

1 have made progress.

2 you would like: THE WITNESS: We have done pretty well,

3 yes.

4 It's much better than it used to be.

5 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Any other questions?

6 MR. DRISCOLL: I think you have been

7 very helpful.

8 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Thank you very much

9 for coming.

12 LOUIS DANZIG, Sworn,

13 EXAMINATION

14 BY MR. GOLDMAN:

15 Q Mr. Danzig, would you just briefly tell us
16 where you reside, what your official position is and
17 your earlier professional background.

18 A My name is Louis Danzig. I am the Executive
19 Director of the Newark Housing Authority since 1948.

20 I reside at 330 Hobson Street, Newark, New Jersey.

21 I am married, have a wife and two children. I am
22 a product of the Newark schools and lived in the riot-torn
23 area in the City of Newark for a long period of my youth.

24 By profession I am a lawyer.

25 May I read a statement?

1 Q I understand that you have a statement which
2 you would like to read into the record.

3 A Would you proceed to do that now, please.

4 A When I became Executive Director of the
5 Housing Authority the projects were segregated by race
6 by buildings. During the next few years the existing
7 projects were racially integrated and all new projects
8 were integrated from initial occupancy.

9 As a result, I have received on behalf of the
10 Authority many commendations for activities undertaken
11 to improve race relations.

12 The Housing Authority was organized in 1938 as a
13 public housing agency. It now has 16 public housing
14 projects containing 12,750 dwelling units.

15 Since 1949, the Authority has been the city's Urban
16 Renewal Agency. It now has in progress 16 urban renewal
17 projects estimated to cost \$150,000,000 in federal and
18 municipal funds.

19 What I can report to this Commission is information
20 and impressions received in my capacity as Executive
21 Director of the Housing Authority and as a lifelong
22 resident of Newark. All the tenants of the public housing
23 projects are low-income families and more than 60 percent
24 of them are Negroes.

25 I do not think that substandard housing in blighted

1 areas was an important factor in causing the riots.

2 Housing conditions in Newark are now better than they
3 have been in our time. The greatest improvement has
4 been made in recent years by means of urban renewal and
5 the public housing program.

6 Both these programs have been given the utmost
7 support by the City Administration with the result that,
8 in proportion to size, Newark has the most public
9 housing units and the largest urban renewal program of
10 any of the large cities in the country.

11 Since 1950, 18,016 new dwelling units have been
12 built in the City. Of these new units, 9,752 apartments
13 are low-rent federally assisted public housing for low-
14 income families.

15 During the 1950-1967 period, 7,415 dwellings have
16 been demolished almost entirely as slum clearance in
17 the urban renewal and public housing programs. The
18 demolished dwellings were substandard by reason of
19 physical condition, lack of sanitary facilities and
20 location.

21 Other indications of improvement in housing
22 conditions for the 1950-1960 period are shown by the
23 1960 U. S. Census.

24 For example, dwellings classified as dilapidated,
25 the worst category of condition, were reduced from 12,143

1 to 8,521. by 33,000 persons between 1950 and 1960.

2 Dwellings lacking in plumbing facilities were
3 reduced from 16,159 to 5,928. Dwellings lacking hot
4 water were reduced from 15,950 to 7,700.

5 Undoubtedly, this rate of improvement for the 1950's
6 has been continued into the 1960's.

7 The relocation of families displaced by slum
8 clearance for public housing and urban renewal has been
9 given more attention than any other phase of these
10 programs.

11 Congress has provided ample funds for relocation.
12 The administration of relocation is planned and supervised
13 so carefully that, in itself, relocation is now a means
14 of improving the housing of families without undue hard-
15 ship to the displacees.

16 With the experience of having relocated 12,000
17 families in better housing since 1950, the Housing
18 Authority is certain that it can successfully relocate
19 all the families in its current program.

20 One of our functions is to make housing studies
21 involving the composition of the population and its
22 shifts. According to the Census Bureau, the Negro popu-
23 lation of Newark increased from 17 percent in 1950 to
24 34 percent in 1960 and 47 percent in 1965.

25 On the other hand, the total population of the City

1 decreased by 33,000 persons between 1950 and 1960.

2 Taking account of natural increase, the excess
3 of births over deaths, both these changes resulted from
4 the net migration of 97,000 whites out of the City during
5 the 1950's while 64,000 Negroes were migrating into the
6 City. Obviously, dialogue and communication are difficult

7 If migration continued at the same rate in the
8 1960's, an additional 68,000 whites left the City while
9 45,000 Negroes moved into the City.

10 This large local migration is a reflection of
11 mass migration nationally. Every year hundreds of
12 thousands of families and individuals are forced to move
13 from farms and rural areas where they have been replaced
14 by machines. They go to urban areas in search of a
15 livelihood and find refuge in the low-rent slums of the
16 central cities.

17 Since 1940, it is estimated by the U. S. Census
18 Bureau, almost 4 million Negroes have moved from the
19 South to the central cities in the North in an effort
20 to better themselves. This effort has not been success-
21 ful in many cases and disappointment of hope has led to
22 bitterness.

23 The majority of the Negroes in Newark now are
24 in-migrants. Often these in-migrants are deprived and
25 deficient in education and job skills.

1 Some of them must be supported by public welfare.
2 Many do not know how to live in cities. Many hold
3 beliefs that have no basis in fact in Newark. The meaning
4 and connotations of words for them are different from
5 common understanding.

6 Obviously, dialogue and communication are difficult.

7 On the other hand, the white community is also
8 somewhat deficient in ability to communicate. We cannot
9 imagine the experiences they have had before coming here.

10 Our affable society tends to avoid controversy.

11 The business executive and the public official are
12 burdened by the public relations of his corporation or
13 department or administration.

14 When an unpleasant truth needs to be told, there
15 is no one in a position to tell it.

16 Newark is a racially open city. In 1960, out of
17 101 census tracts, averaging about 4,000 population in
18 each, there were only three populated tracts in which
19 there were no Negroes.

20 In the course of time, some in-migrants adapt to
21 local conditions and better themselves. When this happens,
22 the successful in-migrants move out of the slums and
23 blighted areas to other parts of the City or to nearby
24 towns.

25 As a result, the Negroes left behind in the blighted

1 areas of Newark, where the rioting occurred, are a more
2 and more dense concentration of the unadaptable, unemploy-
3 able and dependent.

4 Nationwide unemployment is estimated at 4 percent.
5 In Newark unemployment is estimated at 9. Among Negroes
6 unemployment is estimated at 11.5 percent or nearly triple
7 the national average.

8 In the hard core ghetto areas, the unemployment
9 figure is substantially higher. Among the unemployed
10 in the hard core ghetto areas, the highest percentage of
11 unemployment is among the youth who were noticeably
12 prominent among the rioters.

13 This in-migration has occurred during a period
14 when all municipal costs are rising and the need for
15 increased public services is expanding.

16 In consequence, enormous burdens fall on the
17 limited resources of the City. Welfare costs are so
18 high that more money cannot be spent on schools.

19 Crime control is so expensive that street cleaning
20 and garbage collection can not be improved.

21 Housing conditions can not be made better more
22 rapidly because health and hospital costs are so high.

23 The City is caught in a vicious circle of rising
24 costs with inadequate resources.

25 Everyone expects more and better public services

1 than the city can furnish. With the greatest needs,
2 Negroes are the most frustrated and they cannot move
3 away as easily as the whites do.

4 Municipal expenditures are proposed with complete
5 disregard for the cost of the benefits and far beyond
6 any possibility of attainment. Great expectations are
7 created that must fail, leaving increased feelings of
8 bitter frustration.

9 Municipal taxes are so high that it is difficult
10 to attract more industries with jobs and payrolls. No
11 redevelopment or housing program can be undertaken that
12 will meet the market in Newark without real estate tax
13 abatement, which is what the City can least afford to
14 grant.

15 If the headline word "ghetto" has any application
16 at all in Newark, it applies to the City as a whole.
17 Within the City limits, large and increasing needs over-
18 whelm diminishing financial resources.

19 The self-supporting and taxable population moves
20 away because it cannot, or will not, be burdened by the
21 increasing costs of crime, education and dependency.

22 The people of Newark have exerted themselves to
23 the utmost to cope with this situation. The Newark tax
24 rate is now the highest of any large city in the country.

25 In spite of obtaining all available Federal and

1 State aid, the financial load on the City is unbearable
2 and is increasing.

3 It is important, however, to put the riots in
4 numerical perspective. If there is one rioter in 100
5 Negroes and one looter in 100 Negroes, when there are
6 nearly 200,000 Negroes, there may be 4,000 rioters and
7 looters.

8 Significantly, only a small fraction of the Negro
9 community was involved in the rioting.

10 Newark is burdened with the problems of a wide
11 area of the State and Nation. These problems did not
12 originate in Newark and they cannot be solved by Newark
13 alone.

14 Solutions will not be achieved even by a large
15 increase in current Federal and State financial aids.

16 What is required would be something like the
17 assumption by the State, for all municipalities, of the
18 whole cost of education that is made compulsory by State
19 law.

20 What is required is the assumption by the Federal
21 government of 90 percent of the cost of public welfare
22 as is done for highway construction.

23 Then, the City would be in a better position to
24 handle its other problems.

25 Newark is the economic base of a large metropolitan

1 area. More than half the jobs in Newark are filled by
2 commuters from suburban towns where they could not make
3 a living.

4 The solution of Newark's problems is as important
5 to the State of New Jersey as it is to Newark.

6 The solution of the same problems in all the central
7 cities is equally important to the entire country.

8 As has been said repeatedly, there are no quick
9 and easy solutions to the complex problems involved
10 in the rioting.

11 In Newark, people of good will in both races must
12 begin again the dreary struggle with these problems,
13 now from a point far behind where they were before the
14 rioting.

15 The riots in Newark, like those in other cities,
16 are just an episode in the 300 year life of the City.

17 Just as the family is the unit of our society, the
18 city is the unit of our civilization.

19 Cities have endured and survived great plagues and
20 fires, wars and revolutions. They will survive current
21 and future riots. There is no substitute for the City.

22 Thank you.

23 Mr. Danzig, picking up from your central theme
24 and you have gone, of course, far beyond the housing
25 problem itself in discussing the problems of the city,

1 picking up on this central theme do you imply in your
2 statement that the responsibility lies nationally, state-
3 wide, et cetera and can't be just Newark's?

4 Do you imply that Newark in every way as far as
5 resources are concerned, as far as attitudes, as far
6 as policies within the city itself are concerned, has
7 done everything it can to solve its problems or do you
8 think that improvements are possible within Newark even
9 recognizing the broader responsibilities on state and
10 federal levels?

11 A Well, when you ask a question like that I
12 think that I would reasonably say to you that taking into
13 account the kind of people that are involved in commerce
14 and industry and in government, I think that not quite
15 enough has been done in any of these areas.

16 I don't think that our society is ready to assume
17 the burden of providing jobs, providing a different kind
18 of education, providing a different kind of everything
19 for this new kind of population.

20 Q Now focusing on this issue now and, as I say,
21 recognizing fully what I think you have properly pointed
22 out, recognizing fully but leaving aside the state and
23 federal responsibilities and the national nature of the
24 problems of the cities and focusing on Newark and taking
25 your statement now that there are improvements and needs

1 in the city here, to meet needs in the city here, various
2 sectors of the society, would you give us not necessarily
3 in order of their importance because you are speaking
4 now of the coming ahead but some of the major problems
5 that need to be tackled here within the city and by whom?

6 ~~people~~ A Well, I testified before the President's
7 Commission on this same subject in Washington and it is
8 my considered judgment that there are several areas that
9 need immediate attention, not the least of which is
10 employment, because if we as grown men had children that
11 needed to be supported and we were not able to get a job
12 because we were not capable of holding a job because
13 we were rural people, it would seem that we would either
14 have to steal, go back where we came from or take an
15 action which might have been the riots because in stealing
16 you get apprehended and in resisting you might get
17 brutalized and so forth and so on.

18 Now if you take these federal programs across the
19 land, we find that New Haven was heralded near and far
20 as having the mostest, firstest and the best, but they
21 had a riot. ~~back into the suburbs to do what is referred~~
22 ~~to as~~ No one of us in our professional field can gainsay
23 that the City of Detroit didn't have what is considered a
24 tremendous program covering community relations, everything,
25 possible by the interpretation of the law that everything

1 possible and they had a riot.

2 When you take, for example, the much talked about
3 daytime, night-time population in Newark in which the
4 daytime population is virtually doubled, you make inquiry
5 and make a study of the survey of who are the night-time
6 people, the residents, and who are the daytime people
7 and you will find that the daytime people are mainly
8 white and I would like to give you as vivid a description
9 as I know how in my studies.

10 I personally got up at 7 o'clock and hit the down-
11 town area on several occasions just to see what this
12 meant, the daytime vis-a-vis the night-time population.

13 I saw the most handsome men, the most beautiful
14 women coming off trains, out of cars, walking on beautiful
15 streets-- this is a beautiful city-- going into the office
16 buildings because Newark, while it has lost industrial
17 jobs has gained commercial jobs.

18 South These people are mainly white.

19
20 Then you go on another day, the same hour, into the
21 district and you find large groups of Negro women getting
22 buses to go back into the suburbs to do what is referred
23 to as day's work for the women of the same men that have
24 come in during the daytime and the menfolk hang around on
25 corners without an opportunity for employment because
they say or we say they are not skilled, they can't handle

1 a job and we have no training programs of any consequence.

2 Now the business community in order to meet this
3 problem several years ago created the Business & Industrial
4 Coordinating Committee and it labored in keeping with
5 its notion and I think up to date maybe a couple of
6 thousand jobs were made available which under normal
7 circumstances with the 17 percent Negro population would
8 have been fantastic, but not with the 51 or 52 percent
9 Negro population of rural in-migrants who are not adaptable
10 without huge and severe training programs.

11 In answer to your question I would put employment
12 on top of the list.

13 Now in order for people to reach their full poten-
14 tial they cannot do this without adequate education, so
15 I would put education in.

16 I am not an educator but I do know that we have no
17 right to expect these same folks coming in from the
18 South to learn under what we have taken 100 years to
19 develop as what we refer to as a middle-class educational
20 system.

21 It doesn't work for them.
22 Now I don't know what kind of a system will work but
23 the one we have does not work.

24 I think that as Americans we need to look into it.
25 There have been a variety of demonstration programs, some

1 that have worked and some that haven't worked.
2 are. But each time someone gets an idea, whether it is
3 with Ford Foundation money or Rockefeller Foundation
4 money or other foundation money or private enterprise
5 money or government money, it is heralded far and near
6 as the panacea for the educational system when it isn't.

7 A thing that will work in one place needn't neces-
8 sarily work in another.

9 So that you have what I call huge efforts compared
10 to the past in which the white society didn't have to do
11 these things, so this is huge.

12 But really, it is very small in its productive
13 capacity. So that placing jobs first, education second
14 so that a human being can reach and attain his full
15 potential and then, of course, the general condition,
16 the housing condition with the rent gouging.

17 These are skin to refugees who come here to better
18 themselves and it just isn't there for them.

19 It isn't better. We get the hue and cry, for
20 example, about Negro removal in our program and these
21 people are very satisfied compared to what? Compared
22 to the crackerbox house they came from on some rural
23 farm with an earthen floor and no hot and cold running
24 water or no water at all except out in the well and an
25 outhouse and now they move into the central city and the

1 housing is far superior to what they came from, so they
2 are disturbed.

3 Again we declare these places blighted and sub-
4 standard by our standards and this they cannot understand.

5 MR. DRISCOLL: May I ask a question
6 on this point of housing that you are now
7 touching upon?

8 If I remember correctly, you testified
9 that there were in excess of 5,000 housing
10 units lacking in plumbing.

11 THE WITNESS: Yes.

12 MR. DRISCOLL: This must be in violation
13 of the codes of the City of Newark.

14 THE WITNESS: That's right.

15 MR. DRISCOLL: If you know, why hasn't
16 any action been taken against the owners of
17 these properties?

18 THE WITNESS: Well, let's talk about it,
19 that has been taken and talk about a reduction
20 in--

21 MR. DRISCOLL: No. I would rather
22 stick to this 5,000, if you don't mind.

23 THE WITNESS: It is not my function to
24 enforce codes in the City of Newark, Governor,
25 and what I can say to you is what I did say

1 in the statement, that conditions need
2 further improvement but this is not the kind
3 of thing that you can do all at once.

4 It is sometimes difficult to get an
5 owner to make an investment to bring his
6 property up to standard when it is a losing
7 proposition or for whatever reason and he is
8 taken into court and fined and fined and fined
9 again until ultimately he comes to the
10 decision either to repair or abandon and many
11 of them abandon because sometimes it is
12 economically not feasible to make the reno-
13 vation or the rehabilitation to bring the
14 house to standard.

15 So there is a lag.

16 MR. DRISCOLL: But there is no question
17 in your mind that there are at least 5,000
18 and probably many more that are existing in
19 violation of the codes?

20 THE WITNESS: At least that, yes. That's
21 what the records show.

22 MR. DRISCOLL: You also mentioned the
23 fact that you were proceeding with an additional
24 building program of a substantial nature.

25 Do you contemplate additional high rise

1 apartments?

2 THE WITNESS: We are building 2,000
3 high rise now for elderly and it will work
4 out very well.

5 MR. BRISCOLL: The reason I asked the
6 question is that we have heard testimony to
7 the effect that these high rise apartments
8 have themselves contributed to the problem that
9 we had in Newark.

10 Would you agree?

11 THE WITNESS: Well, I completely dis-
12 agree. While high rise is probably the
13 worst housing that you can build for large
14 families and creates an abrasiveness because
15 of the regulations under which they were built,
16 inadequate elevator shafts and the like,
17 nevertheless it is far superior to the housing
18 that was removed or was replaced by this
19 high rise and I would like to say just in
20 defense of the program, Governor, that when
21 we had vacant land we built low rise and in
22 my time we resisted constantly going too high
23 up.

24 In New York they are building up to 20,
25 22 stories for families of low income and

1 the conditions that we find as a result of
2 rural people and lack of our training pro-
3 grams for which we have no money, brings
4 about a condition that is not at all to our
5 liking.

6 However, it is far superior to the
7 stuff in which the people live.

8 For example, in making a study you
9 knock on the door of a large family in a
10 high rise public housing dwelling and say
11 "You don't like it here, do you, madam?
12 This high rise doesn't work? It is terrible,
13 terrible."

14 Now if you made the survey with an
15 affirmative approach and said "Madam, where
16 did you live before?"

17 She tells you and then she tells you
18 all about the boval and the rats and exposure
19 to the elements and no toilet facilities
20 and a variety of other things and you say
21 "How do you like this?"

22 "Oh, this is wonderful, far superior"
23 and then they add "But the elevator goes out
24 of order altogether too frequently because
25 it is over-trafficked, that little Johnny

1 doesn't come up fast enough and has to
2 use the elevator" and so forth and so on.

3 We must always ask ourselves the
4 question: Compared to what?

5 The world over, the higher you go the
6 more the rent, whether it is commercial or
7 housing, and we submit that high rise public
8 housing for the large family, and we have
9 an application in to reduce some of the
10 abrasion by cutting up some of the large
11 apartments and we have one program-- you
12 see, we were compelled under restrictions
13 to build high rise, cost limitations, slum
14 clearance, equivalent elimination, increased
15 market supply, and we also had a pressure
16 on us to house large families.

17 So we had tiers of large family
18 dwellings running up to I think the 5-bedroom
19 apartment.

20 Now then, this doesn't work too well.

21 Now the elderly high rise which we have
22 experimented with within existing high rise
23 regular units worked beautifully, which
24 indicates that the other stuff is over-
25 trafficked.

1 build. This would not be sufficient, in my
2 judgment, to bring about riot.

3 MR. GIBBONS: I don't think that was
4 the Governor's question.

5 He just wanted to know if given a
6 choice you would recommend for families
7 something other than high rise.

8 THE WITNESS: Oh, definitely. I think
9 that it's the worst housing.

10 MR. GIBBONS: But it is compelled by
11 present federal regulations?

12 THE WITNESS: I wanted to show that
13 it is standard. It is compelled by cost
14 limitations, land cost, the need for slum
15 clearance.

16 The regulations are different. They
17 vary from year to year, as you heard, Mr.
18 Chairman, at the State Bar.

19 There is a proliferation of programs.
20 There is so much confusion and so many regu-
21 lations and restrictions and this is how it
22 comes out and it comes out this way in every
23 major city which is a high cost area and
24 does not have open land.

25 We were the same very same people who

1 built low rise, two-story, in one place 3-
2 story, in 7 or 8 other places and in our
3 resistance as a result of the 1949 program
4 we sought semi-vacant sites and built a com-
5 bination, our first ones, with 3 and 8-story
6 combination.

7 Now then, as time progressed and costs
8 went up and the limitations were never lifted
9 and we only got X dollars to do Y work, you
10 had to increase by going up in the air, which
11 is not a wholesome, healthy thing but I
12 still say it is superior to what there was.

13 Q. We had very little choice. It was
14 either to let the people rot in the slums
15 or put them in high rise.

16 A. MR. GIBBONS: Mr. Dannig, there is
17 another alternative, of course. We realize
18 that the center of Newark is a high land
19 cost area because of clearance and because of
20 land use.

21 Q. Is it possible under the statute under
22 which the Newark Housing Authority is created
23 for the Housing Authority of the City of
24 Newark to house persons outside the city limits?

25 A. THE WITNESS: We are state, we are city,

1 we are federal.

2 Our jurisdiction does not extend
3 beyond the city limits, nor would Short Hills
4 permit or give us a variance to put low rent
5 public housing, low rise, ranch-type within
6 its jurisdiction.

7 I just mention Short Hills hoping that
8 none of you live there.

9 MR. GIBBONS: Do you think that such
10 authority to house persons outside of the
11 city would be a help?

12 THE WITNESS: I will go further than
13 that. I am very glad to contribute such
14 experience as I have had.

15 There was a big huzzah one time in the
16 City of Newark concerning housing of war
17 workers and returning veterans at the end
18 of World War II and nobody wanted the returning
19 veterans in his neighborhood and we built
20 barrack-type housing in the parks in those
21 days and they were low rise and they were not
22 good.

23 Then the government stepped in because
24 there was a hassle in the town over the site
25 selection of what is now known as Bradley Court

1 and because of the emergency resulting from
2 the war effort, the government came in and
3 built Bradley Court in an area for which
4 the housing authority could never have gotten
5 City Council site approval nor a building
6 permit.

7 MR. DRISCOLL: It wasn't such a bad
8 building, was it?

9 THE WITNESS: It was magnificent.
10 Since then we are in ownership and operation.

11 MR. GIBBONS: Where is it?

12 THE WITNESS: Off South Grange on Mann.
13 It is a 3-story garden-type and it is one of
14 our so-called country club jobs.

15 MR. GIBBONS: Right near the Garden
16 State Parkway?

17 THE WITNESS: Yes. Now Stephen Crane
18 Village up at the other end of the park is
19 another one.

20 MR. GIBBONS: I suspect that is the only
21 public housing project west of the Garden
22 State Parkway.

23 THE WITNESS: Not so. Stephen Crane
24 Village is up there.

25 MR. GIBBONS: That is east of it because

1 the Parkway goes through Bloomfield.

2 Stephen Crane Village is on the Bloom-
3 field-Belleville-Newark border.

4 THE WITNESS: You are absolutely right,
5 yes, but that's right on the westerly side
6 or in the northwest corner of Newark.

7 Pursuing that just a bit further, if
8 the state were to build it would have the
9 jurisdiction of building anywhere in the
10 State of New Jersey.

11 MR. GIBBONS: Has the City of Newark
12 ever given any consideration to attempting
13 to place public housing on some of the land
14 that the municipality owns outside the city
15 limits?

16 THE WITNESS: You mean the Wanaque water
17 shed and places like that?

18 MR. GIBBONS: Or the Cedar Grove tract
19 or the tract in Belleville that the city
20 sold to a private garden apartment developer.

21 THE WITNESS: There has never been any
22 authority to attempt and I don't think we could do it
23 without getting-- well, the City of Newark
24 salary, is sovereign within its own borders.

25 It is not sovereign up there.

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I don't think any map of the City of Newark will reveal that it has any jurisdiction other than ownership of land there.

MR. GIBBONS: Has it ever been explored at all?

THE WITNESS: Frankly I have never thought of it.

I don't think it is legally possible or practical.

MR. GIBBONS: What brings this to mind is that a city-owned tract in the Town of Belleville was sold to a private developer and it is a very attractive garden apartment and has been occupied by middle-income people since 1950 or so.

THE WITNESS: In any event, any such idea, if it were legal and practical, would give us very little relief indeed with the large numbers of slum ridden areas we have and the numbers of people of low income.

Q Mr. Dannig, turning to the Newark Housing Authority itself now, could you tell us how many employees you employ in the Housing Authority and what range is their salary, lowest and highest?
A We employ a little under 1,000 and last summer

1 to half of us had close to 2,500 with some make work,
2 Negro employ anti-poverty moneys and the lowest category
3 workers and offhand is the laborer and I think he gets
4 to be in the neighborhood of \$4,300 all the way
5 of other group up to my salary, which is \$31,000 or \$32,000.
6 and we are always We have about one-third Negro employees
7 throughout all the way up to virtually the
8 top echelon.

9 Q You say you have one-third Negro employees?

10 A Roughly, yes.

11 Q Among the staff?

12 A Yes. I would say that with better communication

13 Q Now what percentage of your Housing Authority
14 projects' population is Negroes, did you say?

15 A 60 percent. Well, it varies in numbers.

16 In number of families it is 55, 53 and in people, it is

17 60 and we have roughly 40,000 people living with us or

18 9 percent of the city's population.

19 Q Would you say that the bulk of the one-third
20 Negro employees are in the lower strata?

21 A No, I wouldn't say that because when we accom-
22 modated the practice of integration we found increasingly
23 that we had to hire Negro employees for communication and
24 dialogue purposes, so in the central areas of our city,
25 which accommodate maybe half of the tenant body or close

1 to half of it, I would say we have almost 100 percent
2 Negro employees up to the managerial level and office
3 workers and all that, practically 100 percent.

4 We have apprentice painters programs and a variety
5 of other programs and job in training programs for people
6 and we are always on the quest for competent assistants.

7 Q Do you feel that the authority partly by
8 its hiring practices and partly by its general policies
9 is in good communication with the tenant population
10 and with the broader Negro community that has relations
11 to it? In view of your especially close relation-

12 ship A Well, I would say that with better communica-
13 tion than most agencies of government and we have more
14 Negroes in our employ percentage-wise than the state, the
15 federal government, the county and the city generally,
16 and we have tenant organizations.

17 We help them along. We have Boy Scouts and we
18 have Girl Scouts and our last annual report shows project
19 by project the various community activities which we
20 engender, help initiate and carry through.

21 We are the only Housing Authority in the country,
22 for example, that has these apprentice programs.

23 We are the only Housing Authority that has a full-
24 time Boy Scout executive on our payroll who in one year
25 or one year and a half has virtually quadrupled the Boy

1 Scouts in the public housing program and we have a joint
2 tenant council so that matters not relating to specific
3 project instances are carried on.

4 We amazed the regional and Washington office one
5 year several years ago when we gave a general rent
6 increase and the tenant organizations and the joint
7 tenant council endorsed it.

8 So from all of this I can only assume that our rela-
9 tions are as good if not better than most agencies dealing
10 with the poor.

11 Q In view of your especially close relation-
12 ship due to the nature of the business you are in with the
13 Negro community you are in over the large segment of it--

14 A Yes, it is not exactly a large segment.

15 Q Well, a substantial segment.

16 A Yes, it is fairly sizeable.

17 Q Certainly not in the center of Newark. And
18 in view of the special experience I would think that it
19 gives you in your daily dealings, do you feel that you
20 are getting full cooperation and an equal degree of under-
21 standing and experience on the part of all other city
22 agencies in supplying the services, carrying out the
23 duties that are the province of these other agencies?

24 I am referring to, for instance, sanitation, police,
25 City Hall itself, et cetera.

1 A Well, we pay the city for trees they plant
2 from the water shed when we require them.

3 which We pay the city to clean our catch basins.

4 We pay the city for police.

5 Q I am not asking whether you pay them for it.

6 A Well now, you can draw your own conclusion
7 from these statements. We have built projects and
8 always notified the School Board that there would be so
9 many kids coming forth out of the project and only in
10 one case out of 9 schools built to accommodate it there
11 was a school built and finished at the time the kids were
12 brought out of the units, so that we have given the
13 School Board, for example, the use of our community
14 facilities, denying the tenants those facilities for
15 a number of years over a period and without rent, so that
16 we desire to cooperate.

17 It is not much different anywhere across the land
18 mainly because the city is broke and needs the additional
19 income.

20 Q In other words, speaking as a good businessman
21 I take it that you feel you are not quite getting the value
22 of what you paid for?

23 A I don't think myself we should pay for any
24 of these services and that is a direct answer to your
25 question.

1 I think that we should be getting services from
2 the city, the county, the state and the federal government
3 which we are not getting for these families.

4 MR. LEUCHTER: Specifically, whether
5 or not the city can afford it, the question
6 which I think you were unresponsive to, Mr.
7 Danzig, is this: Are you getting enough
8 police protection in public housing units?

9 Regardless of the whys and wherefores,
10 are you getting enough police protection
11 in the public housing units which you have
12 the police already built?

13 THE WITNESS: I don't think anybody
14 in the city gets adequate police protection.

15 MR. DRISCOLL: Will you answer his
16 question?
17 Just a simple Yes or No will be enough.

18 THE WITNESS: I have answered it,
19 including the housing projects.

20 MR. DRISCOLL: Do I understand that the
21 answer is No?

22 THE WITNESS: Across the board and the
23 whole city.

24 MR. GIBBONS: I think you ought to
25 explain that you have had to resort to Housing

1 projects Department Police.

2 and are very different. THE WITNESS: For many years we had our
3 is in the own police.

4 built. Q Now aside from the adequacy or inadequacy,
5 rather, of police services, when we come to those that
6 are rendered is it your judgment that the police are
7 effective in their approach and in the manner and in
8 communications with the tenant population in your projects,
9 in other words, the quality of what is rendered?

10 A I don't know about the quality. I know we
11 have crime in the projects and we have taken it up with
12 the police director and we are told and I learned from
13 other cities that the system of policing a city goes
14 by deployment where crime is and I am also told by the
15 same people in the Police Department that the crime is
16 lowest in the projects of any area in the city and there-
17 fore it doesn't need the quantity of police that other
18 areas might require and we made a study and the Police
19 Department made a study in prior administrations and in
20 this that proved that the crime in the projects was
21 no where near the crime in the slums and was less than
22 the city average.

23 Q If I am not mistaken, and I stand to be
24 corrected, gentlemen on the Commission, we have had testi-
25 mony before this Commission to the effect that high rise

1 projects are the scene of a heavy concentration of crime
2 and are very difficult to police and to control and that
3 it is in the nature of the high rise projects that is
4 built into them that they have this problem.

5 Would you comment on that?

6 A I would say that the high rise projects
7 because they are centralized chiefly in the Central
8 Ward and the ghetto area would naturally take on the
9 aspect of the surrounding area and if there is high crime
10 in the surrounding area it would naturally spill over
11 into the housing projects which were located in the same
12 area.

13 MR. LEUCHTER: You don't think there is
14 anything because of the nature of the high
15 rise apartment itself?

16 Some people have said to us, residents
17 of the area have said that they feel that
18 the farther into the air you are, the farther
19 away from a police station you are, putting
20 it as succinctly as they can do.

21 Would you say that this is indigenous
22 in a high rise apartment?

23 THE WITNESS: I guess I live about as
24 far away from a Police Station as any person
25 in the high rise units and as the crow flies

1 or a stone could be thrown they live closer
2 to the Fourth Precinct than I do to the
3 precinct that is supposed to give us adequate
4 police protection and there hasn't been
5 hardly a house on my block that hasn't been
6 entered at least once.

7 So that we have a high incidence of
8 crime in the city generally and in all cities.

9 I heard Mayor Lindsay the other day on
10 television who talks about the awesome
11 statistics of crime in his city having no
12 relationship to high rise or low rise public
13 housing projects.

14 If there is crime and there is a spill-
15 over, naturally it is to be expected that the
16 spillover will take place in the area in
17 auxiliary, which housing projects occur.

18 Now one of the arguments we made many
19 years ago when the government forbade us to
20 go into the police business, which we had to
21 do to hire housing guards for the defense of
22 our property and our people, the tenants,
23 was we made the argument that we need police
24 because in reality we built sidewalks in the
25 air.

1 possible to do this. It was on that basis that they permitted
2 us to spend some \$90,000 or \$100,000 a year
3 then and then to police and patrol all our projects and
4 the government under the system of deployment, we are
5 until the government is obliged to send most of the housing guards
6 that it sends into the Central Ward to fend off the
7 this ward's criminals that abounded therein and the winos
8 policing and the narcotics who used our halls for their
9 their was the shots and one thing or another and they are
10 warm in the wintertime and they are the
11 condition is logical place for derelicts and others to
12 problem of come and keep warm.

13 Consequently, if they are there and
14 they are criminally intended they are going
15 to commit crimes.

16 Q Prior to your establishing your own police
17 auxiliary, shall we call it, in your Housing Authority
18 did you have a history of efforts vis-a-vis the Police
19 Department and the city to get that protection?

20 A We have had a constant effort going back to
21 the beginning of my time as a housing manager.

22 Q When was that?

23 A In 1942.

24 Q Would you say that even at that time the
25 financial condition of the city was such that it was not

1 possible to do that?
2 A Well, I think there was a different attitude
3 then and that was that this was a government project and
4 the government ought to pay for the police and it wasn't
5 until the Goldberg case in which the Chief Justice said
6 that it wasn't our function to hire guns or clubs, that
7 this wasn't the wild and woolly west anymore and the
8 policing wasn't an apartment house owner's business and
9 that was the business of the city.

10 Q So that even before the strapped financial
11 condition in which the city now finds itself arose, this
12 problem of adequate police protection on the part of the
13 city existed?

14 A No. The city was always in a strap and in a
15 bind because in the years I speak of, we were on a pay
16 as you go basis and even deferred maintenance in order
17 to keep the tax rate down.

18 Q However, would you say that the police pro-
19 tection, quality and quantity, is the same in the central
20 areas as it is in non-ghetto areas that are left in the
21 city?

22 A Under the system of deployment I would say
23 that there are more police per capita in the central
24 areas than there are in the outlying areas, sure.

25 It follows of necessity if you use the policing

1 system of deployment and sending police where they are
2 most needed, obviously it would be where the crime would
3 be greatest.

4 Q But when you go back to the 1930's, I think
5 you said, when you were a housing manager--

6 A The 1940's.

7 Q And you had the police problem then, was
8 even then the quality--

9 A We had no patrolling from the Police Department
10 at all. They patrolled the periphery of the project even
11 though we were able to demonstrate that there were streets
12 going through that project.

13 Q Why was that?

14 A As I said, because of the feeling on the part
15 of the local Police Department in those years that the
16 government ought to pay for the police.

17 Already they had recognized that poor people lodged
18 in the city weren't the city's sole responsibility and
19 now it becomes even into sharper focus when all the prob-
20 lems of the nation are centered in the central cities,
21 Newark notwithstanding, it is just one more city, that
22 this becomes a national problem.

23 I see no reason why if there is a flood that it is
24 declared a distressed area and government aid is poured in.

25 We suffer a catastrophe in our cities.

1 Q But I am now referring to prior to the
2 catastrophe. I am trying to get at this question of
3 the quality and the difference in police protection
4 between intercity areas even prior to the present heavy
5 flood problem that you correctly talk about.

6 Now at the time when you encountered the problem
7 first, and you said the government should pay for it
8 was the attitude, was even then a large percentage of the
9 population in the building you managed Negro?

10 A No, not the one I managed.

11 MR. LEUCHTER: Mr. Danzig, I appeal to
12 you to help us.

13 This is not a Commission which regards
14 itself in any way as a punitive one seeking
15 to cast blame on anyone in particular.

16 We have been given a difficult assign-
17 ment, recognizing many of the problems, the
18 national problems as well as the national
19 scope of the local problems.

20 We are aware of these and, of course,
21 we can't merely cite these great generalities.

22 We have to do our best to try to dig
23 into each area to try to recommend improvements
24 almost in the way that a man would chip away
25 at a block.

1 We perhaps will find no magic solution
2 as we can't find one person or group of people
3 to cast blame upon.

4 That is not our function.

5 We will try to make recommendations
6 in many fields and, of course, we need help
7 from experts such as yourself who have had
8 experience in these various areas.

9 Now you are human like the rest of us
10 are and there comes a time I would think in
11 our own professions or businesses when we have
12 to reflect and after years in our own jobs
13 or careers we say what have we learned in this
14 or have we learned anything?

15 Did we make any mistakes?

16 I know occasionally I will have to
17 make a speech about the newspaper business
18 and reflect upon the things that we have
19 learned.

20 Perhaps they were unintentional mistakes
21 at the time but in the light of subsequent
22 years I would do it differently now.

23 You have been for apparently 25 years
24 involved in the executive function of public
25 housing.

1 Looking back over it all in the light
2 of what you now know, what have you really
3 learned?

4 Are there things that you would do
5 differently today if you had to do them all
6 over again?

7 Can you help us out in this spirit?

8 Where in the field of public housing
9 might you build differently, might you make
10 changes in construction plans or in height
11 or in anything at all?

12 THE WITNESS: With relationship to
13 riots?

14 MR. LEUCHTER: No. Forgetting riots,
15 in other words, from a self-analysis of
16 public housing are there areas of improvement?

17 Now I am not saying in effect better
18 take the Fifth Amendment because you are
19 going to plead guilty.

20 I don't mean it that way.

21 It is not a question of guilt in any
22 way.

23 Is there anything that you have learned
24 in this period and say "Well, we used to
25 think 15 years ago that this was the way to

1 do it but we have since learned on the basis
2 of bitter experience that we ought not to
3 do it that way, that we ought to do it a
4 different way."

5 In this spirit is there something that
6 you can help us with?

7 THE WITNESS: Yes, sure.

8 In 1950 we integrated the Housing
9 Authority, staff and tenants, planned
10 integration.

11 At that time we believed with a per-
12 centage of 17 percent Negro and 83 percent
13 white that this would work and indeed it did
14 for many years, it worked, and so I became a
15 confirmed integrationist.

16 Then with the population shift, and
17 that is why I read that into the record, it
18 became more and more, increasingly more dif-
19 ficult to maintain integration because we
20 lacked whites and you can't have integration
21 without pepper and salt and so we had more
22 pepper than salt, for example.

23 We got to the point where we in our
24 integration process would stand up and make
25 work integrating Negroes into a predominantly

1 white project or in a predominantly white
2 community by careful selection and all that
3 sort of thing.

4 We thought we had the solution to the
5 problem, the race problem in America.

6 We felt we owed a duty to society to
7 show how this could work, that indeed if it
8 could work with low income families it ought
9 to be able to work in the suburbs and all over
10 America so that we could begin to break down
11 patterns of ethnic group living in clusters
12 and repeat what has happened in Western Europe
13 and thou shalt not pass, you need a passport
14 and all that sort of thing.

15 Then came the shifting population and
16 we began to write off certain projects as
17 not being integratable, and so the concentration
18 and the regulations.

19 Now if I had it to do all over again,
20 and I might refer you to a study which was
21 just completed within the last 6 months by the
22 National Committee Against Discrimination in
23 Housing which came to the conclusion that you
24 had to write the whole city off, the central
25 city, because of this shift in population,

1 that integration was no longer possible
2 without bursting out into the suburbs.

3 Now then, if you are indeed to break
4 this up, which is called the theory of
5 dispersal, you cannot do it through the juris-
6 diction of a Housing Authority which has
7 a jurisdiction within a geographical or
8 political boundary and so you asked the
9 question and I will answer it now in con-
10 clusion, that if we are to disperse the
11 population and give each person in America
12 his fair share of the good and the bad that
13 goes with this general problem, and there
14 is good and bad, no reason why you, sir,
15 if indeed you live in the suburbs on the
16 third mountain should draw on a woman in
17 public housing to do day's work for your
18 wife and there is no reason why she can't
19 live closer to you so you don't have to pay
20 her carfare and she stays longer away from
21 her family and maybe she ought not to work
22 for you and maybe this is a way of life that
23 ought to be stopped by employing the male.

24 So I say in conclusion that if we are
25 to disperse, if we are to spread around the

1 problem so that it can be absorbed properly
 2 by those who can better afford it, then the
 3 only way you can do it is through direct
 4 government construction of public housing,
 5 middle-income housing and all kinds of
 6 housing building in new communities and
 7 adding to the old communities.

8 MR. LEUCHTER: This is what Mr. Gibbons
 9 was referring to.

10 THE WITNESS: This is my honest belief
 11 in the light of this problem.

12 MR. LEUCHTER: Failing the ability
 13 to knock down municipal boundaries such as
 14 we have now, how about in terms of construction
 15 within the city?

16 Would you construct any differently?

17 Would you continue, for example, in
 18 high rises, would you build them any differently?

19 THE WITNESS: I will answer your question.

20 I would not build any more high rise,
 21 period, for large families.

22 I would build high rise for small
 23 families and for the others.

24 MR. LEUCHTER: What do you mean by small
 25 families?

1 THE WITNESS: Elderly and families with
2 no children or with tiny children, to avoid
3 the problem.

4 That would be begging the question
5 because we could never get enough money.

6 Right now we are programming 500 units
7 scattered in 2 or 3 locations for large
8 families.

9 Do you realize the minute I take 500
10 families with an average of 4-plus children in
11 each family up to 10 and 12, what it does to
12 the school system, what it does by further
13 stratifying low income families who are
14 parentless or rather broken families and
15 is this fair, is this reasonable to expect
16 us then to maintain these projects without
17 programs and work programs and built-in social
18 programs and built-in nurseries and all that
19 sort of thing?

20 MR. LEICHTER: No, I am not suggesting
21 that at all.

22 As a matter of fact I want your recommen-
23 dations as to what there ought to be.

24 THE WITNESS: I am recommending what
25 needs to be built into these places.

1 MR. LEUCHTER: This is what we would
2 like.

3 THE WITNESS: Right. I have just said
4 without built-in new type of education such
5 as could be dreamed of, without building
6 in-nursery facilities, without building
7 community facilities and the supervision to
8 go with it, what sense does it make if the
9 government says you are lacking in community
10 facilities in the ghetto area and they give
11 you an 80 percent grant to the city which is
12 already broke to build a facility?

13 First, where is the city going to get
14 its 20 percent?

15 What about the relocation of the
16 families?

17 Without high rise your relocation plan
18 must fail.

19 Then finally, where does the city get
20 money for staff and programming these com-
21 munity facilities?

22 I submit that the people left in the
23 cities are less capable of staffing and giving
24 voluntary service because the rich don't want
25 to pay. They would rather form Junior Leagues

1 and send somebody down on a Thursday after-
2 noon or a Thursday night and skip 3 Thursdays.

3 Volunteer and voluntary help in this
4 area under these conditions will not work.

5 MR. LEUCHTER: I think we are getting
6 somewhere. Then what you are saying is that
7 in the construction of new public housing in
8 the urban centers that there must be more
9 on the part of government, on the part of
10 national government and/or state government
11 than the mere funds for the construction
12 of the housing themselves, that in addition,
13 a housing project should be thought of as
14 embracing more than housing?

15 THE WITNESS: The whole community.

16 MR. LEUCHTER: It should embrace educa-
17 tion, services, community services for the
18 people, instruction, social work and so forth
19 and that each time that public housing is
20 contemplated for an area, the other services
21 which you have just finished describing to us
22 should be incorporated in that project and not
23 merely left in limbo as a responsibility of
24 the local government which cannot afford to
25 provide those facilities, is that correct?

1 That's what you are really saying to us,
2 is that right?

3 THE WITNESS: Yes. Then it is doubtful if
4 that will work because the mere stratification
5 of low income families that are parentless
6 is a struggle that we cannot succeed in.

7 You get too many people of a kind--

8 I am not talking color now-- you get
9 too many people of a kind who need so much
10 across the board of everything, you put them
11 all together and you buy yourself built-in
12 problems.

13 MR. GIBBONS: You come back ultimately
14 to still being a convinced firm integrationist.

15 THE WITNESS: I believe that democracy,
16 which has held out such great promise to the
17 foreign-born, has failed in that promise
18 because we have developed little Europes within
19 our United States of America starting with
20 the Swedes who went to Wisconsin and the
21 Mormons who went to Utah and the Italian
22 section and the Jewish section and the Irish
23 section and so forth and so on and always
24 the affluent run away from those who are less
25 affluent and if you take men apart you will

1 find that the wealthy don't want their poor
2 relatives around and won't pay for them.

3 We have a phenomenon right now in
4 elderly housing where very well to do people
5 dump their mothers and fathers on us and walk
6 away.

7 I got a call at 2 o'clock in the morning
8 from a very good friend of mine in the
9 suburbs who said "Lou, can you help me? I
10 have an uncle living at Kretzner Homes. He
11 is 81 and we have been calling him all day
12 and all night and we get no answer.

13 "I fear for his safety and well-being.
14 Could you do something about finding out why
15 he doesn't answer the telephone?"

16 I became blasphemous.

17 MR. GIBBONS: In view of your over-all
18 view that with all of the social problems
19 integration is the only ultimate solution,
20 would you in planning redevelopment of the
21 City of Newark have given different priority?

22 For instance, would you have given more
23 priority to creating industrial areas where
24 we might have had blue collar employment
25 than to high rise public housing?

1 THE WITNESS: Well, I think that is a
2 difficult question to answer when people
3 live in high rise slums called the tenement,
4 5 and 6-story walkups, slum ridden, without
5 toilets and windowless rooms and rat-infested
6 and otherwise infested--

7 MR. GIBBONS: It is difficult but
8 with the benefit of hindsight might we not
9 that, in some cases, come out better?

10 THE WITNESS: Well, I believe that if
11 this Commission or any other group is going
12 to now come to certain conclusions as to
13 planning of what needs to be done to avoid strife in
14 America, I think you mustn't take this or
15 that.

16 You must run the gamut of what the
17 shortcomings of our society and then you want
18 to place them in a priority preference rating
19 and that is another thing but I think we have
20 to examine the whys and the wherefores.

21 MR. GIBBONS: You gave us the priority.
22 You said that in your opinion jobs was the
23 first priority.

24 THE WITNESS: What good would jobs be
25 if housing were inadequate?

1 that 87 percent. What good are jobs and what good is it
2 various, so for you and me to live in a suburb or in
3 live and in a nicer section of the city behind locked
4 does not doors, afraid to come out day or night?

5 Q Mr. Dannig, picking up on Mr. Leuchter's
6 and Mr. Gibbons' questioning line and on your own sugges-
7 tion for the whole gamut, what is your view of the model
8 cities program, the merits or demerits of it, and does
9 that, in other words, in your view, carry within it a
10 lot of the things you think are called for?

11 A If so, to what extent do you include in the planning,
12 to what extent is your experience being used in the
13 planning of this program for Newark now that Newark has
14 gotten its application granted.

15 A Well, by the recent announcement in the press
16 the City of Newark asked for roughly \$200,000.

17 Q It got \$140,000 and \$60,000 was reserved for urban
18 renewal, so that the presumption is that we are very much
19 a part of the model cities program.

20 A I think the model cities program will do nothing
21 more than perpetuate the ghetto and I had leveled at me
22 one day an accusation that you white men have kept us
23 in slums, hovel ghettos and you are not going to put us
24 in shiny new ones and the recent survey made by the
25 National Committee Against Discrimination In Housing reveals

1 that 87 percent of the people in Harlem want out of
2 Harlem, so that when you take polls and you ask affirma-
3 tive and positive questions you will find that America
4 does not want to pay in dollars and when we talk about
5 guns and butter and we are told that there is money
6 for guns and butter, it is highly doubtful to me that
7 America will pay for guns and butter because I don't
8 think that anybody in America has put a dimension to the
9 problem to find out what is the problem, what are the areas
10 of this broad problem, what is the magnitude of the problem,
11 what steps need to be taken to resolve these problems,
12 how much will it cost, do we have the money, do we want
13 to commit the money, do we have the manpower and do we
14 want to do this job?

15 I don't think anybody knows the answers to all
16 these questions because we have been told in the 20-some
17 odd years that I have served on the Authority and being
18 a member of the National Housing Conference and a few
19 other organizations that are involved with policy recommenda-
20 tions and legislative meetings and conferences and
21 recommendations to the Congress, we are always told you
22 will never get this much so you might as well tone it
23 down, which turns out to be a mere endorsement of the
24 administration's housing program that or any other year
25 without regard to dimension.

1 When we talk about public education compulsory
2 and it is written into law and penalties prescribed for
3 failure and the Superintendent of Schools blithely can
4 say we are 10,000 pupil stations short and by the number
5 of policemen we have in this community vis-a-vis the
6 crime rate when the norm was established and the crime
7 rate which is now and you are told you are 149 cops
8 short and New York makes a statement we need 5,000 more
9 cops right away and Mr. Lindsay says "No, we don't",
10 well, who knows?

11 When are we going to get down, in this nation
12 which has gone through an industrial revolution and a
13 variety of other kinds of revolutions is now in con-
14 vulsions from within and unless we analyze what the
15 problem is and what the resolutions need to be and what
16 the costs are and commit those costs, so here the President
17 wants a 10 percent tax increase and he can't get it,
18 and here this mayor proposes a whole column long in the
19 newspaper of a variety of 8 or 10 or 12 different tax
20 media that could be employed to relieve Newark in case
21 the state and the federal government don't come through
22 and his chances of getting any one of them are very slim,
23 so the problems fester, the people become more and more
24 bitter and they revolt and this is what your problem is.
25 It is my problem and it is everybody's problem.

1 Q Coming back to the question then, in other
2 words, I take it that the model cities program in your
3 view is really only a drop in the bucket and doesn't
4 begin to meet the problem, is that right, as it is
5 planned now?

6 A It will meet a part of the problem for a
7 part of the city. Its conception is in keeping with the
8 Great Society and its execution because of the lack of
9 adequate funding will fail like all other programs
10 which have no dimension have failed.

11 If you have examined the public housing in the
12 Central Ward and the Commission, the President's blue
13 ribbon Commission before which I testified came to
14 Newark and went into the projects in the Central Ward--

15 MR. GIBBONS: So did we.

16 THE WITNESS: There was a person on that
17 Commission who wanted to know how it was
18 that in public housing, under public housing
19 with the regulations and restrictions, that
20 we had two nurseries and a boys club and a
21 settlement house teaching lathe work and
22 inadequate other kinds of work, how did we ever manage
23 to get that into the project?

24 A Where did we get the money from?
25 government, the city Did the city put it up?

1 the major source. Did private enterprise put it up?
2 but the real one. We answered "We snooched it in" because
3 understood to tell the truth might be an irregularity.

4 years ago then. These are the kinds of things we have
5 wealth in. to do to overcome a situation and the
6 are such. nursery is a mere pipequack in both instances,
7 lots more. both Friendly Neighborhood House and the
8 you know, other, they are both nothings and we had to
9 at one time. snooch them in.

10 in March. We had to call the rooms by something
11 other than nursery because if we told the
12 known fact. truth we couldn't have them in there.

13 The consequence of all this is that
14 families by we had this much when this much is needed,
15 although I know that can't be recorded.

16 about the real one. MR. LEUCHTER: You do an inch when a
17 yard is necessary?

18 for a minute you THE WITNESS: Yes. When we need hundreds
19 relocation we spend dollars and we spend thousands when
20 perhaps we we need millions.

21 Q In other words, you feel there is an utterly
22 inadequate national, state and local commitment to what
23 is really needed?

24 A Let us say it this way: With the federal
25 government, the state government and the county preempting

1 the major sources of revenues, leaving little if anything
2 but the real estate which suffers and very few people
3 understand that the indicia of wealth has shifted many
4 years ago from real estate to stocks and bonds where the
5 wealth is and the city has to draw on tax revenues that
6 are constantly diminishing and tax appeals for less and
7 less assessments and industries move out and so forth and
8 you know, you can't have a suburb without an urb and
9 at one time all the millionaires in the county lived
10 in Newark.

11 We have no millionaires. We have no upper-middle-
12 income families.

13 Really we have no great reservoir of middle-income
14 families by any definition.

15 Q Now you have made a very eloquent statement
16 about the real essence of the problem, Mr. Danzig.

17 A Now coming from the sublime to the more specific
18 for a minute you mentioned in your statement the
19 relocation procedure and that brings me to this and
20 perhaps we could focus for a minute on this medical
21 school problem, which is a prime example of crisis or
22 difficulty on relocation, and recognizing all the major
23 issues which are beyond any individual agency's or
24 locality's power to resolve, we still have to assume that
25 there is some power and some possibility within each to

1 community to ameliorate or alleviate a problem or to
2 handle it a little better or a little worse.

3 What is your view of what was done, right or wrong,
4 in the medical school problem or on the medical school
5 issue, particularly on the relocation problem and the
6 communication with that community?

7 A Well, at the outset let me say a very simple
8 thing, that the medical attention received by the Negro
9 in the City of Newark is nil.

10 It got so bad that the Essex County Medical Society
11 called a meeting and asked for volunteers and some dozen
12 or so doctors offered and within a very short period of
13 time they withdrew because of fear.

14 They wouldn't go into the slum and ghetto area to
15 render medical service.

16 A hospital has been in the past 3 or 4 administra-
17 tions looked upon as something to get rid of and try to
18 turn over to the medical people for them to administer
19 and administration after administration has uttered words
20 tantamount to an admission of failure to carry on that
21 hospital.

22 Now then, when the opportunity arose and the Board
23 of Trustees selected Madison and, the Dodge estate for
24 the site for this medical school, the community that was
25 in communication led by the Mayor took up the cudgels to

1 try and get it to Newark as a panacea or a partial answer
2 or a substantial answer or the total answer to getting
3 better health attention to the Negro and our community
4 renewal program, our model cities project, and our studies
5 revealed that the health situation is as bad as any place
6 in the country.

7 So it seemed reasonable to go forward to try and
8 get the medical school and dental school in here.

9 It meant jobs, it meant better health, it meant an
10 opportunity for the Negro to throw a sandwich in his
11 pocket and be able to get a medical education indeed if
12 he qualified, or become a dentist or become a laboratory
13 technician or a laborer.

14 A lot of jobs go with that. So it seemed reasonable
15 for everybody to go forward.

16 Now then, the whole bit blew up mainly because-- and
17 I have been in communication with the Negro community
18 and it seems to me the result as it stands now is,
19 number 1, everybody is in favor of the medical school and
20 also everybody in Newark is against 150 acres.

21 Now then, the imposition of the Board of Trustees
22 on the community of the demand "Okay, we will come to
23 Newark provided you can give us 150 acres" is the nub
24 of the whole situation.

25 So that in talking even to the militant or dissident

1 groups or whatever you want to call them, they all are
2 of the mind, and if you will read the transcript of the
3 testimony at the blight hearing-- and I paid very careful
4 attention-- you will read in that transcript all the
5 problems that beset the Negro, not only in Newark but in
6 the country.

7 They not only addressed themselves to the medical
8 school and the 150 acres. This was a tremendous document,
9 that transcript, and it ought to be read by everybody
10 across the country because in it flowered throughout are
11 yearnings, demands, a crying out for attention to the
12 problem that has been for so many years neglected.

13 So the issue became 150 acres. We proceeded to
14 make studies of all medical and dental schools in the
15 country and in Wayne University, 22 acres, Tufts, right
16 in the Boston scene of urban renewal, 13 acres, and it
17 will take the New Jersey School of Medicine and Dentistry
18 a lot of years before it gets the reputation that Tufts
19 already has acquired and maintains, and all throughout
20 the nation with the exception of some rural schools
21 you have in the urban scene nothing like 150 acres,
22 nothing like 100 acres, nothing like 50 acres.

23 But the project we made was for 46 acres to account
24 for their initial 5 to 10-year plan. That's more land than
25 they will ever need. But we were obliged to commit ourselves

1 to 150 acres.

2 This is the nub of the whole situation.

3 realizer MR. LEUCHTER: How about the people
4 figure, who live within the 46 acres?

5 to that? THE WITNESS: We made a study of the
6 people who live in the 46 acres and we find
7 second-hand that more than 80 percent want out.

8 The U.C.C., by the way, made a study--
9 well, the Mayor made a study and he comes to
10 close to 87 percent who want out.

11 The U.C.C. made a study and never
12 really showed revealed its findings.

13 My action or my judgment of the people
14 who live in slum and ghetto areas is similar

15 to the study that was just made in Harlem

16 that 87 percent of those people want out.

17 They don't have a medical school problem.

18 As long as you can provide people, and in

19 our relocation program we have provided people
20 with standard housing, we inspect the units

21 before we show them, we have shown families

22 as many as 20 units before they settled on

23 one at rents they can afford to pay and now

24 with rent supplements and leased housing we

25 We can put them in better apartments with a

1 community, supplemental rent grant by the government.

2 Q Realizing, Mr. Dannig, as you say, everybody
3 realizes 150 acres was an outrageous and unrealistic
4 figure, was it wise for the city then to commit itself
5 to that?

6 A You are asking me something and this is
7 second-guessing.

8 You know, I went to a lot of meetings and there
9 were a lot of groups, dozens and dozens of groups that
10 endorsed this project and there were Negroes, plantecous
11 Negroes who endorsed the project, and it wasn't until
12 really shortly before the blight hearing that we were
13 even aware of the conflagration that would have come
14 about as a result of it.

15 Q You mean the groups weren't even aware of it?

16 A We had pipelines and we weren't aware until
17 shortly before the blight hearing that there would be a
18 conflagration.

19 Q Isn't that a failure of communication some-
20 where?

21 A For me to admit that we have fine communication
22 would be a lie. For the militant Negro, who doesn't want
23 communication, to say he has communication would be for
24 him to be telling a lie.

25 We are in communication with segments of the Negro

1 community, yes.

2 We are not in communication with other segments.

3 I have met with, for example, the so-called militant
4 and disident group since.

5 During the blight hearing I talked with some of
6 them and since I have talked with some more of them and
7 in concert, yes.

8 I am sure that that is the nub of the problem,
9 the 150 acres.

10 MR. LEUCHTER: What would have happened
11 to the people who were in the 46 acres?

12 THE WITNESS: They would have been
13 properly relocated.

14 MR. LEUCHTER: Steps had been taken?

15 THE WITNESS: We made a survey and we
16 found out how many families there were, that
17 there were 700-some-odd families and about
18 300 elderly families, single persons, and
19 our relocation resources would be adequate
20 to take care of them.

21 MR. LEUCHTER: Were the Negro community
22 aware that the people in the 46 acres could
23 be relocated?

24 Were they satisfied that they could be
25 relocated?

1 THE WITNESS: Which people? Which
2 Negro community?

3 Is there a Negro community?

4 Is there a Negro leadership?

5 MR. LEUCHTER: Were the U.C.C. leaders
6 aware of it?

7 THE WITNESS: We read the figures at
8 the blight hearing, among hoot-calling and
9 cat-calling and jeering and sneering and
10 noise making and none of our stuff ever got
11 into the newspapers because it is more popular
12 for the newspapers to print Colonel Hussein
13 breaking up the furniture.

14 That is what was new.

15 MR. LEUCHTER: You did communicate
16 at that hearing to those who were within
17 earshot, at least, that there were adequate
18 steps to take care of the people in the
19 46 acres?

20 THE WITNESS: I gave the people the
21 result of our relocation studies in that
22 area and we say that we have adequate resources
23 to relocate these people.

24 Now on that same question, the charge
25 by the so-called opposition was that there

1 were 22,000 people.

2 Now the 22,000 people, I know where
3 they got that. They got that from 191 acres
4 of which the 46 is only a part, because it
5 came to a natural boundary, Springfield
6 Avenue, and they used 1960 Census figures
7 which bespeak 22,000 people for the 191 acres.

8 procedure, was MR. LEUCHTER: Your claim is that only
9 about 700 families were involved?

10 THE WITNESS: No, not our claim but
11 notified as we find that since 1960, there has been an
12 attrition of one-third in blighted areas which

13 prior to the we found since 1960 to be the case since 1960

14 We are in the 46 acres and when we make a relocation

15 an visited study we don't do it from a chair or from

16 advised of a map.

17 ready to relocate We send people out affirmatively to make

18 we will pay a head count and every relocation survey that

19 They we have ever made has shown more people than

20 census figures show.

21 actual counts So ours apparently are more accurate to

22 a degree.

23 it is prior to MR. LEUCHTER: So it is 700 families

24 within the 46 acres, is that correct?

25 family good that THE WITNESS: Yes, plus 300 elderly.

1 A I am giving you round figures.

2 Now as to the 300 elderly we are
3 building 2,000 now and if the government
4 fools around with our Part 1 long enough
5 those will be occupied and then we will be
6 charged with not being able to rehouse them.

7 Q Mr. Danzig, when you go about the relocation
8 procedure, when you decide on a relocation project,
9 where people are going to be relocated, how soon in
10 advance of when this is planned for are the tenants
11 notified and what is your procedure?

12 A Several months before relocation takes effect,
13 prior to the first acquisition of a property.

14 We establish an office on site and all the families
15 are visited and a discussion takes place and they are
16 advised of what is going to happen and that we stand
17 ready to relocate them, that time is on our side, that
18 we will pay moving expenses.

19 They are told the whole thing.

20 Q Now you say several months. What is the
21 actual average time, would you say?

22 A Well, I am not prepared to answer that but
23 it is prior to the first family being moved.

24 Q Could it be just a week before the first
25 family goes that you start notification and visits?

1 A We try not to make it a week. We try to
2 make it several months so that we can get through the
3 area.

4 For example, we have been through the area to make
5 a relocation survey and the families have already been
6 talked to and this time we in our survey also asked an
7 additional question: Would you prefer to move?

8 80-some-odd percent indicated that they would
9 prefer to move into standard housing.

10 MR. GIBBONS: Was that survey made
11 before the blight hearing?

12 THE WITNESS: Of course.

13 At the blight hearing we testified as
14 to the ability to relocate and that went into
15 the record to which nobody paid any attention
16 including the newspapers.

17 Q What are the qualifications of the staff that
18 you use to handle these visits and this notification?

19 Are these people trained?

20 A Of course, they are trained and we make sure
21 that they are integrated groups and that there is communi-
22 cation.

23 None of our people have ever been thrown out,
24 chased out, hit or anything.

25 I think there is a very decent relationship.

1 As a matter of fact, Secretary Weaver when he first
2 took office made a relocation study because of the hue
3 and cry of Negro removal, made it nation-wide and Newark
4 was picked as one of the cities and we came out on
5 top of the heap as having performed better than the top
6 cities in the country in this area.

7 Q When you look back upon your total relocation
8 load since you have held your office and what has happened
9 to the people housing-wise that you have relocated, what
10 would be your judgment as to the distance from job
11 opportunities, from community facilities and all the
12 various factors that you mentioned before that are
13 important to families, like as a result of relocation
14 have they fared better?

15 A First of all, you must remember that in order
16 for us to have jurisdiction an area has to be blighted.

17 Now blight carries with it a definition of sub-
18 standardness.

19 We cannot relocate a family into substandard
20 housing. It must be standard by the same standard we
21 applied to arrive at the substandardness.

22 Q I meant apart from housing.

23 A Now as I told you before, we have shown
24 families, a single family, as many as 20 units so that
25 they could choose the neighborhood, the kind of house

1 within its means and so forth and as a matter of voluntary
2 move. They had to approve.

3 We do not say "Abbe, you go here and John, you go
4 there, you must go or we will throw you out."

5 Q Assume these families don't want to move.

6 A We carry them to the end of the road.

7 Q And then?

8 A Well, then sometimes we have to in 4 or 5
9 families commence eviction proceedings and then they move.

10 We have never put anybody out on the street.

11 I think that in the years of our relocation
12 activities, the white community wouldn't stand for
13 families with large numbers of children or anybody,
14 elderly or anybody, being put on the street.

15 I don't think anybody has ever seen families
16 wandering around.

17 Q I am not referring to that.

18 A I mean because they have been put out and
19 if you please, we are heavily supervised by the Relocation
20 Departments of the Federal Government.

21 As a matter of fact, we have been under very heavy
22 review because of the incident of the medical school.

23 MR. GIBBONS: We will adjourn at this
24 point.

25 * * *