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DOMINICK A. SPINA, Sworn.

EXAMINATION

BY MR. ROBINSON:

Q Director, my notes indicate that at your last appearance we left off just about the time the National Guard and State Police arrived.

Could you give us your recollection of the chain of command that was set up and the events immediately following the arrival of these two outside groups?

A Well, this is July 14 and we had already had a conference, as I recall, and I think I testified last session at the Roosevelt Armory with General Cantwell, Governor Hughes, Colonel Kelly and Mayor Addonizzio and we had decided on a plan of action.

I think I told you that a proclamation was made at that time.

The call-up was made for 1,000 National Guardsmen and we located the command post for the National Guardsmen at the City Stadium and the Essex Troop Armory.

Then I think I told you that I asked the General and the Governor and the Mayor to make a tour of the target areas that were hit during the night to see with their own eyes what was going on and the scene was fantastic.

There were lines of people waiting to go into stores

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for loot, people running around with all kinds of clothing. Any kind of article you can think of was being walked around with.

the same time stay at the location in order to protect the consumer's goods.

If we had had the National Guard in there at that time we would have prevented a great deal of loss, in my opinion, today.

I also feel that if this happened again and I found myself in the same circumstances with lack of manpower to make arrests because it takes time to process prisoners, I would use different techniques.

For example, I would load these stores up after
they had been partially looted with tear gas to prevent
people from going in and further looting these stores.

incapable of keeping manpower at the scene of these places that were being looted and at the same time process the prisoners.

Q Could you tell us the plan of action that you say was set up among the 3 law enforcement groups?

A Well, we decided to set up a perimeter and checkpoints in this target area that was bounded roughly by Springfield Avenue and Central Avenue running down to

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Broad Street and in this perimeter running up to the
Irvington line and within this perimeter we were going
to run strong patrols in order to try to deter as many
looters as we possibly could and try to keep down as much
as we could the violence and the crime, any possible
crimes that were going to be committed.

work as one unit. As a matter of fact, it was decided that the National Guard would operate under the State Police and that we in the Newark Police would retain over-all jurisdiction but would work in cooperation and would coordinate any plans that we might make with the State Police.

The State Police set up their own C.P. at the

Essex Armory, the Roseville Avenue Armory, and we moved

one of our radio communications nets over to the Roseville

Avenue Armory so that we could work together in con-

effective and successful method of operation?

the activities. As a matter of fact, it took time for the National Guard to come on the scene.

It was a matter of 8 to 10 hours before they appeared.

Meanwhile the State Police were functioning and they

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were operating with us.

Inasmuch as this was a new endeavor and as far as

I know had not been done before at least in the East Coast,

it took a little time to coordinate the activity.

That was one of the reasons we found it necessary to send over one of our receiving and sending sets to the Roseville Avenue Armory and we had to, we found out, put a man of high rank in order to get the kind of cooperation that was required at the scene.

The realization that this was necessary took 8, 10 hours. After this was set up there were very few flaws in the plan and the method of operation that we had.

I think that in the future, based on the experience that we have had during the riot, that the coordination and cooperation would be more simple.

We lacked certain things, for example. There had not been proper planning done beforehand because we did not anticipate this kind of a disturbance.

For example, we had insufficient maps to give to
the National Guard and the State Police. The State Police
and the National Guard knew very little about the city.

It was necessary for us preliminarily, if there is such a word, to have Newark Policemen escort the patrols that were established so that they would know exactly what

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streets to operate from and what locations they were to operate in, and I am talking about geographic areas.

Q Now you say that there had been improper planning because you couldn't anticipate what would happen.

Do you feel that there is now effort being made for proper planning in the event of a future civil disorder?

A We are in the process of setting up these plans now.

Q Could you tell us about that?

A Well, for example, the State Police already have their communications set up in the Roseville Armory. Telephone communications are already there.

In case there is any problem all they do is just move the manpower in.

Prior to this it was necessary to physically get
the apparatus and set it up. This will no longer be
necessary, plus based on the experience of the men
working together and knowing one another on a first name
basis I think it is going to be a tremendous factor
in getting the kind of cooperation that we feel will be
necessary if it ever happens.

Q the Both with the National Guard and the State
Police?

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A Well, not so much the National Guard.

Why the difference?

A We have problems with the National Guard.

that was foreign to them.

riot training whatsoever.

role where they envisioned a foreign enemy.

They had no concept of restraint. They had no experience, battlefield experience except for a few older NCO's and some commissioned officers, and I don't think that they had the proper perspective or that they could even envision it.

by the National Guard.

I think that a lot of the reports of snipers was due to the-- I hate to use the word trigger-happy guardsmen who were firing at noises and firing indiscriminately sometimes, it appeared to me, and I was out in the field at all times.

C.P. There were little time in the office or the

I think the National Guard today or I know they are, is now undergoing riot training and perhaps we won't

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have the kind of problem that we did have with them originally.

Q Was there any attempt during the disorders, to your knowledge, either by National Guard officials, State Police or your group, to control the trigger-happy National Guardsmen?

A I think I am the only one that knows of any instance and that was one that I participated in myself.

Q What was that?

A Well, for example, we were having repeated reports of snipers from the Columbus homes located on 7th Avenue in the vicinity of Wood Street.

As a matter of fact, one of our housing policemen was shot in the leg on that corner.

This was persistent for many days.

I think it was the third day when I felt that there was something wrong because of the kind of reports that I was getting about the so-called sniping and I went into the area.

It was right after a conference that we had in the Roseville Avenue Armory.

There were maybe 200 National Guardsmen all the way down 7th Avenue hiding behind trucks, hiding behind trees and poles and automobiles and looking up at this

project.

There were also a number of State Troopers hiding behind their own vehicles and looking up at the project.

As I approached the area I asked the lieutenant in charge of the State Troopers, "Have you seen any firing or have you heard any?"

He said "I heard a couple of shots. I don't know where they are from. I don't know who did the shooting."

much to the amazement of the Guardsmen and the State

Police, including my own men, because I felt that if

there were any snipers in that building they would

shoot at me and they didn't.

As I approached the last quadrangle, I did hear a shot and frankly, it frightened me.

Then I saw running from this quadrangle 3 Guardsmen and as I approached them I noticed that one acted suspicious and I said to him "Did you fire a shot?"

He said "Yes, I did."

I said "Why did you fire?"

He said "Well, a man was close to the window and I shouted for him to duck back and he didn't so I fired a shot across the window to frighten him back inside."

I said "Do you know what you did? You just frightened another 150, 200 Guardsmen on this street.

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out, b"You have created hysteria on this street.

"I want to show you what is happening."

I brought him in the middle of the street and there were Guardsmen in gutters, squatting way down behind trucks.

I said "This is what you caused."

I called the lieutenant of the National Guard over and I said "You better send word up to your men that nobody has fired anything except your own Guardsmen and he only did it as a warning to some person there."

Meanwhile the Newark Police went through the building and they did bring out two persons who were reported by intelligence who had guns in the houses but there were no guns found.

We had no problem at all and I thought everything
was fine until I got to the corner of Sheffield Street
and then I heard two more loud shots that sounded like
Wi-l's and I told my driver to shoot up to the last building
on Sheffield Street and we got there and I told him to
go in the back and I went in the front.

Meanwhile, 4 truckloads of Guardsmen came up and two automobiles with State Police.

As I went inside the building I could hear no noise.

So I decided there was no sense of my going in alone.

While I am standing in the doorway my driver came

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out, his name is Jack Bucci, and he was laughing.

I said "What are you laughing about?"

He said "Well, somebody just threw down one or two of those torpedoes. This is the noise that we heard."

I said "Are you serious?"

He said "It's true."

So I went behind there and there were 2 or 3

Puerto Ricans sitting on the circular flower wall and I asked one of them, I sat alongside of him and I said

"Who is throwing the fireworks?"

In his broken English he said to me "You look behind you on the 7th floor, there is a man looking out the window with a white shirt. He is the one that has been throwing them!"

So I said "Thank you" and when the Newark Police came over I sent them upstairs and they made the arrest.

We had no more incidents of shooting in that whole project the rest of the time.

Actually we could only verify 79 reports of snipers during the entire disturbance.

Q By reports you mean shots or people?

A Shots that we verified.

Q In other words, you verified 79 shots?

A No. We verified 79 areas where shots were fired. We have them in my statistical report here.

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MR. MEYNER: Could they have been the

on made no same THE WITNESS: Not these 79.

MR. MEYNER: You said 79 reports.

from it or what o THE WITNESS: That's right. We had Mind no many, many more than that, maybe hundreds, but they could not be verified.

MR. MEYNER: You believe that 79 of these might have been by snipers?

THE WITNESS: Yes. We did arrest snipers, you know, Governor, much to the disbelief of a lot of people.

page 1 know of at least 7 snipers that we arrested and there may be more.

MR. MEYNER: How many have been indicted? THE WITNESS: I don't know. I haven't followed it through,

Of these verified sniping reports, the 79, can you give us any significant pattern from them or any conclusion that you or your people were able to

A We know some of the arrests that we made are people from outside the city.

Q Do you recall where they were from or whether that too had a pattern?

A No. I believe this report will indicate it.

There was no pattern, really. The sniping that went
on made no sense at all.

I tried to study it to see what I could discover from it or what could be revealed from it and I could find no sensible pattern.

What problems, if any, arose and the progress of events, including the successes you had in containing the riots?

A Well, the main problem we had at the beginning as we toured the area-- incidentally, I arrested almost 50 people myself that morning with the Governor following us and I arrested only the flagrant ones.

Q These were looters or snipers?

A Looters. That morning there were no snipers.

A Regular MR. MEYNER: You are talking about

Friday morning?

the sights that we saw of people just taking ashcans and throwing them through the windows think only land people just nonchalantly walking down the entire insurstreet.

for carrying guns. As the Governor explained it, there was

Again I am making the point all over
again that if we had manpower, like National
Guardsmen available that day, I think we
would have prevented a great deal of looting
and a great deal of disorder.

Q Does this indicate that perhaps the National Guard should have been called sooner?

A Perhaps. You know, these are decisions that are difficult to make. It is the old story about the Monday morning quarterback.

another situation like this confronting me again I would not hesitate whatsoever to call the National Guard and State Police.

Q Much sooner?

A Yes. Well, we were making a great many arrests during that whole day.

Q Did this follow any age pattern?

A No.

Q Or any social structure pattern?

A No. They were predominantly Negroes. I think only 32 Puerto Ricans were arrested during the entire insurrection and some whites were arrested, some for carrying guns.

Q Both male and female?

A For looting there were male and female, but they went from all age brackets and some, preculiarly, were not poor people.

For example, one of the men we arrested owned his own house on -- I forget what street.

They were moving a safe out of a building and he was making between \$200 and \$250 a week.

Now this man certainly wasn't poor.

Q Your department under your direction has compiled arrest statistics which you have given to us, is that correct?

A Well, if I haven't given them to you I have them here to give to you.

Q Could we have those?

A Yes.

Q Just describe what they are generally.

Well, this one is the--

MR. DRISCOLL: Referring to a blue-

THE WITNESS: Yes, Governor.

fiscated injured during the riot and it gives the New to number of them, how many were born in Newark.

The ne 1,018 born in other areas than Newark.

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personnel which he It gives the statistics of the part
to you. I crimes that occurred during the riot.

Q Part 1 meaning what?

as criteria by the FBI and I.A.C.P., International
Association of Chiefs of Police, of the serious crimes,
for measuring the quantum of crime in any city and
there are crimes like murder, rape, robbery, burglary,
atrocious assault and battery, larceny under \$50, larceny
over \$50 and auto thefts and aggravated assault, in
case I didn't say that.

Q What are the other statistical documents you are allowing us to have?

A One is a copy of the weapons that were con-

and serial numbers.

Q Any pattern established from that, Director?

A No, sir. Most of them are small arms.

We did have some automatic and some semi-automatic guns.

fiscated. Least one or two were burned by Malekan took

reports and this covers again July 12 to 17.

The next is a report on the injuries to police

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personnel which has been compiled and we will give them to you.

There were a total of 75 policemen who were injured in the line of duty, one of whom was killed.

One officer got 25 sutures, another 8, another 6 sutures, another officer of 6 sutures and then one officer with 5 sutures, 24 got glass in the eyes, cuts and human bites.

Five received gunshot wounds and, of course, one was fatal.

There were 40 bruises and sprains, 3 heart attacks, one of which was fatal, one exhaustion and two broken bones.

I submit this report.

The next is a detailed report of those arrested on weapons charges from July 14 to 17.

Q Any pattern from that, Director?

A I could not deduce any pattern.

The next is a report on the damage to police vehicles which was extensive. There were many vehicles which had their windows smashed.

At least one or two were burned by Molotov cocktails.

The total damage was \$5,365.92.

Some cars had tires shot out. At least 75 tires were

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shot out.

next.

Our Bureau of Planning and Research, which compiled this report, states that they have 79 verifications by the National Guard, Newark Police and State Police.

Of that total the Newark Police were fired upon 25 times, 5 reported in the First Precinct, 6 reported in the Second Precinct, 5 reported in the Fourth Precinct and 9 reported in the Fifth Precinct.

The New Jersey State Police were fired upon 20 times, two reported in the First Precinct, 7 reported in the Second Precinct, 9 reported in the Fourth Precinct and two reported in the Fifth Precinct.

The National Guard was fired on a total of 5 times, one in the First Precinct, 3 in the Second Precinct and one in the Fourth Precinct.

At no time during this entire disturbance were any sniper shots reported in the Third Precinct.

Q Any significance to that, Director?

A The significance is that we had no looting, no damage to any property whatsoever in the Third Precinct and we had no appreciable number of Negroes in any area of this precinct.

This is a precinct that is composed of many, many

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ethnic groups and nationalities but it has grassroots in it.

It has the lowest crime rate in the City of Newark.

These people are proud of their area, the Down Neck Section, they call it, and this is one of the better sections for the lack of crime.

MR. MEYNER: And it is very modest economically, isn't it?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Director, could you quickly identify the part of the city that each precinct is in, 1, 2, 3 and 4?

You said Down Neck is the Third.

How would you describe the area covered by the Fourth, Second and so on?

THE WITNESS: Well, the Fourth Precinct covers an extensive area with varying types of population running from the ghetto area all the way up to the almost middle-class Vailsburg Section.

the Central Ward area. This is an area which has one of the highest incidences of crime in the state.

The Fifth Precinct is an area which was

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once predominantly Jewish.

and becoming more and more inhabited by
Negroes everyday.

The Jewish people are moving out rather rapidly.

MR. MEYNER: Does that include Weequahic?

THE WITNESS: This is the Weequahic

Section in lower Clinton Hill and Upper Clinton

Hill Section.

This is the area that we are having a great many problems with robberies, muggings, especially burglaries.

I have had to put a lot of extra details in this section the past month.

We have been successful in cutting down crime quite a great deal in the Fifth Precinct because of these extra precautions I have been taking because I don't want too many middle-class Negroes and whites to keep moving out of the city.

Now the Second Precinct is another area of heterogeneous population.

It has large segments of Negroes but

these are not as troublesome as the Negroes, for example, in the Central Ward area and those in the Lower Clinton Hill area.

So we have less crime in the Second Precinct than we have in the Fourth or the Fifth.

We have an extensive Puerto Rican culture in the Second Precinct but we don't have the problems with the Puerto Ricans that we do have with the Negroes.

Puerto Rican has his life centered around a family, where the father is the boss in the family organization where on the other hand, unfortunately, in my opinion, in a great many, perhaps as many as 40 percent of the Negroes in the city, they are matriarchies where the woman rules the house either because she is not married or because the husband has divorced here or just simply deserted her, which happens very many times.

population in the Forest Hills Section.

This is probably the best section of the

City of Newark today when it comes to the

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type of homes and the residential character of the area.

CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Barringer would be in this precinct?

THE WITNESS: Barringer is in this precinct.

Now Barringer's problem is that they are bussing hundreds of kids into Barringer
High School and it only has room for I think
2,100 and there's about six or seven hundred
more kids than should be there and a great
many of the Negro kids who are being bussed
into Barringer don't even want to come to
Barringer.

areas.

I think too that the other factors

I mentioned about Barringer is that they are
reflecting right now the attitude, the conversations and the atmosphere that pervades
in their own homes and in their own neighborhoods when they talk about hatred for the white
man.

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THE WITNESS: Yes. I probably will have to do away with the First Precinct shortly because of urban renewal.

This is primarily the business section of the City of Newark.

It does have some housing projects in the western part of it. There aren't too many people living in the First Precinct at the present time.

MR. MEYNER: Isn't it true that there
was a basic long-time Puerto Rican element
in Newark down in the Down Neck Section?

THE WITNESS: No, sir. There were very few Puerto Ricans in the Down Neck Section in Newark.

MR. MEYNER: Were they Portugese?

THE WITNESS: Yes. These are probably the finest group that we have in the city outside of the Chinese.

We have absolutely no problem with the Portugese. They are hard-working people.

They insist on owning their own properties.

I guess they bring this from the other continent with them.

MR. MEYNER: Ten years ago I encountered

some of the Puerto Ricans who had been here as long as 20 and 25 years.

THE WITNESS: Well, if there were there were very few of them.

We have now approximately -- and this is just my opinion -- around 40,000 Puerto Ricans in the City of Newark.

MR. DRISCOLL: The Vailsburg Section that you referred to, that is in the Fourth Precinct?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. DRISCOLL: But that is a relatively trouble-free area, is it not?

It is practically trouble-free.

A great many people who live there are city employees.

MR. DRISCOLL: They own their own homes?

THE WITNESS: Most of them own their own homes. They have grassroots there, which is another important factor I think when it comes to talking about a lack of disorder and a lack of crime in any community.

MR. DRISCOLL: Would it be fair to say that it is your opinion that where you have a

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complete family, husband and wife and children, and where you have home ownership, you are less likely to have crime than where you have broken homes and tenants?

THE WITNESS: You are absolutely right.

75 percent of the juvenile crimes, for example,
is composed of people from broken homes.

You are absolutely right.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Have they made studies, psychological studies in analyzing this sort of thing?

For example, is it compensation sometimes on the part of the young man who will turn to thievery and so forth to compensate for the lack of affection and love at home and this sort of thing?

Have they done any studies of that sort?

THE WITNESS: They haven't done many studies on it.

you find out there was a study made by two Rutgers professors.

seen it maybe I might have done something

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about it but they indicated in this report
that there were a substantial number of
people, especially in the Negro and povertystricken areas, who could not be reached,
they were violently aggressive, they were
probably criminally inclined and that they
predicted that they would perpetually be
involved in crime and disorder.

This is the only survey or investigation by sociologists or psychologists that I have heard of in the City of Newark.

The people, in my opinion, who actually were involved in the stone-throwing and even some of the original Molotov cock-tails were kids between the ages of 13 to 19 and these were kids, I think I explained before, that nobody has ever reached.

The church has not reached them. The school system certainly has not reached them.

areas which has ever reached them and these kids just grow wild on street corners and in the basements of these projects and a lot of these abandoned homes that we have.

people Nobody supervises them. Those that are

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the most brutal, the most violently aggressive are the ones that generally wind up as leaders.

This is S.O.P., we know.

As I indicated once before, I think the worst thing that happened to the city were these multi-storied animal boroughs, I call them, where everybody loses his identity.

People on the next floor don't even know one another. They look like strangers to one another.

It makes everybody lose caste and it puts everybody in the same low common denominator.

The more violent and the more aggressive the leaders are in this project or any floor or part of the project, this is the low common denominator that the rest will reach.

If there are people in the project who are on a higher educational or cultural plane, they become so frightened that they would do anything to move out.

So it leaves these kind of people who need help and we have too many of these people in one building and these groups of

buildings, I should call them, a cluster, have as high as 10,000 people in them and you have a lot of problems, a great many problems and I don't know how you are going to solve them.

One of the best things that could be done -- and I have said this before -- is to tear down these buildings.

give them to couples, not people who have children.

Now may I finish this?

CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Yes, go ahead.

THE WITNESS: This is the result of the sniper fire.

arrested, where they live and the charge.

This is an extensive file.

I think whoever your staffmen are who are going to compile your report or assist in it, this gives by date the type of crime that occurred, the hour that it occurred and by the minute too, it is very good, and the arrests that were made.

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Set. There were 250 incidents of fires.

This is a report from Director Caulfield of the Fire Department.

It tells where the fires occurred, the time of day and the date and the cause.

For example, you will find many of
these buildings that burned, burned because of
Molotov cocktails or incendiaries; it is
a very helpful report, I think.

Now this is the type of damage that was done to departmental vehicles during the riot.

I thought you might be interested in the violence, the extreme violence that happened.

This is part of the other one and it is the people who were arrested during the civil disturbance and the state and towns that they came from.

I think you will find this helpful.

MR. ROBINSON: Could we have those all marked as one exhibit?

(Folder marked Exhibit C-66 in evidence.)

in the event a kind of a manual or guideline is being set by this Commission, these can be taken into consideration.

One of the most important problems
that we had, for example, was the processing
of prisoners. We have read in the newspapers,
especially in the last few days, of the
so-called brutal treatment and imprisonment
of prisoners.

Well, I want to tell you that we did the best we possibly could considering the circumstances that beset us.

We tried to process the prisoners the best we possibly could.

in It got so that every cell, every precinct cellblock was loaded with prisoners.

It wasn't right to have as many as we did in each cell but we knew no other way to house these people.

In certain precincts, for example, we used some of the rooms that we use for questioning to house these prisoners.

became loaded. There were instances too where

some of the prisoners were improperly fed because of the fact that they might have been fed in police headquarters, for example, but by the time they were moved from a cell in a precinct to a police headquarters, somebody didn't know that they had not been fed when they got to the police headquarters and there were instances where people didn't eat, say, for 14, 20 hours.

I don't really know but we know this happened.

We then in desperation fanned out, even though we had our own problems with the disturbance and the physical violence, we tried to fan out to see what we could do in order to get space for these prisoners.

Marshall, who agreed to take a number of prisoners and he very graciously came all the way down from his house to assist and stayed at the Federal Building in assisting us.

assist us both by transporting prisoners
and also by making it possible with the
Warden of the Newark Street Jail to accommodate

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more prisoners.

The next thing we did was to finally reach out and get the old Sussex Avenue Armory.

This Armory was impregnable. It was necessary again for us to use extra manpower for security both outside and inside.

We had to reach out for the Civil

Defense to furnish us with cots and blankets

for these individuals and, of course, we

lost hundreds of these.

We never got them back. This has cost the City of Newark I think \$15,000 or \$18,000 just to house the prisoners without the food.

We did something novel that I think should be incorporated in any future plans concerning a disturbance like this if it ever happens again.

when you make mass arrests, the arresting officer very often forgets the identity of the prisoner.

Sometimes he forgets the crime that the man was charged with and sometimes he loses

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the identity of the subject matter, the loot, for example.

system -- and this is my own idea -- where
whenever a prisoner was brought in, that a
picture was taken of the prisoner with the
arresting officer and if he had any loot or
any evidence with him, that that too was
photographed at the same time.

We had a photographer in each precinct.

I think this is one of the reasons why the prosecution is doing so well in these cases.

Now I would like to also tell you about some of the things that the Governor did as a result of the conference that we had with him.

from the Laws of 1942, Chapter 251, with its amendments and supplements.

Number 1, that there shall be no movement of vehicular traffic in the City of Newark between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. of the following day except for the movement of police, fire, National Guard and such other

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vehicles as may be permitted by the Governor.

This regulation shall not be effective as to the Garden State Parkway, New Jersey

Turnpike and State Highways Number 1 and 22.

- 2. There shall be no vehicular traffic within such areas of the City of Newark as the Governor may from time to time designate and at such hours as he shall designate during periods other than the hours expressed in Regulation Number 1 as aforesaid.
- 3. No person shall remain in or upon the public streets, ways and places of the City of Newark between the hours of 11 p.m. and 6 a.m. of the following day, except as shall be authorized by the Governor.
- to dispense alcoholic beverages at retail or
 for on-premise consumption shall close operation
 of their business during the pendency of this
 emergency except that hotels may remain open
 for the service of food and supply other
 accommodations to guests.
- National Guard, local police authorities

 or any other person as may be authorized by

had to be alin any motor vehicle, carriage, motorcycle,

le and or otherwise, or carry on or about his

clothes or person or otherwise have in his

possession or under his control alcoholic

beverages, narcotics, firearms or explosives

un have over of any kind during this emergency.

Guard and local police authorities are

He to hereby directed and ordered to take any and
but the Ar all measures requisite to quell the dis
mentification turbances and outbreaks of violence, to

In so secure areas within the City of Newark,

some of the to prevent and deter actual or threatened

Incid harm to persons or properties and generally
in Newark, to take all actions necessary to implement

about, the and effectuate these regulations."

Q Now in your view, Director, were these regulations promulgated by the Governor effective?

A Well, not immediately.

the p Q age Or should there have been others?

city ordinances I feel were sufficient.

Q the Were any problems raised by these regulations?

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example, relaying to the taverns in the city that they had to be closed.

We asked Mr. Lordi to get on the radio and broadcast it.

There were announcements in the newspaper but it appears some of these people don't read newspapers and we have over 916 taverns in the City of Newark and 260 package stores and 60 club licenses and it was difficult to reach them.

but then Mr. Lordi sent his own people out and they did a magnificent job.

In some instances it took almost all day to have some of these taverns closed.

in Newark, that somebody sometime should do something about, the number of taverns that we have in the city.

It is shocking. As I said before, you have about 916 or 920 taverns and if you take the population of the city and divide it by the number of taverns and forgetting the package stores, forget the club licenses, the 60 club licenses, they average about 440 men, women and children for each tavern and I think this is abnormal.

taverns down to about half.

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A lot of the disorder that we have in the city
emanates from taverns. They create the kind of climate and
the kind of conditions which ruin neighborhoods.

This is one of the reasons I have been fighting in this city the transfer of licenses, especially those that have been made impossible to operate because of urban renewal to residential areas and I think somebody should do something.

arrests, was a uniform bail system set up?

If so, tell us about it and how that worked.

A Chief Magistrate DelMauro and Magistrate

Aaron Narol and Harry Hazelwood, Jr. set uniform bail

at \$2,500 for breaking, entering and receiving and in

parentheses I have (looting) and \$5,000 for possession

of a gun and \$10,000 for possession of a Molotov cocktail

or fire bomb.

Q Now from a law enforcement viewpoint, was that effective or would you have any comment on that?

A Well, I think in the main I disagree with Judge Whipple when he said that you should not have a

uniform bail the street where they make these speeches to

I think you should have a uniform bail, especially in these instances, so that everybody knows what the situation is. Of course, you know what happened after that.

There was a liberalization of these rules and a lot of them went out on their own custody. This was several days later.

equip I feel that in order to deter crime and disorder in any city that you have got to have a strict policy and I think that these people should be made to understand that they cannot break the law of this city or state and nation and just walk out just because people feel sorry for them.

Q Is there any history in your investigation tending to show that people who were arrested at the beginning of riots were released on bail and later re-arrested for continuing their illegal conduct?

A I think there were several instances of this.

Q So your suggestion would be, I take it, that in any long disturbance that those arrested in the beginning, if possible, be kept in jail?

could Asse I do, yes, especially those people who are the kind of militant, strident voices which create the climate that we do have.

Guard I think it is a mistake to set these people back out in the street where they make these speeches to incite and to agitate people and to stir them up to create more crime and more disorder.

did be I think it is absolutely wrong.

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12 AT 200 ST 5 suffereQ in Now was there a meeting on the morning of July 14 in which you participated or your representative, with the Mayor and Council regarding the purchase of equipment?

includ A No. I didn't get to the meeting.

Q Did you have a representative there?

Into A No, we didn't. I think Chief Kelly has some kind of liaison with the City Council.

you w Q What came of that meeting?

A Well, the City Council practically gave us a blanket check to get any equipment that we needed to put down the insurrection.

these It was peculiar because prior to that --

Q That was a little late, wasn't it?

the c.A. Yes. Prior to that we couldn't even get money to buy 50 shotguns. We didn't have any modern helmets, for example. So many hundreds of things we could have used and didn't have.

by the Q to Now could you take us through the rest of the time up to the morning of July 16 when the National Guardsmen and State Police were withdrawn?

A Well, I think the 15th saw the institution of strong patrols through the barricaded area.

I think this was one of the best things that we did because we didn't suffer the losses that had been

Spina

suffered in other riot-stricken areas, for example, Watts and Detroit.

In those cities the authorities created barricades and prevented anybody from going in or going out, including themselves.

They wouldn't even send fire vehicles, for example, into the Detroit target areas, and the same thing in Watts, and that's why if you ride through the Detroit riot area you will find block after block of burnt-out homes and most of them were residential homes.

They were burnit-out because they had no aggressive patrols, nor were fire trucks permitted to go in these areas.

Our Fire Department did a magnificent job here in the city.

Was killed they went into the areas.

Of course, they were always accompanied principally by the City Police.

Later on, I think it was on the 15th, they began to be accompanied by National Guardsmen.

the work that they did.

I am talking about the firemen.

The curfews were very good after the first day.

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Springfield Avenue and cars were removed from Springfield
Avenue because this was the center of the looting and
the center of the disorder that was pervading this
target area.

City Hospital?

deem A to Yes.

Q What did that reveal?

being used against hospital personnel and against the hospital.

It was necessary for us to send 6 policemen to guard the City Hospital and from time to time we had to send contingents of National Guardsmen and State Troopers and City Police to clear the areas of snipers.

City Hospital.

for example.

anymore until we put two policemen in each ambulance that went out.

and I am talking about all the doctors, the nurses,

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including these ambulance operators.

They deserve a lot of credit for their courage and for the amount of hours that they spent during this insurrection.

Negro leaders calling for the early withdrawal of the State Police and the National Guard, as they callit, to deescalate the city's crisis.

It was the feeling of the Negro leaders that
the augmentation of the City Police by the State Police
and the National Guard created and intensified the unrest.

Ave. Q Did you agree with that?

A Not entirely. I only agreed with one part of it and that was the indiscriminate firing of weapons by the National Guardsmen.

and they lacked training in these areas and in effect
they would fire on practically any noise that they heard
and sometimes — you know, they carried weapons that
fire over a mile and this is one of the reasons why we
had reports of sniper fire.

Springfield Avenue and maybe a mile down from Springfield
Avenue, in the North Ward here someplace, the shots
would land someplace and neighbors would call up and say

:12

there is sniping going on in this area.

guilty of.

As a matter of fact, I think on the morning of the 16th I went to the Governor myself at 5:30 in the morning and I asked him to withdraw the National Guard because of this one situation.

I did think they were absolutely necessary and important for patrolling and I think they were absolutely essential and important for security purposes.

For example, we needed them around the Sussex Avenue Armory where prisoners were housed.

We needed them in areas where communications were vital to the city.

We needed them in areas where there might be danger or peril to the city, for example, a water system.

We placed them around these locations. We put them around certain bridges where we felt that somebody might blow them up.

We didn't know to what extent the organization and plans of the guerillas were in the city and we didn't take any chances.

We also had, for example, and we found this out during the first day of the rioting, that one certain furrier, which I will not mention by name, had over

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\$38\frac{1}{2}\$ million of furs in one building and we needed the National Guard, we needed the physical presence of them for this purpose, for example.

MR. DRISCOLL: If you had had a sufficient number of State Police available in comparable numbers, would you have preferred to have the State Police come in or the National Guard?

THE WITNESS: State Police.

MR. DRISCOLL: We have had some evidence that the Newark Police had had no training with respect to the use of tear gas.

fact that in retrospect you would have used tear gas.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

Newark Police had had no training in tear
There was a gas usage?

Covernor on training in riot control in the City of Newark.

Guard has be Of course, for tear gas you don't need much investigated training.

this time spin and throw it.

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of the righting. That's no problem.

They gone MR. MEYNER: And which way the wind is no end the blowing.

provoke dienale THE WITNESS: When you throw it you have to be away from it.

Indiacrial makes Yes, we needed the National Guard.

There were things about them I didn't like.

I agree with the Governor that I would much rather if we could have the requisite number or a sufficient number of State Police rather than the National Guardsmen.

would have been CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Let's take a break for 10 minutes.

police are only human (RECESS)

Q Director, could you continue with your narrative of the chain of events, please?

A Well, again we are talking about the 16th. There was a series of charges that State Troopers and Guardsmen fired into Negro-owned stores and that the Governor announced that the State Police and National Guard has been charged with this and that they would be investigated. Without ball of the land of

There were many comments by the Negro leaders during this time and they differed widely in their interpretations Spina

of the rioting.

to end the disorder by force and that it would only provoke diehard retaliation by a few Negroes.

indiscriminate firing by State Police and National Guardsmen would be investigated.

He did say, and I quote, "I want to assure the people that the State Police are not in the business of doing anything but protecting citizens.

"Without them on the scene, many hundreds of people would have been killed.

"However, if the charges are true and after all, police are only human, then justice will be done."

Then he assigned Major Victor Galassi, of the State Police, together with the Criminal Investigation Section, to make an investigation of the problems.

official indifference to past demands, and presented a list of 7 immediate and 23-long range demands.

These included withdrawal of all policemen and Guardsmen, adequate food supply for those in the affected area, release without bail of all those arrested, prosecution of "White Night Riders", independent review of police brutality charges and immediate payment of welfare checks.

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Donald Tucker, an organizer for the U.C.C., disputed charges by Governor Hughes that the riot was a criminal insurrection.

He claimed the cause of the trouble was the administration and the criminal element is basically in City Hall and the Governor's office.

Now they also made demands of 50,000 new jobs within one month at \$2.50 per hour, recruitment of only Negroes for the police force until they are at least 50 percent of the Newark Police Department, new parks, swimming pools and community centers and restriction of the medical school site to 50 acres with 50,000 new housing units.

of the 1,650 prisoners who would give evidence leading to the conviction of a sniper.

Attorney General Arthur Sills would urge Essex

County Prosecutor Brendan Byrne to propose maximum

sentences for charges growing out of sniping incidents

and the Governor stated that he would ask the State

Supreme Court to expedite the court calendars to allow

the earliest possible prosecuting of these cases.

The police estimated that 25 snipers were operating in the ghetto and that some of the snipers arrested were from outside the city.

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At this time the police believe that some dead snipers were still in or around the buildings in the Central Ward.

Stopping there a minute, Director, have the police under your direction made efforts preceding the riots and subsequent to the riots to recruit members of so-called minority groups into the police force?

A We were very earnest and still are to recruit members of the minority race.

- What successes have you had? Q
- A Very meager success.
- Can you tell us why? Q

Negroes and Puerto Ricans don't seem to want A to become policemen. We have done as much recruiting as possible in both of these areas.

I even stopped myself and talked to some of them.

I think the feeling is that they can get better jobs with the intelligence that would afford them to be in the Police Department in outside private employment than worry about the hostility and harassment and lack of safety in the Police Department.

> MR. LOFTON: Director, have you received a proposal from I believe it is a subcommittee of the Committee of Concern with respect to a Frederick Douglas, I believe is the name,

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police recruitment kind of projection?

THE WITNESS: I have had a conversation with Mr. Malcolm Talbot concerning this, yes.

MR. LOFTON: Were the kinds of things
outlined in the proposal by Mr. Talbot insofar
as police recruitment or recruitment of
potential Negro policemen for the Police
Department?

Did Mr. Talbot outline in terms of a written proposal--

THE WITNESS: No, not yet. I have not seen a written proposal.

I welcome any kind of assistance in that area.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: In the recruitment could we get some energy in the Negro community, do you feel?

MR. LOFTON: I think so, Bishop, and I think that this proposal that I have referred to, I have seen the written proposal and I don't know whether or not this was after the discussion that the Director refers to between himself and Malcolm Talbot, who is the Co-Chairman of the Committee of Concern, which

Spina

involves a broad cross-section of the community, including segments of the Negro population, and I think that if the proper kind of thrust is given behind that kind of proposal that it does have positive potential from what I see on paper because it takes a degree of implementation but from what I see in terms of the proposal I think it has good potential.

THE WITNESS: The big problem in the Negro area is the constant vexatious and frustrating protests by so-called Negro leaders about police brutality.

You know, you keep shouting police brutality and especially the Negro leaders, you are not going to get Negro young people to become policemen and I don't see how these same leaders who now come along can say to me 'Well, now we want to help you recruit." They have been continually harassing us.

They have been against us all this time. I don't know how they can help us at the present time.

If they tell me that they want to help

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me I still say I welcome their assistance.

MR. LOFTON: The understanding that I had anyway at the last meeting of the Committee of Concern concerning this proposal in terms of my being Co-Chairman of the Committee is concerned, is that the Negro leaders that you referred to, Director, are of the opinion that there is a kind of transitional development in terms of the fact that people who in terms of other segments of the population that were complaining about police brutality, the only way that is stopped is by that segment of the population to become a part of that organization that they were complaining about, in terms of the Italian segment of the community, the Irish segment of the community, in terms of police brutality, when they become more fully implemented into that organization that the complaints stopped and they feel as though that is one way to attempt to stop the complaints that are being brought to them by the citizenry of the community.

THE WITNESS: Well, I don't subscribe to

I feel that they have compounded our problems here in the city.

the conversations I have had with Mr. Talbot,
two weeks ago at your Committee of Concern
they passed a resolution coming out for a
black Captain for the Fourth Precinct.

the problem. This is discrimination in reverse.

Department now that you want the Police Department to take dictation from a group.

Department, including some of the Negroes.

and it more intensifies the distrust and
anger of the whites to see these kind of stateand of the the so-called Committee of Concern.

words and it concerns me, some of the things

You no the past month, and thank God for that, but

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among the po all of a sudden he shattered the peace that I was exercising with this resolution that a great dea was passed.

I don't think it is right for them to become involved in these situations.

It also angers the Negroes because they think that we are deliberately keeping the Negro from being in command of the Fourth Precinct.

long discussions Now this is not true. You just can't ligger arbitrarily remove a man who is the outgreat deal standing captain in the City of Newark today from the Fourth Precinct and put a Negro in there because he is a Negro.

I don't think it is right. I think men of reason and men of understanding will common agree with me.

Q Now could you give us your views, Director, on what events or what steps were directly related to the end of the riots?

where Why did they stop? " the next month or two we will

A Well, I think there came a realization to the people right in these areas that there was something wrong that was being done.

You no longer saw the carnival spirit and the laughter

among the people who were walking around these areas.

a great deal to deter disorder and criminal activity.

National Guard from the scene that there came a feeling amongst the populace in the city that things were going to be all right again.

When we removed, for example -- and these were all done with tenderhooks and with great trepidation and long discussions -- the lifting, for example, of the ABC liquor restrictions and the curfew, that this did a great deal too to alleviate the tension in the city.

I think all these had something to do with it.

evidence at all of so-called outside conspiracy?

A We have no actual evidence of any outside conspiracy.

present time those vestiges of evidence that we do have.

Where we hope that within the next month or two we will have enough evidence to bring to the prosecutor and before the Grand Jury in the hopes and expectations of getting indictments for conspiracy to commit riots.

Q Now could you tell us to what extent, if at all,

Spina

the Police Department participated in feeding the citizens of the riot areas?

except more to escort the food trucks back and forth.

We did have some members of the police auxiliary, believe it or not, the civilian members, who actually participated in the dispensing of the food in some areas.

We ourselves did no actual distribution except again to escort the trucks and to make sure that there was order in the distribution.

Now a number of specific questions, if I may.

We had some testimony that at about 9 p.m. on
Thursday night that information was given to top police
officials that outside help was needed and needed immediately.

Can you give us your comments on that, whether it occurred, whether the information reached you and what your position was at that time?

I understand from your testimony that outside help was not called for until about 2 a.m.

This was discussed.

Q At about 9 p.m.?

A No. I think it was later than that. I think it was closer to 11. I'm not sure about the time.

I personally discussed it with Deputy Chief Reddin

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at the time and I also had a conversation with the Mayor.

I called him on the phone. After the conversation

we decided not to call for outside help.

Q What was that decision based on at that time?

The feeling that conditions had improved and

we did not have a spread of looting and there was no

pattern of the spreading of the looting.

We felt that we had contained it.

Spina

the Mayor's at least up until about midnight that you would not need outside help?

A Right.

Q In your conversations with the Mayor was that decision to defer calling outside help based on anything other than the immediate police enforcement problem?

A That's right.

Q Were there any political considerations discussed by the Mayor?

A Not with me.

Q Do you know of any discussions that he might have had with others?

A No. As I said before, it was one of those

Q Now can you tell us or would it be in the statistics that you have submitted about how many people were involved over the entire period of the riots in

actual rioting in the sense of either sniping, looting, throwing things or whatever?

How many rioters are we talking about?

A I don't think we could actually say with proximity any number.

I would just say thousands.

Spina

I think there was an accepted fact, that many people did not think it was wrong to walk in and out of these stores and to get something for nothing.

There were some people who, of course, thought it was a dreadful situation but they certainly were not strong enough to offset the disorder and the criminality that was pervading this area.

question, could you roughly approximate what you might call the hard core?

How many might comprise the hard core?

I think it THE WITNESS: In numbers?

revolvers and Englishop DOUGHERTY: Yes.

THE WITNESS: Bishop, I could only say thousands.

and some rifles As I said before, it was one of those

the lephenomena that I didn't believe was possible

for a gigantic number of people like this to

A walk in and loot a store.

armor pletcing, a I saw it with my own eyes. Even the

you did tel indescribable.

and I come almost every store, for example, on Springfield Avenue had people walking in and out of
them and people just jauntily walking down the
street with all kinds of dry goods and whathave-you and without batting an eye and
without seemingly thinking it was wrong.

Q Now could you just tell us the types of weapons that were used by the 3 law enforcement agencies?

A Well, the Newark Police Department had some shotguns. At the beginning we only had about 25 shotguns.

Then we had some sent by special delivery from New Haven.

I think it was 200 of them. We used 30-caliber revolvers and this was about it. We had no other weapons.

Q How about the State Police?

A The State Police had shotguns, I think they had some rifles and they had their 38 specials that they use, the long muzzle.

Q How about the National Guard?

A The National Guard had everything, they had

armor piercing, automatic fire.

You name it and they had it.

Q On the amount of ammunition expended I believe you did tell us that it is impossible to give us any figures on that as to the 3 law enforcement agencies, and I correct, or can you give us an approximation?

A No, we can't.

Q No figures on that?

A We can't even give our own.

MR. GIBBONS: What method of control of ammunition do you have in the Newark Police Department?

THE WITNESS: Ordinarily it is very strict control, but during this disturbance it was absolutely physically impossible to keep tabulations of who you gave it to and in what quantities.

was expended or whether it is in somebody's house, like shotgun shells, for example.

ammunition was returned but not too much of it.

said can you suggest any steps that might be taken to maintain tighter control over ammunition

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in any future disturbance?

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THE WITNESS: What could be done?

MR. GIBBONS: Yes, especially in view of the danger of it getting out into the community.

THE WITNESS: Oh, I don't think there is any danger of it getting out into the community, but it is most difficult, I think, to keep records.

You need manpower to keep records and when you have a shortage of personnel like we were having, there is no keeping of records

If we got a phone call, for example, in the Fourth Precinct that they needed ammunition we would ask how many they needed and just send it up there.

I know from the person who received it at the precinct.

out in the field of operations needed ammunition and he radioed in for it or made a
phone call, this was arbitrarily sent to him.

communications, we found that they were

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monitoring our radios.

MR. GIBBONS: Who was?

THE WITNESS: The opposition, whoever they were.

We could tell from the pattern of the looting and the pattern of the sniping.

They would make a phone call telling us that there was sniper fire in a certain area and at the beginning we were sending out, not only talking about the City Police but I am talking about the State Police and the National Guard were doing the same thing and sometimes it would be 100 or 200 men at that location.

Meanwhile there would be looting in another area which had just been vacated and generally it would be called in "We are leaving 14th Street and so and so and we are going up to the sniping area" and they would come in and loot.

monitoring our radios.

that they were using C.B.R. radios to communicate with one another.

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We do have some messages that we are keeping confidential and so are the State

Police and in order to make identification of certain people, but I thought that would be an aside that this Commission would be interested in.

MR. LOFTON: Director, if I might, that surely suggests -- and I think this is very important -- a conspiracy kind of situation if people are intercepting the messages of the Police Department and causing the Police Department and the law enforcement contingent to vacate one area and go to another area and they knew that they are going to that other area and then by design bring in people, if that is occurring, and I am interested to know whether or not it would be an influx of people who may be in the area, once they see the police contingent that may be containing an area move out and these other people come in, but if I understand what you are saying, what you are saying is that the people who intercepted the message or who caused the message to be given to cause the police to move out then caused the crowd or their people

Spina

who were working with them in terms of the radio to come in and then loot, that surely suggests a conspiracy to me.

THE WITNESS: Well, we believe this or I believe it and some of my heirarchy believe it.

We definitely believe this and it is stronger than just a belief.

MR. GIBBONS: Without prejudicing the investigation could you tell us the basis of your belief?

THE WITNESS: I would rather not say at this time, if you don't mind, Mr. Gibbons.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: There were two parts to the question originally.

One was outside influence in conspiracy.

I think that Mr. Lofton's question could have been a sort of improvised local conspiracy without outside involvement.

THE WITNESS: I understand what he said, Bishop.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Is my interpretation a valid one?

THE WITNESS: Well, we are not too sure at this moment as to what participation there

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was from the outside.

We do know there was some and we had not known to what extent. These are some of the things that we are trying to ferret out at the present time.

MR. GIBBONS: Certainly nothing in the pattern of persons arrested on weapons charges from outside Newark would indicate any evidence of a conspiracy?

THE WITNESS: No.

MR. GIBBONS: I am referring to the list which is part of C-66.

THE WITNESS: That's right, Mr. Gibbons.

It does not indicate it.

MR. LOFTON: Director, there has been some testimony, as I recollect it, either by yourself and also one or two other witnesses who have testified, that there was use of private weapons when Mr. Robinson went through in terms of the types of weapons used, there was an indication that there were official kinds of weapons that would normally be the weapons used by the Police Department, by the National Guard or by the State Police.

that category would also be,

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faction?

you do have because of a shortage of weapons that the were a stall police officers had, as I understood it, in terms of their official issue, that it was necessary for the police officers to bring in their private weapons, their own shotguns, their own pistols or whatever have you to use to augment the artillery that they had, is that correct?

THE WITNESS: That's absolutely true. Many police officers went home and got their shotguns that they use for hunting and the stone used them.

MR. LOFTON: With respect to the additional appropriations that you mentioned that the City Council has authorized the police to secure additional weapons, do you feel as though that is sufficient to negate the necessity for police officers bringing in their own private weapons for use during the course of any possible future disorder of this kind?

THE WITNESS: Absolutely. We have enough weapons, enough equipment, that we I think, we don't need anything from the outside anymore. Q o be On that point, Director, you feel that today

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you do have adequate riot, crowd control equipment if there were a similar disorder of the same magnitude?

Well, it is being brought in.

Q It is in the works?

A That's right. Let me explain. Most of it has been ordered but it takes time for some of the manufacturing plants to deliver them.

A considerable number of this equipment has already been delivered. The shotguns, for example, the body protection armor, most of that has been delivered, the new riot sticks that we have, the plastic shields to ward off the stone-throwing, which a lot of our men got hurt from, the new helmets, safety helmets that are now in vogue have all been delivered.

Q As the top police official in Newark you are satisfied with the equipment phase of riot control today?

A With what we have ordered, absolutely.

Q What about training the men?

A I shouldn't say it but I am delighted.

Now on the training of the men--

Q Are things in the works there to your satisfaction?

A That's right. Beginning the week after next,

I think, we are making all weapons uniform. They are all

going to be Remington shotguns so that everyone has the

same training.

We have found that the Remington is a much better gun in that it has a better safety factor.

The Winchester, for example, you can only put a safety on it when you have a shell in the chamber, but not with the Remington. You could put the safety on anytime.

We are going to start firing the shotgun either next week or the week after for practice and for familiarization.

MR. LOFTON: Now Director, you indicated that there was a directive put out by the Governor with respect to the recommendation of maximum sentences for snipers that might be caught or apprehended and what-have-you.

There has been some testimony before
the Commission that to the knowledge of those
particular witnesses that there was no sniper
apprehended, which sort of leaves at least
the innuendo created by the testimony that
the community is not altogether accepting
the fact of the multiplicity or the number of
snipers and the like.

of the arrests made, were there any snipers

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apprehended?

THE WITNESS: Yes. We have at least 7 arrests that we know were snipers.

We can give you the names, if you would like.

The difficulty, of course, in these kind of arrests, you know firing is coming from a certain building.

By the time you get in there they have discarded the gun.

You will find the gun in the room and there have been shells expended but you didn't actually see him with the gun in his hand because you know very well the firing came from that building.

MR. LOFTON: With identifying that

testimony that he is the man who fired the

Now we do have at least 7 arrests that

I know of, and we are still checking them out,

and I have asked for a special follow-up on

these, where men were apprehended with guns

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in their hands.

hand and a pistol in his back pocket in one house and shells had been fired from that flat, that tenement.

MR. LOFTON: And the spent shells were

THE WITNESS: Yes, but you don't know what the courts are going to say though.

Q Now I take it from the testimony that I have heard -- and correct me if I am wrong -- that there was no significant pre-riot planning or training?

had prior to the riot was that riot training that each recruit goes through and certain specialized training that the Emergency Bureau undergoes, because they were primarily held responsible for handling riots, but, of course, you know they couldn't handle this one anyway.

There are only 39 men in this unit.

been extensive planning and coordination with outside help in the event of new riots, am I correct?

There has been some. I wouldn't say extensive

hours Q fee Are you satisfied with it? as superior officers

A Yes. We are going to go on and complete it.

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no to Q was With what groups, at least so far as the Police Department is concerned, are you working?

A The State Police.

Q Any others?

A No.

Q There is no coordination going on or none anticipated with the National Guard?

In A No.

Q Any special reason for that?

A There hasn't been any contact.

Q Do you think it would be a good idea to do it?

A Well, I think the State Police should do that. He was police then the second to the second the second to the seco

Q Do you know whether the State Police are doing it? I town at that time- and I don't respect the

A A I think so.

Q Now to clarify what at least to me is not clear in the record, could you tell us what orders, if any, were issued either before the riots or during the riots for the use of firearms by your men and under what circumstances?

A No orders were ever issued before the riot that I know of. I issued none. I think it was 8 or 9 hours after the riot started, I had some superior officers but I don't remember who they were, come up to me and ask

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me to give orders to fire the weapons.

Q That would be Friday morning, Director?

I believe so.

your Q so Go ahead.

It is on tape anyway in the communications. I looked at them in disbelief because I assumed that if you are being fired upon or you are being threatened in any way you have a legal right to use your weapon and I could not understand why these superior officers came to me and asked me to tell the men to fire their weapons.

Then I finally deduced that somehow or other, through the Police Department a rumor had spread that they were not permitted to use their weapons.

It was at that time-- and I don't remember the time-- that I gave the order that if you are being fired upon you have guns and use them.

shoulder weapon, use it.

This is one of the things that is talked about a great deal by the press and some of the people in the city.

you thought had been the complete understanding of your men?

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A What they were doing, right.

I suppose the answer is all of them-- of how many of your men were committed to the riot area at any time during the riots, or is it fair to say the whole Police Department was committed?

A Well, certain individuals had administrative duties.

They did not go out into the target areas, for example. Those who had charge of distribution of ammunition, the new equipment as it came in, for example, helmets, and that type of thing, didn't go out, and then you had certain men who because of the enormity of the prisoner processing, we had to detail men to this specific job who never did go out in the street either.

Q Then about how many men did you have out in the street if you could give us a figure over the period of the riots?

A Oh, I would say 1,000 easily.

Q Now could you tell me whether you agree with a statement that the Committee of Concern made during the riots: "It was the very presence of the show of armed strength which was causing much of the remaining violence."?

I believe they issued that statement during the riots.
Would you agree or disagree with that, looking back?

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A I think it was right after the riots that they issued that statement. No, I think it is a stupid statement.

Q Can you tell us why?

A Well, because you needed a show of force in order to compel disorder to subside.

If you didn't have a show of force they would have continued ad infinitum.

MR. LOFTON: Director, let me dee if I can get a clarification about that.

evening picket With respect to the activities that you give us were occurring, is it your view that without the show of force in terms of the presence cinct while of the enforcement contingents there with an immediate the kind of numbers that were there, that the people prior to the force coming in that were engaging in the looting and the unlawful entry into premises and so forth were also engaging in violence upon citizens in terms fere. For of the people in the target population being windows the Negro people principally attacking other nem in charge Negroes or attacking other white people and which did on therefore the show of force prevented this

You at kind of activity from occurring?

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and 13. be traveling through the target area who were severely beaten, including some women.

volume of the precinct for treatment, hysterical.

for the actual presence of people with arms
to repel! this kind of activity I don't
that have be think the disorder would have subsided.

Q Now referring to the Thursday late afternoonevening picketing in front of the Fourth Precinct, could
you give us your views on what the police judgment was
based on to have the men remain inside the Fourth Precinct while the picketing was building up instead of
an immediate show of force at that time?

A Well, actually they were not breaking the

Q The picketers?

fere. Even when the stones started to fly through the windows, it was still the hope and the prayers of the men in charge like myself that this kind of situation which did occur would not occur.

You always hope, I guess, and pray for the things that you would like to see. Perhaps we were not realistic.

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I would take immediate action. I would not have permitted in an area of tension as it was so great a volume of people to gather as a result of that leaflet that Area Board 2 printed, which I blamed for the riot that day.

not have happened that day.

and the people from the U.C.C. and Area Board 2 and all the other area boards had not been present, we wouldn't have had any problem that day.

You know, it is difficult to order men out into actual physical strife when you haven't had a history of this kind of situation and this is what happened that day in the Fourth Precinct.

right to interfere with the pickets.

have gone out and controlled them in some way or perhaps dispersed them to the other side of the street or kept the crowd down?

I could have dispersed them, the common law doctrine of

protection for the citizens.

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You can invoke almost any powers, I think.

perhaps there is today a need for a law enforcement administrator or for a political body to have the power to say that a certain situation is developing in the community and that they have the power to disregard certain safeguards even of the Bill of Rights.

that we had out in front of the Fourth Precinct on
Thursday night, that under existing law you have sufficient,
that is, the Police Department has sufficient power to
act the way you would want to act today?

A I don't think so.

Q What do you feel you need?

A I feel we need a state statute which probably the Supreme Court of the United States would say is unconstitutional, and I am not fooling because it is true.

They ought to change the thinking of that Supreme Court.

Q What sort of statute?

A To make it possible for an administrator in

law enforcement or the political administrator of that

community to dispense with certain safeguards that are

now availed of by the citizens because, for example, of

the Bill of Rights.

Q Can you give me an example? I can't quite visualize what you have in mind.

A For example, I think the police director or the police chief of a city, when you have an area of tension, can say there is a group that is picketing and in his opinion and based on his experience this will probably lead into violence and I feel that he should have a right to say that you no longer have a right to picket, I invoke statute so and so or Bill Number so and so which says that I can disperse this crowd.

MR. GIBBONS: Director, you are aware that there is a riot statute on the books at present?

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir, but there is no riot going on when there is a group just meeting there.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Is this under the heading of the Right of Lawful Assembly?

MR. ROBINSON: Yes.

he could interpret a certain situation as going out of the range of lawful assembly into the possible range of unlawful assembly?

MR. GIBBONS: There is a statute dealing

with when an assembly becomes a riot, but
it is not very effective because it requires
that someone read a proclamation asking
them to disperse and in those cases where it
has been invoked, usually in labor disputes,
the courts very generally said that the degree
of imminence of the danger was not apparent
with the benefit of hindsight, so I think
there has been some reluctance to resort to
it.

Of course, even if it had been resorted to and later the courts disagreed, maybe the riot might not have occurred either.

MR. LOFTON: Director, as you indicate, that while you didn't consider the assembly of the people outside of the Fourth Precinct and I believe there is a Police Department film or not a Police Department film but a film of the Star-Ledger or the Newark News, one or the other, that indicates a very substantial presence of people from the staff of the U.C.C. there, and while that conduct, as you indicate, was not unlawful, and I share your judgment in this regard, it was not the wisest thing to do and my

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question is whether or not you or anybody in your office or anybody that you know of upon identifying -- because I think that most of the people that were on the U.C.C. staff, from the pictures that I saw, were somewhat known to the members of the Police Department as being associated with the Anti-Poverty Agency, whether or not anybody communicated to Mr. Still, the President of the U.C.C., "Listen, Tim, there are people out there from the U.C.C. or the staff organizing people to picket around the Fourth Precinct and while I don't want to go out and arrest indicated people because they are not doing anything event of actually wrong it is something that may lead other power to other things" and in your judgment it did Director me lead to other things, as you indicate, did anybody do that and Mr. Still said "No, I there is a don't think I can do that" or was that done? which prohibits daTHE WITNESS: I don't know whether that of hatred howas done or not.

Now I know By the time I got there the stones had

First Amend broken every window in the place. The man

we want to have a BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Don't we have testi-

I mony that Mr. Still did try to quiet the crowd

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that we havedown?

continual present MR. LOFTON: I think we are talking both groups about two different nights.

to civil war in THE WITNESS: The Bishop is talking about the 12th.

MR. LOFTON: Right, when I was there with Mr. Still and the Director is talking about the subsequent Thursday during the there kind day.

THE WITNESS: Mr. Still wasn't there that day. He went to New York City and he do these thistayed there.

0 Now other than this legislation that you indicated you would like to be able to act under in the event of a future incipient disturbance, is there any other power that you feel the Police Department or the Director needs either pre-riot or during-riot?

Well, I think in the matter of legislation there is a desperate need for a national or state law which prohibits denunciation of race and the promotion of hatred between races.

Now I know that this may be a violation of the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights but I think that we want to have a nation dedicated to law and order.

I think this is one of the most important things

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that we have to do now because if we don't do it, the continual preaching of hatred -- and I am talking about both groups, both white and black -- is going to lead to civil war in this nation.

Take, for example, Leroi Jones just last night at Princeton, and he is talking to black collegiates, he said "We must hate the white race. They are our enemies."

This is not good for this nation and I think these kind of things should be outlawed.

I don't care if you have to change the Constitution or whatever you are going to do but you have got to do these things and do them as fast as you possibly can.

MR. GIBBONS: Director, just a personal comment.

Whether it is Leroi Jones or the

late Mr. Rockwell, I think there ought to

be a better way of solving the problem

than taking away the right of free speech

because the dangers in that are greater

than the dangers inherent in the other

situation.

THE WITNESS: I disagree with you very strongly, Mr. Gibbons.

I don't think anybody has the right to malign another race. I don't think a man has

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a right to condemn a person because of his nationality, his religion or his race.

it shouldn't be done.

THE WITNESS: And when you preach hatred the way these people are doing, you are agitating and inciting people to the degree that finally violence must emanate.

MR. GIBBONS: In the history of this country violence has emanated only rarely and I think that we must look for the causes of that violence someplace other than in the Bill of Rights because we have had the Bill of Rights for a long time without the violence and you have had people who have preached all sorts of weird doctrines and they haven't led to violence.

cause but I think we have to go deeper than that.

THE WITNESS: I agree with you in part, that these disorders are not due just mainly to the agitation and the incitement.

have a nation and in truth we have a world

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are based on violent action and I think with the changing times you must do the same thing the Supreme Court of the United States does, change their thinking and change the kind of decisions that they think that the people of the United States want.

For this reason I think we should change our thinking about permitting this license, and this is what it is when you permit people to use this kind of language.

MR. LOFTON: Director, hasn't this kind of language been used for a considerable period of time, only it has been language used by white people as it relates to black people?

This has been going on for a considerable period of time, has it not, this hate situa-

THE WITNESS: No, I disagree with you.

MR. LOFTON: I have read an awful lot

of things prior to the recent advent of the

racial disorders, if you can characterize

them this way in terms of the urban centers,

that are engaged in principally, say, by

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black people reacting to certain conditions that they consider to be grievous and whathave-you, but I am talking about now hate literature and hate pronouncements emanating from the white segment of the community as it relates to the black segment of the community.

THE WITNESS: You mean now?

MR. LOFTON: No. I am talking about in terms of the history of this country.

THE WITNESS: I disagree with you. There are certain segments or individuals in the United States which always preached hatred toward the Negro and this is one of the causes of the lynchings that we used to have prior to 1937.

MR. LOFTON: And we still have.

THE WITNESS: You don't have any lynchings anymore in the United States.

MR. LOFTON: Well, I don't know. Maybe the newspaper gives a different account.

I have I haven't been there but from some of maybe the parthe things that I read I would have to We have characterize them as lynchings.

on the effect, if THE WITNESS: Do you mean you know of

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preceding 1 lynchings today in the United States?

continuing to sti MR. ROBINSON: I think the two of you

stirred up. don't agree on the word "lynching".

The Director would agree there are race killings today.

THE WITNESS: That is not a lynching.

On the There was never any wide-spread preaching

4:30 in the of hatred for all the Negroes. It is dif-

The Brooklyn, from Nathan Hare from Washington

The ware and other people who I just can't remember

around the right now who say that they should be

reporters mexterminated, I don't remember any white

provocative kind MR. LOFTON: Well, I have a different day. reading of this.

Q I have a few more specific questions and maybe the panel would want to ask something.

We haven't had any comments from any officials on the effect, if any, of the news media in the hours

Spina

preceding the riots and during the riots insofar as continuing to stir up the people or causing them to be stirred up.

Could we have your advice on that?

On the 12th they were at the scene but they came to the scene after the violence started.

On the 13th, unfortunately, WNEW at approximately 4:30 in the afternoon sent a TV crew to 17th Avenue and Belmont Avenue and immediately this attracted a crowd.

stations which sent TV crews.

This again accumulated more people. I would judge there were between 3 and 4 hundred people now congregated around these TV cameras.

I don't know how it is or why it is but these TV reporters have a knack of picking out the people who make the most racy statements, the most inciting, most provocative kind of statements, and they did it that day.

I blame tham a great deal for some of the things

I want you to know too that back in May I called for a meeting of all the communications media, including

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newspapers, including TV and radio stations.

Star-Ledger sent its managing editor, Mr. Stasiak.

conduct that we sent them a copy of and we never did hear from the remaining radio and TV stations, so they never knew or did not subscribe to the code of conduct as we requested.

I think they did a great deal to harm the situation.

During the riot itself, you never saw so many

camera crews running around the city, grabbing people

and getting them to make statements on TV.

Q In your view this contributed to the agitation that was in the community?

A I definitely believe this.

for identification of those media?

Q Who were the offenders in your view?

A TV cameras, mainly, TV stations.

with people who EBISHOP DOUGHERTY: Specifically?

and these people THE WITNESS: CBS was the worst one,

I would say.

as I understand the records?

need A ord Right continue working to improve police-con-

Spina

many Civil Rights leaders and a crowd including the cab drivers had arrived at the Fourth Precinct on Wednesday night.

Does your investigation reveal how they got there so fast?

- Well, I know how they got there.
- Q Could you tell us?

remember what kind of a meeting and this comes from a confidential informant and I cannot reveal the identity of the person.

The trouble is here. Let's go up to the Fourth Precinct.

Immediately people got on the phone and began to call the other Area Boards.

In no time all the other Area Boards were blanketed with people who they felt were necessary to be present and these people all converged on the scene.

Q Now in your view, Director, do you have all of the weapons, using the word "weapons" not to mean arms, do you have all the weapons that you believe you need in order to continue working to improve police-com-

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A I need a great deal more help.

munity relations or do you feel that you are being

hampered in some way or that you need more help?

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areas IQ the Could you tell us what you feel you need?

after the riots was a program that I initiated that I thought would be meaningful in terms of understanding what the problems were after the riots in these target areas and that was the police ambassador team that we evolved.

This was a scheme by which we had one of the police-community relations police officers in plain clothes, police cadet trainee, a neighborhood youth corps girl, and a civilian who had been employed prior in the Newark Human Rights group, the police-community relations program and sometimes they would add an extra civilian and 3 teams would go down to the target areas and talk to these people and the results were terrific.

But unfortunately, instead of \$10,000 which was supposed to have been left in the fund, only \$4,000 was left.

private sources but have been unsuccessful.

The Federal Government does not have any money at the present time because Congress has still yet to allot those moneys to the Anti-Poverty Agencies.

I think it is extremely important right at this time that the Police Department go into the very worst areas in the city and put up storefronts manned by policemen so that they could talk to the people in the area, invite them in and talk to them about their complaints, about their problems, and see whether they can help them or not.

We have found out, for example, that most of the time when we go into these areas, they do not complain about police brutality, and believe me, this is the absolute gospel truth.

What they talk about is lack of services, lack of jobs, lack of equal opportunity and lack of security in the streets and in their homes, even lack of inspectional services, for example, garbage not being removed properly and these type of things.

It seems to me that most of these people who come from rural areas -- and they are both black and white- have an alien feeling against going into an official police building or talking to an official of the govern- ment.

They have always looked at these people with suspicion and if you do put up a storefront, they are used to going into stores and it is possible that we can get

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these people to come in these areas.

Q was Are you getting help on such a project?

A No.

Q Why?

A No money.

Q Have you asked for it?

A ... The Federal Government. The city has nothing

Mark Queen The city can't give you anything?

have been trying to get this program for 3 years, what I call the police Frontier Club concept and this is a scheme by which we have satellite clubs in those target areas of the city which are devoid today of social agencies.

As all of us know there are over 10,000 school dropouts in the City of Newark or in Essex County but the bulk of these people are in the Central Ward. It is necessary to get some kind of a building with professional supervision so that these young boys can go in and partake of recreation, cultural activities, handicrafts and things of this type.

In so doing they become activated by these professional workers that we have to become better citizens.

Three years ago I proposed this to the U.C.C., and I am not going to begin to tell you how ridiculous the whole

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thing was and it was never accepted.

I would like to propose this in evidence.

- Q Just describe it, please.
- A I just described it.
- Q I mean the document.

A It is a blue soft cover book or pamphlet and it is entitled "Police Athletic League, Summer Neighborhood Block Recreational and Improvement and Frontier Club Program submitted by Detective Charles A. Meeks, P.A.L. Recreation and Program Supervisor."

MR. GIBBONS: Would the reporter mark that as C-67 in evidence.

people (Pamphlet marked Exhibit C-67 in evidence.)

more and more of the street worker idea.

I never thought it would work until I found out how well it is working in Harlem.

There the YMCA and some religious people have gotten this concept of getting young people right from the target areas involved in dialogue with the very people who need this kind of help.

in that work a Reverend Iverson, William Iverson.

He was formerly the pastor of the

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North Reformed Church and he resigned I think it is 3 years ago because he said that he realized that the church was not doing the job that it could do in that it was not reaching young people and today he travels the city.

At the present time he has a luncheonette opposite the West Side High School, which he calls Cross Counter.

He has I think weekly leaflets that he puts out called Cross Counter.

I have seen and talked to some of the people that he has worked with and I am sincerely impressed with the kind of work that he has done.

I am sure that if we can get some kind of a program with minimum funds in this city with people like Reverend Iverson, and he wants to do this kind of work, I think that we can take a lot of these young people who nobody else can reach and bring them into the main stream of life.

Q Would you include the Newark Youth Council in that worthwhile project?

A I certainly would. They just solicited me

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for \$50.

MR. ROBINSON: Mr. Jaffe has a few questions and I know you have a luncheon engagement.

THE WITNESS: Well, I might just as well finish because I only have a few more things to say and then we are through unless somebody else has any questions to ask.

MR. GIBBONS: Why don't you proceed with what you want to tell us and then if the Commission members have anything to ask we will.

about what happened to the Police Department as a result of the riots.

a number of mass resignations.

or have left the department on leave of absences in attempting to take other jobs.

their maximum date of retirement was effective.

Intel I think that this riot and the continual protests since the riot have done great harm

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to the morale of the police in our city.

I think it is important too to cite
the fact -- and I disagree here with Governor
Hughes.

newspaper article said something about that he felt that the feeling in the community had been improved since the riot and this was an article in the Newark News of November 26, 1967.

MR. GIBBONS: Is that the Novak article?

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. Well, this is

not the one I want.

There is another one. Here it is in the Star-Ledger of August 22, 1967 in which the Governor is quoted as having said thanks to his riot control training program for law enforcement and improved intelligence as to what is going on in the Negro community, the state is better prepared to move into any situation and he also went on to say that there is little chance of serious trouble in the future and the attributes this to the intelligence of his personal counsel, Stanley Van Ness, a Negro, and another gentleman named

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Lawrence Bilder.

Well, I agree with some of the things or most of the things that the Governor has done and which are recited in this article, but I disagree with him on the climate in the city right now.

I still feel that there is tremendous tension in the city and that it is liable to explode any day and I think that there has to be a lot of fence building, there has to be a lot of dialogue and communications before this subsides.

I would like to offer this into evidence.

MR. GIBBONS: Mark that C-68 in evidence.

(Document marked Exhibit C-68 in evidence.)

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Did the Governor say he believes the climate is improved?

THE WITNESS: He said he doesn't believe there can be a repetition of the Newark rioting at least not on the scale of last summer and then he went on to say there is little chance of serious trouble in the future.

I think something should be said about the relationship right within the Police Depart-

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ment of black policemen versus white policemen.

I think that as a result of the riot there has been a certain amount of tension and strain between the Negro and the white policemen.

I think at the present time, due to the fact that I have been having some dialogue, especially with Negro police officers, that this has subsided.

of these white police officers who have been leading this canine corps resurrection, shall I call it, and I think that this has been kind of meaningful.

letter that a Negro patrolman wrote to the

Newark Star-Ledger and the Newark Evening

News and I think it is one of the most beautiful things I have ever read.

It is "To The Editor, July 25, 1967.

The Editor 25, 1967.

The Ed

"These so-called leaders who use innocent

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Negro people and their lives to obtain their goals.

"So they want a black state? Then give it to them. The hypocrites, the hoods, the stone-throwers and the looters, they make all the decent God-loving people, both Negro and white, turn in disgust.

"All our forefathers who fought against the Ku Klux Klan turn in their graves.

"These so-called black power leaders say Negro police officers are Uncle Toms, traitors, et cetera.

"Nothing can be further from the truth.

But if they mean traitors to a cause that is
so parallel to Nazi Germany and another socalled leader named Hitler, then I am a traitor.

"I blame them for the death of a 3-year old child, for a Negro policeman lying in the hospital, for a white cop dead, and for 20 or more Negroes without life in their body.

others lost. the bungey by some Calvary

lead us into oblivion?

Scudder"Some white men lost their businesses

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during the riot, but how many Negroes lost their jobs, their homes and their lives?

"Riots in a black state is not the answer. The city's anti-poverty leaders, whose main function is to help us find jobs, shelter, et cetera, instead talk us into throwing rocks and to see in our brothers, sons and 3-year old children killed on the streets.

"I think it is time we turned from green power and black power and took up God power.

"We must find respect for ourselves, our families, friends and church and I will not find that respect in Leroi Jones, Robert Williams and Malcolm X.

"Tell me, where does Civil Rights say or mean loot stores, burn homes and kill?

"Is all our race hypocrites?

"That food that was given in line on Springfield Avenue came from a white man. The food given to the hungry by Mount Calvary Church was from a white man.

"The food given out at the Hayes and Scudder Homes too was from a white man.

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"Living together is the answer to all this rioting, looting, killing and unnecessary violence.

"Respect for God, authority, policemen and ourselves are the most important steps of all.

That same little hoodlum who is in the forefront of the mob, who stoned the police precinct last week, will rape a Negro girl, rob a Negro home and kill a Negro person next week.

"I will not let people like these,
people like some of our appointed Negro
leaders, lead me from my God and my belief
that all men can and will live together in
peace and in harmony.

Patrolman William Hicks."

leade I think this is a magnificent letter.

May I offer this into evidence?

MR. GIBBONS: Mark that C-69 in evidence

(Letter marked Exhibit C-69 in evidence.)

THE WITNESS: I think something should be said about the white groups that have now emerged as militant and of whom one of which is racist.

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MR. GIBBONS: Which is that?

THE WITNESS: The North Ward Citizens
League.

This is operated by a man named Anthony Imperiale, who is a karate expert and I think he is a black belt wearer and who is training all of his people in his organization into wearing the black belt.

The North Ward Citizens League and the Loyal
Americans For Law & Order, have polarized
their concept of supremacy of the whites
and the symbol of the canine corps and they
keep stressing the fact that Newark needs the
canine corps.

There are two other organizations, one called the White Indignation Group and the leader of that is a Don Gottsworth, who lives up in the Vailsburg section and is a bus driver, and the other group is the Newark Association For Community Reform.

This is a group that is primarily based in the North Newark section, a man named James Farrell is the President of this organization and he is moderate. He is not the type that

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will cause any problems.

MR. GIBBONS: Do the police have intelligence sources in these organizations?

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. I get a copy of every piece of literature they put out and a report every time a meeting is held.

These are all the documents relating to the Newark Association For Community Reform including an application and a membership card, a blank, the White Indignation Group and the Loyal Association For Law & Order, all the literature that they have been putting out which is extensive.

MR. GIBBONS: Mark those folders C-70, 71 and 72.

(Documents marked Exhibits C-70, C-71 and C-72 in evidence.)

MR. JAFFE: What would you say is the total strength of those organizations?

THE WITNESS: They have a lot of paper members, especially the Loyal Association
For Law & Order.

They have been getting good turnouts at their meetings, this L.A.L.O.

Last week they had Mayor Whelan here, who

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told them how Newark should put down riots.

It was quite novel. They get at least 200 out at their meetings.

Now the North Ward Citizens League, he claims he has 600 people but we have never seen more than 100-and-some-odd in their meetings.

When the Barringer problem was at its height last week he did have a meeting at his club headquarters and there were approximately 150 parents, most of whom were white but there were some Negroes there discussing the Barringer problem.

He is a very militant and very selfconfident individual.

As a matter of fact, he challenged Willie Wright last week at the House of Prayer to come outside and Willie Wright did not come outside.

He challenged him 4 or 5 times and Willie Wright has not been back to the House of Prayer since.

MR. JAFFE: Would you estimate it would be in the thousands then?

THE WITNESS: I wouldn't.

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MR. JAFFE: Less than that, the whole 4 combined?

THE WITNESS: I think the White Indignation Group has maybe 500 on paper but I don't think it has that kind of a turnout.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: Can you identify which you consider to be the most dangerous?

THE WITNESS: The North Ward Citizens League.

MR. JAFFE: If you had to estimate the numbers in those areas that were sympathetic with these groups, how would you estimate that?

THE WITNESS: You mean white people? MR. JAFFE: Yes.

THE WITNESS: I wouldn't know. I think the majority of them would be.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: There is mention of Tom's Continental Restaurant.

Does that have any significance, the location?

THE WITNESS: No. They just hold their meetings there. Speeches that are made by people are made there.

I think Mayor Whelan was up at the Clipper

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Ship.

I don't remember which one.

BISHOP DOUGHERTY: It is not a center or anything of that sort?

THE WITNESS: No. Now among the other recommendations that I would like to make,

I think there is a necessity for moneys, either from the state or federal government sources, to increase salaries, to improve training and to obtain better equipment.

In cities like Newark, and there are many like Newark in the United States, it is absolutely impossible to obtain money from real estate taxes anymore.

There is a need to obtain moneys in order to pay higher salaries to maintain the personnel in the Police Departments.

we would like to try to recruit more

people with the higher salary dangling in

their eyes and also to maintain what personnel

we do have.

are the only two cources that are going to be able to help us.

I think there is a need for legislation

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on a national scale to prevent the use of equipment and personnel of Anti-Poverty

Agencies and federal organizations, to incite and agitate the populace to create acts of civil disobedience and for the promotion of racial hatred.

I would like to see that written into

I think too there is an extensive
and intense need for research on a federal
level to discover and to invent non-lethal
weapons which would immobilize or render
helpless those persons who engage in or are
about to engage in civil disturbances and
of course, I think it is important that all
police officers be trained extensively for
riot duty and one of the most important
things is that there should be continued and
intensive training of all policemen in policecommunity relations.

Now I would like to close with this statement.

It is the function of the Newark Police

Department to prevent crime, to arrest per
petrators of crime and generally be of service

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to people who live and work in this city.

Early in 1962 there was a new awakening in the department.

The Administrator of the department, cognizant of the growing and coming social revolution did everything that could possibly be done to keep pace with social changes in the nation.

However, in spite of this fact that there was some resistance to these new policies by some individuals in the police heirarchy and some of the old-line members of the department, we tried to do a job.

At the same time in spite of the persistent and chronic shortage of police officers, it was a constant battle to stem the tide of crime.

Up until the time of the violent upheaval, it was the belief of many people, both inside the department and outside, that policecommunity relations in the City of Newark were at a high standard.

Concerned and knowledgeable citizens of the community viewed with approval and favor the imaginative and far-reaching police-community

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programs initiated by this department.

Members of the Newark Police Department
do not function as sociologists, psychiatrists
and psychologists. But we do have a great
deal of insight as to the problems which
confront the people of this city today.

The Newark Police Department will continue to pledge a high degree of service to the citizens which it serves and we will try to the best of our ability to achieve the idealistic relationship between the public and the department.

That is my concluding statement, except that I would like to introduce 2 or 3 more things that I think are important.

One is a training pamphlet compiled
by Tom Hayden for the New York University
Graduate School of Social Work Center for the
study of unemployed youth and this is part of
a grant provided by the Office of Juvenile
Delinquency and Youth Development, U. S.
Department of Education & Welfare.

It is entitled "A View of the Poverty Program, When It's Dry You Can't Crack It With a Pick."

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Now this was written back in July of 1966 and I would like for it to be read to get an idea of the thinking of Tom Hayden always to the end of social revolution in the United States.

In this so-called training book that he wrote there is constant reference to the U.C.C. and individuals here in the City of Newark.

I think it is not only interesting but
I think it has a bearing on some of the
climate that was adduced in this city prior
to the riot.

May I offer this in evidence, please?

MR. GIBBONS: C-73.

(Document marked Exhibit C-73 in evidence.)

THE WITNESS: I think too as part of the record I would like to introduce newspaper clippings and some reports of all the incidents that happened in Barringer High School because I think that this is part of the total picture of the atmosphere at the present time in the City of Newark.

May I offer this in evidence?

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MR. GIBBONS: C-74.

(Document marked Exhibit C-74 in evidence.)

THE WITNESS: Now I have to make a comment about this Novak article that you talk about.

I am extremely upset and angry at the contents of this report.

If in truth they had investigators here from the President's Commission to Study Civil Disorders, they must have been hiding someplace or they probably talked to 2 or 3 individuals who were not only antagonistic but have an undying hatred for the Newark Police Department.

In this article it goes on to recite the fact that -- well, it criticizes Governor Hughes.

MR. GIBBONS: To some extent they make the same criticism of him that you made.

THE WITNESS: Not to the degree that these people make.

The only thing I disagree with Governor

Hughes on-- I agree with him in everything

he said in his article but the only thing I

disagree with him in is the fact that he thinks

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there is a better climate in the city than there actually is.

If he thinks that his two intelligence men are in close touch with the people, then I am hiding myself.

MR. GIBBONS: Isn't that essentially what Novak says?

THE WITNESS: No. Novak talks about something different than the article that Governor Hughes was quoted in before.

This article says, "One Commission member told us that in no other 1967 riot city is hatred of local police so over-riding as in Newark.

For that reason the riot commission
would much prefer that the Governor would
stop pouring kerosene on the fire by bragging
about police protection."

The paragraph before this says, "Quite a different story is found in confidential oral reports by riot commission investigators.

They describe Newark as probably the most dangerous city in the country, partly because of the shortcomings of Mayor Hugh Addonizzio's administration and partly because

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of tension between some Negroes and the police."

This is absolutely untrue because I think that in spite of the fact that we had a riot in this city and that we have had problems with certain segments of the population, basically and primarily the people of this city, whether they are black or white, want the police and need the police and they need them worse today than they ever did.

the services that are necessary for the people of this city, including the Negro.

Over 75 percent of the calls that are made by citizens to the Newark Police are service calls, not calls for crime occurring or crime that has occurred.

There is a better rapport between the police and the Negroes than a lot of people really think because I have said repeatedly that when I go into these areas to speak and when I talk to these people they don't talk about police brutality.

spoke about before.

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Now I have to mention what happened yesterday and I will have to conclude with that and that is that the Planning Board had a meeting.

First you can mark this Novak article.

MR. GIBBONS: C-75.

(Document marked Exhibit C-75 in evidence.)

THE WITNESS: Now the Planning Board had a meeting and they declared a 46-acre tract in Newark blighted and all of a sudden you have two new organizations in the City of Newark.

Every time one of these things happens, these people out of the blue come out with these organizations.

and Negroes that is called the Committee

Against Negro and Puerto Rican Removal.

Association.

Now they held a press conference yesterday
and they sent a telegram to Weaver and the
group charges that the Newark Housing Authority
estimates of relocation resources is fraudulent

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and the city's application for urban renewal
funds is illegal and again we have Harry
Wheeler with his mouth open again and he says,
"Not one brick will be laid temporarily or
otherwise until adequate housing is provided
for those displaced by urban renewal."

Perhaps here again there is an incipient tendency for further problems for our city.

May I offer these two articles in evidence?

MR. GIBBONS: Yes. C-76 and C-77.

(Documents marked Exhibits C-76 and C-77 in evidence.)

covered special report on the July 1967 riot,
amongst other things there are the riot-

Took to pro at unknown location for unknown reason.

deliberate going forward into the causes of those 11

deep-seated fear THE WITNESS: Definitely. I think there

We not in October of 1967, and there is some change

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Hallowen and I gave all those reports to you.

MR. GIBBONS: I was referring to the

cations was ballistics man is checking bullets in an effort to ascertain the type of gun and perhaps the identity of the gun that was be made and used for the homicide.

MR. GIBBONS: Will the results of his investigation be available to the Commission eventually?

THE WITNESS: Absolutely.

Director, and I think it is important.

Serious trouble on Halloween night and it was prevented.

Could you tell us what steps the Police Department took to prevent it which evidently were successful?

A Well, unfortunately, some of the rumors were deliberately suppressed.

We know this. There were so many rumors and such deep-seated fear in the city that there was an hysteria

present.

We mobilized most of the police officers of the city, both trick or treat night, the night before Halloween, and Halloween itself, and some people the day after Halloween in case some situation did develop.

I personally went over to talk to Willie Wright because from statements made by various people the indications were that he was the one that was issuing these rumors.

We had a good discussion and as a result of which he made available to me a press release in which he promised that he would do everything he possibly could to have a peaceful city and you read about it in the newspapers, and as a matter of fact, trick or treat night and Halloween night were the most peaceful nights that I ever remember in the last 20 years.

The statistics indicate there were less crimes during these two days than there generally are, for example, on a Monday.

Police Department send any intelligence to suburban Police Departments respecting this Halloween expected disturbance?

Did you send any information to the suburban Police Departments?

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THE WITNESS: Well, I had some communications with Mayor Kelly and Director Brugger from Elizabeth by telephone but that's about a11.

MR. GIBBONS: Was there any communication with the Millburn Police Department?

THE WITNESS: I think he called our office and gave us some information about a rumor that they heard in Millburn.

MR. JAFFE: Director, on those ballistic tests do you have a report now of what your ballistic analysis is?

We have a copy of the autopsy reports and in each one of the autopsy reports is a statement that Lt. Kenny of your Homicide Squad obtained what bullets there were for purposes of making a ballistics test and I wondered if we could have those or if you don't have them now if you could send them to our office.

THE WITNESS: I don't know if they are ready. no to have certical lev, it is a different

If they are available I will give them to you and I will be very happy to do it.

MR. JAFFE: I have been in communication

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with the prosecutor and the prosecutor said that the Newark Police Department had those and we would like them for our files.

THE WITNESS: We will do that for you.

MR. JAFFE: My next question, very briefly, is this: I would like your opinion as to what you think the command structure should be when the State Police and the National Guard come into a city to help contain a riot.

What do you think the chain of command should be and how do you think the Newark or any local Police Department ought to interact with these two groups?

THE WITNESS: Well, it all depends
on the situation again, on what you are going
to call the situation when you come into the
city.

MR. JAFFE: Well, let's say it is something like Newark.

THE WITNESS: I know, but if you are going to call it complete anarchy where you are going to have martial law, it is a different story.

If you have martial law the Army naturally should take precedence.

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MR. JAFFE: Assuming you don't have martial law.

THE WITNESS: In a situation like we had in Newark last time I think that the Newark Police should have the supreme command, that the State Police should work subordinate to the Newark Police and the National Guard subordinate to the State Police.

command structure.

One of the problems we had is the difficulty of making decisions.

For example, I would go to the Armory and I would discuss a situation with Colonel Kelly and he would have to call General Cantwell in and then before you knew it there would be 5 or 6 people around the table and a simple thing, for example, like I didn't have the manpower and I wanted either National Guardsmen or State Police on top of the high rise projects and some of the high buildings in the City of Newark.

There is no necessity for something like this.

This is not good operations.

Colonel Kelly but again he had problems with the military too.

Sometimes I think-- I'm not sure-he had to talk to the Governor.

I'm not sure about this but I know that there was no reason for some of the decisions we made where we had to wait 2 or 3 hours for them.

MR. JAFFE: You also discussed briefly the communications setup and you said that were there to be another riot in Newark the State Police at this point have particular communications equipment and radio equipment sent into various places in the city.

occurred during the Newark riot of last summer, namely, the State Police and Newark Police not being on the same radio band and not being able to communicate with each other except through central headquarters?

does what you are discussing obviate that?

Newar THE WITNESS: It is obviated by the

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fact that you have two radios, two different systems in the same room.

Actually there were 3.

You had your National Guard setup too in the same room.

It is obviated by that. It is not the best answer.

MR. JAFFE: You still need to communicate with the field?

THE WITNESS: That's right. The men in the State Police don't know what the men in the City Police have been ordered to do unless there is a feedback by the State Police to the men in the field.

That's why it was so important and over and over again we would have to stress there are State Troopers on top of building so-and-so and there are a lot of guys down-stairs who don't know it and they see a gun upstairs and they are going to start shooting.

This is one of the problems that we had.

MR. JAFFE: I gather the answer to the problem, if it is feasible from a technical standpoint, is that the State Police and Newark Police and the National Guard operate

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on a single band.

THE WITNESS: You can't do that either.

Then you have an overload on one channel and it would be impossible to broadcast the way you want to.

MR. JAFFE: So how do you solve the problem?

THE WITNESS: You have two channels.

It was all right this way, as long as you have them in the same room where they can talk back to one another.

MR. JAFFE: How do you solve it out in the field?

THE WITNESS: There has to be a feedback from each network. It has to be written—

this is something that has not been done yet—

it has to be written down so everybody under—

stands it.

least one common frequency for use in emergencies such as this?

the cost is prohibitive.

MR. GIBBONS: The cost of the damage was prohibitive too.

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THE WITNESS: I know that. It was over \$15 million.

I realize that.

MR. JAFFE: You wouldn't be opposed to it, a common frequency for emergencies?

at it practically. That's the only thing.

MR. JAFFE: Yes. You said before that 7 people had been arrested for sniping.

Do you know what charges were placed against these 7 people?

THE WITNESS: I don't remember. I think maybe possession of a dangerous weapon.

I'm not sure. We will give you the 7 that I am sure of.

MR. JAFFE: The reason I ask is that,
my recollection may be wrong but I think this
Commission has heard testimony that there were
no snipers arrested.

THE WITNESS: Who said this?

prosecutor said it or whether it was said by various other law enforcement officials.

window My recollection may be wrong.

If this is so I think we ought to have

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this cleared up, if they were arrested for sniping and how you know that they were arrested for sniping and what the eventual charges were.

THE WITNESS: We will give you the 7 copies that I have right now and if there are any more we will give those to you too.

MR. JAFFE: I wonder if you could send that along.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. GIBBONS: Did you have any luck with Life Magazine over the identity of the alleged sniper in the photograph?

THE WITNESS: Well, that is simulated. This is a phony.

MR. GIBBONS: Do you know that for a fact? Has it been checked out?

and intelligence.

an abandoned house. That's what it says in the caption.

On the floor there is a rug and on the window there's drapes.

I know of no buildings in the Central

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Ward that will ever have any drapes or any rug on the floor if they are abandoned.

This I can swear my life on.

MR. JAFFE: Director, if you don't have that now I wondered if you could send it to us at the same time that we receive the ballistics reports.

THE WITNESS: Yes. We are making a notation of that. It should be in one of these folders here.

MR. JAFFE: My last question to you is just a very general question and you may feel that it is an inappropriate question to answer and if you care to we would like the benefit of your views, as to what you think in a capsule form are the meaningful areas that this Commission can comment upon to make this a meaningful report.

THE WITNESS: You mean as to ways and means in which conditions can be remedied so that they will not happen again?

MR. JAFFE: Yes.

NewarithE WITNESS: I think basically there is the matter of decent housing, and by private

indus As I commented before, putting people

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in these multi-storied buildings is not human.

I think that the answer lies in 2 and 3-story homes.

I think that if you could ever discuss this problem with a Walter Cohn, and I would like for this Commission to call him in-he is a realtor and a lawyer who is intensely interested in this city, especially in the areas of housing for people, and it is his contention, and I will follow him, that in order for us to get these people into the main stream of life you have got to give them some kind of an incentive.

You have got to give them some kind of a feeling that they are wanted.

The way to do this, it is his feeling, even though they are on relief, is to make them property owners.

Right now he and some other people in private industry are experimenting on rehabilitating 7 tenement houses in the City of Newark.

industry. They are experimenting on this same

kind of a basis.

I think housing is extremely important.

I think it is extremely important too that
these people be motivated to get in the main
stream of life by getting jobs and working
for a living.

I think one of the worst things that is happening to the people of the United States is this welfare system that we have.

I think it destroys incentive.

I think it destroys the capability of people to do things for themselves.

upon government which they in fact later
demand as a right and they are doing now with
the help of the SDS and the National Welfare
Association Plan.

I think this is extremely important to get these people working, to make a meaningful life for them.

tion and it must be done by some kind of
dedicated people or some especially gifted
people to get these people to involve themselves in the proper kind ofcultural activity

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so again they contribute something toward social consciousness and the social life of this country of ours.

I think basically these are the things that are important.

MR. LOFTON: Director, just 2 or 3 quick questions.

You indicated that during the Halloween hysteria, prior to Halloween, in the period leading up to it, that you went and talked with Willie Wright and you thereafter explained to us as all of us realize that fortunately we had a quiet situation in the city.

Wright or do you attribute to Willie Wright
a considerable amount of influence in those
elements in the city that may be prone to
engage in civil disturbances?

purposes.

saw his statement in the paper made them
more or less go along with his thinking.

o an MR. LOFTON: My second question relates

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again to this --

THE WITNESS: He doesn't have that kind of power.

MR. LOFTON: I didn't think so.

THE WITNESS: I know he doesn't.

Life Magazine where it was indicated about the sniper that was pictured there, there is also another picture in the Life Magazine that has caused a considerable amount of consternation, at least in the community and I might add with certain members of the Commission, as it relates to-- I think in the picture I believe it was a Newark police officer or a State

Trooper.

MR. GIBBONS: It was a Newark police officer.

MR. LOFTON: Shooting a looter or proposed looter and I think the young fellow's name was Billy Furr.

testimony, there was no order to police officers to shoot looters, is that correct?

to anybody to shoot anybody except under the

proper criminal violations.

MR. LOFTON: My question is this:

Do you think that that would be a proper
circumstance, with respect to the regulations
promulgated by the department from yourself
or under the existing law, was that a proper
act on the part of a police officer, to
shoot the person who was a looter?

THE WITNESS: I wasn't there. I have heard-- and I have not had an opportunity to investigate this or even to look at the report, but I have heard that prior to the shooting that this individual-- and I remember his name-- had thrown a bottle of whiskey at this police officer.

happened.

who was just looting a few articles.

I don't know if the fellow died or not-- that is under investigation by the department?

Department?

MR. GIBBONS: It is referred to, I'm sure. The report of October 24, 1967, shows

Case Number 45274, showing that he did have a

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prior record and I am sure it is this incident on July 14, a 16-year old black male killed by a shotgun shot by Newark Police on the street while escaping after breaking and entering or entering of a liquor store during

That is one of the ones that is the subject matter of the investigation.

MR. LOFTON: Director, with respect to the groups that you mentioned, the Loyal Americans For Law & Order and this other group that you indicated was headed by this Anthony Imperiale, and you indicated, if I recollect, a certain kind of feeling in the Police Department because of certain actions of some of the police officers involved in being in favor of this canine corps situation and you indicated that certain police officers had infiltrated these organizations to give the kind of G-2 intelligence you need to know what these groups are doing, are you aware of any of the police officers in the Police Department who are members of these groups the one circother than in an intelligence capacity?

prior meeting. THE WITNESS: Well, I didn't say they

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that up?

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were police officers that had penetrated it.

They are not police officers.

MR. LOFTON: Informants or otherwise.

THE WITNESS: I know that there are at least two members of the Loyal Americans For Law & Order who are policemen.

I know this. But in the North Ward Citizens League there are no policemen in it.

My informant is a citizen or two citizens.

MR. LOFTON: With respect to the two police officers who are members of this organization that you indicate are described as being an extremist kind of group--

THE WITNESS: I didn't say that. I said they are militant.

MR. LOFTON: Well, if I understood you correctly you indicated that they were circulating the hate literature and so forth, is that correct?

THE WITNESS: No, sir, I did not say that.

What are they circulating? Why don't we clear Q that up?

I think this North Ward Citizens League is the one circulating that literature that I described at a prior meeting. know of the management of the second of the

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MR. LOFTON: I have another question then.

Mr. Lofton?

MR. ROBINSON: Does that clear it up,

THE WITNESS: The L.A.L.O. has circulated some literature and I think copies of it are in that folder, but it is not racist.

MR. LOFTON: The reason I am pursuing this and asking you these questions is because there are certain segments in the black community who allege -- rightly or wrongly, I don't know -- that there are members of the Police Department who are members of these white extremist groups and thereby, this exacerbates the situation in terms of their feeling that in terms of saying that these are the kind of police officers that we have in the city that are part of these groups.

My question then is whether or not there has been any regulation or any statement from yourself to the members of the Police Department insofar as whether or not they should become affiliated with these groups.

THE WITNESS: Well, in the first place, I know of no reason why I should forbid

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anybody from belonging to any of these groups, maybe except the North Ward Citizens League.

militant organization but it is not a racist group.

The predominant people in that organization are white women. They are the ones that are actually running the organization.

MR. LOFTON: I just have one further question, Director.

They are not racist.

With respect to the appointing of a

Negro Police Captain in a precinct, I think
the Commission has at least received some
vicarious information in terms of how the
situation worked out in New York.

testimony that this was that situation.

how credible, that this has gone a long way towards easing the community tensions in that area.

that you mentioned in terms of the morale of the Police Department and so forth in terms

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that is already manned by a very good Police
Captain, I can understand the problems that
this creates but in terms of equating these
two things, do you think that the possibility
of relieving community tensions outweighs the
consideration in terms of the internal kind of
morale problem that you would be faced with
by doing that?

THE WITNESS: I think you would create a worse situation.

I think there is a rise in the militancy of the white people.

One of the things that they keep talking about is that the white administration here in the City of Newark keeps giving in to the Negroes and that it is my firm belief that if we do anything like this it would be extremely harmful.

I think it would be more and more polarization of the white people to the degree where they are going to be a lot more hostile than they are today.

in the Police Department, which is small,

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like Newark's in comparison to New York Cityyou know, you can always bury somebody someplace in New York City and nobody knows
about it because you get to be impersonal
numbers, not names anymore in a large department like that and I think that the harm
it would do to the morale would be beyond
belief.

Further, I don't think that this is doing Captain Williams any good.

I think he is embarrassed by these repeated statements.

I don't think it is fair to him either.

MR. LOFTON: I have nothing further.

MR. ROBINSON: Director, I want to express sincere gratitude to you for what I regard as a tremendous amount of preparation and a tremendous amount of helpful information.

I know what you have put into it and I know what your staff, especially Mr. Malard, has put into it and on behalf of the Commission we deeply appreciate it.

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THE WITNESS: It was my pleasure and I think it is my duty to do the things that I did.

MR. GIBBONS: Director, I can join in that.

You were the most thoroughly prepared witness that we have had before us.

Obviously you have done a considerable amount of work and we appreciate it.

THE WITNESS: Thank you very much, Mr. Gibbons.

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