

1

March 4, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

From: John K. Scales

Subject: New Jersey Police Benevolent Association
Conspiracy Claims

On February 8, 1968, I spoke by telephone with Newark Police Department Patrolman William Connally, who is chairman of the New Jersey Police Benevolent Association in regard to the "hearings" they have been conducting to the end of showing that there was a "conspiracy" involved in the Newark disorder. He was willing to see me and give me copies of their transcripts, but when I called back that evening to arrange a time, he suggested that I call the Association's attorney, a Judge Krieger in Jersey City.

I spoke with Krieger at approximately 5:30 p.m. on February 8, 1968. He said that he would be pleased to see me, but that he saw no benefit from giving his information to the Commission as opposed to law enforcement officials. I told him that if he was not willing to give us information, then he would not be in any position to say that there was any evidence beyond our findings. As we talked he kept asking what the Commission had found on the conspiracy question and did not seem willing to accept my statements that I was not disposed to say. I told him that I would get in touch with him if possible, but I determined that a special trip would not be warranted.

I discussed the matter with Mr. Miskovsky and Roger Waldman and it was agreed that it would not be necessary or advisable to subpoena either of the above.

JKS:ka

Distribution:

- 1 - JKS Chrono.
- ✓ - Newark - General
- 0 - IR

M. C. Miskovsky

February 21, 1968

ADP Team

Status Report on Damage Assessment Project

1. Preparation of Data Base

The status of the data base is shown in the attached chart. It should be noted that the number of claims does not represent complete information, i.e., one company has not released its claim information to the Insurance Association. In addition, the data base includes only damage covered by insurance. However, on the basis of available data the Association will project the statistics to portray the complete damage.

2. Development of Computer Program

A computer program to produce summary listings from the data base has been completed by OEP.

3. Comments

Summary listings for Newark should be available by 2 March and those for Detroit should be available by 9 March. These listings will be sent to the Association for extrapolation of complete statistics.

Attachment

Distribution:

- 0 - IR
- 1 - Office - ADP
- 1 - Detroit - General
- 1 - Newark - General
- 1 - Property Damage - Insurance

	Claim Sheets Received from AIA	Transcribed by NACCD	Keypunched and Listed by OEP	Reviewed by AIA	Punch Cards Corrected
Newark	1500	1500	1200 ¹	1200	1200
Detroit	4000	4000	1000 ²	1000	0

¹ The remaining 300 should be received by 23 February. The review and punch card corrections will require minimal effort.

² There has been a slight bottleneck in keypunching; however, all 4000 should be keypunched and listed by 23 February.

February 6, 1968

Memorandum for Record

Subject: Damage Assessment (Insurance) Project

1. Background

On January 9 a meeting was held at the NACCD on the above subject with the following in attendance:

Mrs. Sarah Carey, NACCD
Mr. M. J. Connell, NACCD (attended for part of time)
Mr. M. C. Miskovsky, NACCD (attended for part of time)
Mr. H. Bratt, NACCD
Mr. Swift, American Insurance Association
Mr. Perry, American Insurance Association
Mr. Oliver, Office of Emergency Planning
Mr. Canfield, Office of Emergency Planning

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss statistical information on damage in Newark and Detroit collected by the American Insurance Association and its use by the organizations represented at the meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting it was agreed that:

a. The American Insurance Association would make available the results of the survey concerning damage in Newark and Detroit. It was estimated that there were approximately 1,500 claims in Newark and 5,000 (revised to 4,000 on February 2, 1968) claims in Detroit. Inclosure 1 is a sample form used in the survey by the Association.

b. The NACCD would prepare a coding form (Inclosure 2) and transcribe the information, furnished by the Association, onto the form for subsequent keypunching. It was estimated that the transcription effort would require 300 to 400 man-hours.

c. The Office of Emergency Planning would provide key-punching and computer support.

d. The overall effort would be coordinated by the Office of Investigations, NACCD.

2. Status

a. Approximately 1,200 of the 1,500 Newark claim sheets have been received, transcribed on coding sheets, and sent to OEP for keypunching (virtually all of these forms were coded by the ADP Team). The remaining claims on Newark are expected by February 7. About 2,000 claims from Detroit have been received and others are being sent by the Association when available. It cannot be estimated when all of these will be received or transcribed on coding sheets.

b. The Association is developing statistics to determine what percentage of the damage in Newark and Detroit was not covered by insurance. This is to be done by spot checking certain blocks in the two cities. By incorporating this information with the statistics from the claim sheets, relatively valid information for damage, etc., will be available.

c. OEP is keypunching the material sent on January 30 from this office. They have requested information on the outputs desired so that they can start writing a computer (FORTRAN) program to provide these outputs. The Association has furnished their output requirements.

3. Conclusions and Recommendations

a. Coding the remaining forms will require approximately 250 manhours. This should be done by clerical personnel. The coordination effort will require approximately 40 hours of professional time.

b. The Office of Investigations should specify output requirements at this time so that they can be included with those of the Association and relayed to OEP.

c. It cannot be estimated when results of this project will be available. This is dependent on when all of the material is received from the American Insurance Association, the availability of clerical support for transcribing the information on coding forms, the promptness of keypunching and computer support from OEP. It is recommended that the Newark aspect of the project be emphasized so that it is at least possible that these results would be available by March 1.

Harry Bratt

January 29, 1968

Memorandum To: M. C. Miskovsky
From: J. K. Scales
Subject: Firebombing

I have reviewed newspaper accounts, spoken with fire and police officials, and analyzed arrest records to the end of measuring the role of firebombs in disorders in the five principal cities covered by our investigation. I have noted "colorful" incidents involving firebombs where they have been uncovered.

a. Detroit, Michigan

Chief Fire Investigator John Q. Adams, commanding officer of the Arson Section of the Detroit Fire Department, advised as set forth in the attached letter dated January 24, 1968. By telephone Adams had explained that the department attributes a fire to Molotov cocktails only where it finds tangible evidence, such as a wick, or bottle fragment. Adams advised that there were no doubt many more during the disorder but that he could not break down the figure for July in terms of pre-disorder, disorder, etc. The figure for the total number of buildings destroyed or partially destroyed (682) relates solely to the disorder.

The Detroit Police Department report indicates on page 4 that thirty-four persons were arrested for arson and that twenty-one were arrested for possession and placing of explosives. There is no breakdown available on this in the time permitted.

According to the Detroit Free Press, August 1, 1967, two Detroit policemen were implicated in the firebombing of two stores. Inspector James D. Bannen, Detroit Police Department Criminal Intelligence Bureau, responsible for determining the validity of the charge, advised me by telephone on January 25, 1968, that the charge was completely refuted. It is mentioned here only in the event that inquiry is made by a Commissioner with respect thereto and it should not be listed in the report.

A xerox copy of a newspaper account, contrary to Chief Adams' statement, is attached and is being reconciled by the Detroit Fire Department.

b. Newark, New Jersey

There is attached hereto a letter from Joseph M. Redden, Fire Chief, City of Newark in response to my request for information. By telephone Redden had advised that his Department attributes fires to Molotov cocktails only when they find some tangible evidence. There appear to have been 26 so attributed out of 62 fires investigated and found to have been deliberately set.

By telephone on January 23, 1968, I asked Captain Redden of the Newark Police Department to provide us with the report relating to each person apprehended for firebomb incidents according to the arrest list provided by that Department. He indicated that it would take "weeks" because they do not have them arranged by name of person arrested. Accordingly, I told him not to go to the trouble unless he heard further from us.

c. Englewood, New Jersey

Fire Chief Joseph Marson advised me by telephone on January 24, 1968, that there were "perhaps" ten fires that "appeared to have been" started by firebombs. He based his conclusion on general circumstances; in no case had they found bottles, wicks, or other evidence. There were incendiary fires before and after the disorder, believed to have been similarly caused.

Deputy Chief of Police William F. Harrington, generally responsible for that Department's investigation, advised me by telephone on January 24, 1968, that the 50-60 "firebombs" which police list on their summary as having been thrown in the 4th ward during the disorder was an "estimate based on fragments found by the police force."

The arrest lists for Englewood do not contain any charge relating to such activity and both of the above officials confirmed the same.

Harrington added that on the second day of the disturbance, police found a box of unused Molotovs, which appeared to have been prepared during and not prior to the disorder. The Police Department was unable to determine who prepared them.

d. New Haven, Connecticut

Acting Police Chief James Heins told Romero on December 21, 1967, that several unused Molotov cocktails had been confiscated by police in a backyard in the rear of 672 Congress Avenue, but that they had no information as to whether the bombs had been made prior to or during the disturbance. By telephone with me on January 24, 1968, the Acting Chief confirmed the above. He had no other specific instances that he could recall. The confiscation is believed to be the same as that reported by the FBI and noted below.

According to the FBI reports three Molotov cocktails were thrown on the night of August 20, 1967, but they did not ignite. No further details are given. On August 23, at approximately 7:00 a.m., police received an anonymous call that a cache of firebombs could be found at the rear of a vacant house. Police recovered 18 Molotov cocktails in a carton as well as two containers already filled with kerosene and gasoline.

The "New Haven Journal Carrier", August 22, 1967, reported firebomb incidents during the previous evening, at a Negro church on Poplar Street in the Fair Haven area, in the Elm Haven Project and in other areas. The "New York Times", August 22, 1967, reporting the previous evening, said gangs of arsonists set 27 fires in the first few hours after dark. The article stated that a fire at the Legion Bakery was started by the explosion of a hurled bottle of gasoline.

e. Cincinnati, Ohio

Fire Chief Bert A. Lugannani advised me by telephone on January 25, 1967, that his department does not have a breakdown of fires caused by firebombs. However, he indicated that during the period June 12, 1967 to June 18, 1967, they had a number of fires attributable to firebombs. He recalled the following in particular.

On June 13, 1967, a Negro church was firebombed. Fire officials found three unused Molotov cocktails in a suitcase nearby.

On the same day, Seybold Paper Company was burned down under circumstances that suggested firebombing. At about the same time, a laundry was set fire by a firebomb thrown on the roof.

The Commission's analysis of arrest records shows that nine adults were arrested for firebombing during the disorder; that three were convicted and that eight juveniles were arrested for possession of firebombs and disposed of by probation or other appropriate action. Five adults were arrested for arson, one of whom was convicted. The Cincinnati Police Department refused to send any information on these without a written request (attention: Lieutenant Ben Dixon, Intelligence Unit).

Col. Sandman, Safety Director, advised me by telephone on January 24, 1968, that during the disorder, officers confiscated some "makings" for Molotov cocktails in a car driven by some youths, but that the bombs were below the "flash-point" required by law for action. He added that there were many incendiary fires, near a number of which were evidences of Molotov cocktails.

According to the "Cincinnati Enquirer", a twenty-five year old was sentenced to ninety days for tending to cause the delinquency of a fifteen year old boy, who admitted that the defendant had given him five firebombs. The youth admitted to have thrown two of these into a record shop at the end of the period of disorder.

f. Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Fire Chief James R. Moher advised me by telephone on January 25, 1968, that between July 30 and August 1, 1968, there were approximately twenty-one fires which the department considered as having been started by firebombs. He said that this was on the basis of reports made to the department, not on the basis of finding tangible evidence. He did not have further, total or comparative, figures available, but he is sending me documentation. Moher did not recall particularly the incidents listed on the appendix.

The arrest analysis for the city indicates that one person was arrested for arson and that his case was dismissed. No related offenses appear.

As you know, time precluded a full inquiry on this matter and I intend to develop these further in a separate memorandum.

Investigator



42

CITY OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
HUGH J. ADDONIZIO, MAYOR
FIRE DEPARTMENT

FERDINAND J. BIUNNO
BUSINESS ADMINISTRATOR

JOHN P. CAUFIELD
DIRECTOR
JOSEPH M. REDDEN
CHIEF EXXNER

January 23, 1968

Mr. John Scales
Office of Investigations
1016 - 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Scales:

Attached is the information you requested relative to the use of Molotov Cocktails during the rioting in Newark in July of 1967.

The incident that caused the riot occurred on the evening of July 12, 1967, when a cab driver was arrested by two radio patrolmen and taken to the Fourth Precinct. Word immediately spread throughout the area (the Central Ward) that the cab driver had been killed by the police. Shortly thereafter, twenty-five taxicabs lined up on Belmont Avenue, picked up passengers, and responded in a motorcade to demonstrate in front of the City Hall. Other persons responded to the City Hall by way of personal cars.

The first fire that occurred on the evening of July 13th, 1967 was in a juvenile furniture store which was set on fire after it had been looted. A Captain of an Engine Company notified me on arrival at the fire scene that a number of fire hydrants to the north of this location, two and three blocks away, were open and flowing. The intent here, I am sure, was to lower the water pressure at the fire scene. I consider both of these incidents to be examples of an organized effort.

If I can be of any other help in this matter, please feel free to call upon me at any time.

Very truly yours,

Joseph M. Redden
JOSEPH M. REDDEN,
Fire Chief

JMR:JMR
Enc.

CITY OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
DEPARTMENT OF FIRE
JOHN P. CAUFIELD, DIRECTOR

FROM:

19

TO:

Company No.....

SUBJECT:

Tour No.....

Sir:

The following is a list of major fires that occurred from July 13, 1967 at 6 P.M. to July 17, 1967 at 6 P.M., which were investigated by the Bureau of Combustibles and which were directly connected with the riots. There were 250 incidents of fire where the Fire Department was called, but due to conditions at that time, there were no inspections made as to the cause of these fires, until July 18, 1967.

The term "Molotov Cocktail" means in this report that a vessel containing flammable fluids with a wick was thrown into or against the building, resulting in a fire. The term "incendiary" means that this fire was deliberately set by means other than Molotov cocktail.

Date	Time	Address	Type of Bldg	Cause
7/13	8:34 P.M.	425 Springfield Ave.	4 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/13	10:02 P.M.	321-27 Springfield Ave.	3 Brick	" "
7/14	1:04 A.M.	797-819 Broad St.	4 Brick	Poured gasoline
7/14	8:08 P.M.	921 Bergen St.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/14	7:27 P.M.	211 Camden St.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/14	11:30 P.M.	451 - 15th Ave.	2 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	3:09 A.M.	121 Elizabeth Ave.	3 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	11:35 P.M.	350 W. Market St.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/14	10:24 P.M.	191 Avon Ave.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	1:01 A.M.	201-3 Bergen St.	2 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	10:56 P.M.	44-50 W. Runyon St.	1 Brick	Incendiary
7/13	10:58 P.M.	56-58-60 Hunterdon St.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	11:56 P.M.	355 Mulberry St.	1 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	4:42 A.M.	392 Morris Ave.	2 Brick	Ext. of another fire
7/14	12:34 A.M.	180-2 Spruce St.	2 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	3:31 A.M.	227 Springfield Ave.	3 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	10:18 A.M.	205 - 16th Ave.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	8:34 P.M.	395 Hunterdon St.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	9:00 P.M.	Montgomery St. School	3 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	6:39 P.M.	83 Prince St.	3 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	6:46 P.M.	230-2 Court St.	3 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	3:37 A.M.	90 Waverly Ave.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	1:17 P.M.	491 Clinton Ave.	3 Brick	Molotov Cocktail
7/14	7:27 P.M.	97 So. Orange Ave.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/14	3:53 A.M.	288 So. Orange Ave.	3 Brick	Molotov Cocktail
7/14	12:29 A.M.	111 Prince St.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/14	8:22 A.M.	522 Clinton Ave.	2 Frame	Incendiary
7/14	4:14 A.M.	37 Broadway	3 Brick	Molotov Cocktail
7/14	10:25 P.M.	56-58 Orchard St.	4 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	3:34 A.M.	776 McCarter Hwy	1 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	2:18 A.M.	572 Clinton Ave.	5 Brick	Incendiary
7/14	10:46 A.M.	207 Hawthorne Ave.	3 Br. & Fr.	Molotov Cocktail ✓
		82 Delaware St.	3 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓

CITY OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
DEPARTMENT OF FIRE
 JOHN P. CAUFIELD, DIRECTOR

FROM:19.....
 TO:Company No.....
 SUBJECT: Page 2 Tour No.....

7/14 2:58 A.M.	31 Orchard St.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/14 6:59 P.M.	201-203 Bergen St.	2 Brick	Incendiary
7/14 5:05 P.M.	114 Pennington St.	1 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/15 9:03 P.M.	202 Broadway	4 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/15 2:50 A.M.	161 Orchard St.	1 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/15 7:27 A.M.	32 Pennington St.	1 Frame	Incendiary
7/15 2:00 P.M.	" "	" "	" "
7/15 10:11 P.M.	451 - 15th Ave.	2 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/15 12:20 A.M.	451- 15th Ave.	2 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/15 12:12 A.M.	31 Hillside Ave.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/15 11:00 P.M.	124 Barclay St.	1 Brick	Incendiary
7/15 10:43 P.M.	312 Peshine Ave.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/16 2:28 P.M.	328 - 15th Ave.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/16 9:53 P.M.	63 Walnut St.	3 Frame	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/16 7:26 P.M.	211 Prince St.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/16 2:20 A.M.	42 Garden St.	3 Brick	Incendiary
7/16 1:01 P.M.	64 Broome St.	13 Brick	Incendiary
7/16 10:48 P.M.	680 No. 5th St.	2 Frame	Incendiary
7/14 2:40 A.M.	358-60-62 - 15th Ave.	1 Fr. & Br.	Incendiary
7/15 3:46 P.M.	3 Wood St. 5 Brick	Incendiary	
7/16 8:55 P.M.	59 Broad St.	2 Frame	Smoke Bomb
7/16 7:02 P.M.	82 - 7th Ave.	13 Brick	" "
7/16 12:13 A.M.	210 Camden St.	2 Brick	Molotov Cocktail ✓
7/16 12:49 A.M.	539 Broadway (rear)	2 Brick	Incendiary
7/17 4:43 P.M.	456 Clinton Ave.	1 Brick	Incendiary
7/17 9:38 P.M.	268 Waverly Ave.		
7/17 1:23 A.M.	211 Prince St.	3 Frame	Incendiary
7/17 4:36 P.M.	500 Frelinghuysen Ave.	3 Brick	Bomb

The following is a classification of the occupancies in which the above fires occurred:

Factories	8	Restaurants	3
Clothing Stores	7	Grocery	4
Miscellaneous	11	Drugs	3
Tavern & Liq.	6	Furniture	4
* Dwellings	14	Bedding & Uph.	5
Hardware	3	Luggage	1

* This includes both vacant & occupant dwellings.

The breakdown of time that these fires occurred were as follows:

Mid. to 1:00 A.M.	6	Noon - 1:00 P.M.	0
1:00 A.M. to 2:00 A.M.	3	1:00 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.	2
2:00 A.M. to 3: A.M.	4	2:00 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.	4
3:00 A.M. to 4:00 A.M.	5	3:00 P.M. - 4:00 P.M.	1
4:00 A.M. to 5:00 A.M.	2	4:00 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.	3
5:00 A.M. to 6:00 A.M.	1	5:00 P.M. - 6:00 P.M.	1

CITY OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
DEPARTMENT OF FIRE
JOHN P. CAUFIELD, DIRECTOR

FROM:19.....
 TO:Company No.....
 SUBJECT:Tour No.....

Page 3

6:00 A.M. to 7: A.M.	1	6:00 P.M. - 7:00 P.M.	3
7:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M.	1	7:00 P.M. - 8:00 P.M.	4
8:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M.	0	8:00 P.M. - 9:00 P.M.	4
9:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.	0	9:00 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.	2
10:00 A.M. - 11:00 A.M.	2	10:00 P.M. - 11:00 P.M.	8
11:00 A.M. - Noon	0	11:00 P.M. - Mid.	4

The Newark Police Department reported to us that they had apprehended 8 persons for incidents of fire: Malicious Burning 1, gasoline bomb (molotov cocktail) 1, incendiary explosive 1, attempt to burn 2, attempt arson 2, attempting to destroy by fire or explosive 1,

All records of the above arrests are on file at Newark Police Hq.

Respectfully submitted,

Joseph T. O'Brien
 Captain, Arson Squad

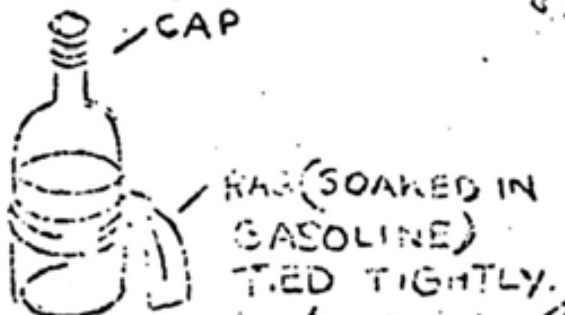
TO MAKE A "MOLOTOV COCKTAIL"

Wine bottle; 5th size is cool

Put gasoline (syphon from cars, let the pump drip in gas stations, after closing, but get gasoline, etc., a combustible fluid in bottle.

Cap bottle. Get piece of cloth as wick-fuse ...wrap it around bottle, soaking it with gasoline also.

Light rag, and throw at some white person or some white person's property.



LIGHT RAG -
THROW BOTTLE -
AT SOME WHITE-PERSON
OR SOME WHITE-PERSONS
PROPERTY.



4C

TO: Joseph M. Redden, Fire Chief
FROM: Edward M. Wall, Battalion Chief
SUBJECT: Suspected Fire Bombs 1967

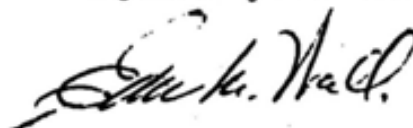
January 19, 1968

Sir:

This is a list of fires that resulted in either a death or a multi-alarm response. In most cases the damage was such that an exact determination of cause could not be made, however because of prior experience the Arson Squad Investigators felt there was reason to suspect the use of a fire bomb.

Date	Street Location	Point of Origin
1-22-67	245 W. Bigelow St	Front Hall-1 death
2-11-67	209 to 213 13th Avenue	Rear porch
2-18-67	452-456 Bergen Street	Rear porch
2-25-67	102-104 14th Avenue	Rear porch
4-30-67	25-31 Avon Place	Rear porch
5-17-67	106-110 Elizabeth Avenue	Rear porch
6-28-67	256-258 Littleton Avenue	Rear porch
7-21-67	24 to 30 Milford Avenue	Rear porch
7-28-67	680 No 5th St	Rear porch
8-12-67	306-308 South Sixth Street	Rear stair well
8-12-67	173-175 Prince Street	Rear porch
8-31-67	185 Brunswick Street	Front porch
10-6-67	89 Fairmount Avenue	Rear porch
11-11-67	30 Peshine Avenue	Rear porch
12-7-67	376 South Sixth Street	third floor (entire)
12-23-67	612 South 11th Street	Rear porch
12-24-67	289 South Orange Avenue	Rear porch
12-24-67	464-466 15th Avenue	Rear porch

Respectfully submitted,



Edward M. Wall
Battalion Chief
Planning Officer

City of Detroit

4d

JEROME P. CAVANAGH, Mayor

FIRE DEPARTMENT

FIRE MARSHAL DIVISION

250 W. LARNED STREET

DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

January 24, 1968

BERNARD F. DECOSTER

Fire Marshal

PHONE: 963-2100

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John K. Seales

Office of Investigations

Federal Office Bldg. #7

1016 - 16th St., N.W.

Washington, D.C., 20036

ARSON SECTION

JOHN Q. ADAMS

Chief Fire Investigator

Dear John:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation I am submitting the following information:

Known "Molotov Cocktail" incidents during 1967:

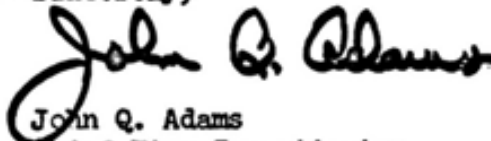
January - 1	July - 19
February - 0	August - 20
March - 3	September - 30
April - 0	October - 25
May - 4	November - 14
June - 2	December - 4

Total number for the year is 122 incidents that we have reports on and are recorded. We have no idea of how many were used during the week of July 23-29, 1967, and I am sure that there are many on the roofs of buildings that did not cause a fire.

The total number of buildings destroyed or partially destroyed is 682. Of these as near as could be determined 535 were buildings of origin and the other 147 were buildings to which fire extended.

Our total estimated loss (fire) to buildings is \$12,700,000.00 as a result of the Civil Disturbance.

Sincerely,



John Q. Adams
Chief Fire Investigator
Commanding Officer
Arson Section

JQA/vm

Arsonists Cost Business Its Insurance

A few of the southeast area merchants are keeping their fingers crossed, hoping they will be able to renew insurance policies following last week's firebombing incidents.

So far, only one arson victim appears in danger of losing its insurance policy and the circumstances seem to be related to the Detroit riot more than to minor disturbances here.

The general outlook, however, according to a check of local insurance agents, is that policies will continue to be renewed unless the word comes down from parent firms.

An agent for the Checker Cleaners, at 616 Francis, said he has been told that the insurance company will not renew the policy with the cleaners that expires next month.

The decision to not renew policies in areas where disturbances might break out, he said, apparently came after many of the company's 122 cleaners in Detroit were either destroyed or damaged by fire.

The agent said other Jackson cleaners east of Mechanic Street

might be affected by the policy. The insurance company offers policies to dry cleaning establishments at a special reduced rate, and has customers in several Michigan cities.

The Francis Street cleaners escaped serious damage last Monday night when gasoline was poured along the side of the building. The fire burned grass and weeds next to the

building and blackened some of the cement blocks on the cleaners.

The agent said a claim has not been filed by the cleaners.

Other victims of the 15 firebombings or arson attempts that occurred last Sunday and Monday nights reported close cooperation with their insurance firms, although some admitted they were worried that policies might not be renewed.

Leon Preston, who owns the building at 111 Damon that houses the E. L. O'Harrow General Contracting, Inc., said representatives of the company he is insured with will be meeting at Detroit soon to determine

whether the company will pay his claim.

About \$3,000 in damages were done to the building and its contents when three firebombs were

thrown through a window Monday night.

Another agent insuring firebomb victims said, "I have had no indication from insurance company that there will be any problems when comes time to renew policies."

"If there is any trouble, we will attempt to switch them to another company," he added.

One agent said there has been a general "toughening up" in underwriting policies on buildings considered substandard.

"A building valued at \$5 and paying a premium of \$120 a year just isn't worth the paperwork," he noted.

Selection of these substandard buildings, however, does not appear to be connected with pointing potential trouble at

A Riot Slaying* Is Called Murder

4f

DETROIT FREE PRESS
4-A Tuesday, August 1, '67

A white man was charged Monday with first-degree murder in the slaying of a Negro he accused of looting during the Detroit riot.

It was the first murder charge brought as a result of rioting, in which 40 persons were killed.

Richard Paul Shugar, 24, of Van Dyke, was charged in the shotgun slaying of Emanuel Edmonds, 23, of 3740 Mason, who was the 14th person to die in the riot.

Shugar applied a license number for the car, Carter said, leading to the arrest of Shugar.

The first-degree murder warrant was signed Monday by Recorder's Court Judge Gerald W. Groat.

Carter said his investigation showed that Shugar had no connection with the store at 7714 Harper.

Shugar stood mute when arraigned late Monday before Groat, who remanded him to the Wayne County Jail without bond to await examination Aug. 29.

EDMONDS DIED at 5:35 p.m. Monday, July 24, in Detroit General Hospital. He was taken there by police from the rear of 6478 Baldwin. The initial police report said he was suspected of being a looter and was shot by a store owner.

Homicide Bureau Detective Donald Carter said three witnesses — two Negroes and a white man — claimed to have watched Shugar shoot Edmonds.

The witnesses said Edmonds and two other Negroes were in the backyard of 6478 Baldwin at 5 p.m. July 24 when a car containing two white men pulled into an alley.

They said one of the men, later identified as Shugar, took a shotgun from the car, approached the Negroes and accused them of breaking into the Van Dyke Sewing Center at 7714 Harper.

Why did you break into my store," Shugar was quoted as saying to Edmonds.

The witnesses said Edmonds tried breaking into the store. They said there was an argument for several minutes. As Edmonds started to enter the rear door of the house on Baldwin, they said, Shugar fired. The shotgun blast hit Edmonds in the stomach. Shugar told the other white man got in his car and drove off, the witnesses said.

ONE OF the witnesses sup-

Riot Police Are Accused* Of Fire-Bombing 2 Stores

BY ANDY MOLLISON
Free Press Staff Writer

Detroit police are investigating a report that one of their own men and a State Police trooper fire-bombed two stores Friday in the 8900 block of Twelfth St.

Inspector James D. Bannon, commander of the Criminal Intelligence Bureau, was assigned to the case by Police Commissioner Ray Girardin after an angry witness went to Mayor Cavanagh's office to complain.

BANNON SAID Monday night that he will report to Girardin after the investigation.

Reports on the alleged ar-

son were made in Common Court by Councilman Nicholas Hood, who said the fire that consumed the two stores began about 5:30 a.m. Friday.

Witnesses said there had been no sniper fire in the area for two hours, although the block, between Taylor and Hazelwood, had been the scene

of many brief gun battles. Witnesses said two men dressed in police uniforms, entered the dark block from Taylor at Twelfth, where a National Guard tank is said to have been stationed.

Witnesses said a flaming canister was placed at TV Land Inc. between the protective grill and the plywood with which the manager had covered the windows on Thursday after a tank had backed into them.

ANOTHER canister was said to have been thrown from the back of the store to the second floor.

The fire department did not respond at first, since the area was still listed as sniper-infested, witnesses said.

The fire spread to the Superior Barber and Beauty Supply next door. It ended there because the rest of the block lay in ruins, victim of the week's 1,300 earlier fires.

Milton D. Jefferson, owner of Superior, said the building, which he also owned, was worth about \$35,000. He lost an inventory of \$75,000 to \$80,000, and a 20-year-old business which grossed \$66,000 a month.

"Check with my bank. We were getting ready to spend



Girardin



Hood

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49

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month.

"Check with my bank. We
were getting ready to spend
\$46,000 to remodel, plow the
money back into the neigh-
borhood," a stunned Jefferson
said.

"Now, I can't see relocat-
ing in the area. At 45 a man
can't start out again like he
can at 25."

Newark - Gen

5

January 29, 1968

Memorandum To: M. C. Miskovsky
From: J. K. Scales
Subject: Inciting to Riot and Related Offenses

I have reviewed the arrest analyses prepared by Mr. Taliaferro's Office, discussed the figures with law enforcement personnel as noted below, and reviewed our newspaper files, with respect to each of the five cities covered by our investigation.

a. Detroit, Michigan

According to the Detroit Police Department Statistical Report (page 4), 28 persons were arrested for inciting to riot. The Department's Record Section advised me by telephone on January 24, 1968, that only six were being prosecuted. Mrs. Kay Resh, Warrant Clerk, Records Court (in which all such cases are heard) told me by telephone the same day that none have been tried. Although she requires a written request for specific information she said that some of these persons allegedly were involved in the following activity: During the first or second days of disorder, two or three* of such persons would approach a group of onlookers in the street and shout "get whitey" or similar language, using profanities. Then they would throw rocks at windows or at persons who did not participate and designate a store to be looted.

Mrs. Resh advised that the case against Michael Lewis or "Greensleeves" has not been reached for trial. According to the "Detroit News," August 25, 1967, Lewis was identified by police officers as having exorted crowds into violence against the police twice on July 23 and directing looting activity on a third occasion the same day. One officer claims that Lewis shouted: "Black Power", "Let's get Whitey" and "Get the bricks and bottles going" to a crowd of about 300 which had gathered at the scene of the blind pig raid. It is alleged that Lewis later led a group of people down

* She advises that there are no prosecutions for "conspiracy to incite a riot."

12th at Harelwood, pointing to business places and encouraging members of the group to enter them. It was claimed that when Lewis saw a police scout car, Lewis shouted "Get off the street this street is ours now" (see attached article for complete account).

b. Newark, New Jersey

There was no arrest analysis readily available in the Commission, but a review of the actual arrest list provided by the Newark Police Department to the Commission indicates that one Frank Macon, a Negro, was charged with "incite to riot". Captain Kenney of the Newark Police Department advised me by telephone on January 24, 1968, that Macon was arrested on July 14 at 10th and Springfield, and that the arrest report contains no statement at all of the alleged activity which was the basis for the arrest. Kenney further advised that the charge was dropped by an Essex County Grand Jury on July 25, 1967. The Essex County Prosecutor advised me by telephone on January 24, 1968, that the Police Department information was correct. They had no further information on the basis for the arrest.

Kenney recalled no other related charge, except that he advised me that one David Baker, a Negro, was seen on the second or third day by two patrolmen telling a crowd (that had gathered at Sears and Roebuck) not to obey police orders to disperse. Kenney advised that "for some reason" Baker was not arrested at the time, but that subsequently he was charged with and acquitted for "creating a disturbance". In our report we might mention the type of activity, but we should be careful not to identify the incident too closely.

c. New Haven, Connecticut

Although arrest analyses were not readily available, I reviewed the arrest records provided to the Commission by the New Haven Police Department and the FBI reports. Those records showed that at least six Negroes had been arrested for inciting injury to persons or property.

I read these names to Acting Chief of Police Heins by telephone on January 24, 1968, and he said that he could not recall "offhand" any of the names or the circumstances of arrest and that it would take more than a week to obtain

information. He suggested that I speak with Mr. Tiernan, State Attorney for New Haven County. Tiernan advised by telephone that the only case he could recall was one against a man who had harangued people at a church carnival to achieve "Black Power" by burning the white man out. Tiernan said that he thought that the other cases had been dismissed. A more definitive statement can be obtained by written request.

d. Cincinnati, Ohio

The arrest analysis sheet and the arrest records provided to the Commission by the Cincinnati Police Department indicated that eleven persons were arrested under Ohio's state "riot" law. By telephone on January 24, 1968, City Prosecutor Cors confirmed this and explained that all charges, as well as convictions, related to refusal or failure to disperse and that none were based upon any activity by individuals directed at inciting a riot. Mr. Cors said that all such offenses were tried on the city level. Col. Henry Sandman, Safety Director of the City advised me by telephone on the same day that he knows of no such instances.

It may be desirable to careful mention "Herbie of the Green Shirts" although there appears to have been no action taken.

e. Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Although neither the arrest analysis prepared by the Commission nor a chronological statistical record of charges provided by Chief of Police, Howard A. Brier, to Mr. Nelson of the Commission indicated arrest for inciting to riot, the FBI report mentions that one arrest was made on that ground. The report does not indicate the person charged. Inspector Hans Kremsoriter of the Milwaukee Police Department advised me, (in the Chief's illness) by telephone on January 24, 1968, that he knew of no such arrest and on that same day Hugh O'Connell, Milwaukee District Attorney said that all persons were arrested for unlawful assembly or riot and that none had been charged with inciting a riot.

I recommend that this very cursory account be developed further when time permits.



DETROIT, MICH.
NEWS

D. 707,418 — S. 942,193
DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA

AUG 19 1967

Accused Riot Inciter's Court Date Is Delayed

Preliminary examination for the first man charged with inciting Detroit's riots has been postponed until Thursday.

Michael Lewis, 20, of 2234 Sturtevant, told Recorder's Judge Donald S. Leonard yesterday he was unable to hire an attorney and Leonard adjourned the hearing. He appointed George Persons to defend Lewis, who is charged with three counts each of inciting to riot and rioting on July 23.

Leonard also reduced bond from \$150,000 to \$15,000, which Lewis failed to post.



DETROIT, MICH.
NEWS

D. 707,418 — S. 942,193
DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA

AUG 25 1967

Trial Set for Accused Riot Leader

By JOSEPH E. WOLFF
Detroit News Staff Writer

Accused of inflaming crowds at the start of last month's riot, a Detroit factory worker has been ordered to stand trial on three felony charges of inciting to riot and actual rioting.

Michael Lewis, 22, was held for trial in all three cases by Recorder's Judge Joseph A. Gillis after examination yesterday. Gillis then reduced Lewis' bail from \$5,000 to \$2,300 in each case and he was returned to the Wayne County Jail.

During the examination, Lewis, 2234 Sturtevant, was identified by police officers as having exorted crowds into violence against police twice on July 23 and directing looting activity on a third occasion the same day.

HE WAS ARRESTED Aug. 13 at 12th and Monterey when an officer who had observed two of the incidents, Patrolman Edward Zimmerman of the Livernois Station, said he recognized Lewis as the inciter.

Zimmerman testified that Lewis shouted "Black Power," "Let's get whitey" and "Get the bricks and bottles going," to a crowd of about 300 which had gathered at the scene of a police raid on a blind pig at 9123 12th about 4:15 a.m.

Before Lewis and a second unidentified man began jeering and shouting obscenities, Zimmermain said, the crowd was jovial and curious.

Afterward, bottles began to break on the streets and against buildings and a police cruiser window was smashed, the officer said.

In the second case, Zimmerman testified he recognized Lewis at 10 a.m. as the defendant led a group of people down 12th at Hazelwood, pointing to business places and encouraging members of the group to enter them.

WHEN LEWIS saw his scout car, the officer said, he shouted to the police, "Get off the street. This street is ours now."

Sgt. Lawrence Mulvihill, also of Livernois Station, then identified the suspect as the man who led a crowd into the street toward a police car the same morning. After Lewis shouted, "Let's run them out of here," he said, a chunk of concrete was hurled from the crowd which struck Lt. Raymond Good in the side of the face as he sat in the car.

Lewis' attorney, Fred K. Persons argued unsuccessfully to have the charges, which carry a maximum penalty of five years in prison, reduced to misdemeanors.

The defendant's bail, originally set at a total of \$150,000 at arraignment, was earlier reduced to \$15,000 by Recorder's Judge Donald S. Leonard.

M. C. Miskovsky

January 22, 1968

John K. Scales

New Jersey - Meeting with Sanford Jaffe, Director, New Jersey Commission on Civil Disorders, January 19, 1968

I met with Mr. Jaffe at his office for the purpose of discussing generally our mutual findings in regard to concerted action and organizational development in the New Jersey cities.

In my presence, he read a (revised) copy of Perry's and my memorandum to you dated December 17, 1967, and he was permitted to xerox and retain section 3 (A) ("Organizations Representing the Negro Community"). He advised that there was nothing in the memorandum that he disagreed with, adding, however, that the New Jersey Commission study covers only Newark, Plainfield and Englewood.

Jaffe also advised that he could not think of anything significant known to his Commission that the memorandum had not covered.*

In response to particular questions, he advised that they have no information concerning:

- (1) Rumors. He said that they have not paid any attention to rumors. He would not say what they were, except he mentioned the usual ones about trouble at Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, etc.

* Further development of information on "sniping" is covered in a separate memorandum.

- (2) Firebombing. He has not attempted to obtain such information from the Fire Department.*
- (3) Patterns in Destruction. Jaffe said that he thought that we were doing that.
- (4) Persons charged with possession of explosives.
- (5) Pre-disorder literature calling for riot. His Commission has none, except the Molotov cocktail circular, which we also have. He could not identify the original source of the latter.
- (6) Louis Lomax. The New Jersey Commission has not interviewed him.
- (7) Who established or burned down the Black Liberation Center?
- (8) Participation in the disorders of persons with militant connections. He knows of no one except LeRoi Jones and Robert Curvin, both of whom we cover in our report.
- (9) False reports or alarms during the disorder.
- (10) Pre-planning in any city.
- (11) Effect of Newark on other New Jersey Disorders. Jaffe personally suspects that the spirit of the Newark disorder may have spilled over into Englewood, but he said that the New Jersey Commission would have nothing definitive to say on this subject.

* I contacted Chief Redden, who is preparing information for us.

He seemed fairly cooperative, but I cannot determine whether his general negative responses should be attributed to secrecy, apathy, or lack of information. In light of his previous cooperation, I am inclined to think that there is nothing substantial being held from us.

I intend to give him additional requirements and mention some of these again as I review and annotate our report.

JKS:ka

Distribution:

- 1 - JKS Chrono
- 1 - Misc.

X - Newark
1 - Plainfield
1 - Englewood .

M. C. Miskovsky

January 16, 1968

John K. Scales

Possession of Firearms by Willie Wright of the United Afro-American Association

In accordance with your request and the attached letter, I contacted Mr. Casey, who said that he would review his files. Mr. Wolfe of his office subsequently called and advised that they have no information concerning possession or registration of firearms by Willie Wright or his organization.

Attachment

JKS:ka

Distribution:

- 1 - JKS Chrono.
- 1 - Newark - General
- 1 - Wright
- 1 - UAAA
- 1 - Weapons - Role of

US Treasury Department

7a

Internal Revenue Service
Washington, D. C. 20224

Date:

In reply refer to:

CP:C:D

Mr. M. C. Miskovsky
Director of Investigations
The National Advisory Commission
on Civil Disorders
1016 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Miskovsky:

This is in response to your requests for information concerning the possession of firearms by extremist groups, and by Willie Wright of the United Afro-American Association, as stated in your letters of December 12 and 15, 1967.

If you will get in touch with Mr. Thomas F. Casey, Chief of the Enforcement Branch, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, he will be glad to help you in this matter. He can be reached on Code 184, Extension 3541 or 3534.

Very truly yours,


Assistant Commissioner
(Compliance)

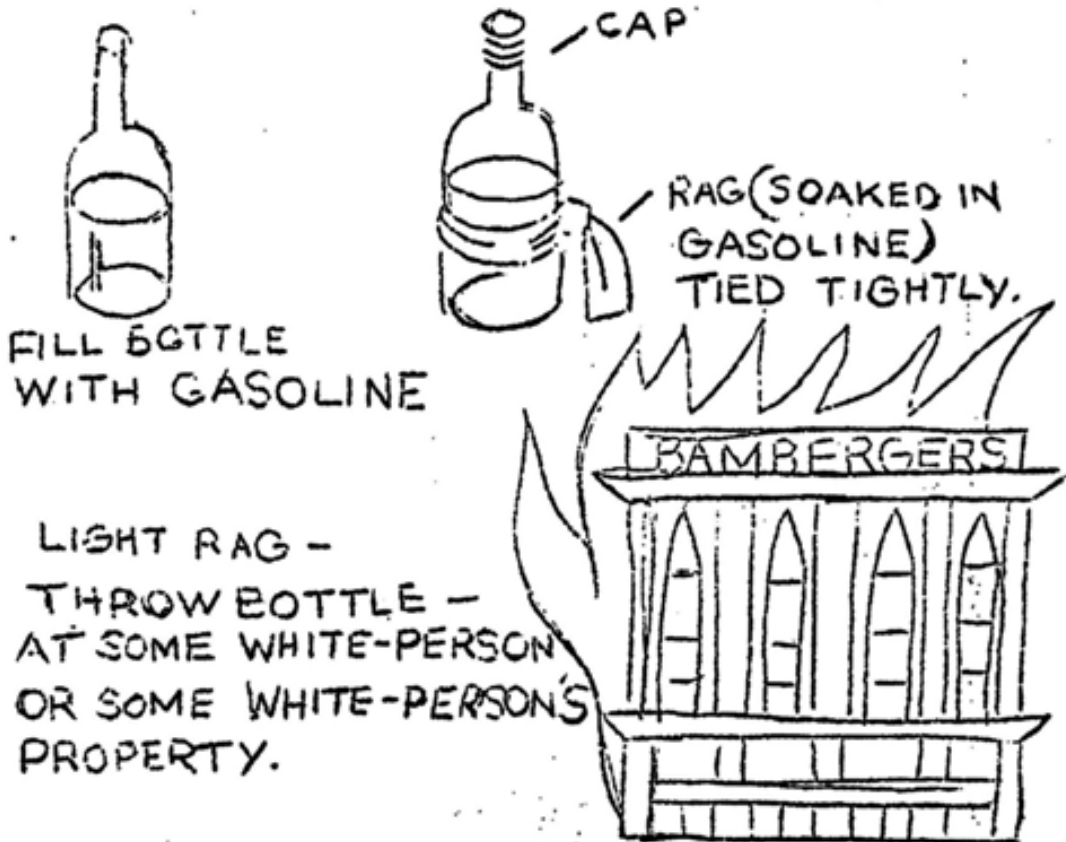
Newark - Gen

TO MAKE A "MOLOTOV COCKTAIL"

Wine bottle; 5th size is cool

Put gasoline (syphon from cars, let the pump drip in gas stations, after closing, but get gasoline, etc., a combustible fluid in bottle. Cap bottle. Get piece of cloth as wick-fuse ...wrap it around bottle, soaking it with gasoline also.

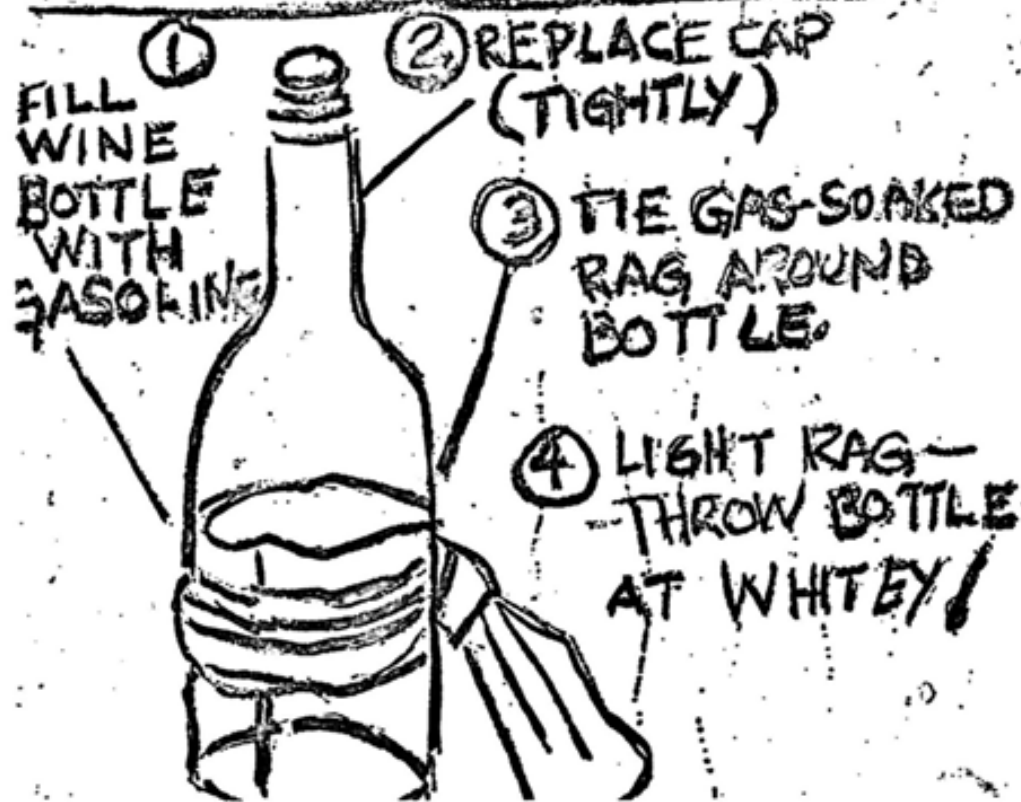
Light rag, and throw at some white person or some white person's property.



I'M TOO PROUD TO BEG

FOR MY FREEDOM!

I'M NOT AFRAID TO FIGHT FOR IT! BLACK MEN ARE YOU READY?



WHITE "CITIZENS"
ARE ARMING THEMSELVES
BLACK MEN
PREPARE TO
DEFEND YOURSELVES!

8c

Is Newark's Ghetto On Eve Of A Riot?

Uprising May Be Sparked By 'Crackdown' Against Teenagers Threatened By Spina

Is the Newark Police Department trying to start a riot here this Summer? Many civil rights advocates believe this could well be the result — intended or not — of two recent statements by high City officials disclosing an undeclared state of war with the city's ghetto residents.

In the latest of these, Police Director Dominick Spina ordered a "crackdown" on all "rowdy" and "disorderly" teenagers. Spina said police would start "arresting" teenagers who stand on street-corners in groups. The youngsters will be charged with "loitering," Spina said.

Complaints have already begun to stream in to neighborhood groups and anti-poverty and civil rights organizations of intensified police harassment of Negro teenagers, especially in areas around the fourth and fifth precincts in the Central and South Wards. Without provocation, police have been

arrogantly forcing teenagers congregated outside candy stores, newstands, or even parks to "move on" or "break it up."

Earlier this month, Deputy Mayor Paul Reilly told the city's Negro population that, as long as the White power structure maintained control of City Hall, "there will be no Police Review Board in Newark." Representatives of the Negro community have long demanded a Civilian Police Review Board as one means of stemming the tide of police brutality.

New Riots

The two official statements were interspersed by reports of uprisings in Chicago, Brooklyn, and Cleveland. Thousands of Negroes trapped in these ghettos

expressed their bitter feeling of helplessness and powerlessness in the only way apparently possible for them to be heard: with violence.

Earlier this year, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell predicted the Newark ghetto would erupt in "the worst outbreak of violence in the entire country." More and more ghetto residents have expressed agreement with Powell's prediction, especially after the two statements by city officials. In fact, many are openly predicting an uprising in Newark "before the end of August."

Conditions in Newark's ghetto are—if anything—worse than in any of the other cities. Moreover, repeated complaints by ghetto residents about conditions at City Hospital, about the fire threat of abandoned buildings scattered throughout the ghetto, about the steady deterioration of slum housing owned by absentee landlords, about the hopeless condition of so many of the city's schools, and about the continued decline of police community relations have apparently fallen on deaf ears. "No one downtown seems to be listening." "Nothing is being done." This is the frequent cry.

The threat of a police "crackdown" on Negro teenagers in the

Continued on Page 2

HERALD-ADVANCE
SAT 7-30-66

Riot In Newark?

Continued from Page 1

city followed only a few days after a report out of Washington telling how "unemployment among Negro youth climbed last month despite the expansion of the number of jobs available to teenagers."

The U.S. Dept. of Labor revealed that even as Negro teenagers throughout the country were unable to find jobs, 1,739,000 White boys and girls found jobs last month. (The unemployment rate for Negro teenagers in all of last year was 22.6 percent, according to U.S. Government figures.)

Another Warning

Another figure voicing concern for the local situation was Timothy Still, a vice president of the city's anti-poverty agency, who last week renewed his frequently repeated warnings that the city's anti-poverty program wasn't benefiting most of the ghetto teenagers. "We still haven't got to the guy in the street—the junkie and the whino .. the guy who has no place to go" Still com-

mented.

"I read 'Youth In The Ghetto' and I was impressed and I expected Mr. Tyson to bring a similar program here to Newark," he added.

Also voicing criticism of the city's anti-poverty program last week was Mrs. Maudie Nelson, who asked UCC officials: "How long you gonna' sprinkle water over our heads and tell us its raining outside when the Sun is out?" The Sun has been especially hot this Summer.

EDITORIAL

Martin Luther King

On Ghetto Riots

My despair causes me to reflect on conditions which I believe not only caused last week's riots in Chicago but also served as a catalyst to spur riotous situations in other sections of this nation.

Chicago and the nation are confronted by a situation in which hitherto invisible men will no longer stay invisible.

America for three centuries has oppressed, exploited, and subjugated Negroes. America has hidden this inhumanity behind a veil woven out of the myths of racism. America has lived with the expectation that Negroes would put up with deprivation and adjust to it psychologically and socially.

In understanding the background of the riots it is not so important to have an exact statistical measurement of the economic, political and social deprivation as it is to comprehend that Negroes will no longer put up with that deprivation.

America has been violent in its treatment of Negroes. It tore the African away from his homeland and through the institution of slavery smashed his culture and his family. Slavery was maintained by the whip and the armed patrol. The forces of law and order were legitimate means of violence by which slavery and later sharecropper peonage were maintained. The South came to sanction Jim Crow laws and lynchings while the North invented slums and ghettos. Through these instruments American society has given Negroes a lesser share of everything, except frustration.

It is a psychological axiom that frustration generates aggression. Certainly, the Northern ghetto has become a means of daily victimizing its inhabitants. The Chicago West Side with its concentration of slums, the poor and the young, represents in grotesque exaggeration that suppression that Negroes of all classes face within the ghetto.

The Northern ghetto has become a type of colonial area. Its buildings are allowed to decay. Its citizens are not allowed to develop, because its schools have been preparing children to grow up as ghetto dwellers rather than

Continued on Page 11

sd

PAGE 4, HERALD-ADVANCE, SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1966

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EDITORIAL

Continued from Page 4

as full fledged citizens. The colony is powerless because all important decisions affecting the community are made from the outside.

Many of its inhabitants even have their daily lives dominated by the welfare worker and the policeman. The profits of landlord and merchant are removed and seldom if ever reinvested. The only positive thing the larger society sees in the slum is that it is a source of cheap surplus labor in times of economic boom. Otherwise, its inhabitants are blamed for their own victimization.

Daily, this type of frustration is violence visited upon the slum inhabitant. Our society is only concerned that the aggressions thus generated do not burst outward. Therefore, our larger society has encouraged the hostility it creates within slum dwellers to turn inward--to manifest itself in aggression toward one another or in self-destruction and apathy. The larger society is willing to let the frustrations born of racism violence become internalized and consume its victims.

Martin Luther King

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

file
9

TO : Mr. M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: 27 Dec 67

FROM : L. Guinot Jr.

SUBJECT: Indictments for crimes involving conspiracy in the cities of Milwaukee, New Haven, Detroit, Cincinnati, and Newark.

Pursuant to your instructions, I have contacted the District Attorneys State Prosecutors etc. for the jurisdictions mentioned above and have inquired of them whether or not they have arraigned, indicted, or in any way docketed any criminal action against any individual for crimes involving conspiracy, as a result of the recent riots.

All the gentlemen contacted were unanimous in their beliefs that if there was any conspiracy within their cities, they had not been able to find one scintilla of evidence that would so indicate, and as a result, no indictments have been returned against any individuals.

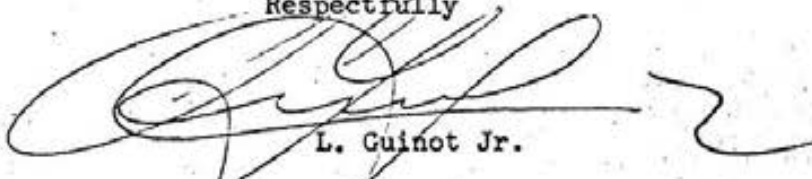
The State Attorney for New Haven, a Mr. Tiernan, informed me that while he has not indicted anyone as of this date, there have been several recent arrests made (over the Xmas weekend) which may result in actions of this type being brought. He would not amplify his last statement in spite of my repeated inquiries into the matter. It is respectfully suggested this area be further explored.

Mr. Byrne, County Prosecutor, Newark, informed me he had not indicted any person for crimes of conspiracy of any kind. He did state however, that there are at present certain "things" which may lead to a finding of conspiracy. Whether or not these "things" are specific enough to make up a case, he does not dare say at this time. Again it is suggested this be explored further.

Mr. Cors, City Prosecutor, Cincinnati, stated that some "trouble makers" had gone to the press and demanded that an investigation be made by the State Prosecutors Office to determine whether or not there had been any conspiracy before and during the riots. He stated that the investigation had not revealed any evidence to that effect. It would be a good idea to procure a copy of the report of this investigation.

Listed below are the names and telephone numbers of persons contacted for possible future use.

Respectfully



L. Guinot Jr.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

City	Person	Title	Telephone #
Newark	Mr. Byrne	County Prosecutor	Area Code 201 - MA41515
Detroit	Mr. Garber	Prosecuting Attorney	313 - 2245766
	Mr. Cahalan	Asst. Pros. Atty	313 - 2245000
	Mr. Nolan	" " "	313 - 2245759
Cincinnati	Mr. Cors	City Prosecutor	513 - 4215700
	Mr. Rueger	County Prosecutor	513 - 6328555
Milwaukee	Mr. O'Connell	District Attorney	414 - 2716366
New Haven	Mr. Tiernan	State Attorney	203 - 7721780

Newark
Jan
10

December 19, 1967

Memorandum

To: M. C. Miskovsky
S. P. Hebert

From: J. K. Scales (Dictated by Telephone)

Re: Newark, New Jersey

Robert C. Kohler, New Jersey Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, advised by telephone as follows:

1. A reliable source advised Kohler two days ago that Phil Hutchings (SMCC) was then "operating out of" Willie Wright's place at 276 18th Avenue, Newark. Kohler "did not know" what kind of activities Hutchings was engaging in.

2. Hayden and Hutchings went to BICC (Business Industrial Coordinating Committee) which Kohler believes is a private organization. The two purportedly asked Kohler's source for part-time jobs, explaining that they were short of money. The source refused to hire them because he suspect that Hayden and Hutchings would be more concerned with their cause than with their part-time jobs. (I recall that Hayden did not seem to have much money to spend on a typewriter, when we shopped for one after my interview.) Hayden and Hutchings may now be looking to the Negro groups for support.

3. Kohler doubts that Hayden was very active during the disorder since no Negro would not have recognized him and his life would therefore have been in danger. Kohler's opinion that further investigation of Hayden's role during the disorder would not be fruitful. Kohler views Hayden as one of few people who helped the Negro organize around the issues, but in Kohler's opinion, Hayden has since stepped into the back-ground. Kohler did agree with Perry's statement that Hayden is no longer fully trusted because he is white.

4. Kohler confirmed that he had no evidence of Birchers, KKK, or Minuteman activities in Newark before, during, or after the disorder. However, Kohler stated that since the disorder, private citizens have organized into vigilante groups within the city and "there may be some cross-pollination between these groups and individual members of the Birch Society, etc."

5. Willie Wright and the UAAA could not be considered as a factor to any extent until after the disorder. Wright was completely "ineffective."

In my opinion the above will not be sufficient information to close the gaps we discussed yesterday, but it should be relied upon in developing our own information when our emphasis shifts back to Newark.

In my judgment, information received from Kohler should be considered seriously.

JKS:acc

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- 1 - JKS Chron.
- 1 - Newark General

Newark - Gen.

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December 17, 1967

Memorandum

To: M. C. Miskovsky
S. P. Hebert

From: John K. Scales
Haywood L. Perry

We attach hereto First Report on the New Jersey chain.

As supporting documents are identified, they can be referred to or footnoted in the report.

Attachment

I. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

We have investigated the disorders which took place in the following New Jersey cities during the summer of 1967: Newark, Plainfield, New Brunswick, Elizabeth, Jersey City, Patterson, and Englewood. We have made no independent investigation of the disorder that occurred in Bridgeton, New Jersey.

Our investigation has uncovered no direct evidence that the triggering event in any one of these disorders was contrived or planned by one or more individuals or organizations prior to its inception and we have found no direct evidence of pre-planned or concerted action in respect to any other phase of those disorders.

With respect to each city, we have set forth below our findings and evaluations on organizational activity before, during and after the disorder and our assessment of the current climate.

II. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO EACH CITY

A. NEWARK

1. INTRODUCTION

On Wednesday, July 12, 1967, at approximately 9:30 p.m., John William Smith, a forty-year-old 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 4th precinct station,

rumors began to circulate throughout the Negro community that he had been beaten to death by the Newark police. The arrest is regarded as the incident which triggered the disorder, which developed into stages of looting, burning, and "sniping" until order was restored on July 18, 1967. For many months prior to this incident, tension had risen in Newark over "job discrimination", public housing, and alleged instances of "police brutality". (General reference is made to chronology set forth in Newark Field Research Report #2 and supporting team reports.)

2. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION

We have found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the triggering event. Director of Police of Newark, Dominick A. Spina, and Detective William Millard and Captain Charles E. Kinney, of the intelligence section of that department, told investigator John K. Scales that they had no such evidence but Spina added that the climate was set by "questionable" individuals over a period of many years and that there was a "conspiracy" in that sense. He did not elaborate in detail. (Interviews conducted by Scales, December 7, 8, 1967, hereinafter referred to as "N.P.D. Interview".) Although both Sheriff Ralph D'Ambola and Under Sheriff William Wussler of Essex County (of which Newark is a part) were of the opinion that there had been concerted action in many phases of the disorder, neither could offer any direct evidence thereof. (Interviews conducted by Scales, November 27, 28, 1967.) In a short interview, Brendon Byrne, County Prosecutor, Essex County, New Jersey, did not express any views on the question of concerted action. (Interview conducted by Scales, November 30, 1967.) Investigators John A. Fitzsimmons and Roland Copeland, of the staff of the New Jersey Commission on Civil Disorders, told Scales and Perry on a number of occasions during the period of our investigation in Newark that they had no direct evidence of planning of the triggering event or of concerted action in other phases of the disorder. None of the persons interviewed by Perry in Newark made any suggestion of such planning or action.

Director Spina advised Scales that they had no direct evidence that there were individuals and/or organizations engaged in sniping during the period (N.P.D. Interview.) However, an analysis of arrest reports prepared by United States Attorney, District of New Jersey, Newark, New Jersey (from N.P.D. reports) states that five persons were charged with assault with intent to kill and that 88 persons were charged with carrying concealed weapons or with illegal possession of firearms. Although Spina's statement on sniping is probably true, further analysis of the nature of the weapon involved and disposition in each of these cases is probably desirable before a definite finding can be made in regard to sniping. The U.S. Attorney's analysis and the N.P.D. records on confiscation and arrests are in our files. In any event, Director Spina advised that his office has no direct evidence of pre-planned or concerted sniping activity. (N.P.D. Interview.)

The Newark Police Department has no direct evidence that prior to such action two or more individuals and/or organizations agreed upon what buildings would be damaged, burned or looted. (N.P.D. Interview.) However, it has been too often suggested and may be assumed that such action was not done indiscriminately. Millard told Scales that a man named Baker was caught directing looting and this possibility should be resolved with the Newark Police Department. Although there is now no direct evidence of a plan, this Office may determine whether or not there was a pattern. Damage studies have been requested to this end. Our files now contain a list of damaged buildings, which list was obtained through the Newark Police Department. We did not interview the head of the fire department and this should not be considered a "gap" in light of the above.

During the disorder the Newark police and fire departments received many false reports, but the Newark Police Department has no direct evidence that such were placed by individuals or groups acting pursuant to a previously contrived plan or in harmony or unison with other individuals and/or groups participating in the disorder. (N.P.D. Interview.) As noted above, the head of the fire department has not been interviewed by this Office.

The Newark Police Department does not appear to have in its files any circular specifically inciting disorder, but further requests and further identification and examination of materials obtained by Scales from the Newark Police Department will have to be made. Included in those materials is an unidentified circular on how to make a Molotov cocktail.

The Newark Police Department has not provided documentation of reports of riots made to the police department in the two-month period prior to disorder, and this is a "gap".

Director Spina advised Scales that his office had no direct evidence of large quantities of weapons under private control during or immediately prior to the disorder. (Interview, N.P.D.) (The U.S. Attorney's analysis mentions that three individuals were charged with possession of explosives and this should be developed.)

The question remains as to the extent that certain individuals (perhaps "outsiders") may have played a part in continuing the disorder once it was "triggered". In section 3 below, we have indicated where present sources suggest the involvement of individuals and organizations from outside the Newark community. We recommend further development of those suggestions and of identification of out-of-state individuals and license numbers provided by the Newark Police Department to Scales. The analysis of arrest reports, prepared by the U.S. Attorney, indicate that 20 of the many persons arrested by the Newark Police Department were from out-of-state. These names should be broken out from the arrest list and incorporated into the system being established. On July 24, 1967, Director Spina directed all personnel within his department who were present in the 4th precinct the first two nights of the riot to give complete reports, including names of any civilians present in or around the precinct and what they said and did. We have in our files copies of approximately thirty pages of answers to that directive, which require analysis and identification. Another group of copies of

general information on various "troublemakers" obtained from the Newark Police Department requires analysis and identification. Most of the information relating to specific organizations discussed in Part (3) has been broken out and is therein referred to.

The foregoing conclusions on concerted action are based primarily upon interviews with and materials obtained from the Newark Police Department. That department had the primary responsibility for investigating facts underlying the disorder. The Newark Police Department's Intelligence Division is headed by "Rocco Ferranti", who works closely with Spina. Ferranti's division maintains a large repository of information with respect to individuals and organizations involved in disorder. Kinney and Millard are among four persons responsible for maintenance of such information, which is gathered by them and by other detectives. Members of the Intelligence Division, particularly Millard, work frequently with informers and consider them generally reliable. Most of the informers are individuals who are in trouble with the police and favors are exchanged for information; however, sometimes informers are compensated in cash. The Newark Police Department informally exchanges information with county and state law enforcement agencies, but there is no established system of cross check. (N.P.D. Interview.) Scales does not consider the failure to interview Ferranti a "gap". The Essex County Sheriff's Office did not conduct an independent investigation of the disorder, did not have an intelligence squad concentrating on causes for disorder, did not use informers frequently and did not maintain a repository of information on individuals and organizations involved in disorders. (Interviews conducted by Scales, November 27, 28, 1967.) Asked for any files that he had on individuals involved in disorder, Essex County Prosecutor Brendon Byrne produced a memorandum prepared for him by Spina's office. (Interview conducted by Scales, November 28, 1967.)

We are of the opinion that the interviews with the Newark Police Department, taken with the other sources noted, are sufficient to support our findings on concerted action. However, we suggest that these findings be confirmed (by telephone, if possible) with the offices of the Mayor

and of the State Police after review of team reports and other material and testimony from those sources before this Commission.

3. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE DISORDER.

We have made a preliminary evaluation of organizational activity in the Newark area before, during and after the disorder.

A. Organizations Representing the Negro Community.

(1) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP.

The Newark Chapter of the NAACP has been active in the area for the past ten years. Mrs. Sally Carroll, President, advised that her chapter has participated in civic matters prior to, during and after the riot. Members of the chapter attended City Hall meetings to protest job discrimination, poor housing, poor school facilities, and "police brutality" and members advise that protests will continue to be made until the deficiencies are corrected. Reference is made to "Team Report" interview of Mrs. Carroll by Dennis Barrett.

During the course of the investigation, Perry was advised by people within the Negro community that the NAACP was not popular in the city because of the purported "Uncle Toms" within the chapter. The community feels that the chapter has not maintained perseverance in its demands for equality. Perry is of the opinion that the NAACP exercises a minute influence, if any, within the Negro community.

Members of the NAACP were active during the riot in attempting to quell the disorder. There is no evidence that members of the NAACP were instrumental in starting the riot or causing any disorder during the riot.

(2) Congress of Racial Equality, CORE.

CORE has been tabbed by the Newark Police Department as being a militant organization; however, there is no evidence that one or more persons of this organization contrived or planned the "triggering event" which in fact initiated the disorder or that persons of this organization engaged in looting, burning, damage to buildings or engaged in alleged sniping incidents.

James Hooper, President of Newark's CORE Chapter, advised that CORE participated in the City Hall hearing to protest job discrimination, poor housing, and "police brutality". The program of protest is being conducted until the above situations are resolved. An investigation by Perry has disclosed that CORE is respected as an organization dedicated to support the Negro community in its quest for "equal rights". (Reference is made to "Team Report" of Lee A. Satterfield.)

(3) Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SNCC.

Reporter Douglass Eldridge wrote in the April 2, 1967 Newark News that in the summer of 1966, Robert Fullilove, Clinton Hobson Bey, and Philip Hutchings began a new civil rights drive in the Central Ward on behalf of SNCC. He described Hutchings as a national chairman of SNCC and a one time classmate of Stokely Carmichael. He reported that Hutchings had been active for at least a year prior to that time with NCUP. (See discussion on NCUP below.) According to Eldridge, the three opened up a store front, "Black Liberation Center" at 107 South Orange Avenue, Newark, in the spring of 1967. Fullilove and Hutchings told reporter Eldridge that they were trying to form grass-roots groups around local problems, in an attempt to develop political and economic power among poor Negroes, and that Newark was one of several northern cities in which SNCC was attempting

to translate its "black power" philosophy into an outlet for frustration and an attack on conditions. (Newark News, April 2, 1967.) Eldridge agreed to see and open up his files for Scales, but time has not permitted follow-up. The failure to do so is considered a serious gap.

Our files contain pictures of the Black Liberation Center, intelligence memoranda, and circulars distributed by the group, all obtained directly from the Newark Police Department. These materials need to be identified and evaluated in detail, but a general review indicates the following:

A "We Ain't Gonna Move" Rally was held at the Center on May 21, 1967, at 2:00 p.m. Speakers were Bey, Robert Curvin of CORE, several Negro political leaders and Col. Hassan, Blackman's Army of Liberation. (See below.) According to a Newark Police Department report on the meeting, Col. Hassan told the group that a "small group, those present," could start destroying "the white man's precious property and cause the white man to want to stop and talk it over". The report did not indicate how many persons were present. The Black Liberation Center was "bombed" on May 29, 1967. A circular (unidentified as to source) obtained from the Newark Police Department describes the bombing.

Pullilove, Hutchings, and Bey were identified by the Newark Police Department as among the sponsors of a rally at Newark City Hall on Monday, June 12, 1967, to protest the medical school.

We have uncovered no evidence that either of the three or any other SNCC organizers started or participated in the Newark Disorder.

On December 11, 1967, the Intelligence Division of the Newark Police Department reported that Phil Hutchings was a speaker at a council meeting held on that day and that he had spoken against the medical school site and stated that "the people on South Orange Avenue are thinking about Project Burn".

Copies purported to be of pages from Phil Hutchings' appointment book for the early portion of the year 1967 were given to Scales by the Newark Police Department and are in our files. The entries suggest connections between Hutchings and persons in Jersey City, New York City, Atlanta, New Haven and with Hutchings and such organizations as ACLU and Black Panther. A full identification and a complete analysis of this document in terms of persons and events is required.

Roland Copoland, investigator for the New Jersey Commission on Civil Disorders, told Perry that there was no SNCC chapter in Newark, and Director Spina told Scales that Fullilove had left town. (Interview, December 7, 1967.)

Interviews with one or more of the three individuals and full development of each of the above sources and of our individual and group requirements is required.

(4) United Afro-American Association, UAAA.

The United Afro-American Association was incorporated on August 20, 1965, in the City of Newark, New Jersey. The stated purpose of the organization is to increase the ability of those living in the community to participate in all the social, economical, educational, and political life in the City of Newark. The original location of the headquarters was 3 Belmont Avenue, Newark, Newark, New Jersey. The Board of Trustees consists of five members, Willie Wright, Joe Chanerfield, Sandy Pollack, Samuel Kelly and Raymond Boston.

According to Negro leaders in the Newark community interviewed by this Office, the UAAA was not recognized until the period immediately following the riot. At that time, Willie Wright, President of the UAAA, began to advocate the arming of the Negro community to retaliate against the "police's brutal atrocities" in the event another riot were to occur. Reference is made to Perry's memorandum, dated November 17, 1967, entitled UAAA, in which is described the purpose of the UAAA, as reported by Louis E. Lomax, Negro journalist, and Lee A. Satterfield, member of this Commission staff, and in which Perry describes the dialogue between Perry and Wright.

Willie Wright has refused to reveal the structure of his organization and the organization's programs. This Office is in possession of inflammatory material (distributed since the disorder) with the heading of the United Afro-American Association, and other letters pertaining to UAAA; however, these materials have yet to be identified. Reference is made to Mr. Satterfield's interview with Wright at the UAAA's present location, 402 South 6th Street, Newark, at which time Mr. Satterfield expressed that many youths were present at that time. Satterfield is of the opinion that this organization appeals primarily to the black youths of Newark.

Willie Wright admitted to Satterfield that he has a cache of arms stored in the Negro slums in Newark and that Louis E. Lomax is the only person outside of Newark who has seen them. This Office has not received any direct evidence to substantiate Wright's statement and Thomas Hayden, SDS, told Scales that Lomax's article was "absurd" in that respect. (Interview, November 29, 1967.) However, an interview with Lomax by this Office may confirm or deny the existence and/or purpose of the arms. This is an unresolved issue or gap.

Wright, through his admission to Satterfield, identified himself with Thomas Hayden, a representative of SDS, as having traveled together on a purported fact finding mission to Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries during the period of September 6-18, 1967. The trip was purportedly financed by unknown peace sympathizers.

Hayden told Scales that he respected Wright, but that Wright had little organizational ability, a handful of activists, and a large following as a result of the Lomax article. (Interview, November 29, 1967.)

Perry is of the opinion that Wright actually abhors violence and is taking advantage of the publicity given to his organization by the press to create anxiety in the white community over the Negro's plight in Newark. However, Wright appears to be an angry young man who would not hesitate to retaliate against anyone who would cause him harm. Willie Wright is a man to be listened to.

(5) Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation.

A Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation Chapter was organized in Newark in May 1967, according to documented reports received in this Office. Albert Roy Osborne, aka Col. Hassan Jeru-Ahmed, is the reported leader of the organization, whose headquarters is located at 910 Kennedy Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Osborne reportedly appointed Clinton Bey, former Mississippian, as Newark's head man. Newark's Chapter Office, located at 107 South Orange Street, was destroyed by fire on May 30, 1967. The cause of the fire is supposedly under investigation by the Newark Fire Department. There were unfounded rumors that the City's Administration had the place burned down.

It is not clear whether the center was controlled by SNCC or this organization (see section on SNCC) and this issue requires resolution.

Several months prior to the riot, Negro organizations were conducting meetings at City Hall protesting job discrimination and urban renewal. Osborne, joined by four of his male companions dressed in uniforms, created disorder in the meeting in an effort to instill in the white community an awareness of the Negroes' unrest. Many of the Negro leaders interviewed by Porry related and Hayden implied to Scales that Osborne had been paid by members of the Negro community to dramatize the issues. According to Hayden, Osborne is a "character" who created quite a white reaction. (Interview, December 12, 1967.)

Many residents of the Negro community related that they are indebted to Osborne for creating a furor in the meeting without which there might have resulted the appointment of a "non-qualified" white man, Callahan, over a "qualified" Negro, Parker, to head the school system which consists of 75% Negro children.

Albert Roy Osborne is of record with the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C., with charges ranging from writing bad checks to false pretense charges. Pictures, copies of his record and other material on him and his organization were given to Scales by the Newark Police Department and are in our files and need to be identified.

Time has precluded this Office's investigation in developing additional facts about and conducting a personal interview with Osborne. Although Osborne is considered an agitator prior to the Newark riot, there is no direct evidence

that prior to the inception of the disorder that either Osborne or his men contrived or planned the "triggering event" which in fact initiated the disorder. Further, there is no direct evidence that Osborne or his organization participated in the riot.

(6) Association of Negro Voice Independence and Leadership, ANVIL.

This non-profit organization was formed in 1963 under the leadership of Francis L. Warren, Negro businessman. The purpose of the organization was to achieve equal standards for Negroes and other minority groups. The office was located at 361 Avon Avenue, Newark, New Jersey. This group participated in "Civil Rights" demonstrations in Newark, it aided Negroes in establishing small businesses and it provided recreational facilities for the minority communities.

This organization received its charter from Nicholas V. Caputo, County Clerk, Newark, on 11/22/63. ANVIL became defunct in 1966 amid discorded members. It is not known what type of influence it had on the Negro community. Many of the Negroes interviewed had never heard of this organization.

Hayden told Scales that it failed because it cooperated too much with the white sector. (Interview, November 29, 1967.) This Office has copies of a file on this organization obtained from Sanford Jaffe, Executive Director of the New Jersey Commission.

(7) Black Muslims.

On November 29, 1967, Perry interviewed Minister James 3X, Black Muslims official of Newark, concerning their role in Newark prior to, during and after the riot. Minister James advised the Black Muslims' role is the same as other law abiding citizens of the community, maintaining peace.

Minister James advised true 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. They are emphatic over the issue of separatism on an equal basis.

The structure of the Black Muslims Chapter in Newark is unknown. There is no direct evidence that one or more persons of this group contrived or planned the "triggering event" which in fact initiated the disorder. There is no direct evidence that one or more persons of the group caused any disturbance during the riot.

(8) Vanguard-Democrats.

Robert C. Kohler, New Jersey Director of Bhai Brith Anti-Defamation League, advised Scales of the presence in Newark of one Clareynce Scoggins, a Negro purported to be a communist and affiliated with the above organization. (Interview by Scales, November 30, 1967.) Our file contains material distributed by this group. Further development is needed to meet our requirements. Scales rates highly the intelligence information obtained from Kohler.

We have found no evidence of a Black Panther organization or of a Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) organization in Newark, New Jersey.

B. Other Organizations.

(1) Students for a Democratic Society, SDS.

On February 5, 1965, reporter Douglas Eldridge wrote in the Newark News that Thomas Hayden and a staff of seven SDS members had established NCUP (Newark Community Union Project) and were "whipping up" efforts to arouse and organize residents of Newark's predominately

Negro area. Eldridge agreed to see and open up his files to Scales, but time has not permitted follow-up and the failure to do so is considered a gap.

Our files contain materials on SDS and NCUP given to Scales by the Newark Police Department. They include the following: a copy of the SDS constitution; an article entitled "An Approach to Community Organization Projects", by Norm Fruchter and Robert Kramer (describing extensively NCUP's role in the Newark community); a number of circulars issued by NCUP; the checkbook and other financial records of NCUP, SDS (which, according to Millard, of the Newark Police Department, establish diversion of student and OEO funds to the personal accounts of Hayden and others); a picture of Thomas Hayden; a picture and police record on Carol Glassman of NCUP; various writings of Thomas Hayden; and Newark Police Department intelligence memoranda on activities of Hayden's group. A serious gap exists until these materials have been catalogued and evaluated. Scales was informed that there is a film entitled "The Troublemakers" produced by and about Hayden's group and available at the Newark Public Library. This should be reviewed. We have a copy of Hayden's book, Rebellion in Newark, which in Scales' opinion places an interesting emphasis on "police brutality" over other issues. Scales understands that Hayden testified before the New Jersey Commission one or two weeks ago.

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) Organizing poor and 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 rebellions
- (c) Organizing sympathy demonstrations at police stations and on campuses and using civil disobedience if necessary
- (d) Providing legal and financial aid
- (e) Researching the nature of police departments.

During an interview with Scales, Hayden was not asked to relate the role played by SDS or NCUP prior to or during the riot, but thereafter Hayden's attorney L. Weinglass told Scales that Hayden's group was on the street during the disorder, driving around as observers and added that it was a "wonder" that they were not picked up. (Interview, November 29, 1967.) Director of Police Spina told Scales that one of his men saw Hayden's car during the disorder and it "looked as though" Hayden had just completed distributing Molotov cocktails. (Interview, December 7, 1967.) Further development of these unsubstantiated statements is required.

Robert C. Kohler, New Jersey Director of B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League, told Scales that he "thought" that as of last summer Hayden's following consisted of approximately 35 persons. (Interview, November 30, 1967.)

Prior to the riot, the Negro community evaluated SDS as another white group trying to assure the Negro community that blacks need not stand alone. However, since the riot, the black community does not trust any white groups.

Hayden told Scales that NCUP had disbanded. (Interview, November 29, 1967.) There had been no cross check on this.

Reference is made to Perry's outline on TAB B of SDS and reports of Investigator Connell.

Scales is of the opinion that comprehensive development of our requirements of SDS and NCUP's role in the Newark community would provide a basis for understanding how a community evolves towards disorder.

Hayden told Scales that he might like to testify before our Commission if the scope of his testimony were defined in advance, but there is a chance that Scales' mission has since been revealed to Hayden by people on the staff of the New Jersey Commission who are close to Hayden. (Interview, November 29, 1967.)

(2) Progressive Labor Party, PLP.

The New York Times, dated April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialists" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the title of Progressive Labor Party. The PLP's ultimate goal is the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

According to FBI reports, on July 15, 1967, during the riot, the Newark police headquarters was picketed by approximately ten persons carrying placards demanding the release of prisoners and shouting that the National Guard be removed from Newark. One of the placards identified the group as the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

On the basis of our investigation, we have found no evidence that this organization was active in Newark prior to or after the riot. There is no evidence that one or more persons of this organization contrived or planned the "triggering event" which in fact initiated the disorder. Further, there is no evidence of one or more persons of this organization participating in the riot except in the picket protest.

There is no evidence that there is presently a PLP chapter in Newark; unconfirmed reports indicate the group is based in New York City. Further development of our organizational material is necessary. We are of the opinion that the PLP can be expected to demonstrate in Newark if a disturbance reoccurs.

A PLP publication, entitled "Black Liberation Now", was received by Scales from the Newark Police Department and is contained in our files.

(3) Youth Against War and Fascism, YAWF.

The FBI reported that on July 16, 1967, thirty-five 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.

A search of the files of other government agencies revealed a limited amount of information on this group. On the basis of our investigation, there appears to be no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons of this organization contrived or planned the "triggering event" which in fact initiated the disorder. Further, there is no evidence that any of the members of the group participated in the disorder other than their demonstration staged

at City Hall. Reference is made to Perry's memorandum dated November 21, 1967, subject Youth Against War and Fascism's Activities during the riot in Newark.

(4) DuBois Club.

Robert C. Kohler, New Jersey Director of the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League told Scales that there is a DuBois Club in Newark with ties to SDS. (Interview by Scales, November 30, 1967, December 30, 1967.) Time has precluded confirmation of this and development of our individual and group requirements as necessary.

Reference is made to general information developed by Investigator Hair.

We have no direct evidence of the involvement of this group before, during or after the disorder.

(5) John Birch Society.

Robert C. Kohler, New Jersey Director of the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League told Scales that there were a number of Birch Society bookstores and that one Mathew J. Grandee of Newark was a member of the Society. (Interview by Scales, November 30, 1967, December 1, 1967.) Time has precluded development of our requirements on Grandee and this organization. Fitzsimmons, of the New Jersey Commission told Scales and Perry that most Birchers live in the Newark suburbs. (Initial meeting, November 28, 1967.)

We have no evidence of the involvement of this group before, during or after the disorder.

(6) Klu Klux Klan, KKK.

The Klu Klux Klan apparently attempted to organize in Newark beginning in the latter part of 1965. On January 12, 1966 the Newark Police

Department identified one Andrew J. Roach of Newark as owner of a car distributing KKK material in that city. (File on KKK received from Jaffe, of New Jersey Commission, which includes Newark Police Department records and newspaper accounts. The material has to be identified and incorporated into our system.)

Robert C. Kohler told Scales that he knew of no Klan activity immediately before, during or since the disorder. (Interview, November 29, 1967.) We have no other evidence of such activity.

We have no evidence of the presence of "Minutemen" in Newark.

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT CLIMATE

The issues that brought Newark to riot continue to be unresolved. The disorder has succeeded in creating two camps and new leaders within each camp. The two sides have in common the fact that they both consider that their cause can best be advanced (or defended) by force. Whether there is in fact a cache of weapons in Newark is important; but more important is the fact that there is talk of it. From talk evolves rumor and tension, and when the tension reaches another crescendo, an event may again qualify as a triggering incident for another disorder.

B. PLAINFIELD

1. INTRODUCTION

The racial disturbance which occurred in Plainfield from July 15-19, 1967 was not triggered by any isolated incident but began as a series of incidents which occurred around midnight and shortly thereafter on the morning of July 15, 1967, with the congregation of about 200 Negro youths in a parking lot at the Negro occupied West End Gardens, a city Housing Authority project.

At about 2:41 a.m. July 15, 1967, groups of 45 to 50 Negro youths got together and started roaming around a five block area in the predominantly Negro West End area making noise, throwing stones and breaking windows, which developed into stages of looting, burning and "alleged sniping" until order was restored on July 19, 1967.

Prior to the disturbance, Negroes were dissatisfied over job discrimination, lack of recreational facilities, poor housing and "police brutality". Reference is made to chronology set forth in Plainfield Research Report and supporting team reports and FBI's confidential reports.

2. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION

On the basis of our investigation we have found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the "triggering event". On December 6, 1967, Mayor George Hetfield testified before the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee, Washington, D.C., that the riots in Plainfield were planned; however, he could furnish no evidence.

There were many reported incidents of sniping. Reference is made to the deposition of Dave Hardy, Negro journalist, taken at the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee hearings in Washington, D.C. Mr. Hardy, a native of Plainfield testified that he was in the presence of youths firing carbines indiscriminately at objects. He advised that the youths were not trying to harm anyone but merely having fun discharging the weapons.

The youths purportedly advised Hardy that the weapons had been distributed indiscriminately by unknown persons in the Negro neighborhood. Hardy was unsuccessful in obtaining one of the weapons.

There were 47 carbines stolen from a shipping company in a community outside of Plainfield during the riot. Hardy is of the opinion that the weapons he saw in the possession of the youths are some of the same weapons stolen.

Even though Hardy supposedly witnessed youths firing weapons during the riot, no individuals were charged with any offense based upon any act of sniping. We have found no direct evidence that one or more persons engaged in sniping. Accordingly, we have no direct evidence of pre-planned or concerted "sniping activity".

During an interview with Chief of Police Milford S. Payne, Perry was advised that many persons, both white and colored were arrested for carrying concealed weapons during the period of disorder; however none of those persons were charged with participating in sniping activity.

Chief Payne advised that eleven of the forty-seven carbines stolen from a community outside of Plainfield have been recovered by various means. A list of the recovered weapons is attached to Perry's memorandum dated December 12, 1967.

There were many reported instances of burning of buildings and looting stores. Photographs in the Plainfield file attest to these facts. However, there is no direct evidence that prior to such action two or more individuals and/or organizations agreed upon what buildings would be damaged, burned or looted, but a study of the damaged areas suggests that damage was not inflicted indiscriminately.

At a hearing before the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee Mayor George Hatfield and George Lattimore, former Plainfield resident and brother of Everett Lattimore, Councilman at Large, labeled Linward Cathcart, a former Black Muslim, as having been an agitator during the Plainfield riot. However, neither Hatfield nor Lattimore could substantiate their statements.

During an interview with Police Chief Payne, Perry was advised that Cathcart assisted the police in quelling the riot. Chief Payne advised he was satisfied that Cathcart was not an agitator during the disturbance. This Office's investigation has not disclosed any direct evidence that any Negro leaders were instrumental in creating disorder. Reference is made to field team reports which indicate that Cathcart was instrumental in quelling the disorder.

During the disorder the Plainfield police and fire departments were recipients of many false reports but there is no direct evidence that they were placed by individuals or groups acting in unison or harmony pursuant to a previously contrived plan to divert such authorities during the disorder.

Chief Payne advised his department was primarily responsible for investigating the disorder that occurred in Plainfield; however, Col. David Kelly, New Jersey State Police, was presently in Washington, D.C., testifying before the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee as to the extent of participation by the New Jersey State Police during the riot.

Chief Payne advised Perry that the State Police had no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the "triggering event" which in fact initiated the disorder.

This office has not interviewed Col. Kelly in view of the fact he did not render any evidence to the Senate Subcommittee to confirm or deny the issue of "concerted action" during the Plainfield riot.

Kelly's testimony during the hearings was centered on the issue of searching for weapons after the disorder.

Chief Payne advised that there were no organizations in Plainfield other than the NAACP and church groups and that his department does not maintain files for organizations.

3. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE DISORDER.

Time has not permitted this Office to develop information on group activity in Plainfield. The only source of information on groups in Plainfield is the Plainfield Field Research Report.

A. Organizations Representing the Negro Community.

NAACP

The Plainfield Chapter of the NAACP is the most active, organized civil rights group in Plainfield. It is reported that neither SNCC nor CORE could coalesce enough community support to establish Plainfield branches.

The NAACP is recognized by the white power structure as a legitimate spokesman for the Negro community. As such it has been able to influence decisions about appointments to the city's numerous boards, deliver complaints directly to City Hall and exert enough pressure to motivate the Mayor to become cognizant of its pronouncements.

The NAACP is most effective in Plainfield because it has been the only Negro membership organization, outside of churches, that has been able to draw the tacit support of a majority of the community it represents.

B. Other Organizations.

Information on other organizations is not available to this Office.

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT CLIMATE

According to Mr. Rowland Copeland, Investigator for Governor Hughes' Commission, the race relations in Plainfield are good. However, the general feeling in Plainfield concerning the police department is one of suspicion because of the death of patrolman Gleason who was killed during the riot.

There are persons who feel that certain policemen are waiting for the opportunity to retaliate against the Negro community for revenge of the death of police officer Gleason.

Time has prevented this Office from evaluating the present climate in Plainfield.

5. UNRESOLVED FACTORS

The following "needs" are necessary to adequately analyze the present and future situations of Plainfield:

- a. To interview residents of the Negro community
- b. To attempt to develop information on group activity in Newark.

C. NEW BRUNSWICK

1. INTRODUCTION.

According to an article, "The New Brunswick Story," published by the Middlesex County Economic Opportunity Corp. (MCEOC), there was no single incident which prompted the disturbance, but there was considerable tension in the Negro community as a result of two major incidents which occurred the weekend prior to the disturbance.

The first incident was the closing of a local teenage club by the police department. The second incident centered around the release of a white couple who were released on a \$100.00 bond after they had shot at three Negro teenagers for making too much noise. The MCEOC's field report survey indicated the general feeling among the young Negro groups was, "If the law won't take care of them, we will." It was further learned that the youths were planning to take revenge against the couple.

At the time of these incidents, the Newark riot was over but the disturbance in Plainfield was at its peak. The inclusive dates of New Brunswick disorder were July 15-18, 1967.

At approximately 7:00 p.m., Monday, July 17, 1967, groups of Negro youths began converging on the downtown streets, commercial districts, of New Brunswick. Lt. Brokaw, Negro police officer, advised the groups were not hostile but that they acted as if they were attending a carnival. At approximately 10:00 p.m. the youths started breaking windows and looting the stores. Negro policemen in civilian clothes quickly persuaded the crowds to disperse and go home. By 2:00 a.m., Tuesday, July 18, 1967, order was restored and the crowds had dispersed.

On the following evening, Tuesday, July 18, 1967, Mayor Patricia Q. Sheehan, met the crowd in front of City Hall and promised to investigate the crowds grievances. Mainly, lack of recreational facilities for youths. The

crowd dispersed after being assured that the new administration would look into the matter. Reference is made to chronology set forth in New Brunswick Field Research Report Number 7 and supporting team reports.

2. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION.

On the basis of our investigation and interviews conducted by the New Brunswick field team, we have found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned this "triggering event." There were no reported incidents of sniping. Accordingly, we have found no direct evidence that one or more persons engaged in sniping.

There is no direct evidence that prior to such action, two or more individuals and/or organizations agreed upon what buildings would be damaged, burned or looted. Although there were rumors circulating throughout the community and false fires reported, there is no direct evidence that they were placed by individuals or groups acting pursuant to a previously contrived plan to divert such authorities or in harmony or unison with other individuals and/or groups participating in the disorder.

Mr. Valenti and Chief Petrone advised they did not consider the incident in New Brunswick as a riot but a mere disturbance caused by frustrations and pinned up emotions. Mr. Valenti advised Mayor Sheehan immediately persuaded the crowd that her office would do all in its power to satisfy the grievances. Remedies were made available within 30 days and the tension in New Brunswick has subsided.

Mr. Valenti related that his city has problems and that the administration is attempting to solve them.

H. Perry is of the opinion that the new administration which came into office May 1967 is truly attempting to function in a manner beneficial to the entire community. Reference is also made to Mr. Goldstein observation of the city's administration in the field team report.

Time precluded our investigation of the Negro ghetto to obtain comments from the residents thereof. This fact should be referred to as an unresolved issue or a gap in our investigation.

3. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER DISORDER.

During this office's investigation in New Brunswick Chief of Police, Ralph C. Petrone, advised he does not know of any organizations in the New Brunswick community. His department has never maintained any files on any groups. Mr. Petrone stated there are a few militants about town but he did not feel they were creating any disorder. The Chief advised that the New Brunswick community is well adjusted and is ideal for pleasant living.

A lack of time has prevented this office from developing facts to confirm and deny the Chief's statement that there are no organizations in the community.

There are no intelligence reports from any other government agencies to confirm or deny the above fact.

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT CLIMATE.

Reference is made to the chronology of the "Field Research Report" which indicates that the general concensus is that the disturbance was the result of the publicity received from the Newark and Plainfield riots. There is no information pertaining to the post race relations.

Accordingly, this office has not had sufficient time to make an assessment of the post community reaction.

5. UNRESOLVED FACTORS.

The following issues should be resolved:

- a. Whether or not there are organizations in New Brunswick.
- b. Whether or not the Negro community is in harmony with the city's administration.

D. ELIZABETH

1. INTRODUCTION

On Monday, July 17, 1967, bands of Negro youths began creating disorder by breaking windows and igniting fire bombs in the Negro ghetto. There is no direct evidence of any specific triggering incident. The investigation disclosed that publicity received from the Newark incident had incited the youths to the point of creating disorder. Prior to the July 17, 1967 incident, tension had risen in Elizabeth over job discrimination and police brutality. However, Mayor Thomas Dunn and Police Chief Michael D. Roy advised the Negro community had not registered any formal complaints concerning their grievances. (Reference is made to chronology set forth in Elizabeth Field Research Report #4 and supporting team reports). The inclusive dates of the disturbance in Elizabeth were July 17-18, 1967.

2. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION

On the basis of our investigation and interviews conducted by the Elizabeth field team, we have found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons or organizations contrived or planned this "triggering event." There were no reports of sniping and no weapons were confiscated from persons connected with the disorder.

Accordingly, we have no direct evidence of pre-planned or concerted sniping activity.

Although a study of the damaged areas suggests that damage was directed at certain locations, there is no direct evidence that prior to such action, two or more individuals and/or organizations agreed upon what buildings would be damaged, burned or looted.

During the disorder, the police and fire departments received several false reports, however, there is no direct evidence that the false reports were placed by

individuals or groups acting pursuant to a previously contrived plan to divert such authorities or in harmony or unison with other individuals and/or groups participating in the disorder.

The foregoing conclusions are based upon field team reports and interviews with Thomas G. Dunn - Mayor, Michael D. Roy - Chief of Police, and Patrick J. Moloney - Deputy Chief of Police.

Based on Haywood Perry's personal observations, Mr. Dunn and Chief Roy appeared very concerned about the situation in Elizabeth. Mayor Dunn has attempted to increase the lines of communication with City Hall and the community. Chief Roy seems to understand the Negroes' problems and desires to exert his influence in bettering the conditions while not showing partiality to the Negroes.

Haywood Perry is of the opinion that the tension in Elizabeth will decrease due to the fact that the city's administration is aware of the problems and is attempting to resolve them.

Our report deadline precluded our investigation in the following areas:

- a. Lack of communication with residents in the ghetto areas.
- b. Lack of communication with leaders of organizations to determine their structure, programs and the roles played prior to, during and subsequent to the disorder.

The above should be referred to as unresolved issues or gaps.

3. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE DISORDER.

A lack of time also precluded our investigation concerning the organizations in the Negro and white communities. During an interview with Chief Roy, he advised that

there are very few organizations in either of the communities. However, the intelligence maintained on the organizations in Elizabeth are not under the control of the Police Chief. The Chief advised this information was not readily accessible and that it would be forwarded to the Commission as soon as possible.

A. Organizations Representing the Negro Community.

The power structure in the black community in Elizabeth, N. J. consist of branches of the three national organizations--the NAACP, CORE and the Urban League--along with active local organizations, churches and individual community figures in these organizations. Reference is made to the "Field Research Report" #4.

1. NAACP

The Elizabeth Chapter of NAACP is headed by Reverend Joseph Garlic. In an interview with the field team, Garlic advised that his chapter was financially broke and had lost members due to its lack of influence in the community.

2. CORE

Arthur Johnson is Chairman of CORE in Elizabeth. Johnson, in an interview with the field team, advised that the Mayor has refused to meet with him on issues that involved the Negro community. In an Elizabeth newspaper article, dated June 25, 1967, Johnson is quoted as saying that he could foresee disturbance during the summer in Elizabeth because Negroes were not appointed to vital administrative positions. No evaluation was made of Johnson by the team member.

Chief Roy advised H. Perry that Johnson was a militant who demanded everything without taking the other person's feelings into consideration. Roy stated that when other members of CORE request interviews with the city's administration, then, the interviews are granted.

B. Other Organizations

Information is not available at the present time.

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT CLIMATE

Racial attitudes between whites and Negroes since the disturbance of mid-July are viewed by some Elizabethans as improved and by others as deteriorated. The field team believes the attitude of the city's administration has greatly improved subsequent to the disturbance. "The city began its response with a show of force and ended in cooperation." Reference is made to "Field Research Review."

Time precluded an investigation by this Office to determine the post-riot reaction of the community.

5. UNRESOLVED FACTORS

The following "needs" are necessary to adequately analyze the existing situation and future situations that may arise as the results of the disorder:

- a. To interview residents of all the ghetto areas;
- b. To interview leaders of different organizations to determine their structure, programs and roles played prior to, during and subsequent to the disorder;
- c. To review the police files on organizations.

E. JERSEY CITY

1. INTRODUCTION

On July 17, 1967, at approximately 7:30 p.m., Freddy Lee Jones, a Negro, died as a result of burning from a fire bomb tossed into the cab which he was driving. There followed three days of disorder in which there were numerous incidents of stone throwing, looting, and arson. (General reference is made to Field Research Report chronology.)

2. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION

We have found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the triggering event. Jersey City Acting Police Director George J. Whelan told Scales that his office had no such evidence, but added, "We just feel there is a 'conspiracy', but proving it is something else." He advised that the two white youths who threw the Molotov cocktails have since been released from confinement by the Juvenile Court. (Interview with Acting Director Whelan and members of his force, December 7, 1967.) If time permitted, further development might be appropriate.

The Jersey City Police Department also advised that it had no evidence of sniping and that no confiscations were made in connection with the disorder. They locked up forty to forty-five "bad guys", but none had a weapon. (Interview, December 7, 1967.) There are no arrest records in our files.

Whelan also told Scales that the police department had no direct evidence that two or more individuals and/or organizations agreed upon what buildings would be damaged, burned or looted. (Interview, December 7, 1967.) There is no damage study in our files and the head of the Jersey City Fire Department has not been interviewed.

The police department advised that it had no direct evidence that individuals and/or organizations were acting pursuant to a plan or in harmony with other individuals and/or organizations in placing false police reports or false fire alarms. (Interview, December 7, 1967.)

Circulars were being distributed prior to the disorder, but none were inflammatory. Our files contain copies of all such material available in police files.

There appear to be no reports suggesting that informants anticipated the disorder.

The police department had no direct evidence of the existence of large quantities of weapons under private control during or immediately after the disorder. However, there have been rumors of a cache since the disorder. (Interview, December 7, 1967.)

The police department has provided Scales with all suspect out-of-state licenses and individuals sighted in the area and these are being identified and incorporated into the system being established.

A map of the riot areas is in our files.

The sole basis for the foregoing findings is the interview conducted by Scales on December 7, 1967, with Jersey City, New Jersey Acting Police Director George J. Whelan, Chief of Detectives Patrick McGee, and Captain Raymond V. Blaszak (in charge of the 4th (Negro) precinct). According to Whelan, the police department was primarily responsible for investigating the disorder and no other local, private or public authority made independent investigations. (Telephone interview by John K. Scales, December 15, 1967.)

3. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE DISORDER.

On the basis of the aforementioned interview, materials received from the Jersey City, New Jersey Police Department since that interview, and the Jersey City Field

Research Report (pages 46-51), our requirements must be developed with respect to the following groups and their individual members:

- a. Black Panther Party
- b. J-CUP (Jersey City Union Project)
- c. SNCC
- d. Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference
- e. NAACP
- f. CORE
- g. Youth Community Action Project
- h. Community Improvement Alliance
- i. Stand
- j. Project Anti-Recidivism
- k. CAN DO (Jersey City Anti-Poverty Program)
- l. Jersey City Ad Hoc Committee
- m. United Negro Conference

A large quantity of copies of materials from the Jersey City police "intelligence files" has been received by this Office and is being tied in with the data system being established. Among the documents are the following: Black Panther Party literature, J-CUP literature, Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference literature, "African Evening of Fashions" advertisement, "The Black Newsletter", intelligence reports on Clareynce Scoggins, and many throw-aways.

The Jersey City Police Department has no central repository for such information, but the Chief Detective and the head of each precinct maintain their own "intelligence" files. The department has no squad specifically assigned

to the development of such information and there appears to be no system for the orderly processing of information once it is received. The department utilizes informers from time to time and they are usually reliable. Usually the informer is in trouble with the police, but sometimes he is just a regular member of the community. It is not usually necessary or possible to pay informers by cash. Raymond V. Blaszak, who heads the 4th precinct, works primarily with the informers. There is no system of cross-check. (Interview, December 7, 1967.)

Complete development of our individual and group requirements by interviews with all sectors is necessary.

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT CLIMATE

Although it is premature to evaluate, it appears that the Negroes of Jersey City are becoming more militant and it would not be surprising if there were future disorders in light of apparent attempts to organize by many outside militant organizations in parallel to Newark.

F. PATERSON

1. INTRODUCTION

On Saturday, July 15, 1967, at approximately 10:45 p.m., thirty-five to fifty Negro youths (mostly teenagers) began throwing bottles and stones against stores and cars. The Paterson Police Department, which had been alerted for possible riots (in light of the Newark disorder and rumors which it had received) dispersed the youths, but similar incidents and fires from Molotov cocktails continued sporadically through July 18, 1967. (General reference is made to "Riot Alert" summary provided by Paterson Police Department, FBI Reports dated July 17, 1967, July 19, 1967, and Field Research Report #8, pages 67-83.)

2. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION

On the basis of our investigation we have found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the triggering event. Chief of Police O'Brien told Scales on December 8, 1967, "It has all the earmarks of a conspiracy, but we cannot prove it." (Interview, December 8, 1967.) There are some indications that unidentified individuals may have been preparing for disorder prior to its inception. On May 16, 17, 1967 the Paterson Police Department found approximately five garbage cans full of wine bottles, beer cans, and beer bottles in an area where Negro "hoods" congregated. (Police Department Reports dated May 16, 17, 1967.) Approximately two weeks before the disorder, the Police Department found bottles and two to three truckloads of bricks piled on rooftops along 12th Street, also a predominately Negro area. (Interview with Chief of Police, December 8, 1967.) There was no written police report with respect to this, but Captain Hannon will obtain more information. (Telephone interview with Captain James T. Hannon conducted by Scales, December 15, 1967.) In the six weeks prior to the disorder the police department received reports from informants that certain named individuals were planning and inciting a summer riot (Police Department Report dated June 20, 1967) and one white woman living in a "Negro" area, told police.

that she had been threatened by Negroes with riot. (Police Department Report, June 22, 1967.) There were no arrests made with respect to any of the pre-disorder activity described above. (Telephone interview with Captain James T. Hannon conducted by John K. Scales, December 15, 1967.)

The Chief of Police told Scales that there were a few inflammatory circulars distributed prior to the disorder, but he was unable to provide copies. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) Further development is necessary through other sources.

We have found no evidence that there was any sniping activity during the disorder, and the police department has reported that no weapons other than knives were confiscated. Although police reports indicate that there were a number of false reports and alarms (Riot Alert), the Chief of Police told Scales that they have not been documented and that his office had no direct evidence that they were placed by individuals and/or organizations acting pursuant to a previously contrived plan or in harmony or unison with other individuals and/or organizations participating in the disorder. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) Time precluded confirmation of this finding by contact with the Paterson Fire Department and the Negro community.

There were general reports of damage to buildings and automobiles (Riot Alert), but the police department advised that it has no specific list of same (Interview, December 8, 1967) and time has precluded further development by consultation with other sources. The police department has no direct evidence that two or more individuals and/or organizations agreed upon what buildings would be damaged or acted in concert with respect thereto. (Interview, December 8, 1967.)

The police department has no direct evidence of the presence or involvement of individuals residing and/or organizations having a base outside of the area nor of large quantities of weapons under control during or immediately prior to the disorder. (Interview, December 13, 1967.) A list provided by the police department indicates that almost all of the persons arrested during the disorder were youths and were from the Paterson area.

The Chief advised Scales that during the disorder they found a number of Molotov cocktails that had not ignited. There is no report detailing this, and further development is necessary.

3. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE DISORDER.

A complete development of our requirements on groups and individuals is necessary. Existing sources suggest the following.

The Chief advised Scales that they were unaware of the presence in their community at any time before or during the disorder of individuals belonging to SNCC or RAM. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) (This is contrary to suggestion by David Comfort, in interview by Field Team. See page 47, Field Research Report #8.)

Reference is made to Field Research Report for Paterson, New Jersey, pages 45-49, on the basis of which it could be tentatively concluded that the Paterson Negro community is not very organized, that the NAACP and CORE are not very effective in Paterson and that although there are some militant people, they are not very well organized.

There are some indications of post-disorder activity. (References to date are police department reports.) On July 24, 1967, the police department was advised that the FBI had discovered a receipt in a Pennsylvania car for carbine rifles, scopes and 95 boxes of ammunition. The FBI advised the police department on July 26, 1967, that the owner of the car had been identified as a truck driver, who had stated that the receipt was for delivery to a gun shop, and that they would confirm the validity of that statement. There is further reference to these in police reports, and Captain Hannon "assumes" from the absence of such reports that the statement was true. (Telephone interview by Scales with Captain Hannon, December 15, 1967.) Since the disorder the police have received reports that a

club called the "Untouchables" had thirty machine guns and eighty rifles and were buying more (Police Department Report, July 27, 1967); that guns stolen in North Arlington, New Jersey, had been shipped to Paterson, New Jersey, in garbage cans (Police Department Report, July 27, 1967); that a truckload of guns had been delivered to Paterson (Police Department Report, July 28, 1967). On July 27, 1967 and August 17, 1967, the police department received reports that a riot was to take place shortly thereafter, but nothing followed. All of these reports should be further checked out by this Office.

On November 21, 1967, LeRoi Jones was the principal speaker at a meeting held at 324 Broadway, Paterson. There were no incidents. (Police Department Report, November 21, 1967.) The police department identified certain license numbers and individuals. We have that list and it will be incorporated into our system.

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT CLIMATE

On the basis of the foregoing it would appear that Paterson is in a stage where militants from outside of the community are attempting to organize an otherwise disorganized Negro community. Except as otherwise noted, the sole bases for the foregoing is the interview conducted by John K. Scales with Chief of Police John T. O'Brien and his assistant, Captain James T. Hannon, on Friday, December 8, 1967, materials obtained from the police department files upon completion of that interview, and a telephone interview by John K. Scales with Captain James T. Hannon on Friday, December 15, 1967.

The Paterson Police Department had primary responsibility for investigating the disorder and neither the board of four police commissioners nor the Mayor's office nor the office of the Sheriff for Passaic County conducted an independent investigation. (Telephone interview with Captain Hannon, December 15, 1967.)

The Paterson Police Department files on the disorder and on information with respect to individuals and organizations considered "troublemakers" consist of two files maintained by Captain Hannon. Xerox copies of all information contained in the 1967 file have been obtained and will be identified and catalogued by this Office. Information of that nature comes in from detectives and other members of the police department and is not systematically processed or even filed. It is not always put in written form. Sometimes the police department receives leads from informers, who are only "sometimes" reliable. The usual informer is someone who is in trouble with the police, and the police department usually cannot afford to pay for information. Generally speaking, the detectives work with informers. The police department has no formal system of cross-check with other law enforcement agencies in its area or on the state level.

5. UNRESOLVED FACTORS

Scales regards this as a sufficient basis for the conclusions on concerted action, but suggests that the State Police and Sheriff be consulted to confirm those findings and, if time permits, that the leads suggested be further explored by interviews in all sectors.

G. ENGLEWOOD

1. INTRODUCTION

On Friday, July 21, 1967, at approximately 9:00 p.m., a rock (or by some accounts a bullet) went through the window of Fonti's Food Market at the corner of Williams and Gay Streets, Englewood. The Englewood Police Department (which had been on alert since July 14, 1967) arrived on the scene where a crowd of approximately 30 neighborhood teenagers and young people had gathered. Stones and bottles were thrown at the police and shortly thereafter Sirion's Market was set afire by a fire bomb. When the fire department responded, people started throwing rocks at the fire trucks. Simultaneously, fire broke out in Foti's store and a nearby laundromat. There continued until July 25 a number of incidents of fire bombing, looting, rock throwing and gunfire. Shortly before the Englewood disorder commenced, the Plainfield disturbance had reached its peak and the Newark disorder had subsided. (General reference is made to FRR, Englewood #8, pages 38-54, and to the "Englewood Police Department Report July 1967" provided by the Department and placed in our files.)

2. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO CONCERTED ACTION

On the basis of our investigation, we have found no direct evidence that prior to the inception of the disorder one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the triggering event which in fact initiated the disorder. Acting Chief of Police John J. Madden told Scales that they had no direct evidence of pre-planning or of a "conspiracy", and his Deputy Chief William F. Harrington and Captain Thomas P. Ryan later agreed. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) Deputy Chief Harrington advised Scales by telephone December 15, 1967, that the police department was primarily responsible for investigating the disorder and that Mayor Volk's office would be in agreement with this and other findings on concerted action.

Although there is no direct evidence of a plan, it should be noted that the Englewood Police Department Report states that the department received many calls from

citizens and shop owners to the effect that there would be a disturbance during the month of July and that two particular dates were given by callers -- July 19 and July 28; that as a result, the police department was put on alert on July 14, 1967, and that on July 21, 1967 calls were received that there would be (as there was) a disturbance that night or over that weekend. As a result, a full police mobilization was ordered at 5:00 p.m., July 21, 1967, four hours before the incident. (Englewood Police Department Report, pages 2 and 3.) Although Scales requested further documentation of these reports, they have not been received. Further investigation could suggest (if not prove) that there was a plan.

The Englewood Police Department mentions on page 4 of its report that on Saturday, July 22, 1967, a box of Molotov cocktails was found concealed on Williams Street. It is not known by this Office when the box was placed there, and this should be developed extensively by further contact with the police department. The police department advised Scales during his interview that they otherwise had no direct evidence of the existence of large quantities of weapons under private control during or immediately prior to disorder. (Interview, December 8, 1967.)

Although there were reported incidents of gunfire (Police Department Report, pages 4, 5 and 6), Harrington and Ryan advised Scales that there were no established "sniping" incidents and that accordingly the department had no direct evidence of pre-planned or concerted sniping. No weapons were confiscated. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) A disposition sheet supplied to Scales by the police department confirms that no arrests were based on sniping incidents.

The Englewood Police Department advised Scales that they had no direct evidence that two individuals agreed upon what buildings would be damaged, burned or looted. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) However, a review of the Field Team Reports will probably suggest that damage was not inflicted indiscriminately. Damage is listed generally in the Police Department Report.

The Englewood Police Department advised Scales that they had no direct evidence of pre-planning or concerted action in the placing of false reports or false alarms. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) Those alarms and reports are documented in the Police Department Report. The fire department was not interviewed.

Although materials were requested, the Englewood Police Department has not forwarded out-of-state names and license numbers. These will be requested again.

The sole bases for the above findings with respect to concerted activity are the interview conducted December 8, 1967 and materials forwarded by the police department thereafter. Deputy Chief Harrington advised Scales that they have only general files on individuals and organizations involved in disorder and that such information comes in informally and is not systematically processed. They do receive leads from informers which are considered generally reliable. Informers are usually members of the Negro community, and it is not usually necessary to pay. Various members of the police department work with informers. The Englewood Police Department has no formal system of cross-check, but they have "excellent relations" with county and state law enforcement officials. (Interview, December 8, 1967.) Although Harrington advised Scales by telephone on December 15, 1967 that he thought the Mayor's office would confirm their answers to our questionnaire, this investigation cannot be considered complete until the gaps indicated above are filled, the Team Reports are reviewed and the Mayor's, Sheriff's (Bergen County) and State Police offices are contacted, at least by telephone. The FBI Reports do not appear to suggest any conclusions contrary to those set forth above.

3. FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE DISORDER.

Time did not permit a full development of organizational material during the interview with members of the police force, but they advised that they had no information indicating any activity or presence of members

of SNCC or RAM in their community and promised to forward copies of all intelligence memoranda. Except as noted below, they did not forward same with other materials and a follow-up call will be made on Monday, December 18, 1967. The only present source of information on groups in Englewood is the Englewood Field Research Report.

A. Organizations Representing the Negro Community.

Field Research Report #8 concludes at page 25 that NAACP, CORE and ELKS are active in Englewood and that there is a seeming ineffectiveness of Negro organizations that in other areas are normally associated with expressing the voice of the Negro community. The Field Research Report does not provide any further coverage. However, the Englewood Police Department did forward a Black Power circular indicating that Archbishop Addison of East Orange was to speak on that subject on Sunday, August 6, 1967. Until any police intelligence reports on this are received, there will be a gap in our requirements.

B. Other Organizations.

Information on other organizations has yet to be obtained by this Office.

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT CLIMATE

There was not sufficient time to evaluate the present climate.

5. UNRESOLVED FACTORS

We require a complete development of organizational material and review of other sources on concerted activity, as indicated above.



JTS
Newark
Gen 12

State of New Jersey
GOVERNOR'S SELECT COMMISSION
TO STUDY CIVIL DISORDER

1100 RAYMOND BOULEVARD
ROOM 420
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102

RICHARD J. HUGHES,
Governor
ROBERT D. LILLEY,
Chairman

December 15, 1967

SANFORD M. JAFFE
Executive Director

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

MEMBERS
RAYMOND A. BROWN,
Vice Chairman
ALFRED E. DRISCOLL
THE REV. JOHN J. DOUGHERTY
C. CLYDE FERGUSON, JR.
JOHN J. GIBBONS
BEN Z. LEUCHTER
OLIVER LOFTON
ROBERT B. MEYNER
THE REV. PRINCE A. TAYLOR
WILLIAM A. WACHENFELD

FROM: SANFORD M. JAFFE
AND ROBERT B. GOLDMANN

SUBJECT: Meeting with Mr. Russell Sackett
Reporter on Life Magazine

We called Mr. Sackett to get his views and comments on the July disorders in Newark, based on his reporting during the riots and immediately afterwards.

Mr. Sackett was sent to Newark after the initial phase of the rioting was over, and his assignment was to fill any gaps that the daily newspapers had left out. He decided that the important angle was whether there was a conspiracy or plan. He reported that he found his way to a source in the ghetto who candidly described organized sniping, and who appeared to be heading up this organized effort. Mr. Sackett also found pamphlets of the people's liberation army on the premises. It was Mr. Sackett's conclusion from discussions with this source, whose identity he has not disclosed to anyone - in line with standard practice of newsmen - that there was a plan and an organization behind the sniping phase in Newark. Mr. Sackett was careful to point out, however, that he has no evidence that the riot itself (the Smith incident and other non-sniping aspects) were planned. Rather, it is his belief that an organization exists which can and does spring into action once a riot has broken out and that sniping is the special function of that organization.

Mr. Sackett pointed out that the sniping that was done by his source and fellow-snipers did not result in many casualties. The source indicated that this was not the purpose of the sniping. Rather it appeared to be the aim of the snipers to attract police and thus leave other sectors of the disbanded area uncovered and open to looting.

Mr. Sackett was asked why he thought the heavy sniping phase began after most of the looting was over. He did not have the answer to this question except to surmise that the sniping was designed to keep the disturbances alive or to revive them.

Mr. Sackett said he subsequently saw FBI photos among which he recognized his interviewee among others. This leads him to believe that law enforcement authorities may be "quite close". It was also his opinion that certain key leaders in the Negro community are likely to be aware of the identity, mission and activity of his source.

After hearing Mr. Sackett's comments, an unanswered question was why friends of the source would steer him there and, why a white reporter would get such a candid description of an extremely sensitive phase of riot activity. It could be explained by the proclivity of some militants to live dangerously and boast of their efforts out of a sense of pride and strength but it also could be explained by a deliberate effort to mislead white newsmen, particularly those of major national media.

RBG: mar

RICHARD J HUGHES,
Governor



ROBERT D. LILLEY,
Chairman

State of New Jersey

GOVERNOR'S SELECT COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDER

1100 Raymond Boulevard, Room 420

Newark, New Jersey 07102

Area Code 201 Tel: 648-2770

SANFORD M. JAFFE
Executive Director

December 14, 1967

John Scales
National Advisory Commission
on Civil Disorders
1016 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

John,

I hope this will be helpful.

If I can be of further assistance, please
let me know.

News

Very truly yours,

Sandy
Sanford M. Jaffe
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Encl.

13

News

MEMBERS

RAYMOND A. BROWN,
Vice Chairman

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OLIVER LOFTON

ROBERT B. MEYNER

BISHOP PRINCE A. TAYLOR

WILLIAM A. WACHENFELD

NEWARK ESTIMATED DAMAGE
 RIOTS-July 12 TO JULY 17, 1967

<u>Number of Businesses</u>	<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>	<u>Building Damage</u>	<u>Stock Loss</u>	<u>Total Loss</u>
151	Liquor Stores	488	\$ 141,745	\$1,800,050	\$ 1,941,795
80	Clothing Stores	430	322,550	1,412,375	1,734,925
72	Furniture Stores	391	232,000	1,173,659	1,405,659
54	Drugs, Candy Stationery	209	132,795	857,045	989,840
167	Food Stores	694	188,545	802,980	991,525
95	Cleaners & Shoe Repair	249	130,305	475,150	605,455
33	Appliances (Sales & Service)	170	76,525	266,019	342,544
4	Photographers, Pawn Shops	20	20,500	229,250	249,750
13	Carpets, Upholstery, Window shades	44	114,575	108,250	222,825
8	Jewelry Stores	60	2,350	172,500	174,850
15	Automobiles, Auto Supply	132	31,675	131,000	162,675
20	5¢ & 10¢ Stores	255	34,500	124,820	159,320
25	Hardware Stores & Locksmiths	144	23,050	103,762	126,812
10	Shoe Stores	25	26,800	87,300	114,100
14	Industrial Establishments	166	12,280	77,400	89,680
57	Barber Shops, Beauty Salons	206	19,625	78,275	97,900
70	Restaurants & Luncheonettes	215	70,215	16,070	86,285
22	Miscellaneous Business & Community Services	60	36,300	14,700	51,000
7	Miscellaneous Merchandisers	15	16,500	33,955	50,455
12	Gas Stations	51	12,300	9,150	21,450
7	Record Stores	25	1,100	17,550	18,650
17	Insurance & Real Estate	90	5,400	9,750	15,150
7	Construction Supplies	21	2,735	11,500	14,235
5	Florists	10	10,850	900	11,750
16	Religious Stores & Institutions	131	4,795	3,140	7,935
5	Banks	75	4,200	120	4,320
4	Print Shops	8	1,400	1,600	3,000
4	Pool Supply	4	825	1,500	2,325
4	Moving & Storage	8	1,200	540	1,740
31	Other Business	96	289,500	263,750	553,250
1,029	TOTALS	4,492	\$1,967,140	\$8,284,060	\$10,251,200

130

NEWARK - DEGREE AND TYPE OF DAMAGE

Degree of Damage to Stores and Business Establishments

Total Damage	2.8%
Heavy Damage	15.4%
Moderate Damage	24.4%
Light Damage	57.4%
<u>Total.</u>	100% or 889 Businesses

Type of Damage

Damage to Structure	17.8%
Damage to Glass	84.7%
Damage to Fixtures	28.2%
Damage to Equipment	24.3%
Other Damage	9 %

Degree of Stock Loss

Total Loss	11.6%
Heavy Loss	34.4%
Moderate Loss	28.5%
Light Loss	25.5%
<u>Total</u>	100% or 754 Businesses

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
CITY OF NEWARK

NEWARK POLICE DEPARTMENT
PLANNING & RESEARCH OFFICE
57 GREEN STREET
NEWARK, N.J. 07102

December 15, 1967

Memorandum

To: Donald W. Bacon
Assistant Commissioner (Compliance)
Internal Revenue Service
Washington, D.C.

From: M. C. Miskovsky
Director of Investigations

Subject: Request for Information on Weapons

We have information that Willie Wright of the United Afro-American Association has possession of a cache of arms including machine guns and automatic weapons. The headquarters of UAAA is located at 402 South 6th Street, Newark, New Jersey.

On November 3, 1967 an investigator of this Commission interviewed Mr. Wright in Newark concerning a newspaper article by Louis E. Lomax which reported that Wright's organization had such a cache. Mr. Wright told the investigator that Lomax's report was true and that Lomax had seen the weapons. Wright told the investigator that the weapons were to be used defensively by the Negro community in the event of another riot.

We request from the Service any information it has on these weapons. This request is made under the provisions of Executive Order 11365 and delegation of authority of 11/14/67, a copy of which was sent to you.

MCM:ka

Distribution:

- ✓ - Newark - General
- 1 - Liaison - IRS - Requests
- 1 - Wright
- 1 - UAAA
- 1 - MCM Chrono.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

14a

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: November 21, 1967

FROM : Haywood L. Perry and John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Evidence of or Information on Manufacture or Storage
of Weapons in Newark, N. J.

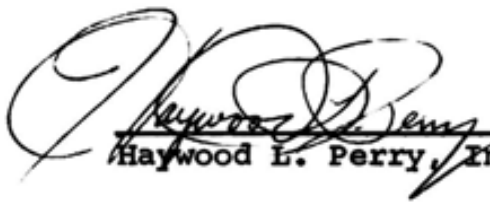
Reference is made to Lee A. Satterfield's interview with Willie Wright on November 3, 1967, page 25, paragraph 1. Satterfield asked Wright to verify the statement made on page 1 of Louis Lomax's column "Newark called a hub for black revolutionaries," as to the presence of a cache of machine guns and carbines in Newark.

Wright advised Satterfield that these weapons are in Newark and that Lomax actually saw them. However, Lomax is the only person outside of Newark who had seen the weapons or who would ever see them.

It may be noted that the following interviewees made general (but not first hand) statements to team members as to the existence of such a cache:

Kenneth Gibson, Employee at United Community Corp.
Donald James, Social Worker
Joseph Stulb, Assistant, Queen of Angels; President
Newark Priests Group; Former Chairman, Area Board No. 2.

See also attached memorandum of interview ^{by} Theodore Chamberlain ~~of~~ of an anonymous person, dated October 5, 1967, (Team Report, Part III).


Haywood L. Perry, Investigator


John K. Scales, Investigator

Enclosure:
As stated



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

III, 14

24'b

Newark
October 5, 1967
Interviewer: Theodore Chamberlain
Interviewee: "Anonymous Person"

The interview is anonymous because this person so wished it. I was introduced this, shall we say, man by someone in whom I have trust, and I believe this anonymous person. He said that he saw in the ghetto a roomful of boxes of new rifles, boxes of new pistols, barrels of ammunition and at least one case of hand grenades, which in his own words, were enough to fight the war in Vietnam for two days. However, the room, we finally agreed, was approximately 10 by 12 feet and stacked some eight feet high. He said the people that showed him the ammunition were bargaining to buy two machine guns. He believes these arms are intended ~~as~~ for defense.



M. C. Miskovsky

December 13, 1967

John K. Scales

**Trip to Cities in the New Jersey Chain (December 7 -
December 8, 1967)**

**I attach the following reports of interviews conducted
during the above period for the primary purpose of obtaining
answers to our questionnaire:**

- 1. Paterson, New Jersey - Interview with Chief of
Police O'Brien and his Assistant.**
- 2. Englewood, New Jersey - Interview with Members
of Police Department.**
- 3. Newark, New Jersey - Sessions with Director of
Police Spina and Captain Charles E. Kinney and
Detective Millard.**
- 4. Jersey City, New Jersey - Interview with Acting
Police Director Whelan and Members of his Staff.**

Attachments

JKS:ka

Distribution:

- 1 - JKS Chrono.**
- 1 - Paterson - General**
- 1 - Englewood - General**
- ✓ 1 - Newark - General**
- 1 - Jersey City - General**

M. C. Miskovsky

December 13, 1967

John K. Scales

Newark, New Jersey - Sessions with Director of Police Dominick A. Spina and Captain Charles E. Kinney and Detective William Millard of his department (Thursday, December 7, 1967, 4:30 p.m. to 5:15 p.m.) (Friday, December 8, 1967, 3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.)

I met with Director Spina at his office on Thursday, December 7, 1967, between 4:30 p.m. and 5:15 p.m. Informed of my mission, he offered to "open his files" and make Captain Kinney and Detective Millard available Friday afternoon. Sanford Jaffe, of the New Jersey Commission, had indicated to Spina that I wanted to see him and Spina had invited me to call.

On Thursday I asked the Director each of our questions and then repeated them to Millard and Kinney on Friday. Their answers were consistent and as follows.

6. What direct evidence does your office have that prior to the inception of the disorder, one or more persons and/or organizations contrived or planned the "triggering event" which in fact initiated the disorder?

None.

However, Spina believes that the climate was set by questionable individuals and organizations and that there was a "conspiracy" in that sense. Millard and Kinney agreed that the response of the community to the incident was governed by general "agitation" over a period of years.

Spina added that Hayden was with Weinglass (Hayden's attorney) when a call came from one James Walker that Smith had been arrested and "beaten". According to Spina, Hayden said "this is it" to Weinglass, and they all went out on the street. The basis for this opinion should be explored.

7. What direct evidence does your office have that there were individuals and/or organizations engaged in sniping during the period of disorder? In addition to other requirements, with respect to each alleged sniper, state the make, model, serial number, of any confiscated weapon, the name of the officer who made the confiscation and the date thereof.

None.

No one was arrested for sniping, but approximately seven persons were arrested for having dangerous weapons.

I requested copies of reports on sniping and a cross reference to list of arrestees.

8. If your office has any such evidence of sniping, what direct evidence does your office have that:
- a. prior to the inception of such sniping, one or more snipers contrived or agreed with other individuals participating in the disorder (whether as snipers, looters or otherwise) upon a definite course or pattern of action;
- None.
- b. during the disorder, one or more sniper(s) acted in harmony or unison with other individuals participating in the disorder (whether as snipers, looters, or otherwise);

None.

9. What direct evidence does your office have that prior to such action, two or more individuals and/or organizations agreed upon what buildings would be damaged, burned or looted. (In addition to other requirements, attach any damage studies.)

None.

However, they will provide a copy of a damage study, from which certain conclusions may be drawn.

(Develop Spina's unsupported statement that one David Baker directed looting, etc.)

10. What evidence does your office have of:
- a. False reports given to the police department during the disorder?

They will provide.

- b. False alarms given to the fire department during the disorder?

They will provide.

11. What direct evidence does your office have that any "false alarms" or "false reports" were placed by individuals and/or organizations acting pursuant to a previously contrived plan or in harmony or unison with other individuals and/or organizations participating in the disorder.

None.

12. What direct evidence does your office have that individuals and/or organizations were distributing inflammatory materials (calling for riot or instructing on the manufacture, obtaining, or use of weapons) during or immediately prior to the disorder?

They will provide.

13. What direct evidence does your office have of the presence or involvement of individuals residing and/or organizations having a base outside of your community area during or immediately prior to the disorder? (Including identification of out-of-state automobiles.)

They will provide.

Spina stated that one of his men saw Hayden in the street and it "looked as though" Hayden had just distributed Molotov cocktails from his Volkswagen. (Develop.)

14. What direct evidence does your office have of the existence of large quantities of weapons under private control in your community area, during or immediately prior to the disorder?

None.

(Boxes of Molotov cocktails found in 1964-1965. They will check files.)

15. What direct evidence does your office have with respect to weapons confiscated during or immediately prior to the disorder?

They will provide list.

16. What direct evidence does your office have as to the presence, location and role of leaders of the Negro community during the disorder?

Spina claims Oliver Lofton told crowd at police station on first night: "Do anything you want and I'll represent you."

17. What information does your office have with respect to the purchase, registration, and possession of weapons in the community area immediately prior to or during the disorder?

They will provide from Records Division.

18. To what extent does your office maintain files on organizations in the community area, which you consider as having some relation to the disorder?

They will provide copies of all.

19. What records does your office have of reports of riots made to police departments in the two-month period immediately preceding the disorder?

They will provide.

With respect to our general requirements for police departments, they advised:

2. Organization: The Intelligence Division, headed by Captain "Rocko Ferranti" and having four detectives.
3. Repository: The Intelligence Division offices.
4. Source and processing: From detectives and other sources; it appears to be systematically filed and called to the attention of the Director.
5. Information: Complete "intelligence" files on each individual and organization, available upon request.
6. and 7. Weapons: None.
8. Attitude measurement: Informally measured.

9. Leads from informers: They do so frequently and they are reliable.
10. Picture of informers: Someone who is in trouble with police, sometimes paid.
11. Who works with informers: Rocko Ferranti and other members of the Intelligence Division.
12. Cross check: No system, but cooperation with other levels of law enforcement.

Generally, Spina advised that SNCC had been in the area in the person of Phil Hutchens, Robert Fullerlove and a "third person" (whose name neither Spina, Millard nor Kinney could provide) and that Fullerlove is no longer in Newark. They do not have anything on RAM.

Of the many views expressed by Spina, the following may be helpful:

1. Hayden and group are trying to gain control of a radio station.
2. Willie Wright was a non-entity until Lomax and others gave him "press" and he is over-emphasized now.
3. Robert Eldridge (Reporter whom I planned to see about Hayden) is pro-Hayden.
4. Millard and Kinney advised that NCUP receives a grant from World Council of Churches. Millard gave me a box of checks and other personal effects (received months ago from informer) purportedly establishing division of SDS and UCC funds and "too hot" to be developed locally.

I had to leave for Detroit and they promised to have all materials requested for me by Monday.

On Monday, December 11, at 6:00 p.m., Millard had policemen meet me at the Newark airport and present the information attached.

The above can only be regarded as a first step in developing information available to the Newark police department. The materials obtained must be reviewed and then I should go back to see them to identify the materials, go through their other files, and develop some of the statements reported above. A complete day with the police department will be necessary to exhaust that source. They will be receptive to further inquiry.

I hereby affirm that the foregoing is a true and accurate record of my interview.

Attachments

JKS:ka

Distribution:

1 -JKS Chrono.

✓ - Newark - General

M. C. Miskovsky

December 13, 1967

John K. Scales

Trip to Newark, New Jersey (November 28, 1967 - December 1, 1967)

I attach reports with respect to the following:

1. Initial meetings with Sanford Jaffe and Fitzsimmons and Copeland of his office. November 28, 1967. (9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.)
2. Interview with Ralph D'Ambola, Sheriff, Essex County, New Jersey. November 29, 1967.
3. Interview with Thomas Hayden. November 29, 1967.
4. Interview with William H. Wussler, Jr., Under Sheriff, Essex County, New Jersey. November 30, 1967.
5. Interview with Brendon Byrne, County Prosecutor, Essex County. November 30, 1967.

On November 30, 1967 from 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. and on December 1, 1967 from 10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., I met with Robert C. Kohler, Director of the New Jersey B'Nai Brith Anti-Defamation League, and his assistant David F. Stahl. They were very helpful in providing leads (which I have noted in rough draft in my file) and I will either develop these or indicate the extent to which they may represent "gaps" in our final report. As you know, our time limitations precluded development of these aspects at the time.

Attachments

JKS:ka

Distribution:

- 1 - JKS Chrono.
- ✓ - Newark - General

M. C. Miskovsky

December 12, 1967

John K. Scales

Initial Meeting with Sanford Jaffe, Executive Director
of New Jersey Commission on Civil Disorders (November 28, 1967)

We met with Sanford Jaffe and two of his investigators,
John A. Fitzsimmons (former New Jersey State Police) and
Roland Copeland (now a Deputy U. S. Marshall).

You indicated our mission and at Jaffe's request, our mode
of operation, deadlines and the extent to which we have found
planned activity in our investigations.

We all agreed that it was in our mutual interest to have a
free exchange of information to insure that we are on the
right and same track. Jaffe noted that he was aware of the
sensitive nature of federal-state relationships from both sides
and of some previous difficulties between the two Commissions.

Jaffe indicated that his Commission had not come up with any
"hard stuff," that most information on groups had been second
or third hand and that Police Director Spina is currently
testifying before the New Jersey Commission. Jaffe explained
that the individuals in the militant organization are not
talking because they are concerned about exposure, and they do
not want to admit that they are not very well organized. You
noted that such negative conclusions were valuable in themselves
and that the National Commission wanted to provide a forum for
these groups, as well as evaluate them.

Jaffe agreed to provide us with the damage statistics and we
will tie these in with insurance industry reports. He was
given a xerox copy of the single sheet containing our require-
ments in this regard.

After the meeting adjourned and you left, Perry, Fitzsimmons, Copeland and I discussed matters generally. Initially it was difficult keeping them on subjects relevant to our mission. We learned the following unsubstantiated bits of information from the sources indicated before going systematically into our requirements as such:

1. There have been rumors about Birchers and Minutemen in Newark, but most are probably in the suburbs. (Copeland)
2. During the height of the Newark riots, an armed group of Italians headed towards the central ward, but they turned back because of fear of being trapped by the Negroes. (Copeland)
3. Puerto Ricans took part in looting and sniping at policemen, according to a teenager who related this to Copeland.
4. The firemen are armed (contrary to state law) and have regular target practice. (Fitzsimmons)
5. There are Negro militant groups "out there," but no one knows how potent they are. A businessman told Copeland that there was a group that had some sort of celebration after looting.

At this point, Haywood and I suggested that it would be better to go through our requirements specifically. We started to do this as a group, but after a while Haywood had a separate discussion about groups with Copeland and I discussed our requirements on "Tab A" with Fitzsimmons. The latter gave me the following general briefing on the local law enforcement picture.

City Police.

Director Spina "decides everything" and Chief Oliver Kelly is little more than a figurehead who handles the daily administrative matters. There is no reason (and it might be politically detrimental) to see Kelly.

The police department has an intelligence arm of approximately 28 men (handpicked by Spina) and headed by "Rocko Ferranti", who is very close to Spina. Their general mission is to keep track of the Mafia, drugs, gambling, etc., but they do act as troubleshooters and information conduits in connection with actual or potential disorders. Fitzsimmons does not know, but believes that there is very little undercover work. He believes that there is no repository (except Spina's and Rocko's heads) of information on groups and agitators, and that there are few informers (since the city does not have the money to pay them). I will develop these further with Spina.

There are two organizations serving "intelligence" functions at the county level: (a) the Essex County Sheriff's Office, which includes narcotics and gambling squads. There are approximately two hundred men under the Sheriff's supervision (including process-servers). There is no particular section assigned to disorders, (b) County Prosecutors Office, Brendon Byrne: there are thirty on his staff. Both (a) and (b) have informers.

At the state level, the state police have an intelligence division, which has (a) Cosa Nostra, (b) subversive and (c) community relations squads. Michael Boch heads the subversive unit and Fitzsimmons will set up an appointment for me. They use informers.

In Fitzsimmons opinion, there appears to be cooperation and a free flow of intelligence information between the county sheriff's and prosecutor's offices, but there is little cooperation vertically except where homicides are involved.

I requested all available information on persons arrested. Ian Ross of the New Jersey Commission refused to give me the list on his desk (claiming that Ted Chamberlain of the National Commission had been given the same) but this will be provided through Fitzsimmons and Jaffe.

Fitzsimmons advised that they have no direct evidence of the existence of a cache. However, Fitzsimmons related that last week 49 pistols (45 caliber) 200 carbines and ammunition were stolen from an armory in Princeton, New Jersey. He said that a few weapons had been returned.

Fitzsimmons offered to make an appointment for me with the Newark Fire Director, John Caufield.

At this point, Haywood and Copeland had completed their discussions. Copeland and Fitzsimmons made general statements that they did not think Tom Hayden was now in the Newark area, that they had not interviewed him, and that there are "people" behind Wright (no particulars given). Copeland doubted that an interview with Councilman, Lee Bernstein, would be productive. They have seen Harry Wheeler and Perry will follow up.

After lunch, Fitzsimmons and I saw Jaffe who (a) gave me all of their files on organizations, (b) advised that I would have damage figures and arrest reports by Wednesday.

I hereby affirm that the foregoing is a true and accurate record of my interview.

John K. Scales
Investigator

JKS:acc

Distribution:

1 - JKS Chron.

X - Newark General

M. C. Miskovsky

December 12, 1967

John K. Scales

Interview with Ralph D'Ambola, Sheriff, Essex County, New Jersey,
November 29, 1967

I was introduced today to the sheriff by John Fitzsimmons, who attended the interview on behalf of the N.J. Commission on Civil Disorders. Questions by Fitzsimmons developed that the sheriff was elected on November 14, 1967. Prior to that he was in the Bureau of Identification and narcotics squad sections of the sheriff's office for a total period of seventeen years. He was on the street during the Newark disorder.

I told the sheriff that I was there as an investigator and not as a missionary. With respect to sniping, he advised that there were 200-300 shoot-outs and that there appeared to be concerted action, but the sheriff had no direct evidence to support these statements. The sheriff stated that he had read the statement made by Lomax with respect to a cache and had heard that Director of Police Spina sent some men down to South Orange Avenue, but had not found anything.

At this point, the sheriff advised that there were other people waiting to see him and he agreed to see me at 10:00 a.m. Thursday, November 30, 1967.

Later that afternoon, Sanford Jaffee, Staff Director of the N.J. Commission, expressed the opinion that it would be a waste of time to see D'Ambola again.

M. C. Miskovsky
S. P. Habert
John K. Scales

December 12, 1967

Interview with Thomas Hayden (Conducted in Newark, New Jersey, on November 29, 1967)

I finally reached Hayden by telephone at 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, November 29, 1967, and he suggested that we meet at noon that day at the offices of his attorney, L. Weinglass, 43 Bleaker Street, Newark. A law school classmate of mine, Stephen Gilbert, had contacted Weinglass the previous Friday and Weinglass gave Gilbert Hayden's unpublished telephone number and suggested that I contact Hayden directly. Gilbert described me to Weinglass as a "liberal" member of the Commission staff (generally), interested in talking with Hayden about the general Newark situation.

I arrived at noon and Weinglass and Hayden asked that I accompany them to lunch. With Hayden was Connie (last name not given) who appeared to be about 21 years old and a friend of Hayden's. The four of us walked from Weinglass' office down to the business district, conversing generally about Secretary McNamara's change of position. (Hayden advised that he had been in Washington on the previous day and expressed the opinion that McNamara was leaving because he was sick of the war.)

Hayden and Weinglass considered possible places where we could eat and talk. Two places were rejected because "the police might be there."

When a hamburger place was agreed upon, Hayden told me that he had only until 1:30 p.m. and suggested that I start asking him questions. Without any apparent suspicion, Weinglass asked me whom I had been seeing in Newark and I gave Sanford Jaffee's name. I then told Hayden and Weinglass that I had driven through the "ghetto area" upon my arrival and that I had found the conditions there deplorable.

We went into the restaurant (insignificant in itself) and once seated, I told Hayden that I personally thought that the Commission had an opportunity to educate the average middle class American on conditions such as I had seen. Appealing to his experience and understanding, I told Hayden that I wanted to hear his views on present conditions and what could be done to correct them. Hayden said that he would answer any "specific" questions. When I mentioned that everything was "off the record", Weinglass seemed surprised that it was necessary to make such mention. I explained that anything said by Hayden would not be quoted, without his permission. Weinglass then relaxed, explaining that he was particularly sensitive because Hayden had been served with a subpoena just prior to lunch by a pretentious "friend" (and process server) who came over to Weinglass' office "to chat".

I asked Hayden if he considered "police brutality" to be the primary issue. He responded in the negative and said that housing and education were the real issues.

After some general discussion of these issues, I mentioned that I had read the Lomax article and asked if it was accurate. Hayden laughed and said that the article was "not reality". He volunteered that the "stuff about the cache" was "absurd". He suggested that Lomax had been paid by someone to overstate the situation so that members of the white community would feel justified in arming themselves. He added that private citizens, and the firemen, were arming and engaging in target practice. He mentioned that a group of whites had started to invade the ghetto area at one point during the riot, but had decided to turn back because they were afraid of being trapped by the Negroes. I mentioned that I had read that there were Birchers, KKK members and Minutemen in the Newark area. Hayden said that there were people of that type, mostly in the suburbs, but that he could not label them as belonging to any particular organization.

I asked Hayden who the Negroes could look to for leadership "in this horrible situation". In discussions thereafter, Hayden expressed the following opinions:

1. Willie Wright has just a "handful" of "active" people with him, but the riot and publicity (Hayden again mentioned Lomax's article) have given Wright quite a general following. Hayden volunteered that Wright is not capable of organizing mailings, etc. "He has a lot of followers, but no organization to speak of." I asked Hayden if he thought "the Willie Wrights" might come and go and he replied that "he hoped not" and that he (Hayden) had great respect for Wright. He said that Wright was a symbol of the "grievance" or "bitterness" element, which, he said, represents most of the Negro community. In that connection, Hayden noted that Newark has no "gangs" as do other comparable cities. I asked Hayden if the Wright group was as bent on violence as Lomax had suggested. Hayden replied that no one (including Wright) really wanted more violence. At one point, Hayden said that it was in character for the Negroes to talk in terms of violence, but that they would not really be violent, except in "self-defense". "Willie Wright does not need many people to make a lot of noise." He said that most of the Negroes wanted to work within the system. According to Hayden, the Negro youths are the most militant. When I asked Hayden how he (Hayden) wanted to reform the system, he changed the subject.
2. The Negro ministers, and Negro politicians, who were once the leaders, have now lost control and are out-of-touch with the people in the ghetto. Hayden said that a Reverend Linder was an exception to this rule and suggested that I speak with him.

3. Emerging leaders in the Negro community are Leroy Jones and Jesse Allen, but Jones is committed in too many intellectual and geographical areas to effectively lead the Negroes of Newark. Hayden added that this was too bad. He feels Allen would be more likely to emerge as a leader. (Haywood Perry was given the name and subsequently interviewed Allen.)
4. The Anvil group has been disbanded and its prime movers were absorbed into the UCC etc. According to Hayden, their problem was that they had militant ends, but cooperated too extensively with the white community in trying to attain them. I think that this should be further developed from another source as it indicates something about the historic of organizational activity.
5. Phil Hutchins has been "fairly successful in SNCC", but Robert Fullerlove has left town.
6. Hayden's group NCUP (Newark Community Urban Project) has "disbanded".
7. The militant Negroes' heroes are Carmichael and Malcolm X, not Willie Wright.
8. Asked for his opinion as to the validity of newspaper reports that OEO money was being diverted to militant groups, Hayden had no comment.
9. Lee Bernstein (Councilman who supported the Canine Corps) is a "nut".
10. Col. Hassan is a "character", who has created quite a white reaction. (Hayden seemed to regard Hassan as a sideshow rather than a leader.)

Hayden said that because of his peace efforts, he had been away from Newark for some time and that he was therefore out-of-touch with the local situation. (On a number of occasions Weinglass and "Connie" told him about things that had been happening recently in Newark.) Asked what the relationship was between his peace efforts and his local efforts, Hayden laughed and said, "the war and the situation here are the same thing, aren't they?"

At 1:25 p.m. I asked Hayden if he would have time to get together with me again "in the next few days". He said that he would probably be too busy, but that I could call him anytime. I asked if he might be interested in appearing before the Commission or its staff at some future date and Hayden said that he might like to, if the area of his testimony were defined in advance.

As I picked up the check, I asked Hayden kiddingly if he would let the "President pay for it" and he retorted that he had taken the President's money before.

I walked with the group to a typewriter shop. While Hayden and "Connie" were looking at second-hand typewriters, Weinglass turned to me and said: "It's a wonder that the police didn't pick up Hayden and his friends during the disorder." Weinglass said that Hayden and his group were out on the street during the disorder, driving around as "observers". We then returned to Weinglass' office, where I thanked them all and departed.

There were many areas that I felt could not be explored at the time in light of time, circumstances, and my desire not to "push" for specific information. I believe that Hayden will be receptive if further contact is made, but I am open to the possibility that the limiting circumstances were by design. I learned later that a girl who works in the next office near my temporary desk at the New Jersey Commission dates Weinglass steadily and is responsible for that Commission's liaison with the Newark police and I have been careful not to have my mission disclosed to her by others in the New Jersey Commission.

Hayden talked more as a commentator than as a participant, but other developments will no doubt indicate the contrary. He appears bright and earnest. I have no reason to question the credibility of the opinions that he expressed, but time was too limited to make a firm assessment.

I hereby affirm that the foregoing is a true and accurate record of my interview.

JKS:ka

Distribution:

1 - JKS Chrono.

✓ - Newark - General

1 - *Indiv.*

M. C. Miskovsky

December 12, 1967

John K. Scales

Interview with William H. Wussler, Jr., Under Sheriff,
Essex County (November 30, 1967)

I arrived at the Sheriff's Office for my 10:00 a.m. appointment and was advised that the Sheriff was ill. In light of Jaffe's opinion and my own impression from the preceding days interview, I determined that I should develop our requirements with the Under Sheriff, who offered to see me.

With respect to our police department requirements (on Tab A), Wussler advised as follows:

1. Name. Sheriff, Essex County New Jersey, which includes twenty-two municipalities, among which Newark and East Orange experienced disorder.

2. Organization. They have a department of 21 detectives (2 of whom are Negro), of which 7 are on the narcotics squad and 14 are on the gambling squad. There is no squad specifically designated for intelligence information with respect to groups and individuals involved in civil disorders but individuals from other squads are assigned from time to time to work in that area as needed. The Sheriff intends to develop an intelligence force to work primarily in this area, but for political reasons it would not be so designated. Occasionally, they also draw upon 3 or 4 Negroes who are patrolmen or constables, for undercover work.

3. Repository. There is no repository as such, only general files in the identification bureau, so that it would be "hit or miss" if I were to look through those files. (However, the Sheriff intends by January to set up such a file, covering the county and coordinating Newark, Montclair, Irvington and East Orange information).

4. Input, processing. Information is received informally and not processed.

5. Information they have. General arrest records and biographies. They have no list of hangouts, but he advised that they are surveilling a Mosque on South Orange Avenue in Newark (the one previously raided) and several other places, which he could not name.

6. Information on manufacture or storage. None, except hearsay based upon Lomax' article.

7. Evidence of weapons, location. None, see 6.

8. Attitude. Not in any systematic manner.

9. Informers. They do get leads from informers occasionally.

10. Informers are "pretty reliable." Wussler knows of one instance of double agency that occurred 7 or 8 years ago. They are paid in some cases, but they don't have the funds to pay in most cases.

11. Who works with informers. The Sheriff.

12. System of cross-check. None. (When they establish their intelligence system, they expect good cooperation from the Newark police, but they will have to "play it by ear" with the State Police.)

With respect to our group and individual requirements, I went through our list and in each case Wussler replied frankly that he knew nothing beyond what was in the newspaper. I assume that this type of information is second hand and in their heads. His impressions is that Wright's group consists of a handful of youth who would be criminals anyway, but he could not be more specific than that.

Wussler was out on the street the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of the disorder and had the "impression" that sniper activity was organized.

He was of the opinion that right wing militant behavior is based in the suburbs particularly in Summit, New Jersey, which is not in Essex County. He was also of the definite "impression" that the OEO agencies were "infiltrated" by black militants. He "felt" that there was a pattern of destruction and looting that followed stores owned by Jewish people. He could not support any of these statements with direct evidence.

He said that most of their intelligence work consists of "fishing expeditions."

I dropped in again later in the day while waiting to see Brendon Byrne, County Prosecutor, and D'Ambola (who seemed well) said that he did not know where the other "hangout" were, and that the Newark Director of Police had a good file on groups, which D'Ambola hoped to get.

I hereby affirm that the foregoing is a true and accurate record of my interview.

John K. Scales
Investigator

JKS:acc

Distribution:

1 - JKS Chron.

✓ 1 - Newark General

M. C. Miskovsky

December 12, 1967

John K. Scales

Interview with Brendon Byrne, County Prosecutor, Essex County, New Jersey (November 30, 1967)

I met today with the above at his office.

He advised that his office does not have its own repository for information relating to individuals and groups involved in disorders, but relies upon the local police departments (including Newark) and sometimes upon the state police.

With respect to individuals and groups, Byrne showed me (but would not permit me to take a copy of) a memorandum dated August 4, 1967, to Byrne from Detective Redden of the Newark Police Department, listing names of all persons considered to be agitators involved in recent disorders. In the memorandum, Reddin noted that he had obtained most of the information from Detective Millard of the Newark Police Department.

The following individuals were listed:

1. Walter Dankins, 12 Prelinghuysen Avenue, Newark, Executive Director of the Blasser Youth Council.
2. William J. Clark, 64 Seventh Avenue, Newark, (Labor-Vanguard Group).
3. Al Oliver, 101 Ludlow Street, Newark (Labor-Vanguard group).
4. Jessie Allen, 227 Jelleff Avenue, UCC Organizer.
5. Duke Moore, Pennington Court, President of Pennington Court Tenants Association. The memorandum noted that Moore is associated with George Richardson in United Freedom Party and that he was arrested at the Newark Planning Board Hearing, which took place prior to the disorder.

6. James Walker, 10 Custer Place, Newark, Assistant Personnel Director of the UCC.
7. Darye Danson, said to be from Washington, D.C.
8. Lt. Ballia, real name Ralph Thomas, 278 West Kinny Street, Newark.
9. Phil Hutcheson, 18th Avenue, Newark. Noted to be from Cleveland.
10. Thomas Hayden, 1227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark.
11. George Richardson.
12. Robert Curvin.
13. Bulis Ward.
14. Derek Winan.
15. Claryene Coggins (Labor-Vanguard group).
16. Col. Hassan.
17. Robert Fullerlove (SNCC).

I attach copies of materials that were appended to the memorandum. The names "Phil Hutchans" and "Thomas Gray", 825 S. 10th Street, appeared in pencil on the reverse side of one of the documents.

Byrne advised that the Detroit City Prosecutor had found some Newark people in Detroit. I will develop this further from both ends after reviewing arrest records. I told Byrne that our office might be able to assist him in such national aspects.

Due to Byrne's very limited time, I broke the interview off at this point. I left it open to see him again, which I will do if there are "holes" after I see Spina, otherwise I do not think that further contact is necessary, except perhaps telephone contact to fill in our requirements on "Tab A."

I hereby affirm that the foregoing is a true and accurate record of my interview.

John K. Scales
Investigator

JKS:acc

Distribution:

1 - JKS Chron.

✓ - Newark

M. C. Miskovsky

December 12, 1967

John K. Scales

Recommendations for Future Hearings

On the basis of interviews conducted to date in the New Jersey area, I recommend that the following be considered for testimony before the Commission or in field hearings:

Thomas Hayden, Newark, New Jersey, author of "Rebellion in Newark," founder and member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Hayden could provide insights into militant leadership in the ghetto area. Reference is made to my interview of Hayden conducted November 29, 1967, in which he indicated that he might like to appear before the Commission if the area of his testimony were defined in advance. I expect that he would not voluntarily appear without a stipulation to the effect that he would speak only as to the general situation in Newark and not as to his own role. It is my understanding that he appeared before the New Jersey Commission last week and after review of that testimony we can probably better measure whether his appearance before our Commission would be desirable and productive.

I believe that the Newark public sector has been already sufficiently developed, but I do think that a police official from Englewood, Patterson, or Jersey City should be chosen to get across to the Commission our general findings that there is no direct evidence of concerted action and that there has for some time been and continues to be organizational activity, even in the "smaller communities." I will recommend a particular person (probably from Englewood) after I have received, reviewed, and developed, organizational material being forwarded from these three New Jersey communities.

JKS:acc

1 - JKS Chron.

1 - Hearings

T. Newark

M. C. Miskovsky

Dec. 12, 1967

Haywood L. Perry

HLP

Recommended Witnesses, Re: The New Jersey Riots

The following list consists of the cities involved in the New Jersey riots and persons who participated in them in one way or another.

Attachment

HLP/raf
12/12/67

Distribution:

- 1 - HLP Chron.
- 1 - *Newark*
- 1 - *E. Liz*
- 1 - *Plainfield*
- 1 - *New Brunswick*
- 1 - ~~*Hearings Com Agents*~~
Misc

18a

NEW JERSEY RIOTS

A. Newark

1. Timothy Still - President of UCC, United Community Corporation.
 - a. Will testify that there was no conspiracy to start the riot in Newark, New Jersey.
 - b. Will testify that UCC is composed of many militant members who do not regulate the overall function of UCC.
 - c. Will testify concerning different groups in Newark.
 - d. Will testify that he feels another riot in Newark is remote at the present time.

2. Oliver Lofton - Director of Newark Legal Services Program.
 - a. Will testify that he has no evidence of a conspiracy that triggered the Newark riot.
 - b. Will testify that one of the main causes of the riot was police brutality.
 - c. Will testify that the seeds of unrest had been sown in Newark prior to the riot.

3. Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr. - Organizer of the "Black Power Conference" in Newark on July 23-27, 1967.
 - a. Will testify that the cause of the riot in Newark and other cities was and presently is the fact that black people are being treated as second class citizens.

- b. Will testify that it is necessary for black people to unite and form their own black power to deliver them from their plight.
 - c. Will testify to programs of black people suggested at the "Black Power Conference."
4. Willie Wright - President of the United Afro-American Association.
- a. Will testify to the role he played during the riot.
 - b. Will testify that he has made the black community aware of their need to survive if another riot occurs.
 - c. Will testify that he and Tom Hayden visited several socialist countries including Czechoslovakia.
 - d. May testify to his organization's programs
5. Leroi Jones - Negro Playwright and Poet
- a. Will testify that he is the leader of a Black Nationalist Group located in the Settlement House in Newark.
 - b. Will testify he is attempting to make the black people aware of the racial issue and is attempting to encourage black people to make a change.
 - c. May present his organization's programs.

B. Elizabeth

1. Michael D. Roy - Police Chief

- a. Will testify that his office has no evidence of conspiracy that caused the disturbance in his city from July 17 - 18, 1967.
- b. Will testify that the Negroes in his city have not registered their complaints with his department prior to the riot.
- c. Will testify that the tension in Elizabeth between the Negroes and whites has subsided.
- d. Will testify that he evaluates the incidents that occurred on July 17 - 18, 1967 as mere disturbances and not riots.

C. New Brunswick

1. Ralph Petrone - Chief of Police

- a. Will testify that he has no evidence of outside agitation that contributed to the disorder in his city.
- b. Will testify that the disturbance was caused by unruly teenagers who were dispensing their energies.
- c. Will testify that the race relations in his city are excellent.

2. Carl C. Valenti - Police Commissioner and Director of Public Safety

- a. Mr. Valenti's testimony will concur with that of Chief Petrone.

D. Plainfield

Testimony supplied by persons in this city can be obtained from the McClellan Hearings.

M. C. Miskovsky

Dec. 12, 1967

Harold H. Hair

Allegations of Minutemen Infiltration of Philadelphia and New Jersey Police

The attached newspaper item presents a challenge to us which must be met somehow.

I have drafted a requirement on the FBI concerning the claims, but it would appear essential that we make some independent investigations including personal interviews with Haas and officials of the police agencies claimed to have been infiltrated. Proving the negative of this situation may be impossible. It is hardly likely that Haas would identify his members, but the police officials should be given the opportunity to deny the allegations and describe whatever means they have for screening out such people.

If Mr. Perry and Mr. Scales go back to New Jersey, I suggest that they be asked to look into this story.

Attachment

HHH/raf

Dec. 12, 1967

Distribution:

- 1 - HHH Chron.
- 1 - Minutemen (Organizations)
- ✓* - Newark - Gen
- 1 - HS - Phila.

M. C. Miskovsky

December 12, 1967

Haywood L. Perry

Visit to the Central United Church of Christ - Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., Minister

Attachment: Copy of program from Central United Church of Christ

On Sunday, December 10, 1967, the writer attended the eleven o'clock services at the Central United Church of Christ, located at 7625 Linwood Street, Detroit, Michigan, and pastored by Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., who was not present. The church consists of two buildings, the main auditorium and a secondary auditorium.

Upon arriving at church, the writer was greeted very cordially and was presented a program. The main auditorium, which seats approximately 250 people, was filled to approximately one-fifth of its capacity. Approximately fifteen minutes after my arrival, the choir marched in, and immediately following the choir, Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., organizer of the Black Power Conference in Newark, New Jersey, appeared as guest speaker.

The remaining pews became occupied within a period of minutes. Many of the worshipers, men and women, wore African dress and stylish "African bush" hair dress. The congregation consisted of approximately five white persons scattered about the church. Approximately four white newsmen came in and stood in the rear of the church when Dr. Wright began his sermon on the "Importance of Black Power". A church program is attached.

The church secretary mentioned the fact that Rev. Cleage was absent but did not state the reason for his absence. The secretary asked all of the members and friends to be present at the church on Sunday, December 17, 1967, between 8:00 and 10:30 to witness the live telecast at which time Rev. Cleage will confront police chiefs in Atlanta, St. Louis, Newark,

and Philadelphia on a 126 station hook-up. It was requested that the people wear African dress if they desire.

Dr. Wright, guest speaker, was introduced to the audience in a most elegant manner. He exuberantly rallied to the introduction by welcoming the audience as his black sisters and brothers. He immediately plugged his book, Black Power and Urban Unrest. The text of his subject was that black people should be proud of the fact that they are black and that time has come for all black people to unite in "Black Power". He defined "Black Power" as the ultimate identification of the black man in a white man's society.

He related that until black people are able to identify themselves "Black Power" will merely be a figure of speech. Dr. Wright was given a standing ovation at the conclusion of the sermon. Dr. Wright announced his new membership within the church along with five other new members, including a woman.

An unknown pulpit associate briefly commented on Dr. Wright's sermon and remarked that time had come for black people to relinquish their "Uncle Tomish" ideas and join the state of black brotherhood. Whitey can no longer tell black people what to do. The audience, as stated was composed of astute individuals, applauded the comments.

After the sermon, members, friends and others in attendance congregated in the secondary auditorium for coffee, tea and pastries. Dr. Wright was immediately cornered by the newsmen who fired questions at him faster than he could respond. One question in particular was "Why is he preaching separatism?" Dr. Wright calmly stated that he was not preaching separatism because the white man had already separated black people from their society. What he is attempting to do is arouse the blackman to make it on his own and make the best of the situation which he did not create. Another question was "Why he had joined this church when he already had membership in an Episcopalian church in Newark?" Dr. Wright stated that he has not given up his Episcopalian faith but that he was merely

associating himself with another church that preaches and teaches the people in the manner in which he believes and that this type of church is the type that is needed in every black community in the U.S. He stated that whenever he visits Detroit the Central United Church of Christ will be his church.

At this point the newsmen concluded their interviews. The writer introduced himself to Dr. Wright and made reference to our telephone conversation in Newark approximately two weeks ago, at which time Wright related he did not want to talk to anyone from the President's Commission on Civil Disorders. Dr. Wright recalled the incident, shook my hand and apologized for not being able to speak because he had to autograph his books (Black Power and Urban Unrest) that were being purchased by the church members for \$2.00 a copy.

There were no comments on the riot or the fact that the policemen who had been held on a conspiracy charge to commit murder, were exonerated. The writer socialized with the church members for approximately an hour and departed the church. The fact that Rev. Cleage was absent might have had something to do with the fact that nothing was mentioned about the race situation in Detroit.

The church services were similar to services rendered in the Baptist church other than the sermon and remarks made after the sermon. Overall, Rev. Cleage has a progressive church with a huge congregation. My visit to the church was enlightening.

HLP:ka

Distribution:

- 1 - HLP Chrono.
- ✓ 1 - Newark - General
- 1 - Detroit - General
- 1 - Cleage
- 1 - Wright

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Newark

21

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Dec. 6, 1967

FROM : John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Interviews with Law Enforcement Officers

I have made definite appointments with the highest police officials in each of the following cities:

Jersey City: Thursday, December 7, at 10 a.m.
(confirmed)

Newark: Thursday, December 7, at 4 p.m. (This
will not be confirmed until later
today.)

Paterson: Friday, December 8, at 9:30 a.m.
(confirmed)

Englewood: Friday, December 8, at 2:30 p.m.
(confirmed)

I will see the mayors of each city if I consider it necessary to support our report. Perhaps I can see Jaffe about the damage study in between these, but I may have to leave that until Saturday. I will alert him tomorrow; he is in the Midwest today.

Haywood is covering Elizabeth, Plainfield and New Brunswick.

Accordingly, I am not leaving until later this afternoon as I want to confer with Mr. McVitty to insure that he is underway.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Newark - Gen
✓
22

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Dec. 6, 1967

FROM : John K. Scales

SUBJECT: Newark Assignment

I have prepared reports on interviews which I conducted last week, and I will submit them for final typing upon my return from Newark.

As you know, I consider the original assignment on Newark to be less than half completed and I look forward to developing it thoroughly once our immediate requirements are fulfilled.



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

M. C. Miskovsky

Dec. 5, 1967

Haywood L. Perry

Interview with Dr. Nathan Wright - Organizer of the Black Power Conference

An interview with Dr. Wright seemed most logical since he was the organizer of the Black Power Conference held in Newark on July 21 - 26, 1967, and a respected leader in the community.

On the morning of November 28, 1967, the writer telephonically conversed with Dr. Nathan Wright at his office, telephone number 624-6899, in an attempt to discuss the Newark situation. After the writer had made a formal introduction, Dr. Wright immediately stated he did not care to talk to anyone on the President's Commission and that he thought he had made himself clear on that point to the General Counsel's Office of the President's Commission.

Dr. Wright related it is an affront to the black man's intelligence for the President to have created a commission to investigate riots in this country. The President and all of the white people know the cause of riots in this country. Wright feels the President is playing a political game.

Dr. Wright stated he had been hired as a consultant on Governor Hughes' Commission and that he is attempting to meet the December 31, 1967 deadline. He advised that he was not going to furnish the President's Commission with any free consultation and that his forthcoming book "Ready to Riot" would answer all of the Commission's questions. Dr. Wright concluded the conversation by stating his time was valuable and that he had nothing else to say.

The writer is of the opinion that Dr. Wright is taking advantage of his leadership position to promote his financial status on the pretext of expressing the black man's grievances while straddling the fence without maintaining a principle.

December 4, 1967

Mr. Walter D. Swift
Associate Manager, Claims Bureau
American Insurance Association
85 John Street
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Swift:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter which I sent to the Mayor's team investigating the Detroit riot; it indicates the kind of information which the city has agreed to collect for us. A similar request for information on the Newark riot has been presented to Governor Hughes' Commission. Each of these groups has agreed to contact me as soon as the data is pulled together and ready for analysis, at which time I hope your adjusters will be able to step into the picture and put both the city collected information and the information from insurance files together in graphic form.

As I mentioned to you on the phone last week, I think that a detailed, street-by-street, building-by-building analysis is the only meaningful way -- from our point of view as well as yours -- to attack the problem. Without this kind of detail, it will be impossible to form any conclusions as to planned activity during the riots or to make any predictions for the future.

I look forward to hearing from you concerning your meeting with the adjusters in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Sarah Carey

Enclosure
cc: Robert N. Gilmore, Jr.

SCC:ka

Distribution:

1 - SCC Chrono.

✓ 1 - Newark - General

1 - Property Damage - Ins.

Director of Investigations

December 4, 1967

Haywood L. Perry

UCC - United Community Corporation - Timothy Still, President

Enclosure: "The Crusader", UCC's Publication

On November 28, 1967, the writer personally interviewed Mr. Timothy Still at his residence at 45 17th Avenue, Apt. 10E, Newark, New Jersey, concerning the part played by UCC before, during, and after the riot.

First, Mr. Still advised UCC was initiated by Mayor Hugh Addonizio in 1964, at which time a charter was granted and UCC was given \$45,000 as seed money by the City Council, Board of Education, and the Council of Social Agencies. The corporation is appropriated \$4,000,000 a year by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. Still indicated the UCC was founded to help the poverty stricken people in any way and that this assistance was given to the people before, during and after the riot. UCC's many programs, such as:

- 1. On-Job-Training
- 2. Project Enable
- 3. Blazer Training
- 4. Upward Bound
- 5. Newark Legal Services
- 6. Newark Pre-School Council
- 7. Summer Block Recreation, etc.

have enabled people to get on their feet and have given them a new outlook on life. Mr. Still advised that Mayor Addonizio has subsequently labeled UCC as a trouble making organization because of its opposition to many of the administration's policies.

The UCC has a membership of 11,073 people, representing all nationalities and beliefs. It has 114 non-paid trustee members and 65 paid staff members. The board of trustees vote on issues presented before them in behalf of the membership. Mr. Still stated UCC is the largest OEO funded organization that is not controlled by the city's administration and this is one factor that irritates City Hall. There are persons on the board of trustees who are openly opposed to the Mayor and this irritates him to no end.

Before the riot, the Negroes in Newark were involved in many issues with the Mayor that involved their civil rights. First of all there was and still is the general complaint of police brutality which the Mayor and Police Commissioner _____ Spina flatly deny. Whenever complaints are registered by citizens against the police department, Mr. Addonizio merely advises the complainants that their complaints are being forwarded to the FBI.

Members of UCC wrote a letter to the FBI in Newark to verify the Mayor's statement. The FBI advised that they only investigate complaints that indicated violation of a person's civil rights. The members of UCC then attempted to organize a police review board. Mayor Addonizio and Mr. Spina flatly opposed the idea and ignored the issue upon its presentation.

Secondly, the Parker/Callahan case created resentment among the Negroes in Newark. Mayor Addonizio inequitably selected _____ Callahan, a white Councilman at Large, with a high school education over Wilbur Parker, a Negro with a masters degree in accounting from Cornell University, for the position of Secretary of the Board of Education.

During a meeting at City Hall, citizens asked the Mayor why he adamantly supported a white man over a more qualified Negro for such an important position that affected the education of the black children. The Mayor purportedly replied that his selection of Callahan was a political commitment.

Members of UCC, along with other groups such as NAACP and CORE, staged demonstrations to prevent the Board of Education from ratifying Addonizio's selection. The demonstration convinced the Board that enough dissention prevailed in the Negro community over the issue and Callahan was not accepted. However, _____ Hess, the encumbent Secretary, decided to remain another year, thereby forestalling the issue temporarily.

The third and most significant issue which precipitated the Newark riot was the medical school site controversy. Mayor Addonizio, along with a few hand-picked Negroes, decided to accept a contract to build a medical school in Newark's Negro section. The site is proposed to engulf 150 acres which consist of approximately one-half of Central Ward, 99% Negro population.

The selection of subject site has made it necessary to relocate 70,000 families. The Mayor has yet to demonstrate to the people his willingness to build decent homes and apartments for those persons being displaced. Negroes feel this is a plan of "whitey" to drive the Negroes out of Newark in order to regain the white voting power. The population of Newark is presently 54% Negro and 46% other nationalities.

UCC organized demonstrations to advise City Hall and the entire city that Negroes were tired of being pushed around and abused. Some members of UCC hired trained agitators to attend and disrupt hearings on the medical school site. The main agitator who attended the meeting was Col. Hassan Jeru Ahmed, aka, Albert Roy Osborne, of Washington, D.C. Osborne disrupted the meetings by breaking newsmen's cameras and destroying tapes that were used to tape the sessions. Oddly enough, he was not arrested for creating the disturbance because the situation was tense and the police felt the arrest of Osborne might have created more trouble.

Members of UCC have raised money for legal fees to institute a suit against the City of Newark for accepting an illegal contract. They hope the courts will enjoin the contractors from breaking ground, which is supposed to take place in April 1968.

Mr. Still advised he was personally involved during the riot. He recollected he was one of the first so-called leaders on the scene at the Fourth Precinct at the onset of the disturbance. The initial thing that triggered the riot was the rumor that the police had killed a cab driver. Mr. Still felt that the situation in Newark was so bad that anything could have actually triggered the riot.

On the first day of the riot and the subsequent days, Still and members of UCC pleaded for parents to keep their children off the streets and not take part in the disturbance. Mr. Still stated that he did not see any leaders among the groups of people inciting persons to act.

Each person was an entity moving on his own personal motivation to create trouble and cause damage. The seed for hatred had been sown thus creating a state of reprisal for all. Mr. Still advised the writer he did not notice any concerted action by any groups. However, once the riot was in full gear, everyone participated. Whether or not the participation was an expression of rebellion against the administration or taking advantage of the situation is a question that can only be answered by each participant.

In answer to the question whether or not the people in Newark were arming themselves for another encounter with the police, Mr. Still advised he heard both white and Negro people were arming themselves to confront each other. Still stated he fears that the situation could erupt again because the administration has made no attempts to change its policy.

In answer to the question whether or not there are persons in the UCC who are very militant, he advised that the membership of UCC is 11,000 people and that he is sure that there are many out of this number who are militant. He named Willie Wright, a past Vice President of UCC, as militant. He stated Wright emerged as a leader in his own right subsequent to the riot.

Wright is presently on the Board of Trustees; he is loyal to the cause of the Negro people and is willing to die for his convictions. He stated that Wright does not control the policies in UCC because the issues brought before the corporation have to receive a unanimous vote from the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Still was asked to name the Negro leaders in Newark, and he named the following:

1. Oliver Lofton - Director, Newark Legal Services Project
2. George Richardson - Democratic Councilman
3. Robert Curvin - Director, CORE
4. Eulis Ward - Democratic Assemblyman
5. Kenneth Gibson - Housing Authority
6. Calvin West - Councilman at Large

All of these men are on the Board of Trustees of UCC.

Still mentioned that Willie Wright was his opponent in the last election, at which time Wright received one vote. The Board's failure to recognize Wright is indicative of the sound judgment exerted by the astute Board of Trustees.

Mr. Still was asked to elaborate on Mayor Addonizio's charge that members of UCC were using UCC's material and equipment to express their racial hate for white people. Mr. Still advised that upon being advised that hate literature with UCC letterhead was being disseminated in the Negro ghetto he immediately detected Thomas McCarey, an accountant with UCC, as the culprit. McCarey was suspended and a hearing is pending.

Still advised that there is one known John Birch Society member who is also a member of UCC. His name is Matthew J. Grande, of 19 Taylor Street, Newark, New Jersey. Still advised Grande told him Police Commissioner Spina requested him (Grande) to join the UCC to keep him (Spina) informed. Grande led the John Birch Society group in a parade on Broad Street several months ago. Still stated he and Grande have an understanding and get along well.

Mr. Still furnished the writer with a profile of UCC and himself and advised he is willing to testify before the President's Commission if needed.

PROFILE OF UNITED COMMUNITY CORPORATION

1. Name of Group: UCC - United Community Corporation
2. Headquarters: 124 Brandford Place, Newark, New Jersey
3. Officers:
 - a. Director - Dr. L. Sylvester Odom
 - b. President - Timothy Still
 - c. Vice Presidents:
 - (1) Dean Willard Heckel - Past President of UCC
 - (2) Oliver Lofton - Administrator of Newark Legal Services Project
 - (3) Kenneth Gibson - Housing Authority Engineer
 - (4) Mrs. Marie Gonzales
 - (5) Rev. Msgr. Joseph Dooling
 - d. Secretary - Edward Curt
 - e. Assistant Secretary - Edna Thomas
 - f. Treasurer - Francis C. Tuillan (Vice President, Prudential Life Insurance)
 - g. Assistant Treasurers:
 - (1) Estell Pierce
 - (2) Esther Williams
4. Members: 11,073, which includes total people on boards, committees and general membership. The only requirement of a member is the execution of an application form.

5. Publications: "The Crusader"
6. Objective: To aid the poor people in every respect.
7. Statement by officers of objectives: Reference is made to "The Crusader", dated July 1967, in which Still outlined his plans for the UCC at a press conference held a short time after the election. He cited housing and narcotic addiction as two of the major problems that the UCC will be focusing on during the coming year. He added that he planned to ask the UCC Board of Trustees to establish a new housing committee. The new committee would explore all the possibilities of private industry sponsoring private housing and all other innovative approaches to gaining new housing without eroding the city's tax base.
8. Written evidence of organization: UCC was chartered in 1964. Its bylaws and constitution have been implemented by the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.
9. Incorporation or legal recognition: Recognized as a non-profit organization sanctioned by OEO.
10. Finances: UCC was originally given \$45,000 as seed money upon its initial founding. However, it is subsidized by OEO with an annual appropriation of \$4,000,000.
11. Group appeal: UCC is composed of 11,000 members consisting of persons of varied professions, from all walks of life, and varied nationalities.
12. PROGRAMS:
 - a. High School Head Start: An award winning summer program started in 1965, is designed to supplement the curriculum in Newark schools for students preparing to enter high school and at the same time provide a training institute for those about to embark on a career in teaching.

- b. Upward Bound: This pre-college program for students from Newark high schools involves a full time summer project and a year round follow-up to keep youngsters college bound.
- c. Newark Pre-School Council: Generally recognized as the first such program in the U.S., when formed in 1965, the Council calls itself "a new beginning", an apt description in several aspects.
 - (1) After two years as a delegate agency of the UCC, the Newark Pre-School Council provided 300 children with their first learning experience, on a year round basis.
 - (2) Pre-School is a new beginning for many parents who are encouraged to participate in the program as employees and as volunteers on the board of trustees.
- d. On-Job-Training: UCC's OJT has served 263 persons since its inception in February 1967. The program is a vehicle by which many disadvantaged and unemployed people can advance themselves through the acquisition of new and more critical skills.
- e. Career Oriented Preparation for Employment (COPE): March, 1966 marked the beginning of this program. It brought together established social service agencies, the United Community Fund and Council, the CAP agency, and the Federal Government, in a grand alliance illustrative of the community action approach. Some 2,500 youths have come through COPE's doors. Although many are declared ineligible because of stringent family income standards established by the Federal Government, close to 800 have been enrolled with social service agencies throughout Newark.

- f. Blazer Community Employment Training Program: Blazer has provided a most unusual training situation for welfare recipients who elect to participate in the program. It launched a training program with courses in auto repair, upholstery, floor maintenance, and food service.
 - g. Operation Headstart: A program designed to improve the chances of children who otherwise would start school under the most serious handicaps.
 - h. Small Business Development Center: This is a program by which the Federal Government has emerged with local communities in war on poverty. This program enables small creditable businessmen to obtain loans through OEO to establish or increase their businesses.
 - i. Summer Neighborhood Block Recreation: This program provided "play streets" and "play areas" for youths between 8 and 17 years of age.
 - j. Newark Legal Service Project: To the majority of those living in the ghetto the protections and remedies of the civil law are remote and difficult to obtain. Recognizing this, the UCC, together with members of the legal profession and residents of the community, established a community corporation known as the Newark Legal Services Project in 1966. NLSP was launched as a UCC delegate agency with a grant of \$279,000 from the U.S. office of OEO and some \$31,000 in local cash and in-kind contributions.
13. Publicity: UCC obtains daily publicity via radio and newspaper because of its scope and its contribution to the area. It consists of the largest OEO funded organization in the city.

14. Influence: The fact that its membership exceeds 11,000 people speaks for itself.
15. Advertising: Most of the advertising is done through its membership; therefore its cost is nominal. The official source of advertising is effected via their publication, "The Crusader".
16. Cities Where Most Active: Newark.
17. Group Ties:

Members of UCC are affiliated with militant and non-militant groups. There are no restrictions imposed on members as to their participations in groups. Therefore many members are open with their group participation while others remain silent. Many persons on the Board of Trustees have been labeled by Mayor Addonizio as belonging to militant groups such as CORE, SNCC, UAAA, etc.

The writer is of the opinion there are many group ties as far as the individual members are concerned, but not the corporation as a whole.

18. Evidence of Travel of Officers:

There is no evidence of any travel of officers or members. However, this is not to imply that there has been no travel. Willie Wright, President of UAAA, advised former team member Lee A. Satterfield that he had accompanied Thomas Hayden, SDS, to Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries to see how other people live.

Jessie Allen, an organizer for UCC, advised the writer and Mr. Rowland Copeland, an investigator for Governor Richard Hughes' Commission, that he accompanied Thomas Hayden to Puerto Rico, England, and France to see how those countries organized their anti-poverty organizations.

19. Specific Instances of Activity or Identification with Riots:

During the riot many members and officials of UCC were in the riot area attempting to disperse crowds. The writer is of the opinion that members of UCC also participated in the havoc like any other persons who felt that the time had come to act instead of wasting time chatting which had not provided any results thus far.

UCC, along with church groups, established food centers for the needed during the riot.

20. UCC's Effectiveness: Due to the fact UCC is composed of most of Newark's Negro leaders, militant and non-militant, the writer considers UCC as the most motivating organization in Newark to uplift the Negro from his plight.

21. Possible Role Foreseen if Revolt Occurs:

The writer foresees a dual role. One, the militant leaders will without a doubt be organized to disrupt the city's function and probably assist the people in causing more damage and taking more lives than before.

On the other hand, the writer is of the opinion the same leaders who attempted to maintain peace during the period of turmoil will undoubtedly repeat their role if the situation should arise.

PROFILE OF TIMOTHY STILL

1. Name: Timothy Still
2. Description: Negro male, dark complexion, bald, medium brown eyes, mole on right cheek, age 47, born in Dothan, Alabama, 6'1", 205 lbs.
3. Place of Bearing: Timothy Still lived in Dothan, Alabama until he was three years old, after which his family moved to Newark, New Jersey where he has remained ever since.
4. Education: Timothy Still is an eighth grade dropout. He has obtained knowledge through reading a variety of books. The book entitled "Story of Philosophy" by Will Durant aroused his curiosity to seek an education.

Still explained that the turning point in his life was the association he had with the CC Camps initiated by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1936. This program taught him how to work and instilled in him a sense of responsibility and pride.

5. Family:
 - a. Wife - Naomi
 - b. Daughter - Carol, age 20, student at Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 - c. Son - Tim - age 23
 - d. Son - Vince - age 18

6. Military Service: U.S. Army from 1942-1945.

7. Employment:

1955-65 - Employed by Budweiser Beer Co. - 10 years

1965 - Present - Newark Housing Authority. Position:
a housing consultant.

8. Activities: Spoke at Rutgers University at a seminar -
Title of speech Culture and Poverty during September 1967.

HLP:ka

Distribution:

- 1 - Newark - General
- 1 - UCC
- 1 - Timothy Still
- 1 - HLP Chrono.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mrs. Carey
26

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.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

- (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.

Handwritten signature
1/15

M. C. Miskovsky
Stanley P. Hebert

Dec. 4, 1967

John K. Scales

Newark Assignment

I plan to return to Newark sometime Tuesday, after reviewing the files of other cities in the New Jersey chain.

In addition to developing further leads and damage studies, I plan to see Director Spina (Newark Police Dept.) and members of his Intelligence Unit, Douglass Eldridge, (reporter who has a file on Hayden), Mathew J. Grandee (Birch Society), and other state and local law enforcement officials. I expect that I may see the County Sheriff and County Prosecutor, and the Anti-Defamation League Director again after obtaining "hard" information from Spina. These interviews have been arranged.

M. C. Miskovsky

Dec. 4, 1967

Haywood L. Perry

Black Muslims in Newark - Minister James 3X, Leader

Enclosure: Page 28 from the Black Muslims newspaper,
"Muhammad Speaks," dated December 1, 1967.

On November 29, 1967, the writer called at the office of Timothy Still, President of the United Community Corp., 124 Branford Street, Newark, N. J., and requested Mr. Still to arrange a meeting with the Black Muslim Leader of Newark. Mr. Still obliged and immediately contacted Mr. John Barnes, Public Relations Specialist, Newark Human Rights Council, and asked him to set up an appointment. Within an hour, Mr. Barnes contacted the writer at Mr. Still's office and advised a meeting had been scheduled for 12 o'clock p.m. on November 30, 1967, at the Shabazz Restaurant, 406 S. Orange Street, Newark, N. J., with Minister James 3X.

On November 30, 1967, Rowland Copeland, Investigator on Gov. Hughes Committee, and the writer picked up Mr. Barnes at City Hall and proceeded to the meeting place. The Shabazz Restaurant is owned by the Black Muslims and is located across the street from their mosque. Upon arriving at the restaurant, we were advised Mr. James would be approximately one hour late. While waiting, the writer Mr. Barnes concerning his opinions of Newark's situation and possible resolutions. Mr. Barnes' answers are discussed in a memorandum to the Director of Investigations, Subject: Interview with John Barnes, Public Relations Specialist.

At approximately 12:30 p.m., Minister James 3X arrived with his Captain of the Guard, name unknown, and joined the three of us at the table. Mr. Barnes made the introductions and all parties were at ease. The writer began the discussion by apprising Minister James 3X of my mission. Mr. Copeland interjected that his mission coincided with the writer's.

The writer asked Minister James several questions. First, "What, in his opinion, were the causes that precipitated the riot in Newark?" Minister James commented that the causes that triggered the Newark riot were the same that prompted the American Revolution and the causes would be defined in one word, "freedom." The black men in Newark as in other areas of this country are continuously being treated as second class citizens and that the black man has finally made up his mind to sever his bondage.

This is an age for the "new breed;" the young black man and woman have vowed that they would rather die than suffer the indignities of the white man. The "Uncle Toms" are gone. Poor schools and homes, Jim Crow, labor unions, discrimination in jobs have definitely contributed to the blight situation in Newark. He commented that if the United States would give the black man his "due" for 400 years of free labor, then the trouble would not exist. However, the white man does not intend to do anything that would disrupt his power structure.

The ultimate solution to the problem is to give the black man separate areas within the U. S. in order that the black man can be self-sufficient. However, if this is not done, then the black man should be treated equal in every respect.

Secondly, "What part, if any, did the Black Muslims play during the riot?" With a majestic air of confidence, Minister James related that the Black Muslims did not participate in the riot. The Black Muslim is taught to respect the white man's law even if it is morally wrong. The Honorable Elijah Muhammed teaches his people to obey the laws and maintain self-respect.

He stated Black Muslims are honorable people; they believe in working to better themselves. They don't believe in welfare or any types of handouts. They want the Government to pay the black man his due in order for the black man to make it on his own. The Black Muslims are disciplined people. They don't drink, smoke or cause disorder. However, they are violent people if they are unjustly treated and will retaliate against anyone who mistreats them.

Minister James stated those persons who stand on the street corners and preach hate and cause disorder are not true

Muslims, but Black Nationalist who are fed up with the white man's double standard. Those persons arrested during the Newark riot who referred to themselves as Black Muslims were Negroes tired of being associated with the white society and who wanted to affiliate themselves to something black.

Minister James stated the fact that black women are beginning to discontinue the use of straightening combs on their head is a sign of recognizing that black is beauty and in believing this, they are trying to regain their African culture which has been stolen from the American black man by "whitey."

Minister James related that it is too late to impede the black man's progress now. For instance, people are tearing up their draft cards in front of law enforcement agents and TV cameras. James 3X stated he spent 8½ years in prison approximately 15 years ago for not registering for the draft and for not having a draft card. He was sentenced in Baltimore, Md.

James 3X advised that the FBI used to park outside of the mosque a couple of years ago and arrest Muslims as they got out of the meetings for not having draft cards. Those who had draft cards were intimidated, many of them lost their jobs. Mr. Barnes advised the writer prior to Minister James' arrival that James 3X was placed in charge of the Black Muslim Mosque in New York City after Malcolm X was assassinated. Barnes advised the writer that Malcolm X controversy is a sore spot with the Muslims, so the writer did not say anything to Minister James about it.

Minister James did not want to talk about himself. He tried to convince us that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has the answer for the black man and that is to separate completely from the white man and become self-sufficient.

Third, "Whether or not the Black Muslims were arming themselves in case of another riot in Newark?" Minister James stated that he does not understand why the white people think the Black Muslims are treacherous people. They (Muslims) teach their own children, they forbid interracial marriages, they obey the laws and actually they believe in segregation which is exactly what the white man has been preaching for the past 400 years.

The Black Muslims of Newark are not arming themselves any more than the Mafia and their Italian brothers of Newark. Of course, the white man is trying to prejudice the community to the fact that the entire black community of Newark has an arsenal and is waiting to start a race riot.

Minister James suggested that people, black and white, should read the book entitled, "The Black Muslims in America," by Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, to become acquainted with the truth about the Black Muslims. The writer advised Minister James that I had read the book.

The writer asked Minister James what had actually happened to Mr. Ferrad, the Black Muslims' Messiah. Minister James advised that Mr. Ferrad had gone back to Mecca to take on another form to help the black man in other parts of the world. The writer's comprehension of the book's version was not clear, so this was the purpose of the question.

Fourth, "What is the composition of his organization in Newark?" Minister James merely gave the writer a sarcastic look and requested that another question be asked.

Fifth, "What are the names and programs of other groups in Newark, whether they be militant or non-militant?" Minister James stated he is not familiar with the other groups and does not know their programs. He only knows the muslims program which is in the form of "wants and beliefs."

Sixth, "What is the program of the Black Muslims in Newark?" Minister James immediately stated the Black Muslims' program is nation wide and is the only program that he has seen in writing. The Black Muslims want the following ten things:

1. We want uninhibited freedom.
2. We want justice. Equal justice for all under the law regardless of race or color.
3. We want equality of opportunity in its full spectrum.
4. We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory

of their own--either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs for the next 20 to 25 years, until we are able to be self-sustaining.

5. We want freedom for all believers of Islam now held in Federal prisons. This includes freedom for all black men and women now under death sentences in innumerable prisons in the north as well as in the south. We want every black man and woman to have the freedom to accept or reject being separated from the slave master's children and establish a land of their own.
6. We want an immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States. The Federal Government should intercede to see that black men and women tried in white courts receive justice in accordance with the laws of the land or allow the black people to build a new nation for themselves.
7. As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States, but equal employment opportunities now.
8. We want the Government of the United States to exempt our people from all taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land.
9. We want equal education, but separate schools up to 16 for boys and 18 for girls on the condition that the girls be sent to women's colleges and universities. We want all black children educated, taught and trained by their own teachers.
10. We believe that intermarriage or race mixing should be prohibited.

The Black Muslims believe in the following twelve things:

1. We believe in the one God whose proper name is Allah.
2. We believe in the Holy Tur-an and in the Scriptures of all Prophets of God.
3. We believe in the truth of the bible, but we believe that it has been tampered with and must be reinterpreted so that mankind will not be snared by the falsehoods that have been added to it.
4. We believe in Allah's Prophets and the Scriptures they brought to the people.
5. We believe in the resurrection of the dead--not in the physical sense--but from the mental standpoint. The so-called Negroes are most in need of mental resurrection. Therefore, they will be resurrected first.
6. We believe in the judgement; we believe this first judgement will take place, as God revealed, in America.
7. We believe this is the time in history for the separation of the so-called Negroes and the so-called white Americans. We believe the black man should be freed in name as well as in fact.
8. We believe in justice for all whether in God or not; we believe, as others, that we are due equal justice as human beings.
9. We believe that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black people into believing that their 400-year open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their "friends."
10. We believe that we who declare ourselves to be righteous Muslims should not participate in wars which take the lives of humans.

11. We believe our women should be respected and protected as the women of other nationalities are respected and protected.
12. We believe that Allah (God) appeared in the person of Master Ferrad Muhammad, July 1930; the long awaited "Messiah" of the Christians and the "Mahdi" of the Muslims.

Minister James 3X advised the writer that he is willing to come to Washington, expenses paid, to answer questions concerning the situation in Newark. Just before departing the restaurant, Minister James advised that the police broke into the mosque two years ago on a pretext of looking for a criminal. They caused considerable damage to it. However, they paid for the mosque restoration.

The story of the black man in Newark should be told to the world. Minister James expressed his view that the writer's report should be read carefully by the President's Commission in order that the truth may be exposed as it really is. Minister James feels that the truth of the Newark situation will be deemphasized by the time it reaches the white public.

Minister James cordially invited Barnes, Copeland and the writer to attend some of their services at the mosque. The interview was terminated on a pleasant note.

Attachment

HLP/raf
12/4/67

Distribution

- ✓ 1 - Newark
- 1 - Muslims File
- 1 - HLP Chron.