

5 Attor Q Were you involved at all with the Governor in the
6 negotiations between the Governor and the community?

7 A Well, I understood that several meetings had
8 taken place with the Governor with the various delegations
9 from the community. Very late Sunday evening -- I imagine
10 it was about eleven o'clock or so -- I received a call where
11 I was staying that the Governor would be willing to meet with
12 me and Tom Hayden, and a meeting was arranged at the United
13 States Attorney's office at the Federal Building in Newark.
14 This meeting took place around twelve-thirty a.m. or maybe
15 a little later.

16 Q Is Tom Hayden a member of CORE?

17 A No, he isn't.

18 Q Does he head an organization in the city?

19 A No.

20 Q Isn't he chairman for the Students --

21 A They don't have a structure like that. You have
22 to know the new left.

23 Q The old new left or the new new left?

24 A He is an organizer in Newark, and he has worked in
25 the black community since 1964, and he has been very much

1 involved, or was very much involved in the organization of a
2 group called the Newark Community Union Project. He is a
3 very good friend of mine.

4 Q Who was present at the meeting in the United States
5 Attorney's office? You, Tom Hayden, the Governor, and who
6 else?

7 A Dr. Yivisaker, Colonel Kelly of the State Police.
8 There was another gentleman there from the Governor's staff
9 whom I don't recall.

10 Q Mr. Bilder?

11 A No. Oh, yes, Bilder was there, and another guy
12 was there, too.

13 MR. MEYNER: Spinelli?

14 THE WITNESS: No.

15 By Mr. Jaffe:

16 Q Stan Van Ness?

17 A No. Mr. Satz was also there. The Governor was
18 interested in discussing with us our impressions of what
19 was going on in the community at the time. On Saturday, by
20 the way, after the meeting at City Hall I did have some
21 contact in the community. I walked up Springfield Avenue
22 for a while, and I talked to quite a number of people and a
23 number of people from CORE and some of the organizers from
24 the Area Board. We had a meeting later that evening or early
25 Saturday evening to discuss primarily the press reaction to

1 what was going on in Newark which we felt to be extremely
2 harmful and distorted, particularly the Governor's statement
3 which was completely punitive at that point; that criminal
4 insurrection and people who hate our country are involved,
5 and statements of this kind. We felt that nothing was being
6 said that addressed itself to the fundamental problems of a
7 situation like this.

8 Q Could you tell us what you told the Governor?

9 A When we met with the Governor, he was, number one,
10 interested in knowing something about what was happening in
11 the community at the time. We did get into a discussion of
12 the riot and what was happening. I did make an effort to
13 the best of my ability to explain that I didn't believe that
14 most of the behavior and a great deal of the behavior he was
15 describing as criminal was criminal because I described
16 something that I had seen Thursday night in fact, a young
17 girl, maybe fourteen, and a young boy about the same age
18 going into a store on Springfield Avenue that had all kinds
19 of very attractive and exciting items that you might think
20 teen-agers would be interested in like tape recorders and
21 radios and so on. They went to the back of the store and
22 dragged out a double bed mattress.

23 I felt, and I still feel, that to me is a comment on
24 poverty and deprivation. I think that this kind of behavior
25 was evident throughout the whole disturbance in the city.

1 Q Was there any discussion at this point with the
2 Governor as to the withdrawal of the State Police and
3 National Guard?

4 A Yes, there was. This was fairly early morning in
5 fact. The entire city, just about the entire Negro com-
6 munity anyway in the commercial area of the city had the
7 stores broken into. On Saturday evening and Sunday especially
8 there was tremendous evidence of the police rampantly and
9 indiscriminately shooting up the community. In many cases
10 areas where people were just sitting in their homes, windows
11 were being shot into and buildings were being shot at.

12 From what I could observe in my contact with the com-
13 munity, and Tom felt the same way, that the rebellion on
14 the part of the community was essentially over and that now
15 we were in a period of retaliation by the police forces that
16 were sent into the city to restore order but were in fact
17 continuing the disorder by their shooting and their attacks
18 on the community. The Governor felt that the people in the
19 community wanted that National Guard to be riding up and
20 down the street in their open trucks with their rifles dis-
21 played as a show of confidence that order would be restored.
22 It was my impression, and I think it was an accurate
23 one from talking to people and observing what was happening,
24 that the black community was scared to death of the National
25 Guard and the State Police and has long been scared to death

1 of the Newark police, and that the continuance of this show
2 of force was only going to perpetuate the conflict that
3 existed in the community.

4 Q What was the Governor's reaction?

5 A Well, it was my impression that the Governor was a
6 bit surprised to hear that. He consulted with Colonel Kelly
7 and Colonel Kelly indicated that he was not prepared to
8 consider troop withdrawal at that point, but Dr. Ylvisaker
9 apparently was supportive of the idea of withdrawing the
10 troops at that point.

11 I think a very constructive and helpful dialogue was
12 carried out. In fact, the Governor said something to the
13 effect that it was the first conversation that he had with
14 community leaders that were only interested in talking about
15 the problem and what was going on.

16 As the meeting terminated, the Governor and Colonel
17 Kelly discussed a proposition that I had offered as a way
18 of beginning withdrawal, that withdrawal might be initiated
19 in the South Ward area, which was the least congested and
20 was an area where I and Tom both had the most experience in
21 working with community groups, and we could in fact organize,
22 we felt, an effective clean-up and peace-keeping force to
23 work in the community point of view if withdrawal took place
24 there.

25 Then we suggested that they see what would happen and

1 then if we restored order in that area, then it might be
2 extended immediately to other parts of the city. But at
3 least it wasn't decided that it was going to be done, but
4 there seemed to be some indication that they were willing to
5 seriously consider it.