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WITNESSES

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you live?

A I am a resident of Newark, New Jersey. I am employed as executive director of the Urban League for Bergen County, and I am also president of the New Jersey Council of Urban Leagues.

Q How long have you been in that position?

A I have been employed as executive director of the Urban League for Bergen County since October, 1965.

Q And prior to that could you tell us what you did?

A Prior to that I was associate executive director from April, 1964 until October, 1965.

Q You are Jim Foley's counterpart in Newark?

A That's correct.

Q Have you lived in Newark for an appreciable period of time?

A I have lived in Newark since September of 1964.

Prior to that I had lived in Paterson for two years and was employed there as assistant director of the business

Whereupon, on direct examination,

JOHN O. CRAWLEY

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

EXAMINATION

By Mr. Jaffe:

Q Mr. Crawley, would you please tell us where you live?

A I am a resident of Teaneck, New Jersey. I am employed as executive director of the Urban League for Bergen County, and I am also president of the New Jersey Council of Urban Leagues.

Q How long have you been in that position?

A I have been employed as executive director of the Urban League for Bergen County since October, 1965.

Q And prior to that could you tell us what you did?

A Prior to that I was associate executive director from April, 1964 until October, 1965.

Q You are Jim Foley's counterpart in Essex?

A That's correct.

Q Have you lived in Teaneck for an appreciable period of time?

A I have lived in Teaneck since September of 1964. Prior to that I had lived in Paterson for two years and was employed there as assistant director of the Paterson

1 Commission on Human Rights.

2 Q: Are you familiar with the trouble that occurred,  
3 the civil disorder that occurred in Englewood this summer?

4 A: Yes, I am.

5 Q: Could you tell us the reason for your familiarity?

6 Were you there? Did you work in that area with the Urban

7 League?

8 A: Yes, this is correct. I will try to sort of

9 give a chronological picture of my own involvement in

10 this. First we will start with the rumors about pending

11 disorders in the City of Englewood.

12 This was brought to my attention about a week prior

13 to July 21 from several sources, including some members

14 of our board of directors. On the Wednesday -- and I

15 don't recall the dates here; I suppose this would be

16 July 19 --

17 Q: The 21st was on a Sunday, I believe.

18 A: The 21st was Friday. On Wednesday prior to

19 the actual outbreaks a member of my board did call and

20 say they had information suggesting that something was

21 going to happen. The mayor of Englewood, of course, was

22 familiar with the Urban League and other civil rights

23 organizations in the city, but had not contacted us to

24 discuss any possible courses of action and since he had

25 not contacted us, we assumed the initiative and contacted

1 him. He thought those recommendations were good and  
2 said On Thursday, July 20, there was a meeting with the  
3 mayor and a member of our board, who is now president of  
4 the Urban League, Mr. James Wyatt. We met with the mayor  
5 to make some recommendations to him in terms of what we  
6 thought would be reasonable courses in action in case  
7 something should happen. There were several points  
8 which we emphasized.

9 Q Where did this meeting take place?  
10 A In the office of the Urban League at 28 North  
11 Van Brunt Street in Englewood. We suggested to the mayor  
12 that if something should happen in terms of using police  
13 we thought he should send in plainclothes detectives.

14 If apprehensions had to be made, we suggested he do it  
15 rapidly, swiftly, and get people out of the area if  
16 there were offenders.

17 Q We also suggested that he would use an unmarked car  
18 for this purpose. At that time we did not have infor-  
19 mation to the effect that a rather comprehensive plan  
20 for policing had been developed, and this plan was  
21 developed by the mayor, the county sheriff and apparently  
22 the county prosecutor's office.

23 Q You only found out about that subsequent to  
24 this meeting?

25 A That's correct. In our discussions with the

1 mayor he thought those recommendations made sense and  
2 said he would pass them along to the acting chief of  
3 police of the city.

4 Q What was the basis for the meeting? Was it  
5 just the phone call there might be a possible disorder,  
6 or was a general tenseness in the community?

7 A It was the phone call about the pending disorder  
8 and there was a great deal of apprehension in the  
9 community about this. Our concern was that in light of  
10 the rumors we felt the official leadership in the city  
11 was getting a little bit too tense and our fear was that  
12 if something should happen, they would overreact to it.  
13 As a matter of judgment I am convinced that the situation  
14 was aggravated precisely because the officials of the  
15 city did overreact when disturbances actually did occur.

16 Q Was there any basis, other than rumor, for  
17 this? Had there been any group meetings that week that  
18 had been particularly marked with hostility?

19 A I Not to my knowledge. There could have been,  
20 but I did not know about them.

21 Q Could you tell us what you did after that, please?

22 A Well, after the meeting with the mayor then we  
23 go into Friday. I had asked several leaders in the city  
24 from the Negro community if they would avail themselves  
25 for a meeting again in the event that something should

1 happen, and I had a meeting with a member of my board  
2 again for lunch on Friday. After that meeting I left my  
3 office, I went home.

4 About two o'clock in the afternoon I started  
5 receiving phone calls. One call or one caller gave me  
6 information to the effect that county police officers  
7 were patrolling the McKay Park area in Englewood, and  
8 this is a large park that is in the predominantly Negro  
9 Fourth Ward.

10 This disturbed me again because this is police  
11 action in anticipation of something happening. There  
12 had been no incidents of any sort, yet the police were  
13 there patrolling. Shortly after that I received another  
14 phone call to the effect that there was a helicopter  
15 flying above the park, apparently again police surveillance.

16 At about four o'clock in the afternoon I called the  
17 county chief of police's office to inquire about the  
18 presence of county police officers in that particular  
19 area. I spoke to a Lieutenant Small who informed me that  
20 the county police were in the area because there had been,  
21 as he said, a robbery in Paterson and the suspect had  
22 fled and come into Englewood in the vicinity of McKay  
23 Park. In an effort to confirm this -- well, I could not  
24 confirm this. It was only the matter of what the  
25 lieutenant had told me, his rationale for having the

1 police officers there.

2 At about six o'clock that evening I received a phone  
3 call again from another member of my board who has a  
4 son-in-law on the police force in Englewood. She said  
5 to me that her son-in-law had been on vacation, was  
6 recalled and apparently prepared for "riot duty."

7 At this point I went into the City of Englewood and  
8 went to a tavern which is located on West Street from  
9 which the entrance to police headquarters is visible.  
10 When I went into the tavern I noticed that police officers  
11 were going into police headquarters. They were carrying  
12 their helmets, and they also had gas masks.

13 Q What is the name of the tavern?  
14 A Toast of the Town, and the first person I spoke  
15 to was the CHAIRMAN LILLEY. Is that about two or  
16 corner of three blocks south of police headquarters in  
17 Englewood?  
18 THE WITNESS: No. It is actually one  
19 that, the block west. It is right behind police head-  
20 the mayor quarters. At this point I realized that in spite

21 of our guidance. One other thing, too, that impressed me  
22 the occasion was this was a Friday afternoon and when you

23 went into the tavern there were very, very few  
24 police or patrons there. Ordinarily the traffic is quite  
25 heavy on Friday. I was impressed with the fact





1 radio Q and Were they on the streets? A Yes, they were.

2 A Yes, they were. There were county police.

3 There were men from the sheriff's office and police from

4 several other municipalities. Again I don't know how

5 many municipalities were represented. I do know of

6 several from Teaneck and other communities.

7 I went to city hall and attempted to speak to the

8 mayor. He was involved and didn't have time to talk to

9 us. I met William Jackson, who is a representative of

10 the Attorney General's office, and he asked if I would

11 ride with him into the area where the disturbances were,

12 namely, the corner of Jay and William Streets. We did

13 ride down, and my purpose for going down was to ask the

14 people who were participating, or at least who were out

15 milling around, if they wanted to confer with the mayor,

16 if they wished an opportunity to address their grievances

17 to him. MR. DRISCOLL: Did you see a great many

18 They indicated that this is what they wanted, but

19 there were some differences of opinion as to whether or

20 not the people in the community should go to city hall

21 or whether they should have the mayor come down into the

22 community. THE WITNESS: Mr. Jackson was driving his

23 The sheriff was with us, and he heard someone yell,

24 "We want the mayor down here right now. Let him come

25 down here; we are not going up there." So he got on the

1 radio and called city hall and asked for the mayor to  
2 come into the area. WITNESS: Yes, that's correct.

3 In the meantime the group had said, "Well, we do  
4 not want to meet with him tonight. Let's set up a meeting  
5 for tomorrow." Before this message could be gotten to  
6 the mayor he was on his way into the community, and there  
7 was one other point, too. The people said, "Get the  
8 police out" and I had wanted to confer with the mayor  
9 about this, but again I lost contact because he was not  
10 at city hall. He was on his way down. WITNESS: Of course,

11 Q What would you say the number of police in the  
12 area were? WITNESS: At 9 o'clock the police were withdrawn and were

13 A This is very hard for me to estimate. It was  
14 dark and I can only report what has been reported in the  
15 press. Roughly about seventy-five police is what is  
16 reported. Apparently so. I am convinced that if the

17 police had been MR. DRISCOLL: But you saw a great many  
18 policemen? WITNESS: Yes, that is the whole

19 situation. MR. DRISCOLL: Yes, stopped right there.

20 MR. DRISCOLL: When you were riding around  
21 with Mr. Jackson was there a driver for your car?

22 THE WITNESS: Mr. Jackson was driving his  
23 own car. rest of the time I was sort of trying

24 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: You mentioned Mr. Jackson  
25 was in the Attorney General's office. Is that

1 the state? ...  
2 materialise? THE WITNESS: Yes, that's correct.

3 By Mr. Jaffe:

4 Q Would you continue? I think you were around  
5 nine o'clock that evening on Sunday.

6 A What I am pointing out here is the fact that  
7 I had recommended to the prosecutor, the sheriff and the  
8 mayor by this time to withdraw the police and perhaps  
9 there could be some discussion. It took almost three  
10 hours before this action was executed and, of course,  
11 during that period of time tensions continued to develop.  
12 About eleven o'clock the police were withdrawn and when  
13 the last car left someone started throwing bottles, and  
14 this is only hearsay; I was not in the area at that time.

15 Q Were the bottles thrown at the police car?

16 A Apparently so. I am convinced that if the  
17 police had been withdrawn at eight-thirty or nine o'clock  
18 when we first suggested that it be done the whole  
19 situation perhaps could have been stemmed right there.  
20 We wouldn't have had a weekend of it.

21 Q Could you tell us what happened next, please?

22 A This is about the extent of my personal  
23 involvement. The rest of the time I was sort of trying  
24 to make arrangements for meetings and this sort of thing  
25 for the rest of the weekend.

1 Q When did the disturbance in Englewood actually  
2 materialize? Was it later that evening or the following  
3 day?

4 A Actually it started about seven, between seven  
5 and eight o'clock on Friday, the 21st of July, P.M.

6 Q Mr. Crawley, based on your experience in the  
7 area and your knowledge, what would you consider to be  
8 the most important problem in Englewood?

9 A The problem that was articulated during these  
10 disturbances was housing. This is a problem of long-  
11 standing.

12 Q I wonder if you would briefly tell us the  
13 origins of the problem and your views on it.

14 A Going back to 1912, a civic organization did a  
15 survey of housing in Englewood's Fourth Ward and roughly  
16 the conclusions of that survey were housing is deplorable  
17 and something must be done about it.

18 In about 1938 the State Housing Authority conducted  
19 a survey of the same area, and the conclusions of that  
20 survey were that about fifty dwelling units, and I don't  
21 know what the total number were, but I do know that fifty  
22 dwelling units were considered unfit for human habitation.  
23 This is 1938.

24 At about the same time the Urban League and five  
25 churches that are predominantly Negro in makeup

1 recommended to the city that a housing authority be  
2 established for the purpose of dealing with the problem  
3 of low and moderate-cost housing for development. For  
4 about fifteen years nothing happened. In 1952 the Urban  
5 League did another survey of housing conditions in the  
6 Fourth Ward of Englewood and, of course, by this time  
7 the problem was becoming increasingly worse. Again it  
8 was recommended that the city pursue a program of low-  
9 cost public housing to replace substandard housing in  
10 the Fourth Ward. Again nothing was done.  
11 I don't recall the exact dates, but finally the city  
12 did decide they would pursue an urban renewal program  
13 with a public housing component. An application was  
14 filed with the Federal Housing Administration. However,  
15 over the course of about six years of debates back and  
16 forth it finally resulted in the Federal Housing Authority  
17 rejecting the proposal which had been submitted by the  
18 city, and that rejection was based upon the fact that  
19 the Housing Authority of Englewood was proposing to  
20 construct all relocation housing units in the predominantly  
21 Negro Fourth Ward. Of course, the guidelines established  
22 by the Federal Government and also provisions of Title VI  
23 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 says this cannot be done  
24 because it perpetuates a segregated housing pattern.  
25 Now we get into the matter of politics. The city

1 administration has accused civil rights organizations  
2 repeatedly, and democrats, of interfering with its efforts,  
3 the administration's efforts, to embark upon a public  
4 housing program, which is not new. This will be said  
5 many times. This is not true. Programs were rejected  
6 because they did not meet the standards established for  
7 federally subsidized housing.  
8 We still have no housing in Englewood.

9 Q When you talk about the housing problem in  
10 Englewood, could you give us an idea of how many units  
11 you are talking about or how many families you are talking  
12 about, the size of the problem?

13 A Actually the proposal for public housing  
14 entailed about one hundred low-cost units. This really  
15 would not have satisfied the needs. I think in our own  
16 survey we recognized the need for 180 to 200 units of  
17 housing that would be needed to replace existing substan-  
18 dard stock.

19 Q I wonder if you could just give us your views  
20 on the kind of housing and the place that you think the  
21 housing ought to be in.

22 A The Urban League developed a recommendation  
23 about two years ago in which there were several alter-  
24 natives for the construction of low-cost public housing.  
25 I think we recommend about seven sites in various locations

1 around the city, and as a backup we suggested the use of  
2 a single area in the Second Ward adjacent to the Trumbell  
3 Park. We had about sixteen land which we thought could  
4 be suitable not only for low-cost public housing but also  
5 for housing for senior citizens and some moderate cost  
6 private housing. We thought that the sixteen-acre tract  
7 would provide the city with an opportunity to really  
8 build a model mixed neighborhood.

9 Q Is this sixteen-acre tract in the Fourth Ward?

10 A No, this is in the Second Ward.

11 Q I wonder if you could give us the population  
12 breakup in Englewood -- Negro- white, and where the  
13 Negroes are located and where the whites are located so  
14 that we can understand the ward point you just made.

15 A Actually 27% of Englewood's population is  
16 Negro, and I think the total population is about 27,000.  
17 I would say that 80% of the Negroes in the city live in  
18 the Fourth Ward.

19 Q Where do the other 20% live?

20 A Primarily in the Third Ward which, in terms of  
21 the Negro population there, it is a low-middle to moderate-  
22 middle income area.

23 Q What is the residential pattern in the Second  
24 Ward where this acreage is that you refer to?

25 A In the Second Ward here again it is predominantly

1 white, predominantly protestant, and from again low-  
2 middle to moderate-middle income. There are a few estates  
3 in the Second Ward, but very few compared to the total  
4 population makeup there.

5 Q Let MR. DRISCOLL: What percentage of the  
6 in England 27% would you say are minors?

7 THE WITNESS: I would guess, this is only  
8 a guess, at least 30%.

9 Q By Mr. Jaffe: What was the reaction to your plan?  
10

11 A It was knocked down.

12 Q What was the prime reason for it being knocked  
13 down?

14 A I can only guess about this. The reasons given,  
15 of course, were that the sites we had recommended simply  
16 were not feasible. These were the public reasons given.  
17 My guess, of course, is that the issue was political. It  
18 happened that when we made our recommendations the  
19 chairman of the Housing Authority was also a district  
20 leader politically for the Republican party in the area  
21 where we were recommending locating this housing. In his  
22 public statement he went one step further and said we can  
23 not use housing as a basis for solving a social problem,  
24 which just gives some idea of the kind of insights or the  
25 lack of insights that we are up against. In other words,



1 the attitude we were given, if I have to make a choice  
2 of doing something that is going to help solve the problems  
3 of Negroes as opposed to jeopardizing my political  
4 security, then I would rather be politically secure.

5 **Q** Let me ask a question about the school system  
6 in Englewood. Is that basically an integrated school  
7 system?

8 **A** Physically, yes, and here again is something  
9 that reflects upon the character of that city. The school  
10 situation was only resolved after the Commissioner of  
11 Education said to the city: "You must break up segregated  
12 patterns at the Lincoln School," and I am sure you are  
13 familiar with the history of this, that school located  
14 in the Fourth Ward which had gotten to a point of being  
15 98% Negro. In spite of pickets, demonstrations and all  
16 sorts of direct action, the city was about to do nothing  
17 and did nothing until the Commissioner issued a directive  
18 to break the situation up.

19 Physically the schools are fairly integrated. Within  
20 the school systems we still have a problem with a  
21 tracking system in which in the lower tracks we find a  
22 preponderance of Negro youngsters.

23 **Q** Is it integrated by busing?

24 **A** Some busing.

25 **Q** Is it busing out from the Fourth Ward into the

1 other areas, or busing from the other wards into the  
2 Fourth? as clear. Obviously there are some who, because  
3 of this. It is actually a mix. There is some crossing  
4 here. One of the instruments used to achieve a redistri-  
5 bution pattern was the creation of a central sixth grade  
6 school and just last year it was extended to include a  
7 central fifth and sixth grade pattern and two school  
8 buildings or two plants are used for this. In other  
9 words, there are two plants devoted to fifth and sixth  
10 grade education. again based on your experience in the  
11 community, I wonder if you would give us your opinion based  
12 on your experience as to how the community has accepted  
13 the integration in the school system, what have been some  
14 of the problems, what have been some of the benefits or  
15 what would you say has been the general overall community  
16 attitude. this kind of change, I think it would take a  
17 great deal. Of course, there was a great deal of hostility  
18 and anxiety when it was first implemented, but I think  
19 now the city is fairly calm as far as the concept of an  
20 integrated school system is concerned. As a matter of  
21 fact, we have gone so far as to have high school youngsters  
22 from Englewood Cliffs coming into Englewood's Dwight Morrow  
23 High School. Part of the reason for this is try and  
24 maintain some kind of balance at the high school. There  
25 has been a problem of parents withdrawing youngsters from

1 the public school system in Englewood, but the reasons  
2 are not so clear. Obviously there are some who, because  
3 of their hostility, are withdrawing, and there are others,  
4 I think, who feel legitimately that the public school  
5 system is not providing the kind of education that can be  
6 provided in private or parochial schools.

7 I make that observation because it goes across the  
8 board. There are Negro parents who are doing the same  
9 thing. That the tension in the community will continue to

10 exist? Q Do you, again based on your experience in the  
11 community, think that the housing problem in Englewood,  
12 can be solved like the school problem was, on an  
13 integrated basis? or unemployment problem in Englewood?

14 A I am not so sure it can. The housing problem  
15 can be solved, but in terms of the community adapting  
16 itself to this kind of change, I think it would take a  
17 great deal of time for that adjustment to be made.

18 Q Why do you feel the housing problem is so much  
19 more difficult to solve than the school problem and the  
20 basis is integration? the hiring practices of firms and

21 A Generally in my experience the reactions of  
22 the problems to housing really arouse, well, let's say  
23 housing tends to arouse prejudice more so than other areas  
24 of concern to us. Again, and this is true all across  
25 Bergen County, when we think in terms of trying to

1 integrate a community where you have lower-middle income  
 2 families who are owning their first homes, they feel  
 3 very insecure about this and they are very susceptible  
 4 to the myths about depreciation of property values and  
 5 this sort of thing. This basically is why I am not  
 6 optimistic in terms of the community adapting itself to  
 7 an integrated housing problem.

8 Q: Do you think if the housing problem is not  
 9 solved that the tension in the community will continue to  
 10 exist? Where are the two other industrial parks?

11 A Yes, if the problem is not solved and it is  
 12 not going to decline; it is going to increase.  
 13 the Q: Is there an unemployment problem in Englewood?  
 14 these A: About 6% of the male workers of fourteen years  
 15 and older are unemployed. This happens to be the highest  
 16 rate of any community in Bergen County. This is as far  
 17 as Negroes are concerned. I have any information as to

18 Q Are you familiar with the problems among the  
 19 Negro males in obtaining employment in Bergen County?  
 20 Are you familiar with the hiring practices of firms and  
 21 what the problems are? Englewood? Is this a common problem?

22 A Yes. THE WITNESSES: I can only speak here from

23 Q Would you tell us about that? Is not really a

24 A This is going to call for a speech. The problems  
 25 really aren't so different. In Bergen County we have a

1 tremendous transportation problem. For example, it is  
2 easier for somebody to get from the Bronx to three of  
3 the major industrial parks in Bergen County than for  
4 someone to get from the Fourth Ward in Englewood to one  
5 of these parks. For example, going north on Route 17 to  
6 Paramus, the Paramus industrial park is inaccessible by  
7 public transportation.

8 We have taken this up with FUC, but nothing has  
9 happened.

10 Q Where are the two other industrial parks?

11 A In Fair Lawn, which is not serviced by public  
12 transportation system and there is another which is on  
13 the border of the New York state line, Hackensack. All of  
14 these are areas inaccessible by public transportation.

15 MR. GIBBONS: When you are talking on the  
16 subject of public transportation to work, does  
17 the Urban League have any information as to  
18 the extent to which the Unsatisfied Judgment  
19 Law and the consequent loss of driving  
20 privileges has contributed to unemployment that  
21 occurs in Englewood?

22 THE WITNESS: I can only speak here from  
23 impressions. I would say that is not really a  
24 major problem. I don't think this is a major  
25 factor in the matter of unemployment. I think

1 the real problem as far as the employment or  
2 the lack of employment among Negroes, again in  
3 Bergen County transportation is a major problem,  
4 as I have said, and the other has to do with  
5 just a matter of hiring practices within the  
6 companies. We do have problems here. Two  
7 fellows you will be talking to later on, they  
8 have had some contact with police. When they go  
9 to apply for a job, that single fact itself in  
10 all likelihood will stand in the way of their  
11 getting a decent job. This gets to be a major  
12 problem with young adults, say eighteen to  
13 twenty-two or twenty-three.

14 Another problem is simply that the guy  
15 who is doing the interviewing might not like  
16 the way the candidate's hair is cut. So all of  
17 these things enter into the picture as far as  
18 the unemployment or lack of employment oppor-  
19 tunities are concerned.

20 We do have another problem in the City  
21 of Englewood itself. We have a number of small  
22 shops, union shops, in which a fellow is kept  
23 on the payroll for about twenty-nine days and  
24 the next day he is eligible for membership in  
25 the union and suddenly he is laid off. I mean

1 these kind of things frustrate the opportunities.  
 2 development. I think one other factor is important here,  
 3 but not too, the assumption that the fellows who are  
 4 subjected to this kind of thing aren't intel-  
 5 ligent enough to know what is going on. They  
 6 do know what is going on and the fact they get  
 7 out here and start throwing bricks is simply a  
 8 way in which they believe they can get any  
 9 kind of redress.

10 By Mr. Jaffe: If you would like to comment on  
 11 the six percent you refer to mostly young  
 12 men? Are they getting into the political sphere? How active  
 13 have they been? Yes, mostly. How active have they been?  
 14 What would the unemployment figure in Englewood  
 15 and the other areas be?

16 A For the county as a whole it is only about two  
 17 percent. Are the six percent you are talking about  
 18 skilled or unskilled generally?  
 19 Generally they are unskilled and semi-skilled.  
 20 I wonder if you might comment on the anti-poverty  
 21 programs that exist in Englewood. Do they attempt to  
 22 meet this type of problem? Are there any job training  
 23 programs? How effective have the anti-poverty programs  
 24 been? Of fact, during this recent election a comment was

1 A There has been some effort as far as manpower  
2 development within the anti-poverty program is concerned,  
3 but not a majority emphasis. The Urban League during  
4 1966 did sponsor an on-the-job training program, and we  
5 did place about 150 people in fairly good jobs, but here  
6 again the problem of transportation, how do you get the  
7 fellow who doesn't have his own car or how do you get the  
8 young girl who is just a high school graduate who can't  
9 afford to buy a Volkswagen to a job?

10 Q I wonder also if you would like to comment on  
11 the Negro and the political processes in Englewood. Are  
12 Negroes getting into the political sphere? How active  
13 have they been? What have been some of the problems  
14 dealing with communication between the Negro community  
15 and the political structure that exists?

16 A If you want to talk about the problem of commu-  
17 nication, let's say the problem is there has been so very  
18 little communication. It has generally been one way.  
19 Again we are talking about a community which really sort  
20 of wants to hold on to a tradition of affluency. It is  
21 a community of big estates. The Negro community evolved  
22 through, well, the importation of service workers and in  
23 terms of if you want to call it peer communication or  
24 lateral communication, it just has not happened. As a  
25 matter of fact, during this recent election a comment was



1 made, "How could these people throw us out of office  
2 after all we have done for them? We have allowed them to  
3 come into our town. How could they do this?" This is  
4 the kind of communication that has been taking place in  
5 Englewood, one-way.

6 In terms of the political process, I don't know what  
7 the percentages are in terms of progress in politics,  
8 enrolled registered voters, but I do know that the Fourth  
9 Ward was a significant factor in the recent election of  
10 a Democratic slate in the City of Englewood. This is  
11 the first time that has happened in about sixty-eight  
12 years. As a matter of fact, I think the Republicans  
13 gained something like 307 or 306 votes out of the entire  
14 Fourth Ward in the City of Englewood.

15 Q How many votes went to the new mayor? Again I

16 say, A I really don't know.

17 Q But it was a fairly high percentage?

18 A Yes. I think the ratio was something like  
19 three to one.

20 Q Was that the first time that the Negroes in  
21 the Fourth Ward have actively pursued the political  
22 processes?

23 A No, this is not the first time. The councilman  
24 from the Fourth Ward is Democratic, and I believe he is  
25 now serving either his fourth or fifth term. So to that

1 extent as far as the representation from the Fourth Ward  
2 is concerned, they have been successful. But this time  
3 I think the view was we must look at the political process,  
4 not from the standpoint of the Fourth Ward but what the  
5 Fourth Ward itself can do to affect the overall city. I  
6 do know a great deal of emphasis was placed on attempts  
7 to elect a mayor and a councilman at large.

8 young Q I wonder if you might give us your views as to  
9 the kinds of recommendations you think the Commission can  
10 make or you think might be helpful in solving some of  
11 Englewoods problems, whether it is in housing or the  
12 communications area or any of the areas we have talked  
13 about.

14 A I think the first problem that Englewood has to  
15 address itself to is this business of housing. Again I  
16 say it has been recognized as a problem since 1912. Soon  
17 it is going to be 1970. Englewood's leadership has to  
18 demonstrate at least some kind of a commitment to do  
19 something and simply not talk about it and say, "The  
20 situation is bad. Sorry we can't do anything about it."  
21 That's the first step. The administration and the  
22 leadership in general in that city has to say, "We are  
23 committed to solving this problem of housing no matter  
24 what we have to do to come up with the solution."

25 Then there are a lot of other problems in the city.

1 There are very inadequate recreational facilities. For  
2 example, one of the young people during the disturbance  
3 said to me personally, "We have nothing in the city. We  
4 can't even go to a bowling alley because the leagues have  
5 them all tied up. We have no swimming pool. What can we  
6 do?"

7 So there is a need for a recreational program for  
8 younger people.

9 Third, I think the administration is going to have  
10 to assume some initiative in terms of dealing with  
11 employers in so far as developing accessible job oppor-  
12 tunities, and by accessible I mean job opportunities  
13 within the city available to those people who cannot get  
14 to jobs elsewhere. In general this involves or requires  
15 the involvement of business people to the extent that  
16 they, too, will have to demonstrate some kind of a  
17 commitment to contribute to resolving the problem.

18 As a matter of fact, on the day before these disturb-  
19 ances I had released a statement calling upon small  
20 businessmen to address themselves, and I am talking about  
21 merchants, to the needs of ghetto residents. A few  
22 weeks before that several people had come to me and said,  
23 "Why do you want me to go over to Teterboro to Bendix  
24 when I walk past this drugstore every morning and I see  
25 these white kids in there working? Why can't I have a

1 job here in Englewood?"

2 This was something that I had called upon the local  
3 business leadership to address themselves to and, as a  
4 matter of fact, had asked the mayor to convene a meeting,  
5 if he could, of the Chamber of Commerce to consider this.  
6 But at any rate this is something that has to be done.  
7 Local businessmen will have to recognize their responsi-  
8 bilities in terms of helping to resolve this problem for  
9 the benefit of the city.

10 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Any questions, gentlemen?

11 MR. DRISCOLL: No questions.

12 MR. GIBBONS: What percentage of land  
13 area in Englewood is zoned industrial?

14 THE WITNESS: A rough estimate. I would  
15 say about twenty-five percent.

16 MR. GIBBONS: How much of that is fully  
17 developed?

18 THE WITNESS: About eighty percent of it  
19 is developed.

20 MR. GIBBONS: In the area that is developed  
21 is there any substantial Negro employment?

22 THE WITNESS: Very minimal.

23 MR. GIBBONS: That is primarily along Route

24 4?

25 THE WITNESS: That's correct.

1 MR. GIBBONS: Isn't there any kind of  
2 substantial Negro employment at General Motors?

3 THE WITNESS: Proportionately, no. There  
4 are employees there, but the proportions are  
5 way out. I am very disappointed about General  
6 Motors in that regard.

7 MR. GIBBONS: Doesn't that warehousing  
8 operation employ a fairly substantial number of  
9 blue collar, low skill employees?

10 THE WITNESS: Yes, that's correct. Here  
11 again you see is the part of my argument that  
12 businesses or firms located in Englewood could  
13 contribute a great deal by absorbing the local  
14 labor market. I don't really know what the  
15 residential patterns would be in terms of  
16 where those workers come from, but I do know a  
17 large number of employees at G.M. come from  
18 New York.

19 MR. GIBBONS: Drive? the City of Englewood

20 THE WITNESS: Yes. of housing is

21 MR. GIBBONS: You mentioned the obligation  
22 of local businessmen. Aren't they primarily in  
23 retail fields? the attitude in this regard is

24 THE WITNESS: Yes, most of them are.

25 MR. GIBBONS: So that for a family job

1 opportunity, that is fairly limited?

2 THE WITNESS: This is what is stated, and  
3 this bothers me because when I ask a retailer  
4 if he has a job opportunity for someone that I  
5 would like to refer and he says no to me, but  
6 yet when his cousin or his brother's kid comes  
7 around, there is always a job opportunity  
8 available. This is what bothers me, that he  
9 can create a job opportunity if he wants to do  
10 it, but the unwillingness to do it except on  
11 those bases. ~~in respect to discrimination in~~

12 MR. GIBBONS: On the housing issue, do  
13 you think that some method of housing improvement  
14 other than multi-unit public housing would be  
15 more acceptable and perhaps more beneficial?

16 THE WITNESS: The problem in Englewood is  
17 simply one of an anti-integration attitude as  
18 far as the community is concerned. Frankly  
19 the people as a whole in the City of Englewood  
20 could care less what kind of housing is  
21 developed if it were developed in the Fourth  
22 Ward. But nowhere else in the city.

23 A part of the attitude in this regard is  
24 reflected in the fact that even moderate cost  
25 garden type apartments are inaccessible to

1 Negroes. We have had about four complaints  
2 within the past year filed with the Division  
3 on Civil Rights for families who were trying  
4 to get into moderately priced apartments  
5 outside of that Fourth Ward.

6 MR. DRISCOLL: What happened?

7 THE WITNESS: They were successful in  
8 gaining entry there, but it was a long,  
9 gruesome process. But I cite that only to  
10 reflect the attitude as far as the city is  
11 concerned with respect to discrimination in  
12 housing.

13 MR. GIBBONS: Isn't it likely that if you  
14 succeed in locating multi-unit public housing  
15 in areas other than the Fourth Ward that  
16 public housing at least will remain segregated?

17 THE WITNESS: That is doubtful because  
18 again there are, as I have pointed out before,  
19 some low income white families living in Englewood.  
20 We need housing for senior citizens in the  
21 City of Englewood. There are a number of ways  
22 in which a community or a model neighborhood  
23 can be developed with a built-in mix with  
24 adequate controls. This can be accomplished.

25 In terms of the types of housing, one of

1 the problems is that when one mentions public  
2 housing we have the image of a fourteen-story  
3 huge ghetto. The recommendations that were  
4 presented by the Urban League suggested that  
5 public housing be constructed in keeping with  
6 the architectural character of the area, and  
7 possibly here we could use duplex, two units,  
8 where we could use individual units. This  
9 kind of thing has been done in other communities.  
10 As a matter of fact, in one community in New  
11 York, the public housing development is  
12 actually the model neighborhood of the entire  
13 city, and to look at it one would never know  
14 this was public housing.

15 So in terms of the type of housing, it  
16 can be integrated into the existing character  
17 of the community. It doesn't have to be a  
18 sore thumb. This is one of the points we tried  
19 to emphasize. We are opposed to the construction  
20 of these massive ghettos. I am sure you are  
21 aware of that. This doesn't solve anything.  
22 We are talking about building a community really.

23 MR. GIBBONS: Do you think a program of  
24 100% government guaranteed home mortgages would  
25 be an improvement over public housing?



1 THE WITNESS: Well, the problem here is  
2 getting involved with the private sector.

3 Private builders will not go for this.

4 MR. GIBBONS: Even with 100% government  
5 mortgages?

6 THE WITNESS: We have discussed it. We  
7 are dealing in an area where there is a premium  
8 on housing and anyone who can make a choice  
9 between earning three dollars as compared to  
10 five dollars certainly is going for the five  
11 dollars. This is a problem we have with  
12 builders in that area. They don't get excited  
13 about the guarantee, the mortgage guarantee.

14 MR. DRISCOLL (presiding): One more  
15 question and then I will express our thanks to  
16 you for your appearance. Am I correct in  
17 understanding that integration in the schools  
18 does not necessarily improve the quality of  
19 education?

20 THE WITNESS: That's correct. Physical  
21 integration itself doesn't necessarily improve  
22 the quality of the educational program. I  
23 think, however, what is important is to  
24 recognize that one aspect of the educational  
25 process is socialization, and that is getting

1 to a point of knowing one another, being  
2 familiar with one another. That is one aspect  
3 of it, but certainly a Negro kid doesn't learn  
4 to read any better simply because he is sitting  
5 next to a white kid, but he does get to know  
6 something about that white kid as a person.

7 Whereupon, This socialization is very poor.

8 I think a part of our problem has been  
9 called as that of losing sight of the fact that the  
10 integrated classroom is only a partial goal  
11 and not the whole goal.

12 Q MR. DRISCOLL: Give us a word about your  
13 education. What is your educational background?

14 Q THE WITNESS: I am a graduate of Virginia  
15 State College in Petersburg, Virginia; did  
16 graduate work at the University of New Mexico,  
17 both graduate and undergraduate work in social  
18 and political philosophy. I might add that my  
19 education began in a one-room school down in  
20 Virginia to which I walked three miles in the  
21 morning and back home three miles in the  
22 afternoon, found it necessary to travel by bus.

23 This is why busing doesn't excite me, seventy-two  
24 miles one way to get to high school. During  
25 my junior and senior years I drove that school

1 and I drove those seventy-two miles, and I worked my  
2 way through college.

3 MR. DRIECOLL: Thank you very much. We  
4 appreciate your coming and your cooperation.

5 What is your position? (Witness excused)

6 I am a customs - - -

7 Whereupon, I wonder if you would tell us what happened

8 during the riots. FREDERICK D. LEE

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

10 My observation: EXAMINATION

11 from four- By Mr. Jaffe:

12 Q Mr. Lee, where do you live?

13 A 76 Palisade Avenue, Englewood, New Jersey.

14 Q How long have you lived there?

15 A For a year.

16 Q Where did you live before?

17 A 41 East Forest Avenue, Apt. 7C.

18 Q In Englewood?

19 A Yes.

20 Q Have you lived your life in Englewood?

21 A No. I was born in Virginia. I moved to

22 Englewood at the age of sixteen. I have been there about

23 eleven years.

24 Q Are you presently employed, sir?

25 A Yes, I am.