THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN - GOOD EVENING LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: IT IS WITH GREAT PLEASURE THAT I JOIN YOU AND MY COLLEAGUES ON THE GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS.

JUST ABOUT A YEAR AGO, AFTER MONTHS OF EXHAUSTIVE HEARINGS AND INVESTIGATION, THE SELECT COMMISSION PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNOR AND THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY A PROFILE OF THE CAUSES, AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE EVENTS WHICH PLUNGED OUR STATE INTO VIOLENT DISORDER DURING THE SUMMER OF 1967. THOSE EVENTS ARE NOW HISTORY, AND IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO REACH BACK INTO THAT PAINFUL PERIOD AND RECITE AGAIN WHAT IS WELL KNOWN TO US ALL.

BUT THE COMMISSION DID MORE THAN TO DETERMINE THE CAUSES AND NATURE OF THE 1967 UPHEAVAL. IT MADE SOME EXPLICIT RECOMMENDATIONS, THE FULFILLMENT OF WHICH IT CONSIDERED MANDATORY . TO THERE ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER WITH JUSTICE. IN THE TIME ALLOTTED TO ME, I WANT TO DISCUSS SOME OF THOSE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS AS THEY APPLY SPECIFICALLY TO NEWARK, AND TO MEASURE HOW FAR WE HAVE COME TOWARD THEIR FRUITION.

ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, THE COMMISSION FOUND NEWARK TO BE A CRIPPLED CITY WITH SLUM HOUSING AT ITS CORE AND WIDENING BLIGHT

AT ITS PHERIPHERY; A CITY IN WHICH UNEMPLOYMENT AND PARTICULARLY BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT WAS WELL ABOVE THE NATIONAL AVERAGE; A CITY WHICH HAD FAILED TO SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BLACK BUSINESS COMMUNITY; A CITY IN THE CORE OF WHICH MANY RESIDENTS WERE DEPENDANT UPON A WELFARE SYSTEM WHICH NEEDED SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE; A CITY WHICH COULD NOT SUPPORT NECESSARY SERVICES FROM AVAILABLE TAX REVENUES. IT RECOMMENDED THAT RESOURCES FROM THE PRIVATE BUSINESS SECTOR BE BROUGHT TO BEAR UPON SOLVING THESE PROBLEMS; THAT NEW STATE TAX REVENUES BE FOUND TO SUPPORT NEEDED SERVICES: THAT SMALL LOANS BE MADE MORE WIDELY AVAILABLE FROM BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOURCES; THAT A PROGRAM BE DEVELOPED TO ENCOURAGE HOME OWNERSHIP BY LOW-INCOME FAMILIES; THAT A PROGRAM OF RENT SUPPLEMENTS,LEASED HOUSING AND RELOCATION BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE NEWARK HOUSING AUTHORITY; THAT THE STATE DIVISION ON CIVIL RIGHTS EXERT ALL NECESSARY POWERS TO CURB DISCRIMINATORY PATTERNS IN JOBS AND HOUSING; THAT DISCRIMINATION BY TRADE UNIONS AGAINST BLACK WORKERS BE EFFECTIVELY CURBED; THAT WELFARE ADMINISTRATION BE TAKEN OVER BY A STATE-WIDE ADMINISTRATION; THAT RECIPIENT AFFIDAVITS OF ELIGIBILITY REPLACE WELFARE INVESTIGATIONS: THAT A NET-WORK OF CHILD CARE CENTERS BE DEVELOPED; THAT AID TO

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DEPENDENT CHILDREN NOT BE WITHHELD MERELY BECAUSE THE UNEMPLOYED FATHER REMAINED WITH HIS FAMILY; THAT AN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION BE FORMED TO MOBILIZE PRIVATE SECTOR INTERESTS TOWARD EFFECTUATING THESE PROPOSALS. A FEW OF THESE GOALS HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. THE URBAN COALITION OF GREATER NEWARK HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AND ITS EFFECT HAS BEEN TO TRAIN THE ATTENTION OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY UPON THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE CITY. THE TEAM AND MODEL CITIES PROGRAMS SHOW PROMISE OF PROVIDING SOME HELP IN REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT AND IMPROVING CITY SERVICES. THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS HAS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN ATTEMPTING TO ENFORCE HOUSING CODES. NEW LEGISLATION HAS GIVEN RELOCATION BENEFITS TO THOSE UP-ROOTED BY STATE CONDEMNATION. WITHIN RECENT MONTHS NEW JERSEY HAS ADOPTED THAT PROVISION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT WHICH PERMITS AID TO DEPENDANT CHILDREN OF UNEMPLOYED PARENTS, ALLOWING THE FAMILY UNIT TO REMAIN IN TACT DURING PERIODS OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP. A LIMITED NEW PROGRAM OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED BY STATE LEGISLATION. THE USE OF RECIPIENT AFFIDAVITS OF ELIGIBILITY IN PLACE OF SHERLOCK HOMES INVESTIGATORY TACTICS WILL BE INSTALLED. THE RECENT APPOINTMENT OF A NEW DIRECTOR OF THE STATE CIVIL RIGHTS

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DIVISION HAS BEEN A GOOD STEP FORWARD TOWARDS THE CREATION OF A VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT AGENCY. BUT THE FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FOUND BY THE COMMISSION STILL EXIST. THE FLOW OF DOLLARS INTO THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAS NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT TO CREATE A GENUINE BLACK BUSINESS SECTOR. TRUE, WE HAVE SEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FEW PROMISING ENTERPRISES, NOTABLY THE PRIORITIES INVESTMENT CORPORATION, A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK GROUP WHICH IS BUILDING A 5 1/2 MILLION DOLLAR LOW COST REHABILITATED HOUSING COMPLEX FINANCED BY STATE AND PRIVATE MONEY WITH BLACK ARTISANS AND BLACK WORKERS AND TRAINEES. BUT THE TASK OF CREATING REHABILITATED AND NEW HOUSING IN THE QUANTITY REQUIRED IS STILL UNMET. NO EFFECTIVE PROGRAM HAS BEEN DEVELOPED FOR LOW INCOME HOME OWNERSHIP OR FOR LEASED HOUSING AND RENT SUPPLEMENTS. HOUSING CODE ENFORCEMENT DOES NOT BEGIN TO APPROACH EFFECTIVENESS. THE URBAN RENEWAL SHOVEL OUT RUNS AVAILABLE RELOCATION HOUSING. BY AND LARGE, THE TRADE UNIONS HAVE FAILED TO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY FOR TRAINING AND JOBS AND HAVE CONTINUED TO EXCLUDE BLACK WORKERS FROM THEIR RANKS. IN SHORT URBAN BLIGHT, UNEMPLOYMENT, SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCES FOR WELFARE RECIPIENTS AND TOTALLY INADEQUATE CITY SERVICES REMAIN THE HALLMARK

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CHARACTERISTICS OF NEWARK.

IN THE AREA OF EDUCATION, THE COMMISSION MADE A FINDING THAT THE NEWARK SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS IN A STATE OF EDUCATIONAL CRISIS. IT CALLED FOR THE INFUSION OF NEW MONIES FROM THE STATE; A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR SCHOOL DECENTRALIZATION AND IMMEDIATE STEPS TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL DECENTRALIZED SCHOOL DISTRICT AS A STEP TOWARDS ULTIMATE TOTAL DECENTRALIZATION. THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE IN NO LESS DERELICT CONDITION TODAY THAN THEY WERE WHEN THE COMMISSION REPORT WAS SIGNED. WE HAVE HAD A BOND ISSUE FOR CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION WHICH REPRESENTS LESS THAN ½ OF WHAT IS ADMITTEDLY REQUIRED TO CURE THE MOST OBVIOUS DEFAULTS IN NEWARK EDUCATION. WE HAVE HAD NO MOVEMENT TOWARD THE PLACING OF GREATER CONTROL OF THE SCHOOLS IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE. WE HAVE A BOARD OF EDUCATION WHICH IS POLITICALLY APPOINTED AND MUST NECESSARILY RESPOND INWARDLY TO THE ADMINISTRATION WHICH APPOINTS IT RATHER THAN OUTWARDLY TO THE PARENTS AND CHILDREN WHO DEPEND UPON IT.

WE COME NOW TO A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. THE SELECT COMMISSION FOUND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE POLICE TO BE THE MAJOR ABRASIVE

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FACTOR WHICH CREATED THE NEWARK DISTURBANCES. IT ALSO FOUND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT WAS FLAGRANTLY DEFICIENT. IT MADE DETAILED RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE INTERGRATION AND RETRAINING OF POLICE PERSONNEL AND FOR THE INFUSION OF BLACK PERSONNEL INTO ALL LEVELS OF POLICE RANKS. IT CALLED FOR A BOARD OF POLICE COMMISSIONERS TO HEAR CITIZEN COMPLAINTS. IT SPOKE AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CANINE CORPS. IT RECOMMENDED THE ABOLITION OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT AND ITS ABSORPTION INTO THE COUNTRY COURT. IT CALLED FOR EXPANSION OF THE PROGRAM OF RELEASE ON PERSONAL RECOGNIZANCE AND A PROGRAM FOR SUMMONS INSTEAD OF ARREST. IT CALLED FOR EXTENTION OF JURISDICTION OF THE PUBLIC DEFENDER'S OFFICE TO JUVENILE AND DISORDERLY PERSONS CHARGES.

SINCE THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMISSION WAS WRITTEN, WE HAVE SEEN NO VISABLE UPGRADING IN THE QUALITY OF THE NEWARK POLICE. WHILE CERTAIN RECRUITMENT EFFORTS HAVE BEEN DIRECTED TOWARD THE BLACK AND SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITIES, OUR POLICE FORCE IS STILL VASTLY OUT OF RACIAL BALANCE, PARTICULARLY AT THE OFFICER LEVEL AND THE LEVEL OF OPERATIONAL COMMAND. WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN PUTTING THE CANINE CORPS TO REST, BUT WE HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING WITHIN POLICE RANKS THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE THAT THE POLICE ARE THE

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SERVANTS AND NOT THE MASTERS OF THE LAW ABIDING COMMUNITY. TO DATE WE HAVE NO EFFECTIVE MACHINERY THROUGH WHICH TO PROCESS COMPLAINTS CONCERNING POLICE MISCONDUCT ALTHOUGH WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT AS A RESULT OF CONFERENCES BETWEEN THE ESSEX COUNTY PROSECUTOR AND A GROUP OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BROUGHT TOGETHER BY LEGAL SERVICES, WE MAY SHORTLY HAVE A PROSECUTORS ADVISORY PANEL FOR THIS PURPOSE. DESPITE WIDESPREAD CRITICISM OF THE NEWARK MUNICIPAL COURT, INCLUDING PUBLIC CRITICISM BY NEW JERSEY'S CHIEF JUSTICE, OUR MUNICIPAL COURT CONTINUES TO FUNCTION MUCH AS IT DID BEFORE THE DISORDERS OF 1967. IT IS TRUE THAT WE HAVE TWO NEW MAGISTRATES AND THAT ONE OF THESE IS A BLACK ATTORNEY OF NEWARK. BUT THE DEFECTS DETAILED IN THE GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION REPORT CONTINUE TO EXIST WITH LITTLE VISIBLE CHANGE EXCEPT FOR A PAINT JOB IN THE COURT ROOMS. THE RELEASE ON RECOGNIZANCE PROGRAM RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMISSION HAS NOT BEEN EFFECTUATED EXCEPT IN THE MOST TOKEN MANNER. THE PROCEDURE FOR SUMMONS IN LIEU OF ARREST HAS NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED. WHILE THE PUBLIC DEFENDER'S JURISDICTION HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATION OF JUVENILES, IT HAS NOT BEEN EXTENDED TO DISORDERLY PERSONS OFFENSES, AND THE FUNDS AVAILABLE EVEN IN THE JUVENILE COURT ARE LESS THAN THOSE NECESSARY TO DO AN

ADEQUATE JOB. THERE IS NO STENOGRAPHIC RECORD MADE IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT AS RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMISION AND IT IS THEREFORE EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFICULT FOR THAT COURT TO BE PROPERLY MONITORED BY HIGHER AUTHORITIES.

FINALLY, I WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT THAT PORTION OF THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH SAID "TO HELP RELIEVE THE FEELING OF NEGRO POWERLESSNESS, BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD SUPPORT THE EMERGENCE OF MORE NEGRO CANDIDATES AND SHOULD ENCOURAGE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF NEGROES OF ALL ECONOMIC LEVELS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS." NEWARK IS A CITY APPROXIMATELY 60% of WHOSE RESIDENTS ARE BLACK AND APPROXIMATELY 10% OF WHOSE RESIDENTS ARE SPANISH SPEAKING. THOSE RESIDENTS WILL NOT ACHIEVE A SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN URBAN LIFE UNTIL THEIR NUMERICAL STRENGTH BECOMES A VIABLE POLITICAL FORCE. THE RECENT COUNCILMANIC ELECTIONS DEMONSTRATED THAT THE BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN POPULATIONS OF NEWARK HAVE NOT YET BEGUN TO TRANSLATE THEIR MANPOWER INTO VOTER POWER. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, VOTER EDUCATION AND VOTER REGISTRATION MUST BE GIVEN THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE PRIORITY; AND TO THE EXTENT THAT THE LAW GOVERNING ELECTION PROCEDURES UNJUSTIFIABLY CREATES IMPEDIMENTS TO POLITICAL POWER, THE LAW MUST BE CHALLENGED AND MODIFIED. THIS IS A TASK WHICH CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT THE ACTIVE

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COMMITMENT AND SUPPORT OF BOTH BLACK AND WHITE LEADERSHIP, STARTING NOW. IT CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT A STRATEGY OF ENFRANCHISEMENT, NOT FOR SOME FAR DISTANT FUTURE DAY BUT FOR THE NEXT MAYORAL ELECTION. NEWARK MUST HAVE AN ADMINISTRATION WHICH WILL REPRESENT ITS BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN MAJORITY. A BLACK ADMINISTRATION AT CITY HALL WILL NOT MEAN THE IMMEDIATE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE MANY PROBLEMS WHICH I HAVE DISCUSSED, BUT SUCH AN ADMINISTRATION CAN EFFECT A RESTORATION OF CONFIDENCE, THAT PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED THROUGH THAT PARTNERSHIP OF EFFORT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT UPON WHICH THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF DEOMOCRACY RESTS; IT CAN MEAN THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS COMMITTED TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THIS CITY WILL HAVE THE CLIMATE OF TRUST WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO SOLVING THE MASSIVE PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT US.

THE SUBJECT OF OUR CONSULTATION HERE IS" WHERE ARE WE NOW, AND WHERE DO WE NEED TO GO?" IN MY VIEW, IN MOST MAJOR RESPECTS, WE ARE PRETTY MUCH WHERE WE WERE A YEAR AND A HALF AGO. WE NEED TO GO TOWARD AND TO WIN A POLITICAL NEW DEAL FOR NEWARK, BECAUSE THOSE WHO NOW HOLD THE REIGNS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ARE UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO DELIVER THE MASSIVE RESOURCES AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES OF ATTITUDE AND FUNCTION WHICH THIS CITY NEEDS TO GET WELL. BUT LADIES

AND GENTLEMEN, I WANT TO MAKE SOMETHING PERFECTLY CLEAR. THE POOR BLACK AND SPANISH PEOPLE IN THE CORE CITY CANNOT ELECT A NEW ADMINISTRATION UNAIDED. THEY NEED AND THEY MUST HAVE THE TANGIBLE SUPPORT OF THAT PORTION OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY WHICH UNDERSTANDS THEIR DEPRIVATIONS AND JOINS IN THEIR HOPES FOR A BETTER LIFE.

POLITICAL CHANGE IS NOT A PANACEA -- BUT IT IS THE INDISPENSIBLE MEDICINE WHICH NEWARK MUST HAVE FOR A CONVALESCENT COURSE TO BE ESTABLISHED.

WE HAVE MOVED FORWARD INCHES. WE HAVE MILES TO GO AND WE CANNOT ARRIVE WITHOUT EACH OTHER.

IF WE CAN ACCOMPLISH A DEMOCRATIC REDISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER, THE GLORY OF THAT ACHIEVEMENT WILL REST ON US ALL. IF WE CANNOT OR WILL NOT EMBARK UPON SUCH AN UNDERTAKING, WE MAY VERY WELL ATTEND AT THE FUNERAL OF THIS CITY AND THE DREAMS OF ITS DESPERATE PEOPLE."

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