that?

25 A I was born and brought up in Boston, Massa-

chusetts, and joined the Navy up there and made my home in