

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mrs. Carey

65

TO : M. C. Miskovsky
Stanley P. Hebert

FROM : Haywood L. Perry
John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Newark Assignment

DATE: December 4, 1967

On the basis of interviews made by field teams, by investigators from the New Jersey Commission, and by the undersigned, we have made the following preliminary conclusions:

1. The immediate cause of the riot was the arrest of John Smith, a taxicab driver. There is no evidence that this triggering incident was planned.

2. Law Enforcement officials interviewed thus far have been unable to provide any hard evidence of "outside agitators" as such. However, reference is made to paragraph (3) hereof indicating the extent of participation by individuals or organizations having residence or bases outside of the Newark area.

3. The influence of individuals and organizations before, during and after the disorder is as follows:

a. Before the disorder the following individuals and groups were active in agitating or organizing the Negro community. We list them in order of influence prior to the disorder.

- (1) United Community Corporation (UCC),
a local OEO agency.
- (2) CORE.



- (3) NAACP.
- (4) NCUP (Newark Community Urban Project).
- (5) Black Muslims.
- (6) Black Man's Army of Liberation (including Black Stars Regiment), which is Washington based. We have been informed that this group was paid by unidentified members of the Negro community to dramatize the medical school issue in the early part of 1967. However, we have as yet no direct evidence of this.
- (7) SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and its Newark representative, Thomas Hayden, who from time to time associated himself with the aforementioned groups, especially NCUP.
- (8) Black Nationalist Movement. LeRoi Jones, leader.
- (9) SNCC. Prior to the disorder, two individuals, (Phil Hutchins and Robert Fullerlove) were attempting to organize a local SNCC Chapter.

b. During the disorder (July 12 - July 18, 1967), the following groups and individuals can be identified as participants in the roles noted:

- (1) U.C.C. President (Timothy Still), CORE Director (Robert Curvin) and NAACP members (Oliver Lofton) attempted to disperse the crowds at various times during the disorder.
- (2) On July 15, 1967, a group identified as the Progressive Labor Party picketing the Newark police department carrying placards demanding the release of prisoners and the removal of the National Guard.

- (3) On July 16, 1967, 35 persons from N.Y.C., representing the Youth against War and Fascism staged a demonstration at Newark city hall, passing out leaflets and carrying placards denouncing police action and demanding withdrawal of National Guard.
- (4) Tom Hayden's attorney advised Scales that Hayden and "his group" were on the street during the disorder as "observers" and "it was a wonder they were not arrested."
- (5) On the second day of the disorder, LeRoi Jones was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon.

Arrest records have been obtained and names of residents of other areas (such as Detroit) will be cross-checked.

c. Since the disorder, we would attribute the same relative influence to those organizations listed in (a).

However, Willie Wright and his organization, United Afro American Association has emerged as a factor with the militant youth by virtue of increased schisms between the black and white communities and the attention he has received from the press. It would be premature to assess that group's relative influence.

Other organizations which are present in the greater Newark area, and which may be considered as potential actors in any future disorder or events leading thereto are: DuBois Society, Birch Society, Minutemen, KKK.

There is no evidence that members of RAM were in the Newark area before, during, or after the disorder.

4. The white community believes that snipers and looters acted in concert, while the Negro community holds that "sniping" reports were over-emphasized, due to the small number of deaths attributed thereto. We are developing hard facts on this.

5. The present atmosphere in Newark may be assessed as follows:

a. Mistrust and lack of communication between white and Negro communities exceeding that existant prior to the disorder.

b. All sectors are arming. Target shooting practice is engaged in by whites.

6. With respect to the statement in Lomax's article that there is a cache of weapons in the ghetto area.

a. Law enforcement officials have been unable to locate same.

b. A Negro (anonymous) advised Perry that he had personally seen weapons being unloaded in the ghetto area.

c. Thomas Hayden derided the Lomax article in this as well as all aspects.

We consider these findings incomplete and inconclusive and will not be in a position to submit a final report for at least ten days.

Reports on interviews conducted to date will be attached hereto after they are typed. Our files now contain copies of (1) arrest reports, (2) New Jersey Commission files on groups, (3) "intelligence files" of Essex County Sheriff and Essex County Prosecutor, and (4) pictures taken by photographers at the Newark News, during the disorder.

hlp
PKS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : M. C. Miskovsky ✓
S. P. Hebert ✓

DATE: November 25, 1967

FROM : John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Newark Assignment

The following outline is submitted in connection with our forthcoming trip to Newark. It is intended to:

- a. Advise the extent to which our requirements have been met from existing sources.
- b. Advise as to the manner in which we propose to satisfy requirements that have not been fulfilled.
- c. Serve as a working document during our trip.
- d. Serve as an outline for a report to be prepared upon our return.

In order to make this valuable as a working document, I have included references to all existing materials that I thought in any way relevant to our mission. Accordingly, while this information may be useful in developing further information during our trip, much of it will be considered too unreliable, irrelevant, redundant or worthless to be included in our final report.

I have indicated the source of existing information in each case so that further developments during interviews can be made without improper or embarrassing disclosures: (F.T.) Field Team reports (numbers in parenthesis are to pages); S: Satterfield interviews of Willie Wright; (H): Haywood interviews; FBI: FBI reports; Newspaper accounts are particularly noted.

As I do not have access to the Newark files, there will be details that will have to be filled in Monday.



A. Requirements from Police Departments.

While developing, through police sources, our requirements with respect to individuals and groups, we must obtain complete information with respect to:

- a. Repository of and method of processing information on groups, agitators (TAB A-3,4).
- b. Informers: reliability, picture, double agents, payment and who works with them (TAB A-9, 10, 11).
- c. A system of cross check (TAB A-12).
- d. Arrest records, biographies (TAB A-5).
- e. Information on weapons (TAB A-6, 7). Reference is made to our memorandum dated November 21, 1967, setting forth information obtained as of that date.

These requirements (as well as individual and group requirements) will be developed by interviews made, if possible, in the following order.

1. Sanford Jaffee, New Jersey Commission (MCM, JKS, HLP).
2. Dominick Spina, Police Director (JKS). It is apparent from team reports that Mr. Spina will only reluctantly submit to further interviewing and that he is not impressed with the emphasis given by the Field Teams.

Accordingly, we propose that we arrange for an interview, through Jaffee, if possible and that a direct "policeman" type approach be made during the interview.

3. Don Malafronte, Administrative Assistant to Mayor Addonizio. (F.T.) A "city informant" was mentioned by Malafronte. () The team advised Friday that another interview would be generally productive.

4. David Satz, U. S. Attorney from Newark.

It was agreed with the field team that it was not advisable for us to see Brendon Byrne, Newark City Prosecutor, since the team has good contact with him and Byrne has agreed to give them arrest reports. They are following up on this and it is expected that insofar as arrest reports are concerned, we may not need or may consider it self defeating to go beyond Jaffee.

B. Requirements with respect to Groups.

SDS (STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)

1. Headquarters - Chicago, Illinois. Where?
2. Officers - President or National Secretary - Jeff Segal. Others?
3. Members - The Students for a Democratic Society presently claims a membership of 30,000 with 250 chapters, mostly on college campuses.
4. Publications - Its publication "New Left Notes" on October 7, 1966, carried an article admitting that there are some communists in the group. This article contains a statement that SDS welcomes all who seek solutions to the problems of our today.
5. Objectives - SDS seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program "counterposed to authoritarian movements, both of communism and the domestic right."

6. Statements by Officers of Objective - Its officers and publications have called for support for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other militant, radical and revolutionary groups. During its June, 1967 convention, the SDS adopted a resolution to support such groups regardless of the groups political ideology. Specifically mentioned were the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

7. Written Evidence of Organization--Bylaws, Constitution, etc. - The Students for a Democratic Society was, until 1965, a youth affiliate of the League of Industrial Democracy. (The League is the successor to the Inter-Collegiate Socialist which was founded in 1905 to mobilize college professors and students to teach socialism and collective ownership).

The Students for a Democratic Society, as it presently exist, was actually formed at a convention held in Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. A group of students, who describe themselves as "liberals and radicals," attended this founding convention and drafted the "Port Huron Statement," the bible of the SDS. This statement covers a variety of subjects including peace, poverty, and civil rights. The preamble to the Students for a Democratic

Society is an association of young people on the left."

8. Incorporation or Legal Recognition - Unknown.

9. Finances - Donations of peace groups and other sympathizers.

10. Appeal to What Groups or Types - Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has described the Students for a Democratic Society as part of a "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." As mentioned in item 7, the SDS supports other militant, radical and revolutionary groups regardless of their political ideology.

In an interview with Mr. Lee A. Satterfield, Willie Wright, President of the United Afro American Association located in Newark, New Jersey, advised he accompanied Thomas Hayden, a journalist, and member of the SDS to Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries between September 5-28, 1967. Mr. Hayden wrote a book on the Newark riot titled "Rebellion in Newark."

The trip to these countries was supposedly to see how other people live. Wright stated he returned to the U. S. while Mr. Hayden stayed overseas to visit other countries. Wright related the trip was financed by peace groups.

The United Afro American Association is identified as a militant group. Through its speaker, Wright, the group has admitted obtaining arms to defend the black people of Newark if another riot occurs.

11. Programs - The Students for a Democratic Society's convention of June 1967 adopted a proposal that their group would consult with black groups to combat "divisive racist reactions" in white communities to ghetto rebellions by the following methods:

- a. By organizing poor and middle class whites to act as allies with the "Black Liberation Movement."
- b. By distributing literature in white communities during "rebellions" explaining the facts behind the rebellions.
- c. By organizing sympathy demonstrations at police stations and on campuses and using civil disobedience if necessary.
- d. By providing legal and financial aid.
- e. By researching the nature of police departments.

12. Publicity - The SDS receives notariety from magazines and newspaper articles within the cities in which the group participates. Reference is made to film referred to in (16) below.

13. Influence - The Students for a Democratic Society support of riots is shown by the statement issued by Rescuers from Poverty, Baltimore, Maryland, on July 27, 1967. This statement strongly supports individuals who participated in the recent riot at Cambridge, Maryland, and protests the arrest of H. Rap Brown, the leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Due to the claimed membership of SDS, it is quite conceivable that the group exerts much influence on the rich, poor, militant and nonmilitant people.

14. Advertising - In the form of circulars and pamphlets. It is financed through their organization. Funds being received from sympathizers.

15. Cities Where Most Active - Chicago, the headquarters, probably constitutes the bulk of the group's activity, however, the group supports and works with other groups all over the country.

The riot in Boston, Mass., on June 2, 1967, was triggered by the arrest of individuals who were staging a sit-in at the Welfare Office. Included among those arrested were five members of SDS. The sit-in was sponsored by Mothers for Adequate Welfare.

16. Ties to other Groups. - On Friday, November 24, Satterfield advised Scales and Perry that the subject to the relationship between Hayden and Wright was not discussed, except for the mention of travel referred to in (10) above.

Reference is made to (6) above.

17. Evidence of Travel of Officers of Members - Reference is made to (10) above.

18. Specific Instances of Activity or Identifications with Riots. - (F.T.) Malafronte stated that a city informant told him that someone in the crowd assembling before the police station at the time of Smith's arrest called "Hayden's outfit" ().

(F.T.) Renaldi (Director Newark Chamber of Commerce) stated that Hayden produced a film called the "troublemakers,"

available at the Newark Public Library. The field team did not follow-up.

Kowalski testified before the Commission that Hayden directed movement and peacement during "several recent" demonstrations. ()

(YAWF) YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

(Sources are FBI files unless otherwise noted)

1. Headquarters - 58 West 25th Street, New York City
2. Officers - Unknown
3. Members - Unknown - supposedly consist of high school and college youths.
4. Publications - A magazine called the "Partisan."
5. Objective - To overthrow capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.
6. Statement by Officers of Objectives - Unknown
7. Written Evidence of Organization - FBI Report
8. Incorporation or Legal Recognition - Unknown
9. Finances - Through the "Workers World Party" which reorganized on May 12, 1960.
10. Appeal to what Groups - High school and college students - black and white.

11. Programs - Unknown.
12. Publicity - Unknown.
13. Influence - Unknown.
14. Advertising - Unknown.
15. Cities Most Active - New York City.
16. Ties with Other Groups - Workers World Party.
17. Evidence of Travel -
18. Specific Instances of activity or Identification with Riots - On July 16, 1967, thirty-five (35) persons from New York City representing the Youth Against War and Fascism, a Trotskyite organization, staged a demonstration at Newark City Hall, passing out leaflets and carrying placards denouncing police action and demanding withdrawal of the National Guard. (FBI)
19. Judgment of Effectiveness - Unknown.
20. Possible Role Foreseen if Revolt Occurs - If a revolt does reoccur, the YAWF group can expect to demonstrate as before.

(PLP) PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

1. Headquarters - 132 Nassau Street, Room 622,
New York City, N. Y.

2. Officers -

a. President as reported by a source is
Milton Rosen of New York.

b. Vice President - William Epton of New York.

c. Vice President - Mort Scheer of San Francisco.

3. Members - Names and numbers unknown, however, a
20 member National Committee was elected to direct the
party until the next convention.

4. Publications -

a. "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine.

b. "Challenge," a bi-weekly New York City newspaper.
The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that,
"this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life
where the working men and women own and control their homes,
factories, the police, courts and the entire government on
every level."

c. "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

5. Objectives - The PLP's ultimate is the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

6. Statements by Officers of Objectives - Unknown.

7. Written Evidence of Organization - FBI Files.

8. Incorporation or Legal Recognition - An FBI source advised on April 20, 1965, the PLP, formerly known as the "Progressive Labor Movement" held its first National Convention on April 15-18, 1965, in New York City.

9. Finances - Unknown.

10. Appeal to what Groups - Unknown.

11. Program - Unknown.

12. Publicity - The "New York Times," dated April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialist" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of PLP.

13. Influence - Unknown.

14. Advertising - Unknown.

15. Cities where most Active -

a. New York City.

b. San Francisco.

16. Ties with other Groups - Unknown.
17. Evidence of Travel of Officers or Members - Unknown.
18. Group Identified with Riot - On July 15, 1967, the Newark Police Headquarters was picketed by approximately 10 persons carrying placards demanding for the release of prisoners and shouting that the National Guard be removed from Newark. One of the placards identified as Progressive Labor Party (PLP).
19. Judgment of Effectiveness - Unknown at this time.
20. Possible Role Foreseen if Revolt Occurs - In view of the group's past demonstration, a reoccurrence of the same behavior may be expected if a revolt occurs.

(UAAA) UNITED AFRO AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

(References to UCC are included herein, although it may qualify for a separate outline)

1. Name - UAAA, United Afro American Association

2. Headquarters - 402 South 6th Street, Newark, N. J.

Other "hangouts" should be included.

3. Officers - Willie Wright, President; Leon Moore, Lieutenant.

4. Members - Unknown by Satterfield or Perry. However, we should find out more about the "Black Community Patrol."

5. Publications - As stated by Satterfield; no publications have been written by the group. See (15) below

6. Objectives - To raise the black man of Newark from his terrible plight if it means military confrontation with "whitey."

7. Statements by Officers of Objectives - Reference is made to Louis E. Lomax' story, entitled "Newark called a hub for black revolutionaries," Page 2, Paragraph 1, under the heading of Military Confrontation. Reference is also made to Lee Satterfield's interview with Willie Wright on October 9, 1967, Page 7, Paragraph 2, where Wright stated

that his primary concern is for the black people of Newark and that he will defend them in the event of another rebellion.

8. Written evidence of organization - bylaws, constitution, etc. There is nothing in Lomax' column which indicates evidence of a written organization. Mr. Satterfield advised Perry, that Wright's group has no charter.

9. Incorporation or legal recognition - None. See answer to Item No. 8.

10. Finances - Mr. Wright advised Mr. Satterfield that he has received donations from other militants who are not organized and anonymous donors.

L: Implied that UCC money and facilities may be used. ()

S: Wright said that his trip to Czechoslovakia was financed by the peace movement.

F.T.: Quillan (Prudential) saw ad in Newark Ledger placed by Wright, and therefore assumed he had financial backing. ()

F.T.: Rev. Stulb advised F.T. that Hussan was paid to come in. ()

11. Groups to which UAAA Appeal - As evidenced in Lomax' column, Satterfield's interview and Perry's interview, Wright's group appeals to the educated, uneducated, the middle class and the people in the ghetto, in all, mainly the Negro population.

12. Program - Willie Wright has not professed any type of program that he intends to use to fulfill his objective.

13. Sources of Publicity - UAAA has been publicized at different local meetings, through the local newspaper and through articles, such as written by Louis E. Lomax.
(See No. 10)

14. Influence - The influential impact of UAAA is not readily obtainable since most of the Negro people interviewed in Newark feel the same way Wright does, however, when his name is mentioned, most people agree that they have heard of him but they do not condone violence.

15. Advertising - The mere passing out of handwritten circulars throughout the ghetto neighborhood. Reference is made to No. 10.

L: Spina has copies of circular on Molotov cocktail.
Others ()

F.T. Satz (US Attorney) has copies (picture fo Rutledge's body).

16. Cities where most active - As indicated by Wright, as documented in Lomax' column, Satterfield's and Perry's interviews, he is only concerned with the black people of Newark. Reference is made to No. 17.

17. UAAA ties to Other Groups - The fact that Willie Wright is a Board Member of an OEO funded organization, the UCC, United Community Corporation, definitely indicates a close relationship of ideas and members. As indicated by Satterfield in his interview with Wright on October 9 and November 3, 1967, members of UAAA do exchange ideas with other groups around the country.

L: Black power revolutionaries were in Newark when city erupted. ()

L; Strangers spotted during public meeting to debate urban renewal, at least two months before riot. According to Lomax, a Negro official gave list to Director Spina. ()

Relationship to others in this Section B.

What about Willie's brother in Detroit, Michigan.

S: Wright admitted that black revolutionaries came from Washington to Newark for advice and assistance.

()

S: Satterfield witnessed disagreement between Jones and Wright over religious and international aspects.

()

S: Wright considered Hussan a fraud. ()

S: Wright denied being a "front man" for anyone (November 3, 1967, page 26, paragraph 3)

Find out more about personal aspects and relationships between militants and others, etc.

18. Evidence of travel of officers of UAAA - Willie Wright informed Lee A. Satterfield that he and Leon Moore, his bodyguard, had traveled to several socialist countries, of which Czechoslovakia and Paris were mentioned. Wright advised his trip was financed by people in the peace movement; no names were supplied. Thomas Hayden, the noted journalist and radical, accompanied Wright's group.

When questioned as to the purpose of his overseas trip, Wright stated that he had traveled to learn how other people live and think. He stated that Hayden did not return to this country with him, but went on to other countries. Mr. Satterfield suspects that Hayden visited Viet Nam or Cuba.

19. Specific instances of activity or identification with riot - Reference is made to Louis E. Lomax' column under the caption of "Voices of Dissent Remain Muffled," where Lomax states that the revolutionaries were ironically in town preparing for a riot for the same day that the riot actually occurred, but by other means, the arrest of the taxicab driver.

When questioned by Satterfield on November 3, 1967 as to the veracity of the statement, Wright did not refute it, but merely suggested to Satterfield that he refer to the article concerning subject matter. Wright explained to Satterfield that he was not able to control the members of his organization during the riot and that they participated in the disorder and looting once it got started. Wright adamantly denied any outside agitation during the riot. Reference is made to Satterfield's interview with Wright on November 3, 1967, page 25, paragraph 2.

L: (a) relationship to Plainville theft, ()
(b) Broad Street Plan (), (c) Wright said that he was in
vicinity of police station (), (d) Molotov cocktail at
Urban League. ()

S: Wright stated that (a) "our guys" really "did
a job" on selective establishments and there was some
planning, () (b) Black Revolutionaries played a
significant role in looting and burning, () (c) Wright's
group had made plans for three weeks, () (d) his group
was involved in the Molotov cocktail incident ().

FBI: reported that (a) Spina advised that the
assistant personnel manager of UCC was in the crowd that
gathered at Police Precinct, and urged crowd not to heed
speakers (), (b) two individuals arrested were identified
with Nation of Islam (Jones) (), (c) 20 of those arrested
gave out-of-state addresses (), (d) acting chief of police,
Ludwig, advised on July 14, 1967, that Stokely Carmicheal was
arriving in motorcade ().

Kowalski testified before () that (a) within one
hour of Smith's arrest, there were 75 cabs at police station.
This and the fact that there were piles of rocks suggested
organization. ()

F.T.: Norman Schiff, Corporation Counsel, advised that UCC passed out leaflets and acted as catalyst in getting things going, but did not plan the riots ().

F.T.: Malcom Talbott, Vice President, Rutgers, advised that rioters were primarily young poor Negroes ().

F.T.: William Mercer (BICC) stated that he witnessed taxi drivers trying to organize at 2:30 Thursday morning (108).

F.T. Spina said UCC organizing pickets and handing out racist leaflets (33).

20. Judgement of effectiveness of UAAA - The fact that Wright is a member of UCC has created a furor at the National Headquarters of OEO and with some of the UCC Board Members, mainly white. The police department constantly attempts to keep Wright and his associates under surveillance. So, the effectiveness depends on the measures that are taken to contain or oversee Wright's activities.

His effectiveness must be attested to the fact that some 200 persons attended a meeting of the Trustee Board of UCC at which he was the main speaker and advocated violence.

L: General conclusion that Wright has emerged as Leader. ()

S: (a) concluded ghetto much more organized since the disturbance (), (b) heard Miss Edwards tell Wright that ghetto organized behind Wright, () (c) heard Wright state that he needs only a small handful of people to be effective (), (d) surmised that Wright did not feel that his organization was as large as he would like it (), (e) advised Scales and Perry on November 24, 1967, that he would "gues" Wright "active" group would not exceed 20 or 30 ().

21. Possible role foreseen if revolt occurs - From statements made by Wright to Lomax, Satterfield and Perry, it appears evident that much violence can be expected from UAAA if a revolt occurs. Reference is made to Lomax' column entitled, "Newark called a hub of black revolutionaries." Reference is also made to interviews of Lee Satterfield dated October 9, 1967, and November 3, 1967, and of Perry dated November 7, 1967.

Reference is made to our memorandum dated November 21, 1967, in regard to weapons.

L: wrote that fire arms included machine guns, carbines, hand grenades, and small cannon and that Wright invited Black men to call him in order to get arms.

S: (a) observed that Wright training "the very few people" in this group. (), (b) heard Wright tell him that Lomax the only one outside of Newark who has seen weapons. ()

Reference is made to Haywood L. Perry's memoranda and outline regarding CORE and LeRoy Jones, dated November 20, and November 21, respectively, copies of which are attached hereto.

We propose to fulfill these group requirements (and individual requirements as they arise) by interview or other contact with those mentioned in (A) above, that is

Sanford Jaffee (Note that Satterfield was confidentially told by Wright that Messrs. Coleman and Horne of Jaffee's commission took taped interviews of Wright. As we are not supposed to know this, the FT suggests that we make a general inquiry as to material on Wright and see how Jaffee responds. Jaffee promised FT statistics on firearm sales.)

Dominick Spina

Don Malafronte

David Satz

and with the following persons who have not been previously interviewed:

Thomas Hayden. I am to call Hayden upon arrival (242-5759), contact having been made by my friend (Stephen Gilbert, 642-6730) through Hayden's attorney (L. Weinglass). I will try to meet on "neutral" ground as soon after arrival as convenient. I hope to develop things indirectly, utilizing Hayden's book and then moving into Lomax's article, without making obvious our particular interest in him.

(A member of the Birch Society). Gilbert is trying to arrange this, without prejudice to the Hayden interview.

F.T. Frank Addonizio stated that Lee Bernstein very "right-wing" (). F.T. advised that minutemen may be in and F.T. Threatt (Human Rights Commissioner) advised that there are Birchers in police department.

Dr. Nathan Wright. Haywood Perry has arranged to see him.

Officer Finn. A Negro police officer who has recently left the force. Haywood Perry has arranged this.

Col. Hassan, Leader Black Liberation Army. Haywood will see him in Newark only if he is there. He generally resides in Washington, D.C.

A member of SNCC. F.T. Malafronte referred to "Phil Hutchins" as being a member. F.T. Renaldi (Chamber of Commerce) said SNCC very active (64) in Newark. We will develop these.

Kowalski, who testified before _____, that everything was planned.

Time permitting, it has been agreed with the field team that we should find productive further interviews with the following (we will be familiar with previous interviews, for the sake of proper approach and continuity):

Paul Vlvisaker, N. J. State Commissioner on Community Relations, who testified before the Commission as to activities of Negro playwright Jones.

Fr. Joseph Stulb, Pres. Priests Group, Ass. Queen of Angels. We are interested in further developing Stulbs statements to the F.T. with respect to weapons and Hassan (78) (84). The F.T. believes that he knows quite a bit; he has good relations with teenagers and this may lead somewhere. I plan to see him.

Timothy Still, President, The United Community Corp., Haywood plans to develop further requirements on that organization to the extent relevant.

We will have in mind in each case, whether or not testimony before the Commission should be recommended and potential interrelationships with disorders in Philadelphia and in other New Jersey communities.

We will also be looking for evidence of presence or involvement of RAM or individual members thereof and will try to determine (second hand) the extent to which the Italian private community may be armed.

We will develop further how particular individuals or groups fit into the action part of the Newark chronology. It will be helpful to develop the "East Orange" and recent pellet gun incidents.

Other things that we have in mind about Newark include:

- (a) the use of hospital records where police records unavailable
- (b) Life magazine has some unpublished pictures
- (c) Smith's arrest. The original report has not been made available. Who was the other passenger? Can Gilbert arrange?
- (d) Insurance adjusters
- (e) go to scene of major events
- (f) see firearms dealers and pawnbrokers
- (g) rumors that there are Negro corpses hidden by police
- (h) obtain copies of Lomax speech before NAACP
- (i) Tie in speeches given in area before, during, after, etc.
- (j) Was there Wright, Debray contact in Paris
- (k) John Smith, according to Times, served as an enlisted man in Japan, Korea and the Philippines
- (l) more on Willie Wright's brothers, Ike and Dave
- (m) military experience of militants generally
- (n) William Mercer's speech to Black Power Conference held July 22 (see Seed)
- (o) See Harry Wheeler, a school teacher, believed by Stulb to be left wing (79)

(p) State police on standby alert for 2 days prior to disorder

(q) Molotov cocktail through Urban League window

(r) See Walter Stevens, described as militant (110)

(s) Robert Kramer and Norm Flucher who wrote "An Approach to Community Organizing"

(t) Puerto Rican community?

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Nov. 21, 1967

FROM : Haywood L. Perry

SUBJECT: Leroy Jones - Militant Leader of the Muslim Faith

On October 9, 1967, Mr. Satterfield interviewed Leroy Jones, Director of the Settlement House, 33 Sterling Street, Newark, New Jersey. The Settlement House is a community gathering place where persons, mostly black nationalists, come to participate in dramatic arts, discussion of the Muslim faith, to learn Arabic and to see motion picture films.

Mr. Jones is a playwright who has dedicated himself to lift the black man from his oppressions even if it means with the aid of foreign help. Mr. Satterfield was introduced to Mr. Jones by Mr. Willie Wright, President of the United Afro American Association.

This interview was suggested by Mr. Wright who advised that Leroy Jones had been arrested during the Newark riot for carrying a concealed weapon, a gun. He stated that Wright was savagely beaten by the police after his arrest. The purpose of the interview was to determine the type of program planned by Jones to uplift his black brothers from their oppressions.

Actually, neither Jones nor his followers stated programs by which the aforementioned objective would be carried out. During the interview, Mr. Jones said very little. Followers of his were present and they were rather angry with Wright who requested Jones to talk with Satterfield of his program and not their religious beliefs.

The meeting was adjourned before Mr. Satterfield obtained any of Mr. Jones' views of the riot or his plans subsequent to the riot. Satterfield is of the opinion that Jones has substantial influence on the youth in the ghetto neighborhood. Satterfield substantiated this opinion with the fact of the many youth present at the Settlement House during the interview.



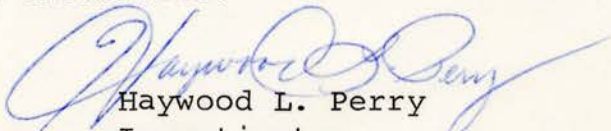
It is interesting to note that no statements were made as to creating any violence to effect the means of the Settlement House. It appears to be a common meeting ground for black nationalist to air their grievances.

Leroy Jones was sentenced to thirty days in jail on November 8, 1967 for contempt of court. He has not been tried on the "concealed weapon charge."

OUTLINE OF SETTLEMENT HOUSE

1. Group - Settlement House - Black Nationalist Group
2. Headquarters - 33 Sterling Street, Newark, N. J.
3. Officer - Leroy Jones, President
4. Members - Names and number of members are unknown
5. Objectives - To uplift the black man from oppression if it means with the aid of foreign help. Reference is made to Lee Satterfield's interview with Leroy Jones on October 9, 1967.
6. Statement by Officers of Objectives: On October 9, 1967 Mr. Leroy Jones, so-called leader of the Black Nationalist Group, advised Mr. Lee Satterfield that his group's aim was to lead the black people from under its oppressors.
7. Written evidence of organization - None. The Settlement House is not a chartered organization.
8. Finances - unknown
9. Appeal to What Groups - Reference is made to Mr. Satterfield's interview with Mr. Leroy Jones on October 9, 1967. Mr. Satterfield states Leroy Jones appears to have accepted the Orthodox Muslim belief. He is running the Spirit House along this line and it appears from conversation with many people that he is doing a tremendous job with the young people in the community.
10. Program - Reference is made again to Mr. Satterfield's interview with Mr. Jones on October 9, 1967, at which time Mr. Jones refused to discuss his program with outsiders ^{inferred} and that members who do break the code of secrecy are subject to instant death.
11. Publicity - Most of the publicity has been obtained through the newspaper and radio as a result of the riot at which time Leroy Jones, noted playwright, was arrested on allegedly carrying a deadly weapon, a pistol.
12. Influence - As indicated by Mr. Satterfield, Leroy Jones' group has greatly influenced the people of the ghetto, especially the youth.

13. Advertising - leaflets and circulars
14. Cities where most active - There was no indication that the Spirit House, Black Nationalist Group, was operating out of Newark. During his interview with Mr. Satterfield, Jones stated that in order for the black man to be successful in America, he must be in a position to bring in outside help, the Arabic Nation. Reference is made to Mr. Satterfield's interview with Leroy Jones, dated October 9, 1967, Page 5, last Paragraph.
15. Possibility of ties to other groups - Reference is made to Mr. Satterfield's interview with Mr. Jones and Mr. Wright on October 9, 1967, Page 5, Paragraph 2, where Jones indicated that he was sure that Willie Wright would ultimately agree with him (Wright) and join forces.
16. Evidence of travel of officers or members - There is no evidence to indicate any travel of the group's members.
17. Specific instances of activity or identification with riot - There is no available information that any group participated in the riot. The fact that Leroy Jones was arrested does not indicated he was involved; also, the fact that the riot took place in the neighborhood where some of the members in the organization live has no bearing on the riot.
18. Judgment of effectiveness - See Mr. Satterfield's interview with Mr. Jones and Mr. Wright, dated October 9, 1967, Pages 2 and 3, where Mr. Satterfield believes that Leroy Jones' program is very effective which is exemplified by the number of people in Mr. Jones' company.
20. Possible role foreseen if revolt occurs - This group did not indicate what its role would be in the event another riot or revolt occurs. However, in speaking to the other less militant people around town, they indicated that if another riot does occur and if the police and the National Guard do unjustifiably mistreat the people, then they would take up arms and defend themselves.


Haywood L. Perry
Investigator

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

68

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: November 21, 1967

FROM : Haywood L. Perry

SUBJECT: Progressive Labor Party's Activities in Newark
During the Riot

Our investigations have not disclosed any conspiracy in connection with the riot in Newark, July 12-18, 1967. As in any given situation, people and groups tend to take the advantage of the situation without having anything to do with its initial cause.

On July 15, 1967, a group, identified as the Progressive Labor Party, picketed the Newark Police Department carrying placards demanding for the release of prisoners and shouting that the National Guard be removed from Newark.

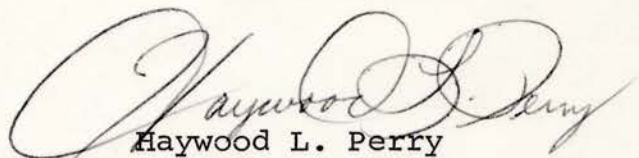
The following outline is a profile of the PLP, its source, FBI files:

1. Group Name - PLP--Progressive Labor Party
2. Headquarters - 132 Nassau Street, Room 622, New York City, N. Y.
3. Officers -
 - a. President as reported by a source is Milton Rosen of New York.
 - b. Vice President - William Epton of New York.
 - c. Vice President - Mort Scheer of San Francisco.



4. Members - Names and numbers unknown, however, a 20 member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.
5. Publications -
 - a. "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine.
 - b. "Challenge," a bi-weekly New York City newspaper. The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts and the entire government on every level."
 - c. "Spark," a west coast newspaper.
6. Objectives - The PLP's ultimate is the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.
7. Statements by Officers of Objectives - Unknown.
8. Written Evidence of Organization - FBI Files.
9. Incorporation or Legal Recognition - An FBI source advised on April 20, 1965, the PLP, formerly known as the "Progressive Labor Movement" held its first National Convention on April 15-18, 1965 in NYC.
10. Finance - Unknown.
11. Appeal to What Groups - Unknown.
12. Program - Unknown.

13. Publicity - The "New York Times," dated April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialist" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of PLP.
14. Influence - Unknown.
15. Advertising - Unknown.
16. Cities Where Most Active -
 - a. New York City.
 - b. San Francisco.
17. Ties with Other Groups - Unknown.
18. Evidence of Travel of Officers or Members - Unknown.
19. Group Identified with Riot - On July 15, 1967, the Newark Police Headquarters was picketed by approximately 10 persons carrying placards demanding for the release of prisoners and shouting that the National Guard be removed from Newark. One of the placards identified as Progressive Labor Party (PLP).
20. Judgment of Effectiveness - Unknown at this time.
21. Possible Role Foreseen if Revolt Occurs - In view of the group's past demonstration, a reoccurrence of the same behavior may be expected if a revolt occurs.


Haywood L. Perry
Investigator

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. Helbert 69

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: November 21, 1967

FROM : Haywood L. Perry

SUBJECT: Students for a Democratic Society's Activities
in Newark Before and During the Riot

Before and during the riot in Newark, many groups were active in one form or another. There is no evidence, thus far, to indicate that any of the groups started the riot. The Students for a Democratic Society, a militant group, was represented by Thomas Hayden, a journalist, in Newark.

Mr. Hayden worked in the Negro ghetto for several years trying to understand the people's problems. In his book "Rebellion in Newark," Hayden explains the scenes that he witnessed during the riot and obtained information from persons who participated in the riot.

Willie Wright, President of the United Afro American Society, a militant group, advised NACCD staff member, Lee A. Satterfield, that he visited several socialist countries with Thomas Hayden. The trip was purportedly designed to see how other people live. Hayden's association with Wright is quite significant because of the hate philosophy preached by Wright.

There is no indication of concentrated participation or work by the SDS in Newark. It is not known whether or not the SDS financed any of the militant groups in Newark before or during the riot. However, it is the Students for a Democratic Society's policy to give aid to other militant groups when needed.



The following outline is a profile of the Students for a Democratic Society:

1. Name of Group - SDS, Students for a Democratic Society.
2. Headquarters - Chicago, Illinois
3. Officers - President or National Secretary - Jeff Segal.
4. Members - The Students for a Democratic Society presently claims a membership of 30,000 with 250 chapters, mostly on college campuses.
5. Publications - Its publication "New Left Notes" on October 7, 1966, carried an article admitting that there are some communists in the group. This article contains a statement that SDS welcomes all who seek solutions to the problems of our today.
6. Objectives - SDS seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program "counterposed to authoritarian movements, both of communism and the domestic right."
7. Statements by Officers of Objective - Its officers and publications have called for support for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other militant, radical and revolutionary groups. During its June, 1967 convention, the SDS adopted a resolution to support such groups regardless of the groups political ideology. Specifically mentioned were the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

8. Written Evidence of Organization--Bylaws, Constitution, etc. - The Students for a Democratic Society was, until 1965, a youth affiliate of the League of Industrial Democracy. (The League is the successor to the Inter-Collegiate Socialist which was founded in 1905 to mobilize college professors and students to teach socialism and collective ownership.)

The Students for a Democratic Society, as it presently exist, was actually formed at a convention held in Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. A group of students, who describe themselves as "liberals and radicals," attended this founding convention and drafted the "Port Huron Statement," the bible of the SDS. This statement covers a variety of subjects including peace, poverty, and civil rights. The preamble to the Students for a Democratic Society constitution states "Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left."

9. Incorporation or Legal Recognition - Unknown.
10. Finances - Donations of peace groups and other sympathizers.
11. Appeal to What Groups or Types - Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has described the Students for a Democratic Society as part of a "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." As mentioned in item 7, the SDS supports other militant, radical and revolutionary groups regardless of their political ideology.

In an interview with Mr. Lee A. Satterfield, Willie Wright, President of the United Afro American Association located in Newark, New Jersey, advised he accompanied Thomas Hayden, a journalist, and member of the SDS to Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries between September 5-28, 1967. Mr. Hayden wrote a book on the Newark riot titled "Rebellion in Newark."

The trip to these countries was supposedly to see how other people live. Wright stated he returned to the U. S. while Mr. Hayden stayed overseas to visit other countries. Wright related the trip was financed by peace groups.

The United Afro American Association is identified as a militant group. Through its speaker, Wright, the group has admitted obtaining arms to defend the black people of Newark if another riot occurs.

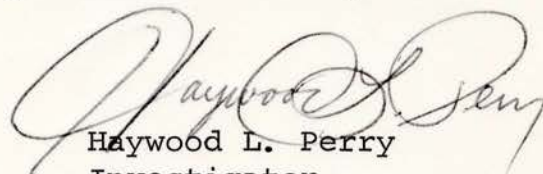
12. Programs - The Students for a Democratic Society's convention of June 1967 adopted a proposal that their group would consult with black groups to combat "divisive racist reactions" in white communities to ghetto rebellions by the following methods:
 - a. By organizing poor and middle class whites to act as allies with the "Black Liberation Movement."
 - b. By distributing literature in white communities during "rebellions" explaining the facts behind the rebellions.
 - c. By organizing sympathy demonstrations at police stations and on campuses and using civil disobedience if necessary.
 - d. By providing legal and financial aid.
 - e. By researching the nature of police departments.

13. Publicity - The SDS receives notariety from magazines and newspaper articles within the cities in which the group participates.
14. Influence - The Students for a Democratic Society support of riots is shown by the statement issued by Rescuers from Poverty, Baltimore, Maryland, on July 27, 1967. This statement strongly supports individuals who participated in the recent riot at Cambridge, Maryland, and protests the arrest of H. Rap Brown, the leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Due to the claimed membership of SDS, it is quite conceivable that the group exerts much influence on the rich, poor, militant and non-militant people.

15. Advertising - in the form of circulars and pamphlets. It is financed through their organization. Funds being received from sympathizers.
16. Cities Where Most Active - Chicago, the headquarters, probably constitutes the bulk of the group's activity, however, the group supports and works with other groups all over the country.

The riot in Boston, Mass., on June 2, 1967, was triggered by the arrest of individuals who were staging a sit-in at the Welfare Office. Included among those arrested were five members of SDS. The sit-in was sponsored by Mothers for Adequate Welfare.


Haywood L. Perry
Investigator

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

70

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Nov. 21, 1967

FROM : Haywood L. Perry

SUBJECT: YAWF, Youth Against War and Fascism's Activities During
the Riot in Newark

Information on YAWF is rather limited, however, this group was present in Newark during the riot. There is no evidence to indicate YAWF was involved in a conspiracy to start a riot in Newark.

On July 16, 1967, thirty-five (35) persons from New York City representing the Youth Against War and Fascism, a Trotskyite organization, staged a demonstration at Newark City Hall, passing out leaflets and carrying placards denouncing police action and demanding withdrawal of the National Guard.

The following is a profile furnished by the FBI on the YAWF:

1. Group Name - YAWF, Youth Against War and Fascism
2. Headquarters - 58 West 25th Street, New York City
3. Officers - Unknown
4. Members - Unknown - supposedly consist of high school and college youths
5. Publications - a magazine called the "Partisan."
6. Objective - To overthrow capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.
7. Statement by officers of objectives - Unknown
8. Written evidence of organization - FBI report
9. Incorporation or legal recognition - unknown



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10. Finances - through the "Workers World Party" which reorganized on May 12, 1960
11. Appeal to What Groups - high school and college students - black and white
12. Programs - unknown
13. Publicity - unknown
14. Influence - unknown
15. Advertising - unknown
16. Cities Most Active - New York City
17. Ties with Other Groups - Workers World Party
18. Evidence of Travel -
19. Judgment of Effectiveness - unknown
20. Possible Role Foreseen if Revolt Occurs - If a revolt does reoccur, the YAWF group can expect to demonstrate as before.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: November 20, 1967

FROM : Haywood L. Perry

SUBJECT: CORE, Congress of Racial Equality, James Hooper -
President of the Newark Chapter

On October 3, 1967, William Hill interviewed James Hooper in an effort to determine his opinion of the causes and the effects of the riot. Mr. Hooper related several situations that precipitated the riot.

The causes of the riot were overcrowded schools, Parker/Callahan case, medical school site location, and numerous complaints of police brutality.

The overcrowded schools presented a grave problem. Classrooms were too small to accommodate 40 to 50 children in a class and many of the children attended split sessions.

In connection with Parker/Callahan case, Mayor Addonizio had nominated Callahan, a white Council-at-Large, to fill the post "Secretary for the Board of Education." The Negro population of Newark presented their candidate for this position to the mayor in the person of Parker, a Negro CPA, who holds a Master Degree in Business Administration. Mayor Addonizio's rejection of Parker for the post created a furor among the Negro population. *late 3*

Due to the mass opposition on the part of CORE and other civil rights groups, the Board of Education failed to act on the appointment of Callahan and Mr. Hess, the incumbent, decided to remain as the Secretary.



The medical school site issue occurred when the Mayor approved the new medical school to be placed in the Negro ghetto. The selection of the site made it necessary to relocate Negroes in the area without providing them with adequate housing.

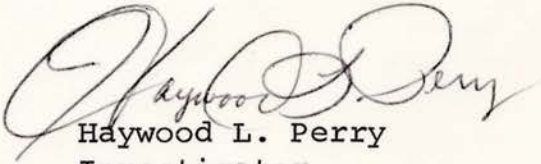
In connection with the police brutality complaints, Mr. Hooper stated that there have been many instances where citizens have filed complaints of police brutality with the Mayor's office only to find that the Mayor had ignored them.

Mr. Hooper related he was personally involved in a case where a man and wife were having a family argument. The police arrived on the scene and began manhandling the woman. Mr. Hooper attempted to obtain the policeman's badge number and he was arrested and charged with interfering with an arrest.

Mr. Hooper states that many police brutality complaints were lodged with his office after the riot. There is presently a suit against the Newark Police Department to bring the department under receivership.

Mr. Hooper reports that the tension between the Negro and white community has increased because of the city administration's anti-riot budget which permitted the police to spend thousands of dollars for additional weapons to be used against the people.

Mr. Hooper indicated CORE is trying hard to help the Negro people in the community. It is his contention that things will get worse before they become better.


Haywood L. Perry
Investigator

HLP: acc

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

72

TO : Director of Investigations

DATE: Nov. 17, 1967

FROM : Haywood L. Perry

SUBJECT: United Afro-American Association, Willie Wright - President
(Newark, New Jersey)

- Enclosures: (1) Article written by Louis E. Lomax, Negro Journalist, subsequent to the riot.
- (2) Interview reports of Lee A. Satterfield, dated October 9 and November 3, 1967.

In retrospect to the riot in Newark between July 12 and 17, 1967, many persons, some on their own time and others on professional assignments, have gone to Newark in order to attempt to gather chronological information pertaining to the cause and effects of the riot.

Of persons who might have emerged as Negro leaders in the community subsequent to the riot, the general concensus is that Willie Wright is probably the central figure. Wright is the president of the United Afro-American Association, a militant group located in the Central Ward, Newark, N. J.

As stated by Mr. Louis E. Lomax, there seems to be an air of mystery about Wright, who is believed by some to be a front man for others behind the scenes. Willie Wright, a 36 year old college dropout, is employed as an engineer with the Pennsylvania Railroad, but he has not reported to work in weeks. His employers have not called him; he has not called them. He is a full time black revolutionist who is open about his plans.

At his headquarters, located at 402 South 6th Street, Newark N. J., Wright told Mr. Lomax that he has no faith in the justice of the "white man's system" and as he sees it, there is no way out for the ghetto masses other than a direct military confrontation with "whitey." He states that 30 or more black sisters and brothers who lost their lives during the riot must be avenged. Reference is made to Lomax' article, "Newark called a hub for black revolutionaries," Page 2, Paragraph 1, under title, Military Confrontation.



Mr. Wright, a member of UCC, United Community Corp., an organization designed to handle all poverty programs in Newark, funded by OEO, addressed some 200 people attending a meeting of the Trustee Board of UCC and urged that all of the black people of Newark should arm themselves for a possible showdown with the white people. The people at the meeting not only cheered Wright, but the Trustee Board unanimously voted to keep Wright on the Board despite the fact that the Office of Economic Opportunity had issued a veiled hint that all poverty funds to Newark would be cut off if Wright was not removed. The Trustee Board consists of a majority of Negroes.

On October 9, 1967, Mr. Lee A. Satterfield interviewed Willie Wright at his headquarters, 402 South 6th Street. Mr. Wright introduced Satterfield to several members of his "Black Patrol," which consists of youths who follow police patrols and monitor them mainly to record any incidents against black people.

Wright went on to explain that he is dedicating his life to help his black brother in Newark and that he would defend them in the event of another rebellion. During the conversation, Wright told Satterfield of a cache of weapons stored in Newark which consisted of small arms and machine guns. He indicated that Louis E. Lomax was the only person outside of Newark that had seen them or who would ever see them.

Reference is further made to Satterfield's interview with Wright on November 3, 1967, Page 26, Paragraph 3. Satterfield asked Wright if he was acting as a front man for someone else and Wright quickly stated he was not a front man for anyone. Wright related that his purpose for organizing his group was for the defense of the black man. However, he subsequently feels that he must change his objective and try to motivate people to become more cognizant as to what's going on about them.

In doing so, Wright has prepared circulars concerning the members and the functions of the branches of city government to circulate in the ghetto area. This method is one which will educate the people. Wright is of the opinion that it

is not necessary to have the entire community follow his leadership. He believes that a small number of properly trained and determined people can bring about a worthwhile change.

On November 7, 1967, I, Perry, interviewed Mr. Willie Wright at the Bridge Club, 343 Washington Street, Newark, N. J., concerning his views of the riot. He stated he had previously talked to members of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders and that he had expressed his views on the situation at that time.

Wright related it is no need for the President to waste money setting^{up} different commissions because he is not going to change the situation. He acts as other politicians in trying to sway the people in voting for him in the oncoming election. Mr. Wright stated that the black people were unjustly beaten during the riot and that this made him determine to unite his people in order that they may arm themselves against the police if and when another riot does occur. Reference is made to my interview with Wright on November 7, 1967, Paragraph 1.

Outline of the UAAA

(United Afro American Association)

1. Name - UAAA, United Afro American Association
2. Headquarters - 402 South 6th Street, Newark, N. J.
3. Officers - Willie Wright, President; Leon Moore, Lieutenant
4. Members - unknown by Satterfield or Perry
5. Publications - as stated by Satterfield; no publications have been written by the group.
6. Objectives - To raise the black man of Newark from his terrible plight if it means military confrontation with "whitey". *Source.*
7. Statements by officers of objectives - Reference is made to Louis E. Lomax' story, entitled "Newark called a hub for black revolutionaries", Page 2, Paragraph 1, under the heading of Military Confrontation. Reference is also made to Lee Satterfield's interview with Willie Wright on October 9, 1967, Page 7, Paragraph 2, where Wright stated that his primary concern is for the black people of Newark and that he will defend them in the event of another rebellion.
8. Written evidence of organization - bylaws, constitution, etc. There is nothing in Lomax' column which indicates evidence of a written organization. Mr. Satterfield advised me, Perry, that Wright's group has no charter.
9. Incorporation or legal recognition - none. See answer to item No. 8.
10. Finances - Mr. Wright advised Mr. Satterfield that he has received donations from other militants who are not organized and anonymous donors.

11. Groups to which UAAA appeal - As evidenced in Lomax' column, Satterfield's interview and Perry's interview, Wright's group appeals to the educated, uneducated, the middle class and the people in the ghetto, in all, mainly the Negro population.
12. Program - Willie Wright has not professed any type of program that he intends to use to fulfill his objective.
13. Sources of Publicity - UAAA has been publicized at different local meetings, through the local newspaper and through articles, such as written by Louis E. Lomax.
14. Influence - The influential impact of UAAA is not readily obtainable since most of the Negro people interviewed in Newark feel the same way Wright does, however, when his name is mentioned, most people agree that they have heard of him but they do not condone violence.
15. Advertising - The mere passing out of handwritten circulars throughout the ghetto neighborhood.
16. Cities where most active - As indicated by Wright, as documented in Lomax' column, Satterfield's and Perry's interviews, he is only concerned with the black people of Newark.
17. UAAA ties to other groups - The fact that Willie Wright is a Board Member of an OEO funded organization, the UCC, United Community Corporation, definitely indicates a close relationship of ideas and members. As indicated by Satterfield in his interview with Wright on October 9 and November 3, 1967, members of UAAA do exchange ideas with other groups around the country. *How?*
18. Evidence of travel of officers of UAAA - Willie Wright informed Lee A. Satterfield that he and Leon Moore, his bodyguard, had traveled to several socialist countries, of which Czechoslovakia and Paris were mentioned. Wright advised his trip was financed by people in the peace movement; no names were supplied. Thomas Hayden, the noted journalist and radical, accompanied Wright's group.

When questioned as to the purpose of his overseas trip, Wright stated that he had traveled to learn how other people live and think. He stated that Hayden did not return to this country with him, but went on to other countries. Mr. Satterfield suspects that Hayden visited Viet Nam or Cuba.

19. Specific instances of activity or identification with riot - Reference is made to Louis E. Lomax' column under the caption of "Voices of Dissent Remain Muffled," where Lomax states that the revolutionaries were ironically in town preparing for a riot for the same day that the riot actually occurred, but by other means, the arrest of the taxicab driver.

When questioned by Satterfield on November 3, 1967 as to the veracity of the statement, Wright did not refute it, but merely suggested to Satterfield that he refer to the article concerning subject matter. Wright explained to Satterfield that he was not able to control the members of his organization during the riot and that they participated in the disorder and looting once it got started. Wright adamantly denied any outside agitation during the riot. Reference is made to Satterfield's interview with Wright on November 3, 1967, Page 25, Para. 2.

20. Judgement of effectiveness of UAAA - The fact that Wright is a member of UCC has created a furor at the National Headquarters of OEO and with some of the UCC Board Members, mainly white. The police department constantly attempts to keep Wright and his associates under surveillance. So, the effectiveness depends on the measures that are taken to contain or oversee Wright's activities.

His effectiveness must be attested to the fact that some 200 persons attended a meeting of the Trustee Board of UCC at which he was the main speaker and advocated violence.

21. Possible role foreseen if revolt occurs - From statements made by Wright to Lomax, Satterfield and Perry, it appears evident that much violence can be expected

from UAAA if a revolt occurs. Reference is made to Lomax' column entitled, "Newark called a hub of black revolutionaries". Reference is also made to interviews of Lee Satterfield dated October 9, 1967 and November 3, 1967, and of Perry dated November 7, 1967.

Profile of WILLIE WRIGHT as furnished by him to Lee A. Satterfield during an interview at the Robert Treat Hotel in Newark on November 3, 1967.

1. Name - Willie Wright

Aliases - unknown

2. Age: 35 years

3. Place of Birth: Albany, Georgia ✓

4. Family: Wife, name unknown

Children: 4 boys and one girl - names unknown
Ages range from 4 to 16 years old

Brothers: Six. Four live in Newark; two of them are employed. One is in the U. S. Navy and one lives in Detroit, Mich. His youngest brother who lives in Newark is named Ike. No other information was supplied in connection with his family.

5. Education:

- (a) attended elementary school in Albany, Ga. ✓
- (b) attended Jr. High School in Massilon, Ohio
- (c) attended High School in Massilon, Ohio and Albany, Ga.
- (d) studied Social Studies for 18 months and criminal law for one year while in the Armed Forces. ✓
- (e) studied Japanese and Korean courses.
- (f) studied Social Science for one year through a correspondence course with New York Univ.

6. Military Service: from 1947 to 1950

- (a) Quartermaster Corps)
- (b) Anti-aircraft Corps) Branches of Service
- (c) Infantry)

- (d) Rank - Sergeant (3 stripes)

7. Residency in Newark:

- (a) visited Newark for the first time in 1946
- (b) moved to Newark in 1950 after being discharged from the military service.

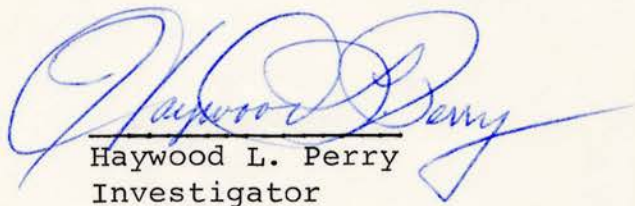
8. Employment:

- (a) from the time he was discharged from military service in 1950 to 1957, Wright's employment is unknown.
- (b) from 1957 to October 1967, he was employed as an engineer with the Pennsylvania Railroad.

9. Source of Finance:

- (a) unknown peace groups donate money
- (b) personal funds - as indicated by Wright

10. Part played in Society - See body of report.


Haywood L. Perry
Investigator

III 5

72a

Newark

Oct. 9, 1967

Interviewer: Lee Satterfield

Leroi

Interviewees: Willie Wright, Leon Moore, ~~Leroy~~ Jones and others

Interviewees Willie Wright, Leon Moore, Leroy Jones and others. Mr. Wright arranged for me to meet with Leroy Jones. I arrived at Mr. Wright's organization on south 6th Street at approximately 8:45. He introduced me to several members of his young Bleed patrols, an attorney who was present and two ~~or~~ three of his associates, Leon Moore being the principal associate. We briefly discussed what was my purpose in Newark and some of the background conditions and some of the aftermath of the riot, which will be reported extensively in other interviews. From there, after developing this ~~xxxxxxx~~ kind of rapport with the group, Mr. Wright then took me to 33 Sterling ^{Street} Avenue, the headquarters of Leroy Jones. Upon arriving at 33 Sterling ^{Street} Avenue, ~~we were met at the door by a young man obviously a Muslim.~~ Mr. Wright introduced ~~me~~ us to him. He introduced me to Mr. Jones, ^{apparently} in Arabic, ~~apparently~~ a class in Arabic was going on. The hall ~~was~~ packed with 50 ~~or 60 persons~~ and the teacher was teaching Arabic. Mr. Jones suggested that we go upstairs to the room on the front of the building, where we were joined by a group from Mr. Wright's organization, ^{and} ~~were~~ joined by many persons who were at Mr. Jones. Introductions were made all around and I was introduced ~~as~~ as a person from Washington investigating the "rebellion," they'd ~~_____~~. Obviously, ~~this is not the type of situation where you insist on full formal review. I probably could not have gotten it if I had insisted on it. So it's more of a discussion type situation.~~ It started out ^{by} asking ^{me} what I expected ^{to} our commission could do to change conditions in Newark, and of course I attempted ^{turn} to ~~change~~ these questions around ~~_____~~ ^{and asked} what did they ^{wanted} think the commission ^{ought} to do to change ~~these~~ conditions in Newark. I got various kinds of

Before we really got started, two members in Arabic dress with the red fez on their head, came into the meeting. I was introduced to these people as being a member of the Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, ^{and} the fact that I was there to investigate the cause ^Sagain of the ^rrebellion. One of the members with the red fez on his head told me that he would like for me to take this message back to Lyndon Johnson, and that is, that the black people of America are tired of being treated as slaves; that the black people were seeking their identity in America and that white America should not stand in ^{their} its way. ~~(xxxxxx~~
t 6) ~~(This Muslim stated that he was of Arabic nationality and that all Negroes in America can be traced back to its Arabic parents and that as such Negroes ought to identify with the Arabic nations, which have always been free nations.)~~
At this point, Willie Wright spoke up and ^{Said} ~~stated,~~ to wait a minute, that he was not ~~so much~~ interested in any religious organization, or any organization based on any religion, the thing that he wanted to know was whether or k not this organization had a program for the uplift and defense of the oppressed people, ~~the Negro people,~~ the black people of Newark. The two ^{Muslim} Moslems with the red fez became quite incensed over Willie Wright's apparent attack on their organization and his remarks calling it religiously based and that he was not interested in such. They stated in defense that the organization was not based in religion, but on ~~black~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ was a black nationalist organization, one dedicated to the uplift of the black people. Willie then asked them to run it down for him, give it to him like it is, if they have a program to give it to him, give him what their program was. At that point there were cautions that I was present ^{maybe} and/that this was not the proper time to give him their program. Thereafter followed an argument as to whether or not the organization itself, the orthodox Muslim organization, was religiously based or whether or not it was a, ~~one of,~~ based on black nationalism. Willie asked the Muslim ~~what was~~ his nationality, and he of course said that it was

Arabic. The other Muslim stated that he would like to run down the whole history for Willie and other friends, so that they could see that they were not the slaves of the white man as they felt that the Negro is. First of all, they say that the name Negro was given to us and we rejected the name Negro; we moved to the name Colored, which was also rejected, and now that we have moved into the name Black People, he said, but this does not give us a nationality, does not give us a nation. He said that the black people in America are like an orphan, an orphan who does not know what his parentage is, that if you look at an orphan, he might be the orphan of a millionaire, but until you could match up his name with that of the millionaire, you would never know that he is ^{just} an orphan, but once the orphan gets the name of his father, who is a millionaire, then he comes into ^{the} ~~his own~~ inheritance of millions. So too, they say, is the black man in America, that once ^{he} they can gain ^{his} identity, and that identity being Arabic, the black man in America has a culture which is hundreds and hundreds of years old, that goes all the way back to Ham, and he traced it all the way down to the present time, and that this is the banner under which all organizations of black people ought to move, move under this banner, with a code, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{cl} code that means instant death to anyone who breaches the confidence of this particular group. The question was asked whether or not black people in America ^{just} could move under the term "Black People" and have such a code, and they ^{say} say, Well, what is your nationality? That is the way this question was asked -- What is your nationality? The conversation obviously was becoming quite heated, because Willie Wright refused to accept ~~the~~ the Muslim's explanation of his background. He stated that he was not concerned with anything international, that he was not concerned with anything out of Newark, that his primary concern was whether or not these people had a program which would

enable him to uplift the oppressed black people of Newark, and that if they did not have a program that he was not interested in talking to them, but that if they had a program that he would like to hear what that program is, because that ^{is} his primary concern. He also stated that for the uplift of his people he would be willing to join ^{with} the devil himself, if it would be beneficial to the black people of Newark.

During this conversation, Leroy Jones remained rather silent and with an air of confidence stated afterwards that, "We'll get him, he'll come around in time," and this reference was to Willie Wright's rejection of the orthodox Muslim faith. Apparently, from appearances, Leroy Jones had been won over mind and soul to the ~~the~~ Muslim cause and that one of his primary concerns at the present time is to bring Willie Wright into the fold. Willie Wright's lieutenants cautioned him to not reject the whole idea which ^{the muslims} ~~the movements~~ ^{are} putting forth; they feel that he did not necessarily have to join with them, but he ought to listen to them in order to get a better idea as to what their program and what he needs to do about it. One of his closest lieutenants is of the opinion that the Muslims do have a strong program and that ~~xxxx~~ it ~~is winning under its fold,~~ bringing into its folds, many of the young Negroes. (This is borne out by the fact that there was present at this meeting several young Negroes between the ages of 18 and 25 who apparently are ~~taking it in~~ ^{with} with the attitude and philosophy of the Muslims. They raised questions of Willie himself, as to what his program was, why did he think that he could be successful under the banner of ^{the "black people"} ~~the black man~~ (?) ~~when no one else had been.~~ They felt very strongly that in order for the black man to be successful in America, he must be in a position to bring in outside help. Therefore, it was quite important for the American black man, for the black man -- they reject the term American -- to put himself ~~xxxx~~ under one banner and that is the banner of the Arabic nation?

~~Leroi Jones~~ ^{all} has rejected ~~the~~ white-anglo system system, ^{the} its educational system, its legal structure and all that ~~was in it~~ within it, ~~that he was~~ seeking a program or a system which would allow him to uplift the black people of America under one banner and you could call that banner whatever you like, however he rejected the banner of Black People, because black people per se do not have a nation. He rejected Negro for ~~the~~ same ~~reason~~ and Colored for the same reason. Again he made it a point that all it will take is a little time and that Willie would begin to see things their way.

This group discussion then became sort of a shouting match, with Willie still rejecting the idea of any kind of an organization founded in any religion or with any international overtones. His primary concern was for the black people of Newark and how he would defend them in the event of another rebellion.

~~There were~~ several young people ^{again} who raised questions of Willie, trying to attack his position of not wanting to deal an organization with religious overtones. Willie sort of ~~th~~ rejected their questions on the ground that they were too young and inexperienced to know what it was all about or to even understand what the problems were in Newark.

At this point, the whole conversation sort of got out of hand. Leroy Jones broke it up by stating that he didn't think any useful purpose was being served by the people shouting at each other, that he had work to do, and that we ought to leave. As I prepared to leave, he approached me and stated that he realized what my problems were and he was sorry that I had to hear this whole discussion, because it showed that the black man is much more divided than he would like for the American people to believe and that we still have a long ways to go, although there is a beginning. Willie Wright also stated that he was sorry that I had to witness such a discussion, for the same reason, ~~that~~

where
~~Leroy Jones gave, because it's an indication of the division among the black people. But he stated that he would be willing to listen to the devil himself -- again, he reaffirmed his position, that he would be willing to the devil himself if it meant uplifting and getting rid of the oppressors of the black people in Newark. Mr. Jones gave me a copy of a press conference, x of the Newark Black Survival Committee. In it, it states the nature of the rebellion, description of brutality, and recommendation of intervention. This document also describes Leroy Jones' arrest during the riot.~~

JP
~~(I believe that Leroy gave me this because he was rather sorry that we did not have an opportunity to sit down and discuss the rebellion itself according to him, what he calls a rebellion. I found both Willie Wright and Leroy Jones ~~in~~ two interesting personalities; both appear to be quite sincere in their beliefs, and both have completely divergent beliefs as to how the black people can best go about getting rid of the "oppressors." Willie certainly at this point has rejected anything of foreign origin, whereas Leroy Jones appears to have accepted the orthodox Muslim belief. He is running Spirit House along this line, and it appears from conversations with many people that he is doing a tremendous job with the young people in the community, and his ~~own~~ work in the community is having its ^{effect} say(?). Therefore, I feel rather strongly that the Black Nationalist type organizations have fertile ground for expansion in the Newark ghetto. ~~End of conference-type interview.~~)~~

Newark
Oct. 9, 1967
Interviewer: Lee Satterfield
Interviewee: Willie Wright

This is an interview with Willie Wright, President of the United Afro-America Association, a militant group located in the central ward, Newark, New Jersey. This should be under the broad heading, "Background, Beginning of Mr. Wright's Interview."

(Negro)

Mr. Wright states that Newark does not have any department heads, that there are no police officers in a position of authority except for a Captain Williams, ^{whom} which is a recent appointment. Mr. Wright stated that he would like to have a police captain who controlled a precinct, and he would prefer to have him controlling a precinct in the Negro community. He feels that Director ^{Stiener} ~~Stiener~~ would not allow this for two reasons: 1) it would cause a confrontation between the white policemen and ^{the black} ~~the Negro~~ police ^{who} who would be in charge, and 2) that it might aid in wiping out brutality which is condoned by the mayor, the chief of police, and the director of police.

Mr. Wright stated that his organization had written letters to the FBI asking the FBI to clarify its position with respect to the investigation of brutality complaints by Newark citizens. He has not as of this date received an answer to his letter to the FBI. He also states that the mayor has refused, ~~this is Mayor Adenasio (sp?) has refused~~ to this date to investigate simple cases of police brutality. As a result, police brutality has become one of the major concerns of the ^{black} ~~Negro~~ community. He also mentioned the fact that a suit has been started in Newark to put the police department into receivership. He states that he is not a party to this suit and the reason that he did not become a party to this suit is that people would look upon it as being a

Mr. Wright outlined for us the procedure as he understood it for making complaints about a police officer to the police department. He stated that you would make the complaint to your precinct captain and that after making the complaint the police ~~itself~~ would make an investigation of the situation and that upon making the investigation, the matter would be referred to the Director of the Police, Director ^{Spencer} Steener (sp?) and that at this point you could not go any higher, and that Director ^{Spencer} Steener has never in his memory found against one of his policemen. Therefore, he feels that it is rather futile to file complaints against the police.

We then went to the issue of the Canine Corps. Mr. Wright stated that he would not dignify the move they are making now to bring a canine corps into Newark or take part in the discussion with respect to this issue, ~~N~~ because he feels that they are beclouding the whole issue. The issue, as seen by Mr. Wright, is that the city has already equipped itself with riot equipment and that anyone who limits the issue to the canine corps is "a damn fool." Mr. Wright feels that the local, state, federal governments are all preparing their personnel with riot equipment, that it is obvious that they are preparing to become involved in a genocide war with the black people. He stated that the Japanese whom the white man has already put in a concentration camp is an example of this kind of war. Therefore, the black man must get some ammunition, must get weapons, to defend themselves. He repeated, "There must be a defense against this kind of genocide." He went on say that man is already involved in a genocide war against the black man, and he feels that as soon as the whites are properly equipped with weapons, this war will be carried out.

Mr. Wright ^{stated} feels that Newark has not ^{taken} been taking any steps either before or after the "rebellion" to deal effectively with the problems of the black people, that they appointed Larrie Sparks ^{stated} Director of Health, Education and Welfare and that this ^{is} is a slap and a direct insult to the black people, that she is merely a politician and that the appointment should have been a knowledgeable individual to represent the black people. He ~~feels~~ ^{stated} that State ~~SENNA~~ Senator Enge and ~~_____~~ (Owings?) are in the same bag. He stated that there was one instance where three Negroes were arrested and that he asked Dr. Inge, the county physician, to check up on the beatings, and Dr. Inge told him to check with the proper authorities --~~xxx~~ so here is the county physician who is asking him to check with the proper authority. If he is not the proper authority, who the hell is?

Another problem mentioned by Mr. Wright was that of consumer problems, overcharging for food products, poor city services, etc. Employment also is also one of the problems -- underemployment, rather, is one of the problems of Newark. Mr. Wright also stated that there was much hassling over the rights of people on welfare; ~~_____~~ poor health service at the city hospital; that mothers take their children to the hospital and they have to wait hours on end for services. ~~if~~ That there is a high mortality rate with respect to infants at the hospital, a high VD rate, and generally that the services ^{at the hospital for black people} there are substandard. ^{according to Mr. Wright}

As to the business community itself, Mr. Wright ~~stated~~ ^{and} stated that it is difficult to break into the general contracting around ~~or~~ ^{and} in Newark. That it's all tied up by special interest groups.

~~Mr. Wright comes to Leroy Jones in the conversation and he states~~
~~the courts~~
 (thinks?) ~~that reports are used also to keep the black man down, and an~~
 Mr. Wright stated that the courts are also used to keep black people down. He used the

example ^{was} the Leroy Jones case. He stated that ^{Leroy's} the case was scheduled to come up on a trial calendar, however, that the court shifts people around on trials. The purpose is to try to hold back Leroy Jones' trial. He also stated that Leroy Jones had problems getting bail because the judge stated that to allow him to go out on bail would be like releasing^{ing} a mad dog in a slaughter house.^{ic}

Another one of the background problems was the medical college site. Mr. Wright stated that from the survey that was taken that the people did not want the site for the med school, that there was no communication with the community during the planning for the med school site. That at the blight hearings there was a massive turnout on the part of the people in the city council chamber, and that there was no standing room, and that speakers were on hand to speak until 3 or 4 a.m. in the morning. He stated that this was one of the things which created additional tensions in Newark prior to the "rebellion."

Another problem is that of public schools and the fact that there is no low-income housing in Newark and none will be built in the near future because the city can't afford to.

alt 5) ~~Interviewees of Newark, Willie Wright, Leon Moore, Leroy Jones and others.~~

~~Mr. Wright arranged for me to meet with Leroy Jones. I arrived at Mr. Wright's organization on south Sixth Street~~

Newark
Oct. 9, 1967
Lee Satterfield Observations

V. 72c

At this point I think it is appropriate to make a few observations with respect to Willie Wright and with respect to discussion at the Spirit House. First of all, Willie Wright seems to be sincere in his belief that there will come a time when the Negro, or the black people, as he puts it, will need to defend themselves against the police and against the white community in Newark. I sincerely believe that he is preparing for this defense by gathering arms, physically gathering arms, to be used in the event of another disturbance. Beyond this, I believe he is also training the very few people he now has in his group in the use of these arms. Willie Wright suggested to me that he has such an arsenal and that the possibility existed that he might show it to me sometime. However, this was never done during my stay in Newark.

As to the discussion at the Spirit House, I got the distinct impression, maybe erroneously, that there were ~~3~~ other people there who were in an investigative capacity. I don't think I'll take it beyond that, because it was merely an impression on my part. Neither could I understand the attitude of the attorney who was present, for he was much more violent in his comments than the so-called militants, and I was wondering just what his presence meant.

As to Leroy Jones, it appears that he has become a Muslim and that his whole purpose for living is to advance their cause. He is also seeking, and this is my impression, to bring within the Muslim base Willie Wright, who up to this point at least has rejected it because he rejects anything which is based on religion or which has some international connotation. Willie appears to be really dedicated to the one task, and that task is to uplift the black people of Newark. He stated to me on several occasions, and I do believe him,

that should anything happen to him, that there will be an immediate retaliation by his people against the police force itself.

As to the defense of the black people, Willie states that really the black people are not ready for another "rebellion," and that he doesn't really want to do anything at this point which would trigger another violent situation where many, many black people are killed. That given the time, however, and the proper preparation, that the black people will be ready in the event there is another rebellion, and that ~~at~~ at that point you will see that there will be quite a bit of killing, and it will not all be on the part ^{the police;} -- that those dead will not all be Negroes, or black people, but ^{it} this takes time in order to build defenses. He is ~~opin~~ of the opinion that ~~mostly~~ the people who are always talking revolution do not know what it is all about. The more they talk the more you know that they do not know what it's all about, that ^{the} revolution is something that you ought to intend to win, not just to be annihilated.

Willie Wright stated that he did not believe that you need a very, very large army in order to carry out a successful revolution. For he believes ~~just himself~~, that he could, for the most part, put Newark out of operation on his own, because he ~~knows~~ ^{in opinion} there are certain things that one can do that can stop the operation of a city like Newark, and ~~that~~ ^{he} believes before he was caught that he could do ^{these} those things to really put Newark in chaos. I ~~feel~~ ^{feel} sincerely that ^{he} ~~would~~ ^{might} attempt to do something like ^{getting Newark out of business} that if he is pushed into that kind of a corner, ^{with no hope of getting out.}

Another point which I think I ought to mention here, and that is in one of our random conversations he mentioned the fact that had the canine issue not been voted out, voted favorably to the black people of Newark, that the following day he planned to ~~do~~ ^{do} that he had been gathering something like a hundred dogs, and that he was ~~planning~~ ^{planning} to turn them loose in the downtown area

and on City Hall and say to the people of the white community, "If you want dogs, here they are -- now handle them the best way you can."

We were unable to really complete our interview with Willie Wright in terms of the chronology which we had set up and as to what he had done during the riot itself, Although we do have this information from many other sources it is quite important that we get it from Mr. Wright himself, so we will conclude this part of our loose-end document, and should we ever have the opportunity to go back to Newark, we will complete our interview with m him.

72d

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Wilson
From: Lee Satterfield
Subject: Interview with Willie Wright in Newark, New Jersey on Friday, November 3, 1967.

I met Willie Wright at the Bridge Club at approximately 12:30 p.m., on Friday, November 3, 1967. We were together continuously until approximately 3:30 a.m. on Saturday morning, November 4, 1967.

I am going to attempt to dictate the events as they occurred during my stay in Newark, New Jersey. Perhaps from this chronology of events, you will also get an indication of the type of individual Willie Wright is.

I had called ahead on Thursday and arranged to meet with Willie Wright at 11:00 p.m. Thursday night. My flight was delayed; therefore, I did not arrive at the hotel until approximately 11:30 p.m. I was told at the desk that a call had come in from a male individual; however, since I had not made reservations, they would not accept any message. I waited at the hotel for a return call; however, none came. I called the area board number which Mr. Wright had given my secretary; however, there was no answer. No contact made with Willie Wright on November 3.

Friday morning at approximately 8:00 a.m., I started my calls to Willie Wright. I called continuously for approximately one hour; no answer. I went to breakfast, returned about 9:30; started my calls again. No answer. Finally, I decided to call a very good friend of Willie Wright's, Al Brown, a clerk for one of the district

court judges. Mr. Brown was not in at the time of my call; however, shortly thereafter he returned my call. I told him that I had been making an effort to contact Willie Wright; however, I had been unsuccessful; and I would like very much, if he knew Willie's whereabouts, to contact him for me and let him know that I had arrived in Newark. Mr. Brown stated that he would do just this, and I thanked him and we hung up. I waited approximately another hour at the hotel, and about 10:30, I decided I would go and pick up an automobile from the Kinney car lot, in order to have transportation. I left the hotel, went to Kinney's, picked up the automobile, and at approximately 12:00 p.m., I arrived at the Bridge Club. I ordered lunch, and immediately went to the telephone and called Willie Wright again. At this time Willie Wright was there; he answered; I told him where I was; he stated that he had just attempted to call me at the hotel, and I told him that I still wanted to talk with him, and he stated that he would be at the Bridge Club within the hour.

I ordered lunch, and while seated there, (I was seated beside two other gentlemen whom I did not introduce myself to or meet); however, Al Brown arrived for lunch and introduced me to the other two gentlemen. One was a Mr. Coleman; the other a Mr. Horne; both of the Governor's Commission on Civil Disorders. Both were Negro, and investigators. Mr. Brown stated to the two gentlemen that he knew me very well, and that perhaps we would like to talk about our two efforts in investigating civil disorders. I learned during this conversation that Mr. Coleman and Mr. Horne had taped an interview

with Willie Wright on Thursday. As a matter of fact, they were taping their interview with Willie Wright when I called to arrange my interview with him. Mr. Horne and Mr. Coleman spoke generally of their efforts, and the fact that they had been taping some of the younger people who participated in many of the disturbances in Newark, New Jersey; and that hopefully, we could get together with respect to some exchange of information.

Mr. Horne also gave me some additional names for the city of Englewood and an additional name for New Brunswick, which I have subsequently given to the team leader, Mr. Sharp.

Mr. Wright arrived while I was still having lunch, and still conversing with Mr. Horne and Mr. Coleman. There was no doubt that he knew the two gentlemen, and of course he knew Al Brown. We briefly discussed our missing each other the evening before, and what our plans would be during the day. Mr. Wright stated that he had some small matters to take care of; however, that I would be welcome ^{to come along} along on the trip, while he took care of these matters.

Mr. Wright ^(P) showed me a copy of a memo ^{stapled memo} from Willie Wright of the United Afro American Association, which he intended to publish during the day. He stated that he would distribute this memo to people in his group, and that it would get greater publicity than it would if he called a press conference and gave it to the press. He gave me the distinct impression that doing it this way would allow him to reach his people, where if he sent it to the press, they probably would not publish it anyway. In essence, the memorandum from Willie Wright talks about what happened on Halloween; the fact that there was no looting, rioting and bloodshed; and secondly, it asked

Director Spina of the Newark Police Department to appoint Capt. Williams to the job of a precinct captain. Willie stated to me that this was just really the kick-off; in the future he planned to do two other things; one is a memorandum next week attacking the administration, or not necessarily attacking the administration, as he put it; but informing the people of what was going on in the administration; and secondly, a memorandum to the people advising them what was going on as to the construction of the new County Courthouse. He stated that this was very important because Negroes were not allowed in the craft unions and were not allowed in the construction industry, generally, and it was his hope that he could get his people together and shut down construction on the new County Courthouse altogether.

After I had completed my lunch, and we had talked generally with Horne, and Coleman and Brown, the latter three left the Bridge Club, and Willie and I continued there for a short period. Thereafter, it was close to 2:30--3:00 o'clock, and he stated that he had to pick up some children, and again invited me to accompany him. We decided to go in his car, and it was a 1948 Cadillac. I said, "Willie, this is not the car that we rode in before", and he said, "no, this is my brother's car". This was my first inkling that Willie Wright had additional members of his family in Newark. I asked him at this point did he have other brothers in Newark, and he stated that he did; that he had five brothers, and I asked what were they doing, and he said two were in business, and he seemed

reluctant to go beyond that, so I did not press the point. We got in his car and started to go -- destination unknown as far as I was concerned -- just the fact that he had to pick up some people. The first recognizable street that we entered was Springfield Avenue; recognizable to me, that is. As we began to ride up Springfield Avenue, Willie began to point out to me establishments that were looted during the disturbance; he had reached the point now of calling it a riot, but everytime he calls it a riot, he said "I'm calling it a riot because you guys are the ones who call it a riot; it was really a rebellion".

Upon entering Springfield Avenue, Willie began pointing out to me establishments which were looted during the disturbance in July. I am unable, at this point, to remember the various names of the establishments, but I will try to relate some of his comments with respect to some of the places which were looted. He would say, "Look at that place; the market. This guy was really taking our people, so some of the fellows took care of it." Further along, he said, "Look at the clothing store here. This guy was selling clothes to our people at ridiculous interest; ridiculous prices and ridiculous carrying charges, so some of the brothers took care of it". He further went on to say, ^{first} it was contrary to reports, when we came to a liquor store; ~~he said that the liquor itself was not~~ ^{that the looters took the liquor} ~~really-taken~~ ^{really-taken} for consumption; Many of the cases and bottles of liquor were just taken and broken; the guys were that angry with the particular owner of that particular store or establishment.

When we came to this particular furniture store, Willie said "This guy was selling all this cheap furniture, so our guys really did a job on this establishment." *the way down or up* Every road down or up Springfield Avenue; this was *the* a general way *he* he described the various establishments which had been looted. At one point on Springfield Avenue, Willie stopped, and said that he had to go to the post office, and I waited in the automobile. He returned shortly thereafter, stopping near the car to read whatever mail he had picked up at the post office. Upon re-entering the car, we *started* started up Springfield Avenue *until* and we ran out of gas. After confirming the fact that we were out of gas, Willie stated that there was a service station just a short distance ahead. We both got out of the car and walked toward the service station. As we approached the station, Willie stated that this station was not bothered in any way; he said that the guy who supposedly owns it is Negro, but he is fronting for a white man; "but, so what--he has to make a living". We arrived at the station, and Willie bought 50 cents worth of gas; we returned to the car and he put the gas in the gas tank and we again attempted to start the automobile. It would not start. As we talked about things generally, Willie casually got out of the car, removed the covering from over the carburetor; poured a little gas directly into the carburetor, got into the car, attempted to start it again and it would not start; got out and poured some additional gas in and got back into the car, and after a little bit, it started. While the car was running, he attempted to put the covering back

on the carburetor. The covering is in two parts. As he attempted to put it on, it never could fit properly, so he then separated the covering, and as he was separating it, he said, "these are some things you can't rush", and seizing this opportunity, I said "That's true, even life itself, you can't rush it." He said, "You're right, and that's what I am beginning to realize; some things you can't rush; and this is why I am doing this thing piece by piece; this week, I'm talking about Spina; next week I'll be putting out a memo talking about Addonizio, and the following week I'm going to put out a memo talking about the County Court." By this time, he had the covering back on the carburetor; we were back in the car, continuing up Springfield Avenue. He again began to point out business establishments on Springfield Avenue which had been

it; generally stating what he stated before; that "this guy was unfair", or had mistreated Negroes, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and as a result selected for looting and breaking of windows. I asked Willie or not there had been any pre-planning with respect to which were to be selected for looting or window-breaking purposes. that in order to be as selective as they were, there must be some planning. He was not more specific.

turned off Springfield Avenue, and we stopped by the headquarters of the UAAA on South 6th Street. He told me he would go right out, so I remained in the car as he went into the ^{his} offices. Shortly thereafter he returned, got back into the car and we continued to ride. We then were on Clinton Avenue,

and he stated "a lot of people felt that Springfield Avenue was the only place that was really hit. There were other places hit in Newark besides Springfield Avenue", and he began to point out some of the business establishments on Clinton Avenue that were hit during the riot. We continued on, and he stopped talking about establishments which were hit per se, and we soon arrived at a fairly residential area; fairly good-looking residential area with frame houses that seemed to be well-kept, and we parked in front of one of them, and Willie went on inside. Shortly, he came out with two lovely looking kids, a boy and a girl, and they were carrying large cardboard; cardboards the size that you do printing on or put up posters with. As he approached the car, he did not introduce the kids to me by name; he merely said, "Lee, these are my god-children". The kids got into the car, put the cardboards in; got into the car, and we drove off. He then stopped shortly thereafter at what I would consider a corner store, and the kids got out of the car. They were very polite, nice looking kids; they spoke very nicely to me, said "goodbye"; got out of the car and went into the store; Willie went in along with the kids, and I waited in the car. About two or three minutes later they came out of the store; the kids said goodbye to Willie and started to walk back toward their home, and ~~at this point I got back in~~ the car, and Willie at this point said, "We are right on the Newark-East Orange border". I said, "Well, do you live in this area, Willie?", and he stated, "Heavens, no; that's all the people

uptown would want; to see me living out here. I have to live with my people. If I were living out here, that would be it." I said, "Well, will the kids get home all right", he said, "Yes, they only have a short distance to walk". I said, "Well, I am very much interested in this Newark-East Orange border incident, could you show me where it occurred?" He said, "Yes" (we were on 7th Street at that time); "we would have to get over to 14th Street".

Then he said "Better than that, I know a guy named Turner who was really involved in all of this; perhaps it would be better if I put you in touch with him, since we have such a short period of time." I agreed.

Willie then drove to the UCC office, where we went in. Most of the people we met knew Willie; greeted him friendly; some of the young ladies even say "Willie, we are with you; we are behind you 100 percent". The men were equally as friendly. We went into the office of a Miss Janice Edwards. She is also well known by Willie, and it became apparent from our conversation that they had had considerable prior contact. (I had met Miss Edwards on my first trip to Newark.)

Miss Edwards and Willie carried on a conversation about what had transpired the night before at the board meeting, when he had moved to use the money designated for the payment of certain consultants for the purpose of increasing the salaries of some of the minor employees. This motion had been voted down by the board.

While at UCC, Willie introduced me to Mr. Derek Winan; he told me that he had already been interviewed by Mr. Jones. We stayed at UCC for practically one hour; Willie was busily talking with many of the people there; including a gentleman who runs the duplicating office. Willie spoke very highly of him and all the material that he turns out, and the fact that he is not paid as much as some of the high-priced secretaries are paid.

We left the UCC, Miss Janis Edwards accompanied us. We stopped by a real estate office on Springfield Avenue; one of the places where, according to Willie, state police had shot up with their shotguns and other weapons. Our purpose on this visit was to secure some of the shells which had been shot into the building and to confirm Willie's allegation that Negro establishments had been shot up during the disturbance by the state police. He told me that the owner of this particular establishment could identify the state policeman, and would give me a statement accordingly. He was not in, and we made arrangements to meet with him later. (~~We were unable to~~ Willie was unable to contact the owner later, so we did not secure a statement.)

As we were leaving this particular establishment, a young man raced across the street, calling to Willie, and Willie stopped, went toward him to meet him out of my presence, and apparently he was giving Willie some flyers to pass out. Willie, in turn, gave him some additional flyers; the flyers that I mentioned earlier,

with respect to Spina; and he stated as he was giving him the flyers, in my presence, "this is a fair exchange". The young man stated that he would like very much to meet with Willie at some later date. Willie did not offer an explanation as to the young man's presence; nor did he offer me one of the flyers which came to him. We then got into our car, and we decided we would go eat. We passed the market which was closed by the demonstration; the Kaplan Market; and Willie pointed it out to me, stating that "the guy got just what he deserved" and that he went out of business. I indicated to Willie that I had heard that he merely opened up business in another area of the city; Willie apparently had no knowledge of this, and made no comment with respect to it. Miss Edwards merely made the statement, really.

We continued on our journey, and as we passed ~~I don't recall the name, and I will try to describe the establishment~~ ^{and} it appeared to be ~~on the corner of Clinton~~ ^{and} on Clinton Avenue on a corner street, but I do not know the name of the street -- Willie stated that they were preparing to get something started on this corner when Rev. West told him that he was needed in another part of the city. This was during the disturbance itself, and he left the section -- this was just after a young man had been shot in the doorway of this particular establishment, and he stated that Rev. West was quite nervous and upset; "you've never seen a man's legs shake so in your whole life". West told him that he was wanted on the other side of the city, because

some of his guys were in trouble. He immediately went to the other side of the city, only to find they were not in trouble. This was West's way of getting him out of this particular area. This shooting had taken place at approximately 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon, and apparently, according to Willie, the officer who did the shooting was standing near the body with a smoking weapon, with no one asking any question as to why the young man had been shot. Willie stated that they were preparing to tear up that building where he was shot. Miss Edwards interjected "it was the police who shot him, and not the building". Nevertheless, Willie stated that they were going to take care of the building, had it not been for West getting him away from the area by the subterfuge of telling him that some of his fellows were in trouble.

We continued on our journey to the Bridge Club, and at the Bridge Club, we had dinner. A number of people came in; all of them greeted Willie friendly. A fellow by the name of Dino, from UCC; he is connected with the Neighborhood Youth Corps; Mr. Blair came in, he greeted Willie; a number of other people; Mr. Wadell also greeted Willie, and Willie made the rounds while he was there; talking with people who were present. Later, Al Brown came in and stated that he had just been over at the lawyer's office who is defending LeRoi Jones. He further stated that he expected the trial to end on Monday; the summation would be made on Monday. Willie seemed very interested in the outcome of LeRoi Jones' trial. The conversation while at the Bridge Club

was pretty general; there were quite a few interruptions by people around, who either walked up to shake Willie's hand or to introduce themselves to Willie. Miss Edwards would needle him by saying that she was amazed at ^{how} ~~what~~ the people's worship^{ed} of him, and this embarrassed Willie somewhat. It appears that Miss Edwards could get under Willie's skin a little bit, in that she continually would tease him about his organization, the people in it; how many people were in it; what kind of a plan they had; and when he made statements such as he could show her something that would blow the top of her head off, she would say "show this to me", and then when he appeared to be serious about doing it, she would say, "never mind, I don't want to see it, Willie, forget about it". This kind of conversatinn went on throughout our stay together.

After leaving the Bridge Club, we visited a number of night clubs in the ghetto, near or on Springfield Avenue. Wherever we went, Willie seemed to know people; he was greeted; he talked with people. He introduced me to a couple of people; one young man he introduced me to appeared to weigh about 180 pounds, a well-built Negro with a little moustache, he told me that he was a member of CORE, that he was out in the riots with two of Willie's brothers, Ike Wright and Dave Wright. He stated that while out there that he just decided that he would replace a faulty bedroom suite that he had bought; one that had broken down on the first night of use. He said that he got himself a

bedroom suite; all three parts. I asked him "How did you carry all three parts of the bedroom suite?" He stated, "Well, I didn't really have all three parts, I only took two. I had to buy one piece". It seemed from the conversation with him that his primary objective was to replace the broken-down bedroom suite which he had purchased; and he continued to say that he was out in the streets, and was out there at night for the sole purpose of doing some looting to get back at the man. This young man seemed fairly intelligent; he told me that he had a job; that he was working, he was just not one of the hangers-on in the street. He was fairly well dressed, and fairly articulate. We could not get into any serious conversation because of the situation itself; he merely kept saying, "If you want to know what happened during the riot, I can tell you because I was out there in the streets", and certainly the way he described what was going on -- looting, cops running about, and the fact that he admitted to taking items such as the bedroom suite gives some credence to the fact that he was out on the street.

Willie then introduced me to another kid who is going to Princeton; 19 years of age, a member of SNCC; who stated that he was not in Newark during the disturbance, nor was he on the street, but he stated that Newark; the ghetto has become much more organized since the disturbance. As a matter of fact, his group has become much more organized since the disturbance.

Willie would introduce me to people, and then he would go back to the bar and sit with Janis Edwards; giving an appearance of no fear of my talking to these individuals. According to him, it was his attempt to aid me in finding out what happened in Newark during the disturbance.

We left this particular establishment and went to another establishment, where Willie was greeted. It said "For Members Only" on the outside of the door; we went in and Willie was greeted. He introduced me to the proprietor, who told me that he lives outside of Newark itself, and the only way he can keep this place open is to make payoffs to the police department, etc. Willie passed out at this particular establishment a large number of the Memos from Willie Wright that he had been carrying around, and a young lady to whom he gave them immediately started to pass them out to other individuals who came into the establishment. After we had been there a short while; two other gentlemen came in; one had a striking resemblance to Willie Wright. He was brown-skinned, a little bit taller, but had a great resemblance to Willie Wright. I noticed him almost immediately; however, I made no effort to meet him, nor did I ask Willie who he was. He called Willie aside; he talked with Willie, and the other gentleman with him talked with Willie. Later, we had a drink; we played the pinball machine, and Willie appeared to be relaxing and enjoying himself. A statement was made by Miss Edwards, "Is this where you go when you want to relax and enjoy yourself", and he said "Well, this is one of the places

where I go". I might add here that he had made the statement earlier, when we went over to the Bridge Club, that he didn't care, it was meaningless (the Bridge Club) and he didn't care whether or not it was burned down. However, here in this particular establishment, as in the previous establishment, Willie appeared to have taken on a more relaxed mood, and he seemed to be enjoying himself much more. He was much easier to talk to, and at this point I can't say whether or not it was all the liquor we had been drinking or just that he was in a more familiar atmosphere and he felt more at home; anyway, he was much more relaxed. We played this bowling game on the bowling machine for several ^{times} ~~games~~; he made a considerable effort to beat Miss Edwards at the bowling game. I noticed while he was playing the bowling game, ^{how} his impatience ^{he was} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~standing~~ ^{there} playing a game; he would push the little round disc toward the bowling pins very rapidly; as soon as it returned, he would fire away again. I noticed a little impatience in his personality throughout the night. As he would leave us from time to time to talk to people in the establishment, Miss Edwards would say, "See, it's fantastic, really fantastic; people love that father image. You see how stern he looks and acts? People just go for that, especially the women". She made these statements throughout the night, she stated that you can always bet that Willie would never agree with some of the statements being made by the people, and this was

what the people liked in him the most; the fact that he had his own opinions about subjects, and the fact that he would speak his opinion, no matter what the people say -- giving them this father image.

After we had been at this particular place about 45 minutes; about 30 minutes of this time the gentleman that I mentioned who had a striking resemblance to Willie Wright was also present -- Willie called him over and introduced him to me as his brother Ike. Ike, according to Willie, was his blood brother, a younger brother of Willie rather than an older brother. He was with a man whom Willie also introduced to me only by first name, and he stated that with "guys like this around" that he would never be afraid; that he found these guys following him around. As they walked away, Willie stated that they had been giving him some reprimand for the fact that he had been gone all day, without letting ^{them} him know where he was. Willie stated that if you're going to be the director, you must be in complete command, and not be required to answer to anyone. Apparently, he told them that he had been with me practically all day -- in good company -- and he identified me to them, the fact that I was on the Commission for Civil Disorders. He also introduced Miss Janis Edwards to his brother; his brother stated that he had met her before, and he took off his hat, and upon his taking off his hat, Miss Edwards recognized him.

We continued our stay at this particular establishment for some time; playing the pinball machine, primarily because Willie

seemed to be enjoying what he was doing; conversing with the people there and playing the machines; we, Miss Edwards and I, had no control of the situation; we just waited on Willie. Finally, Miss Edwards reached the point where she was really ready to go, and she told Willie so, and he sort of rebelled at the idea of leaving. I got the impression, maybe erroneously, that he rebelled because Miss Edwards suggested that we go. She said that the air in there was stifling; that she just had to get out and have some fresh air. Finally, after about 15 minutes more, we departed. Miss Edwards and I left first; I helped her in the car; a few minutes more and Willie ^{came out} ~~went~~. I should point out that Willie's brother and the gentleman who came in with him left earlier, Willie's brother saying "call me later on", and Willie said "OK", and he said "Well, if you don't call me, I'm going to call you and wake you up." We then left this establishment; Willie wanted to stop by several others; we stopped in front of one establishment and he mentioned the fact that several of the young people we saw walking across the streets were addicts, and he stated that I "really would see something" if I went on the inside. Miss Edwards was very concerned that we would go and begin to stay and be even longer -- it was after 1:00 a.m. at this time, and she was ~~seem~~ seemed to be ready to go home. I was not too anxious to go inside this particular place, either, and I suppose Willie saw a reluctance and said "Well, let's go somewhere so that you can complete your interview". I suggested my hotel room; we had to go back to the

Bridge Club to pick up my car. We drove there and I went over to pick up my car; Willie stated that he wanted to go into the Bridge Club just to look around a couple of minutes, and he did, he went in, and about five minutes later he came out. It was getting close to 2:00 a.m., and we journeyed ^{up} to the Robert Treet Hotel. At the hotel we find out that I had already been checked out, even though I had not formally checked out by paying the bill. Willie became a little ~~brude~~ ^{convinced, actually} "How in the world can you check a man out" he stated, "without ^{to} a man paying his bill?" You do black folks any kind of a way". Miss Edwards cautioned him and asked him to take it easy; there probably was a reason for it; sure enough, there was a reason for it; I had not had an abundance of bags, and when I left I took everything with me, and they assumed that I had checked out. The situation was under control; I was immediately re-assigned to the same room that I had, we went upstairs and I pointed out to Willie that what I needed of him at this particular time was a profile on him, to ~~know what~~ ^{learn} about him, primarily, more than anything else. And also I pointed out to him that I had a copy of a series of articles written by ~~Lewis-L.~~ Lomax, and that I would ask him some questions based on this article. Miss Edwards appeared to be very tired; she lay down on the bed in the hotel room and she went to sleep very quickly. I commenced asking Willie the following questions, and received the following answers:

Q Where were you born?

A Albany, Georgia.

Q How old are you?

A 35.

Q Do you have any sisters or brothers?

A I have six brothers, three sisters. Four brothers are in Newark; two are self-employed; one is in the U.S. Navy; one is in Detroit, Michigan. The one in Detroit is employed.

Q Where did you go to school? (Meaning elementary and high school).

A Went to elementary school in Albany, Georgia; high school and junior school in Massillon, Ohio. (He also stated that he went to high school in Albany, Georgia, so apparently they went back to Albany to live for a while.)

Q Have you had any studies beyond high school -- have you gone to any schools beyond high school?

A 18 months of social studies; one year of criminal law studies while in the armed forces. Also taken some Japanese and Korean courses. Also taken a correspondence course in social science from New York University. From 1947 through 1950 he was in the armed services, with the quartermaster corps; anti-aircraft corps, and the infantry during his stay in the service. Left the army a sergeant; a "three-striper", as he called it.

Willie stated that for ten years he had been an engineer with the Pennsylvania Railroad, and I asked him "This was up until the time that you quit?", and he laughed and said "Quit? I never knew I had quit". He stated that he had received ^{sent a letter} ~~received~~ ^{from} ~~the~~ ^{company} ~~the~~ ^{company}

that he had ^{sent} the Pennsylvania Railroad asking them for a leave of absence, and that he had received a telegram from the Pennsylvania Railroad requesting him to return his railroad pass. The railroad company further stated that his activities had not been in the best interest of the railroad. He stated that he has not officially resigned from his job with the Pennsylvania Railroad, nor has he returned the pass; because if he does that, he will be unable to travel anyplace.

He stated that he came to Newark in 1946 as a visitor and returned after the Army, in 1950, to make it his home. He stated that he is married; he has four boys and one girl, ranging in ages from 16 to 4. I met Willie's 16-year old daughter on a previous occasion. His wife works, and I asked him, sort of casually, how did she put up with his activities, and he said, "Oh, we're making it". That is the extent of his conversation with his wife.

At this point, I began to ask Willie questions. I asked him first of all about his trip abroad. He said that he had gone abroad around September 5 or 6, and returned September 26 or 28. He stated that while abroad he visited many socialist countries, of which Czechoslovakia was one, and he stated that he also visited Paris. I asked him who financed the trip, and he told me "people in the peace movement financed the trip;" plus he used his own funds. I asked him specifically whether or not he went with Tom Hayden; he stated that Tom Hayden was a part of

the group that went with him. He also stated to me that he took with him a personal bodyguard, and of course, this bodyguard was Mr. Leon Moore, whom I had met previously. I asked him what was the purpose of the trip, and he said it was to be a learning-type situation; I asked him if he was interested in guerilla warfare, and he said "that, too; that and the fact that we want to learn about other people". I asked him if he had returned with Tom Hayden, he stated "No", he came back alone; Hayden remained in the country and went to other countries. Willie did not identify the other countries for me; however, I would suspect that he meant possibly to Viet Nam or to Cuba.

I asked Willie point-blank whether or not he was a Communist; he stated "I will answer this question in this way, without telling you whether or not I am a Communist". He stated, and I quote: "I will make any kind of a commitment, even with the Devil himself, if it means bringing about meaningful change for black people; for black people to enter the mainstream of American life -- be it Communist, Socialist, or et cetera. The supposedly Democratic process and the American way of life has not proven to me, and other black people, that they can deal effectively with the change necessary to bring about conditions favorable to black people." He would not elaborate on whether or not he was a Communist, any further.

I then asked Willie whether or not there was some kind of network between black power advocates or militants around

the country. He answered this question thusly: "Yes, there is a network resulting from 400 years of oppression. The black brothers do consult with each other about what is going on to other black brothers around the country, and that if you want to call this a network, then there is a network" is the way he put it.

I then began to question Willie directly about Lewis Lomax' article. I first asked him whether or not things mentioned by Lomax in his article were true. Willie stated that approximately 85 percent of Lomax' article was true. I might add here that Willie had stated, while we were at the Bridge Club, and I did not include it earlier because it slipped my mind; that Mr. Lomax was in town recently, under the auspices of the NAACP; that at the time he was in town, he called him and told him; apologized to him for some of the things which appeared in the article; particularly the embarrassing things which appeared in the article. He stated that Lomax was concerned about the position that it put him in -- meaning put Willie in -- he told Lomax "never mind about it"; said it was not important; and that Lomax offered to give him some money as a result because of -- for his interview -- but he stated that he refused to take any money from Lomax. He told Lomax however, "now is the time to pay up -- since you are speaking for the NAACP, you have an opportunity to take the other side of the coin", meaning that he should attack the administration, etc. He stated that Lomax delivered a

blistering address against the administration, Spina and everybody else; and that he told them that if anybody had any questions to ask of him that he would be in his hotel. He said Lomax was in the process of clearing out of town as fast as he could once he delivered the address. He mentioned the fact that this occurred to Rev. West, who came in while we were present in the Bridge Club. Rev. West -- this was earlier in the day when we were in the Bridge Club --- Rev. West stated that he paid the \$7 to hear Lomax' address, and that he is not so certain whether or not copies of the address were made, but he also would check to see whether or not, and attempt to get copies for me. (I have instructed a team who is to re-visit the city to attempt to obtain copies of Lomax' address before the NAACP.)

Continuing now with the discussion of the Lomax article with Willie Wright, Willie stated that, as I mentioned above, that 85 percent of the article was true. I started out with the first article -- the first thing Lomax stated that Newark had become the hub of black power and revolutionary activity in America, and I asked him if this was true, and he said he would assume it was true, without elaborating more on it. As to whether or not black power revolutionaries were in Detroit -- from Detroit were in Newark when that city erupted in July, he stated "Absolutely not, there were none". However, he did say that there is a possibility that revolutionaries from Newark were in Peekskill, New York, and New Haven, Connecticut as observers, when those cities broke out,

as Mr. Lomax' article states. When we reached the question of whether or not there was a cache of machineguns and carbines resting in a Newark slums, he said, "Yes, generally it is true." He would say no to the Plainfield carbines, but with respect to the arms, yes. With a little coaching, he finally stated that Lomax had, in fact, seen the arms, and that Lomax was the only other person outside of Newark who "will ever see the arms."

Willie further stated that Rap Brown did come to Newark in July. He also stated that the Lomax article is true when it says that 25 black revolutionaries from Washington came up to Newark for advice and assistance; and there is no doubt in his mind that black revolutionaries played a significant role in the burning and looting and shooting in Newark. He states that this was one of the very few times when he was unable to control his people. Then he went into this bit that the Lomax article referred to one of the stages that the black revolutionaries were planning on the very night that the riot occurred, further to carry out their own plan of destruction in the city, and he sort of confirmed it when he said "well, I'll just refer you to what he says in the article itself", rather than trying to give me any detail^A information. He didn't deny that this was not so. He merely said "I'll refer you to the article", and I said, "Is that part of the article true", and he said, again "I'll just refer you to the article itself". At another point he began to give some detail as to how they had planned to take

care of city hall, and that it was unfortunate that the cabbie had to get into trouble and all the other cabbies came into the area. I asked him why didn't they follow through with their program, even under these circumstances, and he stated that he did not want to get any of his guys in trouble with the police; therefore, they called it off; and you can imagine the frustration after something like three weeks of planning, along with a dry run as to what they were going to do.

Willie also stated that when I asked him about his vendetta against the white man, according to Lomax, traced back from the time that the city took 18 blocks of choice land from his grandfather, Willie stated that it was -- he hesitated a while, and I thought he was going to say it was untrue -- but then he came out with "it was more than 18 acres; I ought to be sitting pretty right now, but I'm not," and it's primarily because they, in fact, took this land away from his grandfather.

I asked Willie Wright the direct question whether or not he was a front man, and he stated, and I quote: "Willie Wright is not a front man for anyone." We discussed the article, generally; we discussed the part where the little boy came up to Mr. Lomax, and Willie stated that Lomax almost dropped when he felt the bullet under the little boy's skin. When I asked him about the statement in the article that on the same night that the Smith incident occurred, revolutionaries were planning to spread destruction along Broad Street, Willie stated that he would have to refer me to the

article for the answer to that particular question. He indicated to me that the article was essentially correct, with respect to this aspect; in that there had been planning to cause some destruction on Broad Street, primarily with city hall, and that it was called off when the cabbies appeared on Broad Street for a demonstration. He stated the reason it was called off was because they did not want any of their fellow arrested, and they felt that they could not carry out their plans with the area being congested with police and other personnel. He further stated that this was the first time that he has been unable to control his people, in that the people in his organization, having been frustrated from carrying out their plans, became kind of enraged and played an active role in arousing people and telling them "why not go down to Springfield Avenue and get yourself some of the loot -- take part in it", and that people responded very well to their efforts.

Another interesting revelation was the fact that Willie stated he brought Col. Husson and his two-man army into Newark, but that Husson was a big fraud, and he described a situation whereby Husson (Hussein?) was proven to him to be a big fraud. Husson was in the headquarters located near the East Orange border and would make telephone calls, apparently to people all around the country, and he would sit and talk to those persons. Willie stated that he and some of his followers became a bit suspicious of what Husson was doing, and in some way they managed to make a telephone check during several of the telephone calls. Husson would dial the

number, leaving off the last digit, and of course he would not reach anyone, and he could sit and talk on the telephone for minutes on minutes, pretending to be carrying on a conversation with someone on the other end. Willie said that after several occasions, he faced Husson down with this, and told him what he had been doing; said he was quite amazed, and from that moment on, Husson went away with the Ullis Ward Group.

I asked Willie whether or not his efforts were all preparations for the defense of the black people. He said when he started his operation, that it was primarily for the defense of the black people, but not he thinks that his objectives must change; that he must begin to motivate his people to get them involved in what is going on. This is the purpose for the memorandums from Willie Wright, which, starting with the one to Spina, he will branch off with one to Adonizio, and one with respect to the County Courthouse. Willie is also of the opinion that it is not necessary to have the whole community organized to follow him. He stated that every revolution in American history has been started by a small number of people, and that he is now of the opinion that a small number of people can bring about change if they are determined and if they are properly prepared.

I asked Willie Wright the question of whether or not he expected to die, or did he tell Lomax that he expected to die before the year is out; or that he doesn't wish to be saved. He stated that he will not publicly refute this statement, although he does not want to die and has no plans for dying, as a matter of fact. The

reason he will not publicly refute this statement is that people in his organization might get the wrong impression, and that people outside of the organization might not attribute the proper motivation to his refutation.

Willie described the incident with respect to the Molotov cocktail which was thrown into the office of the Urban League as one in which they were attempting to bring about recognition on the part of the middle class Negro; that they had a part to play in this revolution. Willie said that he realizes that what change has been brought about, it will be people like those in the Urban League and the NAACP; the middle class, educated people, who can make this thing stick; make the role of the Negro in America that much greater.

In answer to the question whether or not he has a rent-free building; Willie stated that he pays rent, and also, I must point out that when I talked with Rev. West, he stated that he collects rent from Willie Wright.

Observations: Willie Wright is a 35 or 36 year old, slightly-built, dark-skinned Negro. He sports a heavy mustache and a beard. The beard was grown after the Newark disturbances. Willie Wright apparently has undergone a change subsequent to the Newark disturbances. He no longer is the irrational, screaming militant of old; he stops; he thinks before he speaks; and he has, as Miss Edwards pointed out, has a father image to many. He does not disagree with you just to be disagreeing; he disagrees on a matter of principle and he is always willing to state his reasons for disagreement. I

think the Lomax article is pretty credible; credible in the sense that Willie told most of the things attributed to him to Lomax; however, whether or not we should believe each and every item in it is another question, since I get some kind of a feeling that the organization is not as strong as Willie would like to represent, nor is he as militant as he would like to represent, in the sense that the organization has given up on change through the Democratic process. I am under the impression that the organization would very much like to create an atmosphere; an atmosphere which would justify the people in power saying that "we have no other alternative except to bring about change". I am not convinced, however, that if change is not brought about, and if there is no effort at conversation between representatives of the black ghetto, the Willie Wrights of Newark will in fact create an incident which will pull the rest of the black people of Newark into the situation, bringing about a confrontation between black and white, which can only result in much bloodshed; and I am further under the impression that Willie believes that this is the only way meaningful change will come, and that that is in the aftermath of bloodshed.

MEMO FROM WILLIE WRIGHT

UNITED AFRO -AMERICAN ASSOCIATION 102 SOUTH 6th STREET. 212-5416

Halloween has come and gone, and I am happy to observe that Newark managed to survive it without wholesale looting, rioting and bloodshed. Thus, we expose as lies, the rumors of impending Black violence which were flying thick and fast over the past weekend.

I am not surprised. I predicted all along that the Black people of Newark were not going to permit themselves to be maneuvered into stupid actions. So, once again (to borrow a phrase from politicians) "law and order" have been respected by the Black community.

Now, I feel that it is past time for the political leaders to show some respect for the Black community. And they can begin by assigning Newark's lone Black police captain to the command of a precinct. This will show at least some indication that the power structure is genuinely interested in improving the image of its police department.

Last week I suggested to Police Director Spina that it would be in the best interest of Newark's Black majority for him to remove Captain Williams from his present public relations job, and put him in a police station where he will be accessible to the people who need most to see him. Such a move would also dispel the suspicions harbored by many Black citizens, that the City administration is catering to those white police officers who would resent taking orders from a Black superior.

Newark called a hub for 'black revolutionaries'

Louis E. Lomax, recognized as one of the nation's most perceptive Negro journalists, came to Newark to look into the city's black power structure.

The author of 'The Reluctant African' and 'The Negro Revolt,' Lomax enjoys the confidence of both Negro militants and moderates. A resident of California, he is intimate with the problems of Watts; and before coming to Newark, he investigated the riot-torn situation in Detroit.

Today's article is the first in a series based on his interviews with more than 100 persons in Newark's Negro community.



Photo by David Becker

Willie Wright, center, talks to Louis Lomax, left, and Charles Mayberry, chairman of UCC Area Board 7

By LOUIS E. LOMAX

Newark has become the hub of black power and revolutionary activity in America, particularly along the East Coast and the Mid-West.

- Black power revolutionaries from Detroit were in Newark when that city erupted in July. They departed for their hometown to aid in carrying out an even greater holocaust.

- Revolutionaries from Newark were in Peekskill, N.Y., and New Haven, Conn., as "observers" when those cities broke with riots. The same is true for Syracuse, N.Y.

- Not only were Newark's black revolutionaries in Plainfield when that city erupted but there was a direct connection between the arms stolen in Plainfield and the cache of machine guns and carbines now resting in a Newark slum basement.

- Black power militant H. Rap Brown made a clandestine visit to Newark shortly before he was arrested on a federal gun charge in New York. Much soberer, more determined and less flamboyant black revolutionaries in Newark lectured Brown for carrying the carbine that led to his all but ludicrous arrest three nights later.

- Newark's "black revolutionaries" are the most sought-after "consultants"

in the nation. Just last week a caravan of 25 black revolutionaries from Washington, D.C., motored to Newark's black power headquarters along South Sixth Street for "advice and assistance."

Needless to report, Newark's black revolutionaries played a significant role in the burning, looting and shooting that scarred their own town. They are, of course, actively planning another rebellion.

The central figure recently emerged in the black revolutionary activity. He is Willie Wright. There is some air of mystery about Wright and there are those who believe he is a front man for others behind the scenes. But whatever the case, he is the visible and articulate figure.

A 36-year-old college drop-out, Wright has carried a vendetta against the white man that traces back to the time the city fathers of Albany, Ga., took 18 city blocks of choice land from his grandfather 20 years before Willie was born.

Wright is employed as an engineer with the Pennsylvania Railroad but has not reported for work in weeks. His employers have not called him; he has not called them. He does not know if he still has a job; he does not care. Willie Wright is now a full-time revolutionary.

Wright and his followers are totally open about their plans and it is equally clear that other cities may expect

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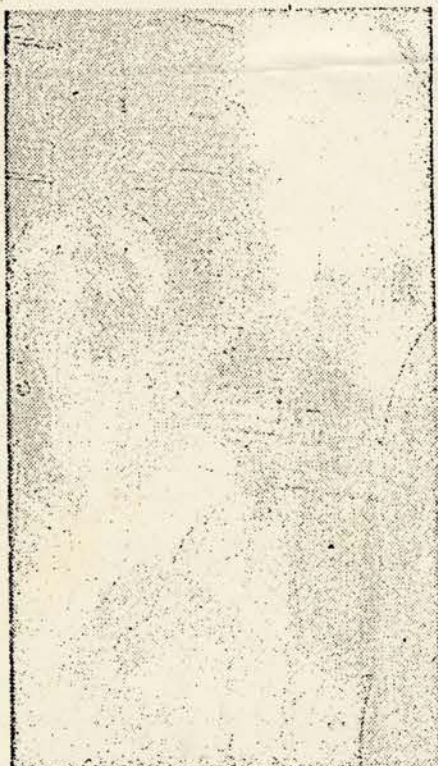
ame kind of black revolutionary activity.

This is the pattern: Newark like many American cities, is arming itself with anti-riot equipment, including armored vehicles; the Negro revolutionaries are arming themselves with machine guns, carbines, hand grenades and small cannon. It is almost certain that another uprising would bring about a type of white-black confrontation that has been absent from the scores of ghetto explosions in the past three years.

EXCEPTIONAL UNITY

Moreover — and in this, Newark is somewhat of an exception — the Newark black community, regardless of class, exhibits a unity of thought and support unparalleled in recent Negro history.

One does not have to dig very deep into Newark's black skins to verify



Mrs. Bertha Shippley: 'No, it's not over'

these facts. The citizens of the ghetto literally explode with anger, despair and information. So poised and reserved a man as James A. Pawley, the 62-year-old executive director of the Essex Urban League, uttered the same words that are being shouted by the wild-eyed revolutionaries:

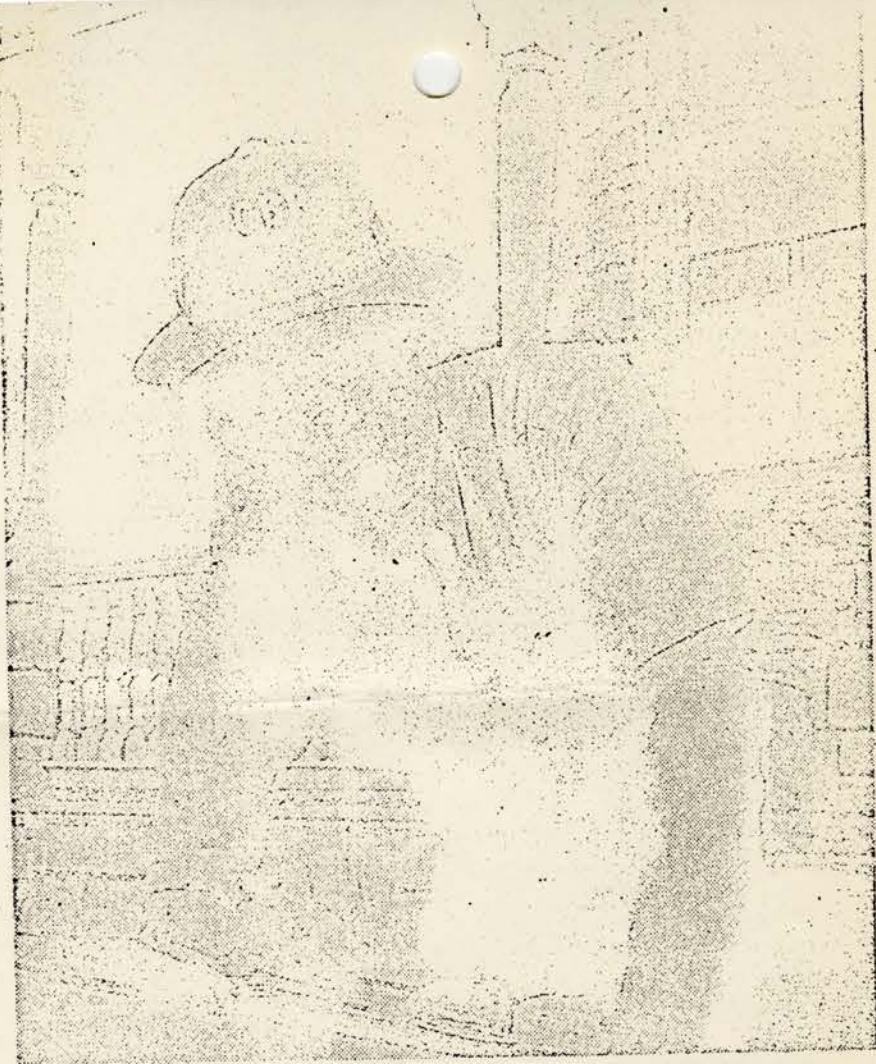
"I must say," he told me, "that the recent riot was the best thing that ever happened to Newark. Now maybe some of the things that should have been done years ago will get done. I don't condone riots, but I must say, regardless of the cost, it is good for Newark that the riot happened."

"Hell no!" he fired back when I asked if he felt that the riot was over. "No, it is not over. Nothing has changed for the better. Matter of fact, things are worse. The change is yet to begin."

"Of course it is not over," Sally Carroll, president of Newark NAACP and a court-room aide to the county sheriff, said. "One stupid move and here we go again."

"No, brother, no, it is not over yet," said the Reverend Levin West, a 29-year-old Reformed Church minister in the ghetto. "It is a long way from being over."

"Over like hell!" snapped Mrs. Bertha Shippley, a member of Area Board 2 of the poverty program and a



Photos by David Booker

Arthur Bey fills out report after tour behind radio cars with Community Black Patrol

district leader in the Central Ward. "No, it's not over."

MILITARY CONFRONTATION

The loudest, clearest voice of them all is that of Willie Wright, the president of the United Afro-American Association (UAAA). Wright proudly admits that he is an out-and-out revolutionary, that he has no faith in the justice of the "white man's system." He sees no way out for the ghetto masses other than a direct military confrontation with "whitely."

"Look," Wright said calmly, "some 30 or more of our black brothers and sisters are dead. They must get avenged."

"Some 1,500 of our black brothers and sisters are in jail or under indictment. They must be given amnesty."

Two hours after Willie Wright made these comments to me he addressed some 200 people attending a meeting of the trustee board of the United Community Corporation (UCC).

"Yes, I called for black men in Newark to arm themselves," Wright told his fellow trustees. "Now I want to add to that; I say we should arm ourselves with cannons, machine guns, bazookas, anything we can get our hands on. And if you don't know how to get some heavy weapons, call my office and I will tell you where to go and how to get them!"

Not only did the people cheer — save for the few white members of the board, that is — but they voted unanimously to keep Wright on the board despite the fact that the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) had issued a veiled hint that all poverty funds to Newark would be cut off if Wright was not removed.

"Honey," a woman board member

whispered to me, "I ain't always been with Willie but I sure God am with him now."

This unprecedented black unity was forged in the final hours of the July uprising. Unlike their Detroit brothers, the Newark looters and arsonists systematically spared every Negro-owned business. Then the state police came in the night and fired bullets through the windows of Negro stores and shops in the area.

"I respect law and order," a Negro barber said to me as we toured his bullet-ridden shop, "but now that the police have turned out to be just as lawless as the looters — if not more so — I have to join the black power people. They are the only protection I have. These policemen shot up my place for no reason at all."

"Yes, I saw them do it," he replied in answer to a question. "I live right upstairs over the shop. I peeped out of the window when I heard the shots. They started firing from across the street. Then they got out of the car, came over here, busted my window with the butts of their guns; then they broke in the door and entered. Yes, I saw them do it. I got their license number."

"Look, brother," he continued, "I'm a veteran; I'm active in the American Legion. That picture over there on the wall shows you that I am a color bearer. I haven't fired a gun since I left the Army. But I'm ready now. The next time I'm going to leave some dead white cops in the street."

Key 'revolutionaries' in poverty program

This is the second in a series of articles by noted Negro journalist Louis E. Lomax on 'black revolutionaries' in Newark.

By LOUIS E. LOMAX

There has been heated debate across the nation over the relationship between the poverty program and the ghetto uprisings. Newark offers a classic study of this issue.

The United Community Corporation (UCC) plans and directs the funding of all poverty programs in Newark. The final decisions for UCC are made by a 93-member board of trustees, three fourths of whom are Negroes. Following the federal guideline that poverty programs must have "maximum participation of the poor," the Newark board is inevitably made up of people who feel they have been deeply wronged by society. They are openly suspicious of what they call "the system" and "the establishment." They are not all black power advocates and revolutionaries. But they lend an affirmative ear to what the revolutionaries are saying. Few of them are apt to publicly denounce what the revolutionaries are doing. Further, the key revolutionaries in Newark are themselves members of the UCC board of trustees.

IGNORED OEO

Willie Wright, the black power potentate, not only is a member of the board, but has served as its first vice president.

A Negro businesswoman who offered Willie an alibi if he needed one is a member of the board.

Charles Mayberry, a semi-retired packing-house worker who said the riot was the same kind of understandable activity the labor movement employed years ago, is a member of the board.

The Reverend Levin West, who has yet to condemn the riot, is also a member of the board.

Timothy Still, one of the Negro leaders who attempted to disperse the crowd before the riot, is president.

And Oliver Lofton, the lawyer now handling the case of cabbie John Smith and scores of others arrested during the uprising, is not only a member of the board, but the director of the UCC Neighborhood Legal Services.

The relationship between the UCC and the revolutionary movement takes several forms and is visible on as many levels.

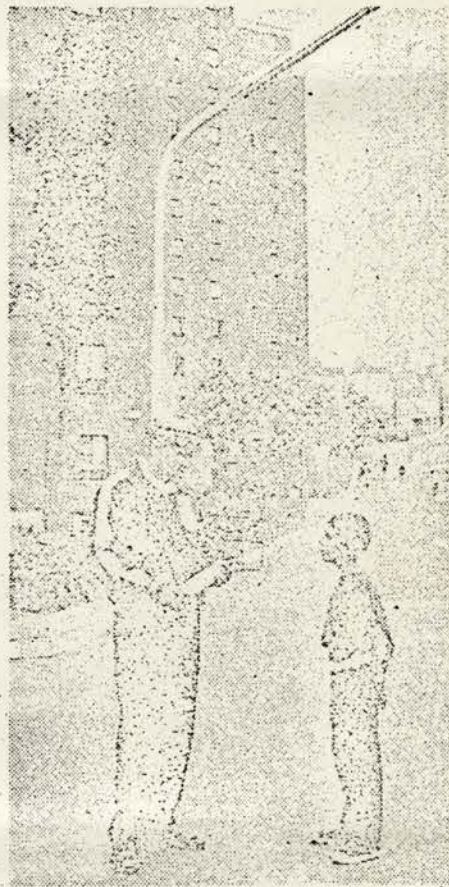


Photo by Sid Prestwick
Timothy Still, UCC president, chats with John Aponte at the Hayes Homes

First there is the level of policy making. Seldom has Willie Wright failed to carry the vote on an important policy issue. During the third week in August, more than a month after the uprising, the UCC board met in a white heat and did the following:

- They unanimously voted to ignore the Office of Economic Opportunity's suggestion that Wright be suspended from the board because of his inflammatory statements. More, they cheered when Wright restated his call for Negroes to take up arms and then went on to say that black men should arm themselves with heavy weapons — machine guns, cannons, carbines, bazoo-

(Please turn to Page 6)

And a little 1-year-old black boy came roaring down Sixth Street on his bike. "Mr. Wright," he yelled to Willie, "Mamma wants to see you."

"This boy was shot during the rebellion," Willie said to me. "Show Mr. Lomax your arm." The lad took off his shirt. The bullet had gone through his left arm near the elbow and lodged in the skin of his chest.

"You can feel the bullet if you want to, mister," the boy said to me. "It's still in there. They told me at the hospital to come back after school starts and they will take it out."

I felt the bullet sealed in the child's skin.

"Mr. Wright," the boy insisted, "Mama wants to see you; she wants you to come tell her what to do about this here bullet in me."

It was long after twilight in Newark. "Go home and get some sleep, son," Willie Wright said. "Tell your mother I'll be there. I'll tell her what to do about the bullet, what to do about every damn thing else that is wrong in this filthy, rotten town."

NO SLEEP

The boy went home to his mother and to sleep. But Willie Wright did not sleep that night. Instead, his office was a hive of revolutionary activity:

- A Negro girl from Cleveland walked in saying she had just arrived by bus. She was once a worker for CORE, but things are now dead in Cleveland and she wanted to come to Newark, "where the action is." Willie Wright put her to work, typing anti-white leaflets.

- A 19-year-old high school dropout, a youth now studying to be a butcher but with the soul of a poet, rushed in to read his latest ode to the revolution.

- An unwed mother of four gathered the revolutionaries around her to read an essay she had written called "How to Apply the Teachings of Malcolm X to the Immediate Destruction of the White Man."

Then a squad of youths, all between 14 and 19 began to leave Wright's office and fan out through the ghetto; they wore black helmets marked "CBP," Community Black Patrol. Their assignment was to follow the police, to report every half hour and record evidence when the police abused black citizens.

It was about then that the totally unorganized gathering of revolutionaries settled down to a two-hour discussion of Malcolm X's thoughts, how to implement the words and dreams of their patron saint.

IT'S THE SYSTEM

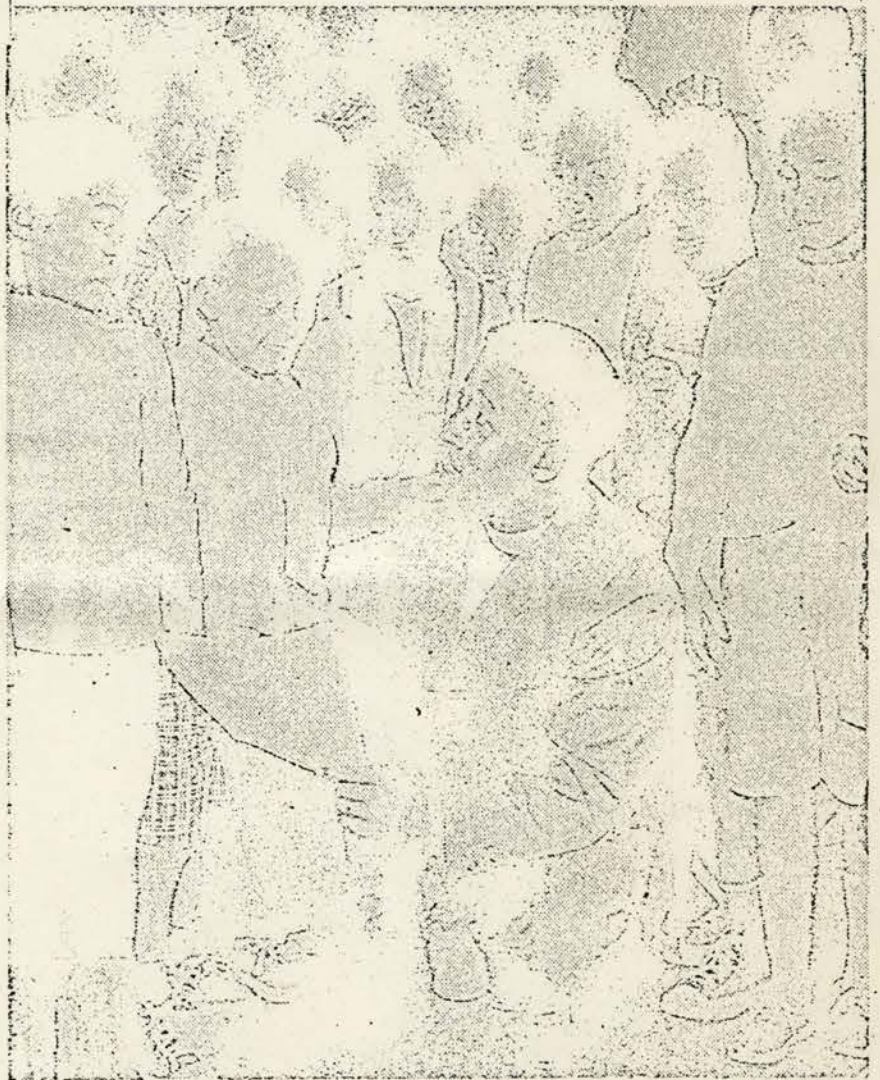
A woman walked in and said she and her three children were hungry. Willie Wright saw to it that she was fed. But before she sat down to eat Wright asked her, "Do you know why you are hungry?"

The woman didn't know, except to say that she didn't have a job, that she had not yet been certified for welfare.

"It's the system," Wright taught her; "The white man's system. He put it together this way to make sure black people go hungry."

Then Willie Wright turned to me. "This is why we can't let these white people rebuild their stores. They cheat and gouge; they keep our people in debt and hungry."

It was well after 2 o'clock in the morning. The Black Community Patrol



The Rev. Levin B. West goes over a program with younger members of his congregation

Photo by Sid Freshwick

came in and reported that the white man was not abusing black men that night. The small fan in the office failed to stave off the heat and the total intense involvement of the revolutionaries polluted the air with a moral smog that was unbearable. Shortly after 2:30 a wild discussion erupted over the relative merits of Mao Tse-tung, Malcolm X and Jomo Kenyatta.

The small room that is Willie Wright's office was packed with anguished revolutionaries waiting for the day of bloodletting.

The mind and spirit quiver during

such a moment. The only salvation is flight.

And as my cab made its way down Springfield Avenue toward my hotel we passed a store that had been entered

TOMORROW: The interlocking directorate

and destroyed during the riot. The place was now boarded up. But on the clapboards there was a sign:

"We are moving to another location. Thank you for fifty years of prosperity."

get jobs working directly with the poverty program central office by first contacting certain black power advocates. The relationship seems to be that of a ward heeler who can obtain city jobs for people in return for their political loyalty.

This also applies to people who work on state and federal projects in the ghetto itself. After all, Mrs. Bertha Shippley, who said the riot should have happened a long time ago, is not only a

district leader in the Central Ward but she works as a first-aid attendant at the Hayes Park West swimming pool, a county, state, and federally funded project. There are also facts like these:

Olen Bradley, 33, and Tommey Rudolph, 22, are director and assistant director respectively of a play street project funded by the poverty program. This program was run jointly with the Newark Police Athletic League until the PAL dropped its sponsorship last week. Bradley was arrested during the uprising and charged with looting and receiving stolen goods. Rudolph was also arrested during the rebellion and charged with assault and battery, resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. Both men deny the charge. Bradley insists he was simply standing on the streets watching the looting when the police came along, arrested him, and then insisted that he pick up looted goods lying on the ground and confess that he did the looting. Rudolph, a six-foot-four, 200-pound fullback who is now in the process of transferring from

TOMORROW:

'Bigger and Better' riots

Virginia State College to Michigan State on a football scholarship, declares that he was outside the riot area attempting to cash his paycheck when the police arrested him for no reason whatsoever.

Charles McCray, an employe of the UCC central staff, was arrested along with Leroy Jones, the black power playwright, and charged with illegal possession of firearms. Every evidence is that residents of a Negro block called police and reported that two men were riding through their street firing pistol shots from the window of a Volkswagen. The police set up a roadblock that netted McCray and Jones in a Volkswagen.

There are those who charge that facilities of the UCC are being used to mimeograph material for the black power group and that UCC workers are using government telephones to urge citizens to sign a petition calling for general amnesty for those arrested during the riot. These charges will be all but impossible to disprove. For there must be some explanation for the memorandum issued by Donald Wendell, the acting director of the UCC, saying that UCC workers are forbidden to use work time and poverty program facilities for such activity.

BACKLASH AGAINST UCC

It is also true that the UCC is weathering a tremendous backlash from the riot. Mrs. Rene Stark, who is charged with obtaining on-the-job training for unemployed people who come into the UCC office, told me that white businessmen all but spit epithets at her when she asks them to hire and train Negro workers. "Why should I hire them so they can burn down my place from the inside, rather than have to break it?" is the general reaction Mrs. Stark

Nor is this all. Donald Wendell, to put it mildly, is boiling mad because of the treatment he received at the hands of the poverty program area directors in New York and the top poverty officials in Washington during the Willie Wright controversy.

The blunt summary is that it is all but impossible to assemble a governing body of the Negro poor without embracing those who are so disillusioned that they no longer have faith in the American way of life. There is not a formal organization tie between the poverty program in Newark and the black power advocates. They are interlocking relationships. There is in Newark, and in every other major American city as well, a kinship of irrational anguish between black power advocates and those who work for the poverty program. They will do whatever they can, with whatever public or private facilities at their command, to aid what they deem to be a black-oriented cause. It is the kind of silent and powerful unity exhibited when Negroes call each other "brother." It is the kind of ghetto dynamics Dr. Nathan Wright describes when he says, "America has driven Negroes crazy. Now they want to indict us for sedition when we do crazy things."

Wright said any black man who didn't know where to find these arms could call his office and he would give them immediate aid in their search, nobody blinked. After all, anybody who knows anything about the black community of Newark also knows that such heavy arms are cached in the ghetto and ready for distribution.

Then, even to my astonishment, the board voted Wright's resolution that the board go on record as calling for city and state officials to give general amnesty to "all of our black brothers and sisters arrested during the rebellion."

This last motion was carried by a five-vote margin, 22 to 17, but the debate on the motion as well as an analysis of the final votes reveal volumes.

Attorney Oliver Lofton made an impassioned "law and order" speech against the motion. He will be forgiven by the revolutionaries because they realize he must act out a law-and-order role in the courts.

Walter Dawkins, the fiery director of a federally funded "uplift" program called "Blazer," also opposed the motion on the ground that its passage would mean all poverty money for Newark would be cut off. Dawkins raised his first funds with the aid of Willie Wright long before the poverty program went into effect. He will not be forgiven.

The Reverend Levin West, the clergyman who sat on his porch and saw looters returning home, laden with ill-gotten gain, spoke and voted against the motion. He will be forgiven. After all, his church owns the building that houses Willie Wright's rent-free office.

Kenneth Gibson, a Negro and former candidate for mayor of Newark, voted against the motion for general amnesty. He will not be forgiven.

WHITES FRIGHTENED

Thomas Edwards, the Negro business agent for the all-black Asphalt Workers Union Local 699, also voted against the motion. He will not be forgiven.

Equally revealing was the impassioned and nervous speech against the amnesty motion delivered by Edward A. Kirk, an "admitted" white Anglo-Saxon Protestant. "I know you, Willie Wright," he said, his face flushing. "I like you; but the truth is, white people are frightened by you. They are afraid you are out to burn this town down. I cannot support this motion for amnesty."

But when the role was called, Edward Kirk, like most of the white board members and some of the Negroes, abstained. Thus it was that a city-wide poverty board that dispensed upwards of \$2 million in tax money went on record asking a general amnesty for all of those arrested during the Newark uprising, some of who are indisputably guilty. And they all sat silent as Willie Wright attacked Lyndon Johnson and Sargent Shriver as "carpet baggers."

Another level of involvement between the poverty program and the black power advocates relates to employment — who will get jobs with the local program, and which programs will be funded. The local leader of the poverty program in Nashville, Tenn., appeared before a recent Senate hearing and swore that a black nationalist school operating in his town was not funded by poverty program money. He returned home only to discover that he did not know what was going on, that the school in question was, in part at least, receiving federal money.

Negro leaders threatened: The

(Continued from Page One)

one must set down the facts of pre-riot Newark, the truth about the riot itself, and then examine what has occurred in its wake.

ETHNIC GROUPS

As to pre-riot Newark one only has to list all the grievances of ghettos across the nation—housing, joblessness, political powerlessness, police brutality. Unlike the other ghetto risings that have enflamed the nation, the Newark equation involves a direct confrontation between two distinct ethnic groups within the American society, the Negroes and the Italians.

"I recognized the Italian cop who arrested me," Negro playwright Leroi Jones said to me. "I told him I knew him from high school; he called me a 'black nigger animal' and busted me on the side of my head. I know the wop S.O.B., we were classmates. But this ain't nothing new, man," he went on. "We been in a-kicking fight with these wop cats for years. These wop mothers took this town from the Irish; now, baby, we going to take it from them!"

EVERYONE KNEW

Everybody knew Newark was going to explode. Only a few of the trusted revolutionaries knew when, where, and how. Certain hard facts can be reported without violating confidences of those who wish their revolution to be reported provided names and activities which could lead to criminal arrests are omitted:

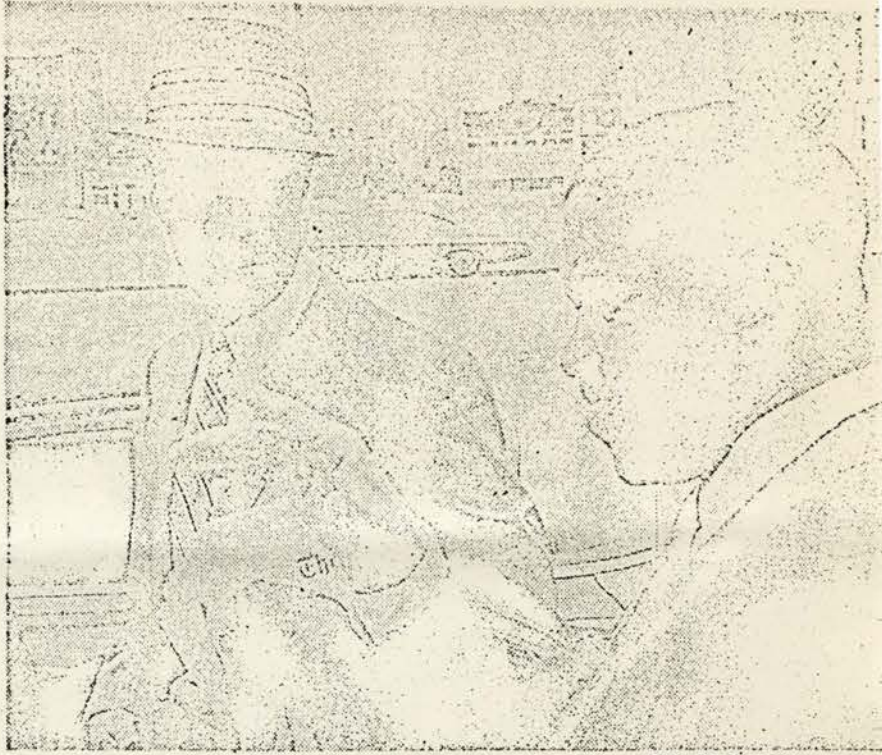
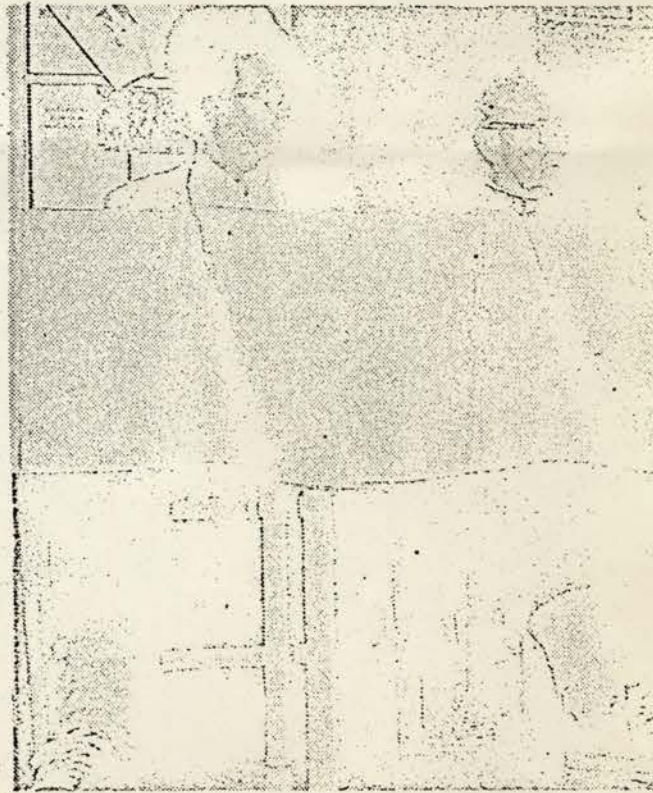


Photo by John Gibson

Councilman Calvin West (right) tours Newark with NAACP president Roy Wilkins

At least two months before the riot erupted, revolutionaries from outside Newark came to town and shared certain pre-revolutionary chores with the Newark group. One Negro political leader spotted the strangers during several public meetings that were called to debate the controversial urban renewal program. Alarmed by the presence and

activities of the strangers, the Negro official prepared a detailed statement—names and dates, which he gave to Police Director Dominick A. Spina. He, in turn, fired off a six-page telegram to all major state and local officials in which he detailed his fears that Newark was about to erupt.



Associated Press Wirephoto

PLANNING PROTEST—H. Rap Brown, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, sprawls in chair at conference announcing a work-stopping 'peace-in' to be held Oct. 21-22 at the Pentagon in Washington to protest the Vietnam war. At right is Rt. Rev. Charles Owen Rice of Pittsburgh, also part of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War, self-described as a coalition of "blacks, women, students, workers, hippies, draft resisters, clergy and political organizations."

voices of dissent remain muffled

o Spina was more correct than even he knew. The riot was scheduled to occur—and this will go recorded as one of the ironies of modern American history—on the very night it did take place, but at a different location and at a different time. The plan, to put it bluntly, was to spread destruction along Broad Street. The thinking was that the police would be so concentrated downtown—that the looters, and this is one of the key elements in the revolutionary scheme, would be able to carry out an unhampered rape of stores along the Negro sections of Springfield Avenue.

The plan was actually in motion, revolutionaries were already on Broad Street initiating the first phase of the scheme when Negro cab driver John William Smith got himself involved in a fracas with the police at a point some three miles from Broad Street. Smith was carried into the police station under conditions that caused alarmed Negro onlookers to spread the word that he had been killed by the police. Other Negro cabbies got the word and used their radios to call upon all Negro cab drivers to come to Broad Street for a demonstration. Negro cabbies arrived along Broad Street in droves; so did the police. This sudden and unexplained activity on Broad Street caused the revolutionaries to abandon their plans and flee to the security of the ghetto.

o By then angry Negro citizens, most of them with no knowledge of what was actually occurring, took matters into their own hands. The initial confrontation between the police and black people was spontaneous. Even the leaders of the revolution stood in amazement as people began to pelt the police station house with rocks and fire bombs. The revolutionaries had only to urge on the anger, give it a sense of direction and leadership. The result was the four days of rioting.

o A few Negro leaders attempted to disperse and calm the crowd during the initial stages of the uprising. It is doubtful that they could have succeeded. Even so, they abandoned their efforts after the police came out of the station house when the crowd failed to disperse.

NAACP President Sally Carroll was in Boston for her organization's national convention when the riot erupted. "I thought of coming home," she said. "But I knew the people would not listen to me. There was nothing I could do."

"I was also in Boston," Councilman West said. "I talked with my deputy and I considered coming home the first night of the riot. But even if I had come, the people would not have listened to me. I did come home on Friday (the third night of the uprising) and I did what I could. But I would not have been able to stop what happened."

Irvine Turner, Newark's other Negro councilman, was ill when the riot occurred and did not appear in the streets. I went to Turner's office in the ghetto hoping to get his comments. The office was closed; no one was there.



Photo by Sid Presbwick
Sally Carroll at her desk in Newark
NAACP headquarters

"Honey, you trying to find Turner?" a Negro woman who lives next door asked me. When I told her I was indeed looking for the councilman, his constituent allowed this:

"He ain't there; that office is a sham."

But there are those who feel that

Planes alert for riot duty

WASHINGTON (UPI)—The Air National Guard has ordered 40 of its big transport planes on standby alert for anti-riot duty, it was disclosed yesterday. Meanwhile, some state Air National Guard commands are making anti-riot plans of their own.

The Guard has ordered restricted duty for the transport planes—mostly C121 Constellations and C97 Stratocruisers capable of carrying 100 men each—to assure prompt movement of Army National Guardsmen from summer training camps if they are needed to put down civil disorder.

An Air National Guard spokesman, in revealing the nationwide plan, said the order was dated Aug. 14 and will remain in effect until the Army National Guard's 17-day summer training sessions end next month.

The spokesman said most of the Air Guard's 25 troop transport group were ordered to place two planes and two crews each on a 12-hour alert basis, out the 40-plane plan is for use only on orders from national headquarters.

Newark's Negroes had strong leadership, for good or for bad, during the uprising. "When the riot really got going," one of Newark's wealthiest and best-known Negro business women told me, "I called Willie Wright. When I found out what was going on I felt Willie might need an alibi; I am not a black power advocate, but I knew somebody was giving direction to this thing. I called Willie and told him that if he needed an alibi, I would swear that he was in my home visiting with me and my family when the riot occurred. As I told you," she concluded, "I am not a black power advocate; but if Willie needed an alibi, I was willing to risk everything to give him one."

Willie Wright was on the streets, in the vicinity of the police station when the confrontation between the people and the police exploded into a riot. I insisted that Willie Wright give me a statement for the record.

"Of course I didn't do it," Wright said as he flashed a big smile, his gold front tooth reflecting the glow of a Springfield Avenue street light. "But," he added, "this is not to say that all of what happened was unplanned, without direction and leadership."

It can also be reported that Newark's revolutionaries were congratulating themselves for having staged the biggest ghetto revolt to date. Then, as one of the top leaders of the rebellion put it, some of the out-of-town revolutionaries explained for Detroit where they helped set off a holocaust that made Newark's uprising look like a tea party.

REVIEW 'MISTAKES'

But even the revolutionaries admit it was quite a tea party; they bemoan the fact that the destruction occurred in the Negro community rather than at the seat of white economic power along Broad Street as planned. By sifting the ashes the revolutionaries are discovering their mistakes, they are instituting plans designed to make certain that

TOMORROW:

The anguished dialogue

these errors do not recur. If there is to be a fire yet another time in Newark, the revolutionaries will have the support of normally responsible Negro businessmen who are enraged almost to the point of paranoia because, according to them, State Police deliberately and without reason riddled with bullets and then ransacked their shops.

I doubt one could persuade a single Negro of influence in Newark to mount a ghetto platform and tell the people that the first riot was wrong, that they should not do it again.

And the white man who is now touring Newark's Negro ghetto, blaring from a loudspeaker mounted on a car that the police are the friends of the people, that the people should support law and order as well as their local police, is viewed by the black masses as the funniest white-face minstrel of the century.

NEGRO LEADERS THREATENED

Voices of dissent remain muffled

By LOUIS E. LOMAX

In Newark, one hears few voices of Negro dissent concerning the "black revolution" and these voices turn out to be muffled and apologetic.

"I say the riot was wrong," NAACP Newark President Sally Carrol said. "I'm sorry about the rupture of black-and-white feelings and relationships in our town. I think we can correct the evils without burning, killing, and looting."

Then she paused for a long moment and gazed into her cocktail. "But, on the other hand," she added, pensively, "we of the NAACP have been trying to do that for 50 years. haven't we? And nothing has happened."

Calvin West, Negro councilman-at-large, uttered the loudest and strongest voice of dissent. "The riot was wrong, it got us nothing; we will never get anything accomplished by burning down Newark. We Negroes can take Newark through the legitimate political process—perhaps in 1970, certainly by 1974."

This is the third in a series of articles by noted Negro journalist Louis E. Lomax on 'black revolutionaries' in Newark.

But even as Calvin West spoke he conceded that approximately 60 per cent of the potential Negro voters have failed to register, that the hot-breath revolutionaries have no intention of waiting for a system they don't believe in to produce results, that West himself has already been threatened by the revolutionaries.

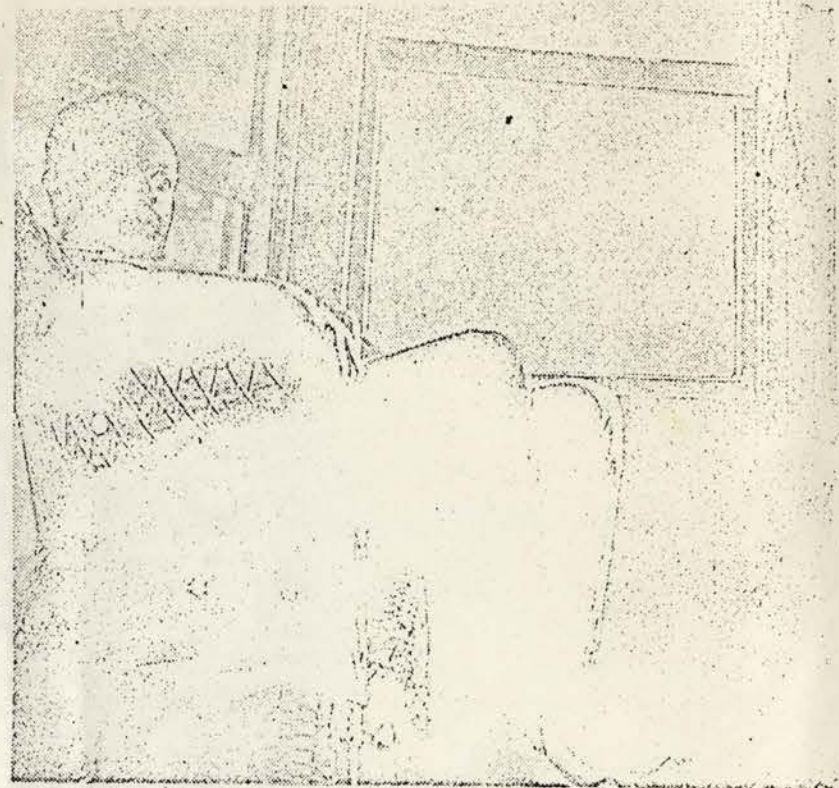
Calvin West is not alone; every major Negro political official or appointee in Newark has been threatened.

The expectation was that Newark's Negro clergy would issue a strong call for law and order, for non-violence. But for the Reverend B.F. Johnson, this call for peace and tranquility has not come forth. The revolutionaries held a meeting to decide whether Reverend Johnson should be threatened, perhaps phys-

ically "dealt with." "The consensus was," one black power leader told me, "that Johnson is such an Uncle Tom and fool that he isn't worth the risk and the bullet it would take to kill him. We decided to let him talk; nobody listens to him anyway."

In contrast to Reverend Johnson is Dr. Nathan Wright, Episcopalian clergyman and Harvard-trained "urbanologist." Waving a copy of his book, "Black Power and Urban Unrest," Wright told me: "Non-violence has failed; the only thing the white man in Newark will respond to is the threat of violence and the certain promise that the threat is not an empty one." Then Wright went on to suggest more sophisticated forms of revolutionary violence. The revolutionaries are developing other tactics than the crude maneuver of playing cowboy and Negro in the middle of Newark.

To clearly understand the tragedy,
(Please turn to Page 7)



Playwright-Leroi Jones (left) discusses black power with Louis Lomax

Photo by David Becker



Willie Wright
"We are not going to
wait that long..."

The bone of contention:

This is the fourth in a series of articles by noted Negro journalist Louis E. Lomax on 'black revolutionaries' in Newark

By LOUIS E. LOMAX

The determined ambition of Newark's black leadership, moderate and revolutionary, is to get their people "where the goodies are." Newark is typical; all across America the black masses are in hot, and sometimes revolutionary, pursuit of the "goodies" that are so abundant in this republic. The "goodies" range from color television sets to well-paying jobs to the political power that will allow the black masses to participate in the decisions that determine what will happen in their town. It is the sharp difference of opinion concerning

how these goodies shall be obtained that imperils Negro unity and the black power movement itself.

The rift is best seen if one compares the statements of Calvin West, Newark's Negro councilman-at-large, and Willie Wright, an admitted leader of the black revolutionary movement.

West: "I know damn well inequities exist in this town. But if black people register and vote, we can control the town, probably in 1970 and certainly by 1974. I have every intention of taking over Newark and I don't want to preside over a pile of ashes."

Wright: "We are not going to wait that long for something we don't believe will happen in the first place. The white man controls the Democratic Party in this town -- and that is the only party that could put a black man into power;

How to get the 'goodies'

they are not going to give real power to a Negro within that framework of an organization that is built for and run by white people.

"If we get a Negro mayor he will be a white man's flunky like that fool black mayor in Flint, Michigan, who had to resign when he discovered that the white powers were not about to bow to the wishes of black people on so simple an issue as open housing. How can we put trust in a system that installs a black man as mayor and then refuses to pass a law guaranteeing that the mayor of the town can buy a house in a place of his own choosing!"

Who then will prevail?

"Willie Wright is a complete fool; a nobody; one of those black leaders created by the press," a stunningly beautiful and mini-skirted Negro secretary at

City Hall shouted at me. "Nobody follows him; how many Negroes does he have?"

"That is not true," Sally Carrol, president of Newark's NAACP, interposed. "I don't know how many Negroes Willie has behind him, but he does influence the people who are ready to take this town apart."

Then Miss Carrol cast a stern eye at Calvin West who was calmly sipping a scotch and soda as he reclined on the sofa across the room. The white hostess, a member of the board of the NAACP, was obviously stunned as Sally Carrol continued, "you say Willie doesn't have many members in his organization. True! But how many black people follow Calvin? He has just admitted that he

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Calvin West
'I don't want to preside
over a pile of ashes'

(Continued from Page One)

could not have stopped the riot. I have thousands of members in my NAACP branch but I could not have stopped the riot. I don't speak for the people who are rioting and looting. Willie does."

This encounter could have occurred — and is occurring — between black leaders in white liberal living rooms all over the nation. It is a dialogue of the impotent, a tragic second-act confrontation between those who are as incapable of controlling the behavior of the black masses as the black masses have been of controlling their own destinies. It was well after 2 o'clock in the morning when Sally Carrol got around to articulating the gut issue:

"Look," she said, "Willie Wright and the revolutionaries have yet to tell us what they are for; but they have made it crystal clear, no bones about it, that they are not going to tolerate any longer what they now suffer, what they are against."

There are other voices that must be heard before one makes a determination. I called a Negro member of the Newark public school system and a woman who had brought me to Newark twice to lecture for the Urban League Guild.

"I don't know what I can tell you," she said. "Besides, my time is terribly limited. I teach here, as you know, but I have no knowledge of what is going on here. I simply have little or no contact with the kind of people you are trying to understand. Besides," she continued, "my daughter—you remember her, how brilliant and talented she is — has just



Dr. Nathan Wright during recent Black Power conference in Newark

returned from Europe. I made sure she was not educated here, so she knows less about Newark than I do. But, as I was going to tell you about how limited my time is, some of my daughter's friends are coming here for something of a reunion — they were all together in Europe, you know — and our calendars are just jammed. Perhaps if you drop by tomorrow at eleven we can have a short chat. But I simply have nothing to tell you."

I hung up the phone. I got the whole picture. And sitting across the desk from me at that moment in Willie Wright's office was a brilliant, 17-year-old Negro girl who had graduated from Arts High

just last June. A major midwestern university has given the girl a four-year scholarship as a result of that institution's search for "responsible" Negroes to further integrate its almost lily-white campus. The young woman is not only a totally dedicated black revolutionary but she has detailed plans about "upsetting" that staid and stolid college community within days after her arrival there.

Then there is Dr. Nathan Wright, the theoretician and intellectual luminary of the black power movement. Dr. Wright not only headed up the recent black power national conference in Newark, but his next book is titled "Ready to Riot." Frequently reminding an interviewer of his doctorate from Harvard, Dr. Wright gives a sermon or a lecture, depending upon his swiftly changing moods, to a question.

Dr. Wright assails the Episcopal Diocese of Newark for hiring him as an "urbanologist" and then "refusing to listen to a damn thing I have to say." He then deals the poverty program a gut blow by charging that they hire ignorant and untrained people to carry out a program that requires the utmost in brains and experience.

"How in the hell," he exploded, "can you build a bridge by taking the money allocated for the bridge and dividing it among people who need the bridge but don't know how to build it?"

Wright's thesis is that nothing short of a revolutionary approach can correct poverty; that revolution is a function of the middle class, of people with trained brains; that the poor and the illiterate cannot possibly make critical decisions

concerning the poverty program; that anybody who spreads poverty money among the poor for their services as planners of poverty programs should have their heads examined. This, of course, would anger Willie Wright. The one thing that could possibly stay Willie Wright's revolution would be for massive amounts of money and political power to be given to the poor, and largely un-

TOMORROW: Questions for America

educated, black masses. And that these masses, in some visionary form of the nation's town meetings of the early 18th Century, be allowed to determine their own destinies.

The Willie Wrights and the Nathan Wrights (they are not related) of this nation suffer each other. They in a sense desperately need each other. Together they have more influence in the black ghetto than the orthodox Negro leadership. But one day soon they must meet and deal with their deep differences over who will run the black power community. For the moment they share the unity that undergirds all crises. Yet as the two men look at each other, an observer cannot but wonder what each of them is really thinking. My own conclusion to their private thoughts is best expressed in a quatrain Dr. Nathan Wright delights in quoting:

"As I was walking up the stair
I met a man who wasn't there.
He is not there again today.
Oh how I wish he would go away."

The summing up: We're in grip of revolution

By LOUIS E. LOMAX

This nation — whether it chooses to admit it or not — is now in the grip of a revolution. The flaming disorders that have enveloped our land are not accidental. True, these disorders are set in motion by unplanned and quite normal confrontations between police and the people of the black ghetto. From that point on, however, a highly trained and totally militarist group of revolutionaries who have been poised and waiting in the

Last of a series

wings move in and give the event a totally destructive direction.

The poor and the greedy, who have not the slightest notion of what is occurring, develop a sense of obligation and loyalty to the organized snipers and arsonists who keep the police at bay while they steal.

The Negro middle class is being battered into line by a combination of threats from the black power people and the overreaction of the white police. In Detroit, Negro plainclothes policemen reportedly were pistol-whipped by white

police while trying to fish their credentials from their pockets.

As to the pattern of threats against middle-class Negroes the record is quite clear. This will come as a grave shock, but the fact is that the Urban League office in Newark was set on fire by a Molotov cocktail seven days before the uprising occurred. James Pawley, the league's executive director, uses a nice ploy when he says that the fire bomb was thrown by an imaginative youth who had somehow gotten a copy of mimeographed directions as to how to make such a bomb. Pawley suggests that the Negro youth probably got the instruction sheet from the Newark Chamber of Commerce where Police Director Spina had made a speech and distributed copies of the sheet as an example of what is being circulated in the black ghetto.

Assuming Mr. Pawley believed his own explanation, one must then ponder why he called the leader of the black power movement and asked, "Who would bomb such a dedicated organization as the Urban League?" As Mr. Pawley well knew, the bomb was a warning to all Negro civil rights groups

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THE SUMMING UP: Nation in the grip of a

(Continued from Page One)

to get in line and shut up.

It is hard put to say just who is to blame for the tragedy now etched in the streets of our major cities. Are the riotous mobs alone to blame? Or could it be that a certain portion of the blame must be shared by those who knew what was coming and refused to act? And the Newark police decision to purchase armored vehicles against the day of yet another uprising has provided black power with a psychological bazooka they can neither buy nor loot.

The real truth is the black revolutionaries are not out to kill white people and officials. "We are not out after you," Charles Mayberry comforted his white neighbor of 15 years. "It is the system the revolutionaries are attempting to bring down."

And Dr. Nathan Wright is the author of the book "One Bread, One Body," a prize-winning Christian polemic the ultimate thesis of which is that all men are one in the eyes of Christ. Nathan Wright bragged to me that he was neurotic. It was then that he commented that America had driven Negroes crazy and now wants to indict them for sedition when they do crazy things.

The writer who is a social critic must at least consult history. The replies are not calculated to make one happy. There is not a single revolution recorded there on which the means (killing people) justified the end (the attainment of a socio-economic or political ideal). Yet the America against which the black revolutionaries are now in full rebellion is the product of precisely such a revolution. But must the Ameri-

can Negro travel this route? Morality aside, will it achieve his goals? Can the black power revolutionaries be stopped?

These men and women completely believe that the task of every revolutionary is to make a revolution that cannot be stopped. It is hardly a libel to recall that Stokely Carmichael issued a call for black revolution from Havana and that H. Rap Brown addressed an epistle of war to his followers "behind enemy lines" from a federal jail in New York. In Newark, Willie Wright has long since put his affairs in order; he expects to be dead at the white man's hands before the year is out.

But the black revolutionaries are wrong. Scores, perhaps hundreds, of innocent and well-meaning people, black and white, are almost certain to be

killed before this exercise in black anguish runs its course.

The only hope I see for Newark and for the nation lies in the reassertion of sane but militant Negro leadership. But this time the white power structure must be willing to rapidly make sincere and far-reaching changes.

Such men as Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young can save Newark and the republic provided they are given the meaningful victories that will lure the black masses from the brink of revolutionary disaster.

Nobody can save Willie Wright and H. Rap Brown. They don't wish to be saved; they have elected their course and would be deeply disappointed if they did not die the martyr's death.

But we can save our nation. A nation that assigns its sons to die in Vietnam

revolution

and in pursuit of the moon can occupy its ghettos and correct the inequities that exist there if it so chooses.

But do we care enough, do we have the moral brains to understand that the most mortal and immediate enemy of the nation is in the black revolutionary's office rather than in Hanoi? Are we willing to make the commitment of human concern, involvement and money to the fight against the residual of racism that we are committing to fight against communism?

The answers to these questions, much more than the intense revolutionary plotting of the black power advocates, will determine when — and if — black revolutionary smoke will belch to the skies and further sully the American dream.



Dr. Nathan Wright with his book

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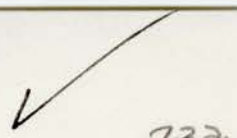
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November 13, 1967

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NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

DATE OF TRIP: November 6 thru 9, 1967

Persons Interviewed:

- Mr. Kenneth Gibson - United Community Committee
 - Mr. Donald James - Social Worker
 - Mr. Lonzy C. McCarey - Negro businessman
 - Rev. Clifford Porter
 - Rev. Leavon West
 - Mr. Alvin Brown - Militant Legal Law Clerk
 - Mr. Willie Wright - President, United Afro-American Association
 - Mr. William Jones - Social Worker
 - Mr. George Hicks (alias Specks)
 - Mr. Calvin West - Councilman-at-Large, Newark
 - Mr. Arthur Kaufman - Director of Manpower
 - Mr. Harold Hodes - Assistant Director of Human Rights
 - Mr. Thomas Carmichael - Director of the Community Information and Referral Center of Newark
- Other unidentified persons.

Interviewer: Haywood L. Perry

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

My trip to Newark, New Jersey was in connection with the recent riot which occurred in that city from July 12 through July 17. Persons interviewed were from all walks of life with different political views and different concepts as to the cause of the riot. Many were of the general concensus, however, that the riot was the result of poor housing, lack of job opportunity and poor school facilities. Many indicated that police brutality was one of the main issues that has created tension that permitted the riot.

Upon the recommendation of several of the team members, I visited the Bridge Club Cocktail Lounge, which is located at 343 Washington Street in Newark, New Jersey, to converse with those persons whose backgrounds ranged from school principal to dope addicts on the street in order to obtain their opinion as to the cause of the riot. On November 6, 1967, I conversed with several persons concerning this matter. Mr. Kenneth Gibson, a civil engineer with the United Community Committee, and Mr. Donald James, a public welfare representative for the City of Newark, were two of the identifiable interviewees.

In response to the question of whether or not there appeared to be outside agitation or activist groups which might have contributed to the riot in Newark, Mr. Gibson related the following: He stated that it is definitely untrue that any outside groups had come into Newark to create any problem. The situation that Newark was confronted with is something that has been brewing for a long, long time due to the deplorable living conditions that the Negro people are subjected to, the lack of jobs for the qualified Negroes and the lack of job-training programs for those with no skill. Mr. Gibson stated that he works very closely with those persons in the ghetto area and if there had been any mention or any sign of outside groups which might have incensed the people in the ghetto to riot he would have heard about this. Mr. Gibson, whose name has been mentioned in previous reports by the other team members, ran for Mayor of Newark during the 1965 election on a separate ticket.

Gibson stated that the tension between the black and white people has increased due to the fact that the police department has requested the K-9 Corps as a complement to their force. The Negro people of this area feels that this is more of an indignation to them in bringing these dogs in at this time. Mr. Gibson advised the interviewer that if I really wanted the real cause of the riot it would be necessary for me to go to city hall and talk to the crooked politicians who are placing persons on the payroll who have never come to the office to work and this, he says, he can prove, and to accompany him to certain areas of Newark in the morning and witness pay-off drops to the city officials. This in itself creates mistrust and a sense of vengeance by the Negro people towards the administration.

Mr. Gibson related the press overplayed the sniper situations in Newark because there was no way possible for the ratio of deaths of white persons in comparison to the death fatality of the Negroes to have been so small if there had been snipers in the areas where the police and national guard reported. He stated that the Negro people were killed for the sake of being killed during the riot and not for any attack on the police. The police and guardsmen shot through people's windows and homes for no justifiable reason and they also looted the stores.

In response to the same question placed to Kenneth Gibson, Mr. Donald James stated that there was definitely no agitation which might have incited the people to riot. The riot was due to the result of penned up frustrations of black people that covered a period of many years. He stated that there was no conspiracy during the riot, however, once the riot began people took advantage of the situation. Mr. James related that the riot would have taken place whether Mr. Smith, the cab driver, had been arrested or not. City Hall had turned a deaf ear to the general grievances of the people and the people actually had no place to turn. He related the fact that the mayor is part of the political machine which dictates the policy of the city's administration.

He advised that there many things that the mayor's office could have done and still can do to affect better relationship with the people, such as^{an} open door policy where the people with legitimate complaints could come and present them to the mayor or his representatives. He also suggested that

the housing code be enforced. James cited the Callahan-Parker case whereby the mayor sought to place Callahan, a white man with a high school education, as secretary of the Board of Education over Parker, a Negro who has a Masters Degree in education, for this position. In the eyes of the general public this is outright disregard for the Negro in Newark.

In response to the question whether or not there were any arms being shipped into Newark, Mr. James and Mr. Gibson stated that they had heard that there were arms in town, however, they can not substantiate the rumor. Mr. Gibson and Mr. James concurred that the civil rights groups such as NAACP, CORE, etc., have played no significant part in aiding the Negroes in Newark. Mr. Gibson stated that as a result of the riot several persons who were considered to be liberals and nonviolent individuals have thus become quite militant and have suggested to the people that they arm themselves for future confrontation with the police and other Negro haters.

Mr. Lonzy C. McCarey, a bartender at the Bridge Club, suggested that the interviewer appear at his office, the Ebony Business Association, located at 251 Bergen Street in Newark, to talk to several of the ministers who are abreast of the present situation in Newark. On November 7, 1967, the interviewer appeared at Mr. McCarey's office and interviewed the Rev. Clifford Porter, Pastor of the Greater Bethel Church of Newark, New Jersey, and the Rev. Leavon West. In answer to the question as to what was the main cause of the riot, all of these gentlemen agreed that the main causes of the riot were contributed to deplorable living conditions, lack of jobs for the qualified, lack of job opportunity training programs and the poor school facilities. These men agreed that the tension between the Negro community and the white community has increased subsequent to the riot. There seems to be a mutual feeling of mistrust and disrespect on the part of both races.

In answer to the question whether or not there was a conspiracy either within or outside of the city headed by outside groups or militant activist to create the riot, the answers were as follow:

Rev. Porter: No, there was no conspiracy to create the riot which was inevitable due to the aforementioned situation. He stated that he has lived and worked in this community for years and has witnessed the deplorable conditions the Negroes have lived under and the indignities they have suffered and are still suffering. He related that the people decided that their complaints were being neglected and that they felt that the overall situation had gone far enough, so they decided to riot and bring their situation to the attention of the world. The arrest of the cab driver was merely the triggering point. There had been rumors of a riot after the incident of police officer Martinez unjustifiably beating some Negroes in the Newark and South Orange areas. However, the Negro leaders were able to persuade the people not to riot. The beating of Smith, the cab driver, before a view of hundreds of persons after his arrest was more than the people could stand, so they started to create disorder.

Rev. Porter does not condone the looting and burning of homes and businesses, but he does state that the people had to dispense their penned up emotions in some way. He advised he saw many strange faces of Negro males in the riot neighborhood one week prior to the riot but he could not contribute their being there as having any connection with the riot. The young people in the neighborhood informed Rev. Porter that they would rather die in the streets fighting for their rights than to go to Viet Nam and kill other people for the white man's cause. Rev. Porter related the fact that he had heard rumors that arms had been brought into the city to arm the Negroes for a possible riot in the future, however, he could not substantiate this rumor.

Rev. West: Advised that he is in full agreement with what Rev. Porter has said in connection with the riot. However, he added that he feels that the ministerial staff of the Negro community has not done its part to aid the people. It is necessary for the ministers to be in the areas where the poor people live and play in order that they can act as mediators in conveying the people's grievances to the city's

administration. The Negro ministers could also instill upon the people in the ghetto to prepare themselves for the jobs forthcoming.

The interview with Rev. Porter, Rev. West, and Mr. McCarey ended with the note of mutual admiration and cooperation of which an invitation was granted to the interviewer to return anytime to interview these persons. The interviewer is of the opinion that these gentlemen were truthful in their interview and believed wholeheartedly in what they said.

Upon an invitation by a Mr. Donald James, the interviewer appeared at the Bridge Club later on in the evening of November 7, 1967. Mr. James introduced the interviewer to Mr. Alvin Brown, a legal law clerk to one of the Judges in the U. S. Court in the City of Newark. The interviewer asked Mr. Brown what was his opinion of the riot in Newark. Mr. Brown told the interviewer that it was not necessary for a black man to ask him what are the causes of a riot in any Negro town because myself being a Negro surely should understand the causes of riots which are due to persons being suppressed hundreds of years without any due process of law, or without any consideration for their human rights and so forth.

Mr. Brown went on to say that the riots were the results of the white man taking charge of the community, the overall structure of the country to depress the black man and to keep him from having what does belong to him, what is rightfully his and what was given to him under the constitution of the United States. It is Mr. Brown's contention that every white man should be blown off the face of the earth and that the Negro will continue to suffer the indignities placed on him if this is not done. As Mr. Brown and the interviewer conversed, a Negro male identified as Willie Wright entered the Bridge Club. Mr. Brown introduced Mr. Wright to the interviewer and stated that this man was going to lead his people out of bondage. Mr. Brown related that he was counseling Willie Wright on all points of legal matter^{and} that he would stick by Mr. Wright until the end. Brown stated that he had advised Wright and other persons as to the acquisition of arms to confront the police and national guardsmen if and when another riot should occur.

Mr. Wright stated that he had previously talked to members of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders and that he had expressed his views on the situation at that time. Wright stated that it is no need for the President of the United States to waste money to set up different commissions because he is not going to change the situation. He acts as the other politicians in trying to sway the people in voting for him in the oncoming election. Mr. Wright stated that the black people were unjustly beaten during the riot and that this has made him determined to unite his people in order that they may arm themselves against the police if and when another riot does occur.

Mr. James advised the interviewer that Alvin Brown is the first and only Negro ever appointed as a legal clerk to a judge in the City of Newark. Mr. Brown is to take his New Jersey bar examination in February 1968. Mr. James suggested that the interviewer talk to Mr. William Jones, his associate.

While eating lunch with Mr. William Jones at the Bridge Club on November 8, 1967, the interviewer was approached by Mr. Alvin Brown who introduced a gentlemen by the name of George Hicks, alias Specks. Mr. Brown advised the interviewer that Mr. Hicks was the Director of the Rehabilitation Center for narcotic addicts and that Mr. Hicks would be able to furnish the interviewer with valuable information concerning the present situation in Newark. Mr. Hicks advised the interviewer that he could be available to talk concerning the riot at his office at 303 Washington Street in Newark in approximately 1/2-hour from that time. Mr. William Jones' opinion as to the causes of the riot coincided with others interviewed. At approximately 2:30 p.m. on November 8, 1967, the interviewer appeared at Mr. Hicks' office and interviewed him concerning the riot of 1967.

Mr. Hicks advised that he is an ex-convict and a reformed dope addict who is dedicating his life to help the other dope addicts kick the habit. This rehabilitation program was set up by the mayor's office and Mr. Hicks is a salaried individual. However, he stated that this program will not be funded by the city's administration after February 1968 due to the lack of funds, therefore, he will be carrying on this work without any compensation unless the city's administration appropriates money for the program.

Mr. Hicks was asked his opinion as to the cause of the riots in Newark during 1967. He first started off as saying that he was born and raised in Newark and that he has an overall picture of the city's entire structure. First of all, the terrible living conditions in which many of the Negroes live under contributed to the unrest which eventually caused the people to revolt. There is much discrimination in the policy of hiring Negroes who are qualified for jobs in Newark. Many teenagers who finish high school are not able to get jobs due to the lack of so-called funds within the city itself. Hicks then stated that the Negroes in Newark have been abused by the Police Department and this probably is the main cause of the riot in Newark. The interviewer asked Mr. Hicks if he knew of any conspiracy or outside agitators who might have contributed to the riot. George Hicks related that there was no conspiracy to encourage the people to riot in Newark. The situation which the Negroes live under was enough to precipitate tension and hatred which eventually caused the riot. The interviewer asked what part did the dope addicts play during the riot. He related that the addicts looted the stores after they had been broken into by the vandals. The addicts were constantly aware that they were being sought after by the police as persons suspected of looting because of the addicts habit of looting as a means to acquire drugs.

Mr. Hicks was asked to name the persons in Newark whom he felt to be militant leaders. He stated that all Negroes should be militant if militant means fighting for his rights. He said he was militant in this respect. He did not know of any persons in Newark who advocated to overthrow the city's government, however, since the riot, the Negro people have become very bitter due to the fact that many of the people were unnecessarily killed. He stated that the Negro people are now armed and that they are ready to confront the police and national guard if and when another riot should occur. Hicks would not tell the interviewer where these arms are coming from but he did say that these arms which consist of shotguns, pistols and rifles are in town.

In answer to the question whether or not the different Negro groups in Newark seem to be divided, Mr. Hicks advised that the groups were divided and that mistrust prevailed throughout the entire ^{area} as far as the Negroes were concerned. He stated that the NAACP and CORE were not performing their jobs in trying to bring about better conditions for the Negro people. He feels that the Negro ministers have definitely

let the people down because they have not gotten out into the community to help in any way.

The city needs to appropriate more money for different programs to help the poor people of Newark. He also advised that the persons directly involved in the riot were neither the middle class Negroes nor the people on welfare, but those persons who are below the welfare assistance level, such as persons who are ignorant to the fact that they are eligible for public assistance, the grassroots individuals.

Mr. Hicks classified persons with criminal records as grassroots individuals because many of them were unable to gain employment. Therefore, they had to rob persons to make a living. Mr. Hicks stated that the interview was conducted at an inopportune time due to the fact that there were persons waiting to begin their therapy for drug addiction. Therefore, Mr. Hicks extended an invitation to the interviewer to return any time to interview him concerning the situation. Mr. Hicks seemed to be very cooperative, however, the interviewer is of the opinion that Mr. Hicks will be able to supply many answers needed to fulfill our investigation.

Upon the recommendation of Mr. Donald James, the interviewer appeared at City Hall on November 8, 1967 and interviewed Mr. Calvin West, Councilman-at-large, Mr. Harold Hodes, Assistant Director of Human Rights for Newark, New Jersey, and Mr. Arthur Kaufman, Director of Manpower for the City of Newark. This interview was held in Mr. Kaufman's office where the interviewer talked to these gentlemen at the same time. Mr. West is one of two Negroes on the city's council. He is regarded by most of the Negroes who were interviewed by me as a brainwashed middle-class Negro who has completely divorced himself from the Negro problems.

The question placed before these gentlemen was, "What were the causes that precipitated the riot in Newark?" Mr. West, being the first to acknowledge, stated that the Negroes' problems are the same problems that affect every major city within the U.S. In other words, it is a national problem. He commented on the fact that Newark, like any other city, is having its financial difficulties, and that it is hard for many of the people living within the city to recognize this factor. Due to the lack of funds, there are many programs that have been set up to help the needy people that have not reached all of the people. As for the riot in Newark, there seems to be a national trend to create disorder. The vast publication of the Watts riot seemed to have created a desire in the Negro people to emulate such actions.

Things are changing for the Negro people, however, it takes time. It is necessary for the Negroes to become more versed in politics in order that they will understand that the Constitution of the United States was not written for them, therefore, amendments will have to be made to meet out situations. West stated that the deplorable living conditions, lack of job training programs, and poor school conditions are a direct result of Congress not appropriating enough money to the city to carry on the different programs to assist the needy people. In other words, Newark needs more money to free the Negro people and other minority races from their plight. Mr. West implied that he felt the city's administration was doing all in its power to help everyone and that no particular group was being slighted. Mr. West stated that the main issue in Newark appears to be a black against white issue.

Mr. West was asked whether or not this black against white issue was present prior to or subsequent to the riot. He stated that it is a subsequent issue which resulted from a recent request by the Newark Police Department to supplement its force with a K-9 corps. West advised that each city has its unique problems and that Newark is trying to solve theirs. After Mr. West concluded what appeared to have been a well-rehearsed speech, he asked Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Hodes if they had any comment to make. Both men wholeheartedly agreed with Mr. West's recitation and reiterated the fact that more money needs to be appropriated by Congress in order that Newark can better aid its people.

On November 8, 1967, the interviewer visited the Community Information and Referral Center, located at 186 Belmont Street, Newark, N. J., and conversed with Mr. Thomas Carmichael, Director (no relation to Stokely) upon the recommendation of Mr. William Jones.

Mr. Carmichael, a most elegant and articulate Negro who appears to be in his middle thirties, advised the writer that he and several other professional Negroes organized the Center in 1965 upon recognizing the fact that his people were in desperate need of help. The center has no financial support and is staffed by volunteer workers.

The function of the center is to find jobs for the Negro people who have had trouble in obtaining employment. The applicants are thoroughly screened before being sent out on a job. The

Center is recognized by many private businesses and has a high percentage in placing people in good jobs.

In answer to the question, "What were the causes of the riot?" Mr. Carmichael reiterated what had previously been mentioned by other persons interviewed. He stated Newark is a city that seems to be dying and that with much cooperation between the city's administration, the white and the black people, the city could be revived.

He went on to say the police relationship with the Negro people is very poor and this factor is one that contributed greatly to the riot and one that hinges on a reoccurrence. The K-9 Corps issue has renewed the feud between the black and white people. Mr. Carmichael stated that when the Negro people vote and pull together, then, and only then, will they get adequate representation in government and fair legislation.

Mr. Carmichael introduced the writer to several teenagers in the office who were on the streets during the riot. They ranged in ages from 18 to 20 years old. The kids were asked about their participation in the riot and they advised that the riot was no planned thing and that it was triggered by the beating of a Negro taxicab driver.

The youths concurred that they had not heard of any outside conspiracy or of any groups of people trying to stir up trouble. They were against rioting and quite dismayed over the present situation. One youth stated he had just returned from Viet Nam when the riot started and this situation absolutely shocked him.

All of the youths that were present stated that they had completed high school and were employed, however, they were checking with the center in hope of obtaining better jobs. Mr. Carmichael was present during the youths' interview and he stated that they were being truthful. Mr. Carmichael extended an invitation to the interviewer to return to his center at any time for future assistance.

Mr. Carmichael advised the interviewer to contact police officer Lawrence Finn, Newark Police Department, in order to obtain valuable information concerning the riot. Carmichael stated Finn was a frightened man who witnessed many things during the riot and who is willing to talk as long as his testimony is held in confidence.

Mr. Carmichael attempted to contact Mr. Finn at no avail during the interviewer's presence. He suggested that Mr. Finn be contacted at his home, 917 Bergen Street, Newark, New Jersey, Telephone 248-7878, in order that an interview can be set up upon a return trip to Newark. Mr. Carmichael advised that he would contact Finn and advise him of the proposed interview. The interview with Mr. Carmichael was most cordial.

From an interviewer's personal observation, I found the living conditions of many of the Negroes in the ghetto area as serious as indicated by the people whom I interviewed. Many of the people in the ghetto area were shabbily dressed and not prepared for the cold weather. There seems to be much hostility between the white and the Negro races to the point of being readily recognizable to a stranger in town. The ghetto area consists of many delapidated buildings which reflect mere despair to persons who are not familiar to seeing such terrible conditions. I am of the opinion, however, that Newark needs help in its on-the-job training programs, its urban renewal, and development program and in closing the gap between the people in the ghetto and the city's administration.

A. Newark

I. Summary Of Findings

The investigation by this office has not disclosed any evidence that the triggering incident in Newark was contrived or planned by one or more individuals or organizations prior to its inception.

II. General Findings

The triggering incident occurred on July 12, 1967, at approximately 9:30 p.m. when John William Smith, a Negro taxicab driver, was arrested by the Newark Police Department on an alleged "moving motor vehicle" violation. Shortly after Smith was brought to the department's fourth precinct station, ^{unfounded} rumors began to circulate throughout the Negro community that he had been beaten to death by the Newark police. The disorder which was created by the rumors developed into stages of looting and burning until order was restored on July 15, 1967.

In many months prior to the Smith incident, tension had risen in Newark over job discrimination, poor school facilities, urban renewal projects & alleged instances of "police brutality." The discussions of some of these issues provoked physical skirmishes between the whites & Negroes.

Many persons
During the riot, many persons were arrested for not being able to give ^{an} account of themselves; looting, destroying property, & carrying concealed weapons. However, no persons were arrested for engaging in sniping activity. Although many buildings were damaged & a few were burned, the investigation conducted by this office did not reveal any significant pattern of targets.

~~On Aug. 22, 1967, Mayor of Newark,~~
~~On~~

On Aug. 22, 1967, Hugh J. Addonizio, Mayor of Newark, testified before this commission concerning the Newark riot of 1967. Mayor Addonizio's testimony centered around the fact that most of Newark's problems exist as a result of the city's poor financial condition. He stated that it is necessary for the federal government to allocate more money through its Office of Economic Opportunity funded organizations.

Addonizio did not mention the fact that the unrest in his city was caused by unresolved issues that had been presented to him ~~prior to~~ by the Negro community prior to the riot. He referred to the "police brutality" issue only once & that was in connection with the fact that the lack of funds to adequately train men may result in some instances of police brutality. In summary, Mayor Addonizio stated that money will solve the problems in Newark.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People & Congress of Racial Equality represent the primary organizations in the Negro community. They have been forerunners in civil rights programs.

During the Newark riot, members of NAACP & CORE attempted to quell the disorder. Subsequent to the riot, these organizations have participated in discussions on unresolved issues that continue ~~to~~ to remain as possible triggering incidents of disorder.

The total membership & structure of these branches in Newark ~~is~~ not known. However, there is indication that CORE exerts more influence over the Negro community ~~that~~ ^{than} NAACP because of its militant attitude toward the white power structure.

According to an article, dated April 2, 1967 which appeared in the Newark News, several members of ~~SNCC~~ attempted to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee - SNCC. attempted to organize a chapter in Newark. An investigation by this office revealed that SNCC was not able to coalesce enough support to establish a chapter. To this date, no SNCC chapter is present in Newark.

The United Afro-American Assn - UAAA under the leadership of Willie Wright has emerged as a influential & controversial organization subsequent to the riot. Investigations have revealed that Wright controls this organization which is purportedly composed of a few followers but which exerts much influence on the Negro youth in Newark.

According to an article written by Louis C. Lomax, Negro journalist, which appeared in the Newark News during Aug. 1967, Wright appealed to the Negro community to arm itself against "police atrocities" in the event another riot occurs. The UAAA does not represent the majority of the Negroes but it has created anxiety in the white community.

The Black Muslims have been present in Newark for several years. An official of the Muslim sect in Newark advised this office that Black Muslims do not become involved with politics because they do not believe in the white power structure; on the other hand, they do not advocate the overthrow of the government. This office's investigation has not revealed any facts that are contradictory to the stated facts.

Other organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society, Progressive Labor Party & Youth Against War & Fascism were present before & during the riot.

On 2-5-65, reporter, Douglas Eldridge, wrote an article in the Newark News that Thomas Hayden, white journalist & author of the book titled "Rebellion in Newark," & seven unknown members of SDS organized the Newark Community Union Project in the Negro Community to protest against high rents & to participate in the local civil right issues. The investigation by this office ^{neither} did not reveal the local structure of this org. nor establish the extent, if any, its members participated in the riot.

SDS was org. in June 1962 at Port Huron, Mich. It is composed of majorally of white activist students. At a convention in June 1967, SDS adopted a proposal that their group would consult with black groups to combat "divisive racist reactions" in white communities to ghetto rebellions by the following method:

- (a) Organizing poor & middle class whites to act as allies with the "Black Liberation Movement"
- (b) Distributing literature in white communities during rebellions explaining the facts behind the rebellion
- (c) Organizing sympathy demonstrators at Police stations & on campuses & using civil disobedience if necessary.
- (d) Providing legal & financial aid
- (e) Researching the nature of police departments.

~~and~~
A member of S.D.S. advised this office that S.D.S. has not been active in Newark subsequent to the riot. The investigation by this office bears out this ~~fact~~ fact.

On 7-15-67, the third day of the riot, the Newark police headquarters was picketed by approx ten persons carrying placards demanding the release of prisoners & shouting that the National Guard be removed from Newark. One of the placards identified the group as the Progressive Labor Party.

PLP is reportedly based in New York City. Its ultimate objective is the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. Its membership & structure is unknown to this office. However, this office's investigation revealed no other activity by this organization in Newark.

On July 16, 1967, the fourth day of the riot, thirty five persons from New York representing the Youth Against War & Fascism staged a demonstration at Newark City Hall passing out leaflets & carrying placards denouncing police action & demanding the withdrawal of the Nat. Guard. It is not known whether or not YAWF has a branch in Newark. Our investigation revealed no evidence that YAWF was active in Newark prior to & after the riot.

There is no evidence of a John Birch Society, the Klux Klan group or a Minutemen organization being present in Newark prior to, during or subsequent to the riot.

The fact that Newark's Negro population has risen from 15% to 50% within the past twenty years ^{suggest a necessity to} ~~is~~ indicative of the ^{recognize} black leadership. ~~was~~ ~~vacuum~~ & the frustrations that ~~is~~ exist due to the present situation.

III Evaluation of Present Climate

The issues that brought Newark to riot continue to be unresolved. The disorder has succeeded in creating a form of polarization between the white & Negroes ~~who~~ who openly speak of arming themselves for the ~~event~~ "inevitable race confrontation" in Newark. Rumors & frustrations create tension & when the tension reaches another crescendo, another ^{incident} ~~event~~ may ~~be~~ ~~be~~ qualified as the triggering incident.