

# LBJ LIBRARY DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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64	report	[arrest record for C. Glassman] - closed under FOIA b6)		1	4/1/67	B

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**Folder Title** "Newark - Police Department Reports" [2 of 2]

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7/7/2011

  
Initials

OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

M E M O R A N D U M

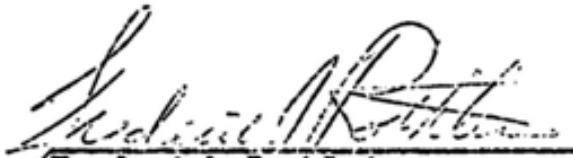
September 22, 1967

TO: Police Director Dominick A. Spina

FROM: Detective Frederick Rothlein  
Intelligence Unit

SUBJECT:

The attached circular was received by me at 5:00 P.M.  
on September 21st, 1967 from Mario Grande.

  
Frederick Rothlein  
Detective #267

**ATTENTION!!**

**An OPEN LETTER**

**TO THE REAL CITIZENS OF NEWARKS**

**CENTRAL WARD**

- o **MAN and WOMAN**
- o **HE and SHE**
- o **HIM and HER**
- o **BOYS and GIRLS**
- o **GUYS and DOLLS**
- o **CATS and CHICKS**
- o **FELLOWS and BROADS**

**KNOW THAT NOW IS THE TIME!**  
 The **COMPLAINT** has been **ENTERED**  
**RECEIVED** **RECOGNIZED** **ACKNOWLEDGED**

**NOW THEN!**

**OUR DUTY** is to dare not **WASTE TIME** nor  
**EFFORT** but to take what we have  
 And we have every Item Needed  
*The greatest being Ourselves*

*So Again Waste No Time in doing our  
 Utmost by giving our ALL*

In **BUILDING** a most **BEAUTIFUL**  
**Community** for the People of the Community  
 By the People from the Community

**P.S. RIGHT ACTION IS TRUTH**  
**LET US ALL USE IT!!!**

# THE SPIRIT HOUSE

33 Stirling St.  
NEWARK, N.J.



FRI. Sept. 22

PRESENTS 2 Films--

## BLACK SPRING

A film by the Black Arts Alliance on the recent Black Communications Project gotten together on the west Coast Spring, 1967 by LeRoi Jones. Faruk Nishiya, narrator.

## Dutchman!

A film based on the play by LeRoi Jones

# Sun Ra

AND HIS NATURE IMMORTALITY

• ORCHESTRA •



SAT. Sept. 23rd

ARM YOURSELF

OR  
KICK YOURSELF written by LeRoi Jones

The Militant Preacher  
BY BEN CAPOVILLA

SUN. Sept. 24th

THE TOMS by Mortie Stokes

1 - 2  
1 - R

CENTRAL WARD

16

NEIGHBORHOOD CONFERENCE

at

FULD NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE

SAT. 71 BOYD STREET SAT.

SEP 9 1967

9:00 AM - 5:00 PM

SEP 9 1967

"a neighborhood conference  
for neighborhood  
people"

PLAN TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS ALL IMPORTANT NEIGHBORHOOD CONFERENCE  
WHERE WE WILL DISCUSS FULLY AND REALISTICALLY PROBLEMS OF THE CENTRAL  
WARD COMMUNITY. YOUR ATTENDANCE IS DESIRED AND NECESSARY. FILL OUT  
THE FORM BELOW AND RETURN TO FULD NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE, 71 BOYD STREET,  
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. TEENS INVITED (14 AND UP).

- 9:00 TO 9:30 COFFEE (ALSO REGISTRATION)
- 9:30 TO 10:15 OPENING SESSION (KEYNOTE SPEAKER)
- 10:30 TO 12:30 WORKSHOP SESSIONS I
- LUNCH
- 2:00 TO 4:00 WORKSHOP SESSIONS II
- 4:15 TO 5:00 FINAL SESSION (SUMMARIES, EVALUATIONS)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHOP CHOICES: (1) RECREATION (2) SOCIAL SERVICES (3) HOUSING  
(4) EDUCATION (5) JOBS AND WELFARE (6) POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS  
(7) POVERTY PROGRAMS (8) SANITATION

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

# Race Prejudice Why?

## Who benefits from it?

A major problem besetting U.S. society, and one that is justifiably receiving an enormous amount of attention, is the problem of race prejudice—a sickness that infects all of our society to a greater or lesser degree.

The whole subject of race is one that usually evokes more heat than light, more blinding passion than constructive thought and sober reflection. There are those who think a solution to the problem will never be found; others believe the solution will come, but gradually, over a long time. And

still others, scornful of "gradualism," want a showdown on the issue now, at least as regards civil rights.

The Socialist Labor Party takes a unique position in this matter.

### CAPITALISM PRODUCED THE PROBLEM

To those who throw up their hands and say race prejudice always was and always will be one of mankind's burdens, we say, "You are dead wrong!" Race hatred is not an ancient and inherent thing. On the contrary, all this prejudice, and the very con-



The Socialist Labor Party, founded in 1896, is the only bona fide party of Socialism in America. It has no connections whatsoever with other parties or groups calling themselves Socialist or Communist.

...of race, is the product of the modern era, of the era we call capitalism. There were other forms, other hatreds, other prejudices, but before the capitalist era man never discriminated against his fellow man because of the color of his skin. And, as they are wrong who say "race prejudice always was," so they are wrong who say it "always will be."

To those who look for a gradual solution to the race problem, the Socialist Labor Party recalls that this also was the hope of the German Jews. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Jews were forced to live in segregated ghettos. But gradually their condition improved. They were freed from the ghettos. Little by little they acquired civil rights. By World War I, Jews served as officers in the Kaiser's army, and other Jews were prominent in science, art, finance and even in government. Then, in a single terrifying decade, the gains of two centuries were wiped out, and German Jewry was all but exterminated by the capitalist reaction we call Nazism.

We Socialists hold there is a lesson in the tragic experience of the German Jews — a lesson especially for those who imagine the solution to the race problem will come gradually. It is a lesson that once again points to the capitalist system as a breeding ground for race prejudice.

To our fellow Americans who want a showdown on the race issue now, especially as regards civil rights, we say, first of all, that as Socialists, as men and women bent on bringing to birth a world of freedom, peace and brotherhood,

we feel a deep sympathy for all who resist the degradation and who urge prohibition of racial discrimination. We applaud their militant spirit and we believe in the moral rigidity of their cause.

#### UNKNOWN NAME QUOTE

Nevertheless, our comrades us to point out that the struggle for civil rights is essentially a struggle against an effect; it does not get at the cause of the race problem. And as long as the cause remains, the evil also remains. It may be dormant for a time, but it will continue to add poison to the body politic.

#### What is the cause of racism?

We have already pointed out that race prejudice is peculiarly a product of the capitalist era. Now the question is: What is it in the capitalist system that breeds this social evil? The Socialist Labor Party has examined this question with scientific thoroughness. It has studied the history of the claims and theories of racial superiority and inferiority. It has followed the trail of evidence carefully, and this trail has invariably led back to people who gain material benefits from the conflicts and divisions created by race prejudice and race discrimination.

To learn who these people are we ask you to follow us in a brief definition of the term—capitalism.

Under capitalism the means of social production—land, factories, mines, mills, railroads, etc. — are owned privately by a relatively small class of capitalists. The great majority of the people own no tools of their own, and in order

to live they have to go to the capitalists hat in hand and sell their ability to work as a commodity. Now this is quite a deal for the capitalists. They buy this labor, or labor power, at the market price. But the workers produce a good deal more than is represented by their market price—four or five times more. In the science of political economy we call the difference between what the workers get paid in wages and what they produce "surplus value." The capitalist takes this. Of course, he doesn't put it all in his own pocket. He has to divide with the landlord, the banker, the legal fraternity, the tax collector, the insurance capitalists, the advertising capitalist and a lot of other hangers-on of capitalism.

But this is the way the exploitation of labor takes place.

#### DIVIDE AND RULE

Now, then, we think it is self-evident that the less the capitalist has to pay for this labor, that is less wages, the more he can take for himself. It's like dividing an apple in two parts—if one part is smaller, the other part is larger. This brings us very close to one of the reasons why Negroes and certain other racial minorities are segregated and humiliated and held down to a status of second-class citizenship. To put it bluntly, by forcing racial minorities into submissive patterns of behavior the ruling class supplies itself with a pool of cheap, unresisting labor.

This is one way the capitalists benefit from race prejudice and race discrimination. But there is another, more subtle way.

We have shown that labor's product is divided between the wages paid to the workers and the surplus value taken by the capitalist. We said it's like dividing an apple—if one part is smaller, then the other part is larger, and vice versa.

Now, by the very nature of things there is a struggle between the capitalists and workers over this division. The capitalists, either because they are forced by competitive compulsions, or out of sheer profit hunger, constantly try in one way or another to increase their share. Conversely, the workers resist and strive to maintain their living standards, and even improve them. Here we can see the focal point of the class struggle that rages in modern society.

We Socialists hold that this struggle is inescapable and irreconcilable. It can be ended only when the workers, male and female, Negro and white, skilled and unskilled, Catholic, Protestant and Jew, unite as a class to put an end to capitalist exploitation.

The point is this—race prejudice is one of the most insidious and effective devices ever invented to keep the workers divided and fighting each other.

#### PREJUDICE IN JOB REVASCEN

Another factor to be noted is the competitive nature of capitalism. And it isn't just the capitalists who are competing against each other; the workers also are cast in the role of competitors. They must compete for jobs. Now, then, the fewer the number of workers competing for the jobs, say of carpenters, the better chances each

man has. And one way to keep the competition down is just to keep Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and other minorities who are easily identified by the color of their skins, out of the carpenter market.

Of course, there has got to be some justification for such discrimination. So we find it in the myths that circulate about races. These myths and libels are not looked at too carefully. They are believed when it serves one's material interests to believe them.

And so the working class is kept divided, the capitalist class remains in the saddle—and the out-moded capitalist system keeps all of society in turmoil and conflict, postponing the day of international peace and social harmony.

What is the answer? How is man to win fulfillment of his dream of human brotherhood? How is he to purge his mind of prejudices and to realize that the color of a man's skin has no more real significance than whether a

man is tall or short or fat or thin or blond or brunette?

#### THE WAY OUT

There is but one way. That is to remove the capitalist cause of race prejudice, and to lay a sound economic foundation for human brotherhood.

How do you lay such a foundation?

Well, the Socialist Labor Party says that first of all we must outlaw private ownership of the means and industries. We must make the means of social production the property of all the people socially. Then, instead of producing things for sale and profit, we will carry on production to satisfy human needs. In short, we replace the competition and strife of capitalism with the cooperation and collective interests of Socialism.

The Socialist Labor Party alone has a program for ending race prejudice and for building Socialism in America. We urge you to study it.

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**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, P.O. Box 200, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202**

I am interested in Socialism. Without obligation, please send me information and free literature, including sample copy of the SLA's official organ, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, established in 1891.

I enclose 25 cents for which please send me the 48-page pamphlet, "Capitalism: Breeder of Race Prejudice," by Eric Massa. (Check this if you wish to buy the pamphlet.)

NAME (please print) .....

ADDRESS .....

(S.L.P./—37)

# BLACK SURVIVAL BULLETIN

For any of our brothers and sisters who still do not understand just what kind of devilish beasts run our lives in Newark, we refer you to page one of NEWARK EVENING NEWS, under the headline "POLICE RIOT COSTS MAY HIT \$800,000!!"

Now in case you want to know just what that money is to be spent for, we quote, "Some of the items to be purchased with the newly authorized funds included TWO ARMORED VEHICLES at \$12,000 each; Five patrol wagons at \$7,000 each; Three Jeeps at \$2,800 each; two heavy duty vans at \$2,400 each and other items like buses to transport prisoners at \$35,000.

"At the same time, the council approve 89,000 more money, " ALL OUT OF OUR TAX MONEY...OUT OF BLACK PEOPLE'S TAX MONEY, " for the purchase of 290 BULLET PROOF VESTS; TEAR GAS GRENADES; RIOT SHIELDS; RIOT STICKS; GAS MASKS; 40 AR-15 Rifles (these are the kind used in Viet+Nam) : SEVEN ARMORED SUITS and the last item on the list, and get this: 50 ROLLS OF BARBED WIRE! !!!!!!! Yes, you better dig that last item, you really better, black man, and dig it now, cause the next time the deal goes down these italians are going to block off these streets and imprison us behind this same barbed wire! BUT THE REAL DIRTY PART OF THIS DEAL, IS THAT WE BLACK FOLKS ARE PAYING FOR THIS DAMND WIRE, AND THEM DAMN GUNS, AND ALL THAT STUFF THATS GOING TO BE USED AGAINST US!!!! Think On That!

The white man is making war on us. He has in this town, shot us down like dogs, thrown our children and women against buildings, and stuck bayonets in our faces. Now the automatic weapons and armored vehicles and barbed wire. ALL OF WHICH COMES OUT OF YOUR POCKET, TO BE USED ON YOUR BEHIND! Think on that! They also are about to spend \$21,000 on the acquisition of "a K-9 Corps". You know what a K-9 Corps is??? DOGS! That's right they are about to buy some dogs to put on us too. Again, with our tax money

The Rice Department's request for the dogs will be heard at City Hall  
SEPTEMBER 6 . We ought to let our two Nigger-O Councilmen hear that these  
fools better not bring their four legged brothers in here.

(CONTACT WEST AND TURNER AT CITY HALL!!!)

The rest of the 800,000 dollars is to be spent TO PAY THE POLICEMEN  
FOR THEIR OVERTIME... Yeh, can you really dig that?? We have to pay them  
again, out of our pockets, the majority of taxpayers in the city of New-  
ark, We have to pay these animals to beat on our heads. That's too much!

How much longer, can we go for these things, black people??? It's  
time we got together AND TOOK OVER THIS CITY. As long as we do nothing,  
these mindless scum who run our lives will continue to do so. WHAT CAN  
WE DO???

A. REGISTER TO VOTE

We can recall Addonizio

We can elect a Black Man

B. BEGIN NOW TO FORM A BLACK PARTY TO CONTROL NEWARK!!!!

C. WE SHOULD ALSO PREPARE OURSELVES AND OUR FAMILIES FOR THE  
NEXT PHASE OF OUR REBELLION. THESE ITALIANS MEAN BUSINESS  
THEY ARE BUYING MODERN WEAPONS. THEY WILL BE RUNNING IN  
YOUR HOME, JUST LIKE THEY DID BEFORE!

:YOU BETTER GET YOURSELF TOGETHER NOW !!!

YOU BETTER START TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS!!!

AN EYE FOR AN EYE.....A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH

Black Man, Wake up now or these crackers will put you to sleep  
forever!

*BLACK SURVIVAL*

GET READY !

19

FOR THE DEVIL !

DONT BE CAUGHT DEFENSELESS!!!

The Boy shown brutally mutilated is James Rutledge, Age 19 who was shot 50 TIMES by the police, during the Rebellion, He was shot in Joe-Rae's on Bergen Street, as he stood with his hands up!

He was standing, hands up, expecting mercy from The Devil!!!

WHEN YOU ARE DEFENSELESS IS WHEN THE DEVIL LIKES TO KILL YOU

OPP/11

REMEMBER THIS PHOTOGRAPH...DONT LET IT HAPPEN TO YOU OR YOUR CHILDREN!!!

DONT BE CAUGHT DEFENSELESS

GLICK SURVIVAL

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY



Apparently a cut of a marine photo

Washington Post 1-22-64

Both American and Vietnamese soldiers are dying there, every day of this...  
 Some Americans have warned against such a dangerous path, and in 1964  
 Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Dem. Majority Leader of the Senate  
 and in the end we may find ourselves engaged all over Asia in a full scale  
 South Vietnam... If it contains promise of a just and guaranteed solution  
 Senator Weyerhaeuser of Oregon: "There are no Chinese soldiers fighting  
 are American... The unilateral war being conducted by the U.S. in Vietnam  
 lic opinion: We should never have gone in there; we should not have stayed.  
 Senator Frank Church of Idaho: "Our present policy is leading us toward  
 ity for Southeast Asia, for all of that great peninsula, is a proper objective  
 for the United Nations to play in maintaining the boundaries in this area.

Library of Congress  
 510 North Capitol Street, N.E.  
 Washington, D.C. 20540

University College  
 100 University Avenue  
 New York, N.Y. 10003

Library of Congress  
 510 North Capitol Street, N.E.  
 Washington, D.C. 20540

# WAR IN VIETNAM NOT OFFERS A REALISTIC PROSPECT

Expansion of the war into North Vietnam.  
—Manchester, N. H. 3/23/54

Walter D. Johnson

Editor, The New York Times

## FOR THE VIETNAM

Brings more death and more likelihood that the fighting may be unending.

Call for a general settlement.

"Expansion will not resolve the problem. It is more likely to enlarge it war . . . The U.S. should stand ready to negotiate for neutralization of the country; if not, it can be discarded."

in Vietnam; there are no Russian soldiers. The only foreign troops there must be stopped, and the only force that can stop it is American public opinion; we should get out now."

the same calamity as befell the French 10 years ago" . . . (but) "Neutralization (of American foreign policy) . . . "It is possible that we can find a role

in Vietnam or the rest of Southeast Asia, never involving us in a general commitment.

Editor, The New York Times

Walter D. Johnson









OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

21

TO: Director Dominick A. Spina

June 12, 1967

FROM: Detective William Millard

SUBJECT: Information received : Ref. to Monday night June 12,  
Planning Board Meeting

2. African United Ass. a new organization not listed in Intell. Unit files.  
T.O.S.A. Not known to this unit not listed in Intell. files  
United Voice of the ministry not listed in Intell. Files.  
Newark Training Institute a new organization headed by Robert Curvin with its office at 106 Huntington Terr. His home. in Newark N.J.
3. Free picnic to ~~Elm~~ Echo Lake N.J. for all who wish to participate in developing plans for stopping the Med. School.  
Revolutionize all business on Clinton Ave. Springfield Ave. And other sections of the city. Those who wish to build a movement. This will be a out door work shop sponsored by Newark Training Institute and Thomas Hayden.  
Julius Williams - Joe Witney- Both of N.C.U.P.  
Dazzari Jefferson AREA Board #3 Treasure & President.
4. Thomas Hayden and David Harrison a Lawyer heading a delegating by car caravan from Newark in the AM to Camp Dix N.J. in protest of the arrest of two soldiers who refuse to go to Viet Nam. State Police Notified. Army Intelligence Notified.

Respectfully Submitted,

*William Millard*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Detective #1157

On Monday June 12th at 7:00 P.M., The Racist Administration of the city of Newark and their Uncle Tom's will attempt to correct a few of the rules that were disregarded because the people involved in the proposed Med. School area are Black. Black Families have been forced out of their homes without explanation.

The already over-crowded schools in other areas have become more over-crowded. Split level classes (now at the 3rd. grade level) will be advanced to include the 5th grade in areas where Black children attend school. Filth and decay because of uncaring demolition of buildings in the central ward has created danger and disease where Black people live. And yet, the administration tells us there is nothing we can do about it, that they are going to illegally build their Med. School no matter what we understand to be the best for Black People of Newark and the entire city. Contracts between the Medical College and the city council have been approved and signed, yet the area has not been declared a blight-area. This is just one of the proofs that city hall does not give a damn what Black People think or want!

Black Men and Black Women now is the time to unite in a solid front in the Black Revolution, and change not only the plans for the Central Ward that were bred on greed, but to over-turn the white-controlled administration of the city of Newark.

Come to city hall Monday June 12th, 7:00 P.M. bring every member of your family! BRING YOUR FRIENDS!

BRING YOUR LUNCH! We are DEDICATED! DETERMINED! And DISCIPLINED! We are fed up with white tyrants who continue to Lie, Cheat, steal and Kill our people!

- 1. Honey Ward -- Democratic Central Ward Leader
- 2. Mrs. Louis Epperson -- Comm. Against Negro and Puerto Rican Removal.
- 3. George Richardson -- United Freedom Center
- 4. Hommett AEL -- Moorish Science Temple of America
- 5. James Hooper -- CORE
- 6. Bob Fullilove -- SNCC
- 7. Col. Hassan Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation
- 8. Clint Bey -- Black Liberation Center
- 9. Earl Harris Association
- 10. Bob Curvin -- Newark Training Institute
- 11. Newark Community Project
- 12. Willie Wright -- United Afro-Amer. Association
- 13. Elder James W. Parrott -- ~~United Voices of the Ministers~~
- 14. Area Board #2
- 15. Area Board #3
- 16. Area Board #5
- 17. Walter Dawkins -- Blazer Corporation
- 18. Rev. Levin B. West -- Grace Chapel and Comm. Center
- 19. Harry Wheeler -- Tosal

\* Space does not permit the listing of all persons and organizations who have united to stop the Medical and Dental College

(Partial Listing)

Picnic - Conference  
Echo LAKE PARK  
Sunday JUNE 18, 1967



- Curran -

TAKE Route 22 West.  
Get off AT Springfield  
EXIT. MAKE left TURN  
AFTER LEAVING highway  
AND follow ROAD INTO  
PARK.

*Fel Curwin*

United Afro American Association

402 South Sixth Street

Phone 24205810  
Office WILLIE WRIGHT

NEWARK N.J.



D CURR



"THE 'NATIVES' ARE GETTING RESTLESS."

The "White man" calls it "Riot!"  
We know It's A Rebellion Against  
Slavery!

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OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

23

TO: CAPTAIN ROCCO FERRENTE  
INTELLIGENCE UNIT

FROM: DETECTIVE JUNIOUS T. HEDGESPETH

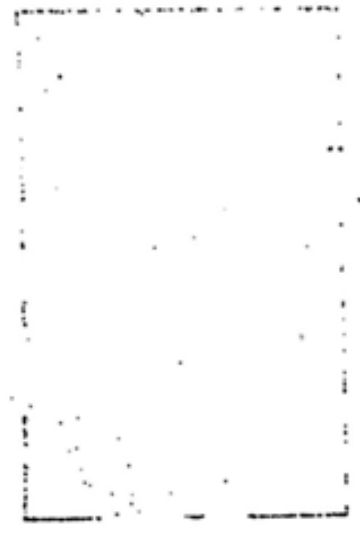
August 16, 1967

SUBJECT: Black Survival Handbills and Picture of James Rutledge alledged to have been shot 39 times by the police during the riot.

Sir; I hereby report that 3:00 A.M. I received a phone call from a friend who told me that I should come to the White Castle Hamburger Shop at 307 Elizabeth Ave. at the corner of Hawthorne Ave. I arrived there at 3:25 A.M. and found the attached copies on a small window counter where customers stand and drink there coffee. I identified myself to the countergirl who called a Mrs. Wanda Robertson Res. 177 Sheppard Ave City who is the night Manager, for this establishment, she told me that she did not see who placed these handbills on the counter, but that a countergirl had seen a Col. Kale place them there and that he had also given her a business card, card also attached to this report, Card bears name of a Black Star Agency 266 Orange Street City, Insurance Broker, Notary Public, I went by this location at 4:10 A.M. and checked the windows, in the windows were copies of the attached handbill, and another handbill announcing a play at The Spirit Theatre (also the home of LeRoi Jones) 33 Stirling Street City. This Agency is run by a Willie A. Williams Jr. Res. 49 Berwyn Street Orange, N.J.

Respectfully submitted,

*Junious T. Hedgespeth*  
Detective # 207



McKINLEY WELCH

?

DONALD DUNCAN

EDWARD EGAN, JR.

# DANGER

BLACK MILITANTS BEWARE!!!!

THE FOUR PEOPLE PICTURED AT THE TOP OF THIS PAGE ARE AGENTS WORKING FOR UNCLE SAM. THESE PEOPLE WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ARRESTS OF OUR 17 BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN QUEENS, N.Y., ON THE WILKINS-YOUNG ASSASSINATION SET-UP.

READING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT WE KNOW THAT:

MCKINLEY WELCH WAS ONCE IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY OF NEW YORK. HE HAS INFILTRATED MANY GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS. HE WAS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE JAMAICA RIFLE AND PISTOL CLUB, INC.

MISS HOPKINS HAS BEEN SEEN IN THE COMPANY OF WELCH AND DUNCAN. HER NAME IS NOT KNOWN, BE EXTREMELY COOL WITH HER.

EDWARD EGAN, JR. WAS THE ROOKIE COP ASSIGNED TO INFILTRATE THE JAMAICA RIFLE AND PISTOL CLUB, INC., THREE YEARS AGO. HE BECAME THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THIS CLUB, A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND THE LEADER OF THE JUNIOR DIVISION OF THE RIFLE CLUB. HE WAS BORN IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 24 YEARS AGO. HE IS 5' 10 1/2" TALL AND HE WEIGHS 170 LBS. HE SERVED FOR FIVE YEARS IN THE U.S.A. AIR FORCE AND HE WAS STATIONED IN GREENLAND DURING A PART OF HIS TOUR OF DUTY. HE HAS RELATIVES IN QUEENS AND BROOKLYN, N.Y. THIS MAN IS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS TO ALL BLACK PEOPLE.

REMEMBER!!! THESE 4 PEOPLE ARE EXTREMELY DANGEROUS!!!!!!

PASS THIS INFORMATION ON WHERE YOU WILL DO SOME REAL GOOD!!!! WATCH OUT!!! BE COOL!!!

# BE COOL

# SUPPORT

SUPPORT BROTHER BARRY WYNN....COME OUT COME OUT TO COURT!!!

The Devils are trying to draft this brother for their army, and he has refused to go. Please come out and show these unrighteous people that Black People do not support their fiendish plans to maintain their slave hold on the colored peoples of the world!

We must support our own.

TUES 9:30 AM Court Room #2  
FEDERAL COURT , FEDERAL SQUARE  
(Post Office Building)  
Newark, New Jersey

SUPPORT THIS BLACK MAN'S STAND AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR !!!!!!!!

CHARLIE, OLD BUDDIE, WE MADE IT WERE BACK IN THE STATES! I'M HOME! AFTER THREE AND YEARS OF EATING, KEEPING, & FIGHTING IN VIETNAM, CHARLIE, MY WHITE BROTHER BY SOMETHING!!



I NEVER SAW YOU BEFORE IN MY LIFE, NIGGER AND I'M NOT YOUR BROTHER!

POLICE DEPARTMENT  
NEWARK NEW JERSEY

26

MEMORANDUM FROM THE CHIEF OF POLICE NO. 67-1169

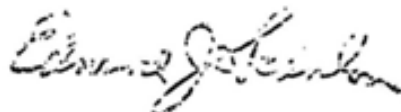
DATE September 21, 1967

TO: DIVISION COMMANDERS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS BUREAU

FROM: CHIEF OF POLICE

SUBJECT: THROW AWAYS REGARDING TRIALS  
IN COUNTY COURT

1. Attached for your information are three copies of throw aways marked 1, 2 and 3, distributed in the City of Newark.
2. Throw Away #1 is also being distributed in the Harlem section of New York according to information received by this department.



EDWARD J. SCANLON  
ACTING CHIEF OF POLICE

EJS:dc

ROUTINE INVESTIGATION & REPORT	
IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION & REPORT	
SUBMITTED FOR ATTENTION	XXXXX
SUBMITTED FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION	
REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS	



27

MASSACHUSETTS MUTUAL *Life Insurance Company*

SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS • ORGANIZED 1851

HARRY P. POLITI  
MANAGER

PAUL F. EKMA  
1100 RAYMOND BOULEVARD  
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102

TELEPHONE  
MARKET 3-7002

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY.

Dear Director Spina:

I found this on the  
ground on Bloomfield Ave (the entrance  
to the subway station in Newark). I felt  
this should be brought to your attention  
for possible investigation.

Thanks

Paul Ekma

... through the bill sanctioning  
POLICE DOGS in Newark. In the industrial areas, they said, but we all 28  
know what those dogs are for. they are for us, black folks. For the same  
reasons the crackers used them in the south!

Now we have to put up with two legged and four legged beasts. Well, OK,  
that's the way they want to play it. We know none of the brothers and  
sisters are going to stand for this dog business. Poison them, shoot 'em,  
kick 'em with icepicks, stone 'em, set traps for them, drop loads of  
iron and steel on they haid. But dont take nothing from no dog, 4 or 2 legs

The Americans For Law And Order (400 strong) and italians and irish from  
outskirts of newark, sucked together by Devil Addonizio to do his biddin  
and probably show up again at the various public council meetings. We have  
to get ourselves together to handle these suckers. Now we know some of  
our brothers and sisters may have some second thoughts about going up against  
the peckerwood cops, but for certain none of us give a damn about going  
down on some of these white civilians heads. Knuckles for days!

Come out to these council meetings, begin to watch the newspapers and  
magazines like these telling when and where such meetings will be held.  
We are going to be masters of this city or nobody is. Certainly not these  
fucking italians.

CHAKA

---



POLICE DEPARTMENT  
NEWARK NEW JERSEY

HJD 25

30

MEMORANDUM FROM THE CHIEF OF POLICE NO. 67-1129

DATE September 20, 1967

TO: COMMANDING OFFICERS - DETECTIVE, PATROL, TRAFFIC AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

FROM: CHIEF OF POLICE

SUBJECT: THROW-AWAY REGARDING TRIALS IN COUNTY COURT

1. Attached for your information and attention is a copy of a report submitted by Deputy Chief Herman Cohen commanding Detective Division enclosing a throw-away in reference to the trials at the Essex County Court House of those persons arrested during the July 1967 riots.



EDWARD J. SCANLON  
ACTING CHIEF OF POLICE

EJS:dc  
attchms.

c Director ✓  
Chief Anderson, Pros. Office.

ROUTINE INVESTIGATION & REPORT	
IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION & REPORT	
SUBMITTED FOR ATTENTION	XXXXXX
SUBMITTED FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION	
REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS	

DPI-1452

XERO  
COPY

XERO COPY  
CHIEF OF POLICE

XERO  
COPY

FLYER BEING DISTRIBUTED BY  
THE NIGGERS  
IN THE NEWARK AREA

The WOPPS want

RACE WAR

Dear Director Spence;

32

England is what is being jammed out  
to the people in the French and Russian  
(Linn Post) When reading this paper what  
is our city & country coming too. Are  
we to stand by and let people  
like this make damn fools out  
of us and live off of our taxpayers  
money for their welfare. Wake up  
there, and don't let them rule our  
government. By these sounds &  
pamphlets it looks like soon  
there will be another riot or  
maybe civil war?

Please be alert to what's  
going on before it's too late.

Thank You

TO: Captain Vincent P. Fitzsimmons  
 FROM: Detective John J. Lynch  
 SUBJECT: Memograph pamphlet being distributed

DATE: October 12, 1967  
 FILE REF :

Sir: At 8:43 PM on October 12, 1967, Lt. P. Dunn sent Detective Walter Loboda and the undersigned, in car 112, to 492 Ferry St., Newark, N.J. to interview a citizen in reference to a memograph pamphlet being distributed which referred to racial tension in Newark, N.J.

We responded to the scene, in front of a drug store at Ferry St. and Schalk St. No one approached us and we inquired in the store but were unable to locate the person who had informed Lt. Dunn of the above. Outside the store, near the corner we observed a small crowd of teen-age people. Among them was Don Gottwerth age about 25-white-male- of 250 Mt. Vernon Place, Newark, N.J. tel. 374-1339 who offered us a copy of a memograph pamphlet he was distributing and stated he was a member of Americans for Law and Order. He stated that the pamphlet was a copy of a pamphlet being distributed by Negroes and his group's purpose was to inform citizens what the Negroes are advising people of the Negro race in reference to police dogs, policemen, and council meetings.

A copy of the memograph pamphlet is attached to this report.

Respectfully submitted,

*V.P. Fitzsimmons*  
 Date: 10-13-67

CONTENTS INDEXED  
 Forwarded to  
 OCT 16 1967  
 Date  
*John J. Lynch*  
 ACT. CHIEF POLICE

SIGNATURE: *H. P. Dunn*  
 SUPERIOR RECEIVING REPORT

SIGNATURE: *John J. Lynch*  
 RANK: Detective # 189



Private Report

ELIZABETH, N. J., POLICE DEPARTMENT

35

CAPTAIN MANNING  
Division Commander

TIME 13.50 P.M. DATE 10-9-67

SIR: WHILE WORKING A DANCE ON 10-7-67 AT THE UKRAINIAN HALL, A CITIZEN WHOM REFUSED TO GIVE HIS NAME, GAVE ME THE ENCLOSED LEAFLETS THAT HE OBTAINED IN A GAS STATION IN THIS CITY; HE WAS NOT ABLE TO SUPPLY ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

Desk Superior .....

Submitted by J. Casar # 314

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY



THOMAS G. DUNN  
MAYOR

CITY OF ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY  
DEPARTMENT OF POLICE  
35-57 MORRELL ST. 07201



GUSTAVE BRUGGER  
POLICE DIRECTOR  
MICHAEL D. ROY  
POLICE CHIEF  
259-4400

October 11, 1967

Chief Oliver Kelly  
Police Department  
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Chief Kelly:

You are probably familiar with the enclosed report and copies of notices which are sent for your information.

Sincerely,

*Michael D. Roy*  
Michael D. Roy  
Chief

cc: FBI, Newark  
N. J. State Police  
Eliz. Human Relations Commission

STOP!

POLICE BRUTALITY  
COME OUT AND JOIN  
US AT THE  
MASS RALLY

TONITE 7:30 P.M.

WITH PRECINCT

LOCATED ON 17<sup>TH</sup> & LIVINGSTON ST.

38

"There is no law  
for your kind of people"

← Policeman from 5th Precinct  
on Saturday Evening

This is what a family on Hunterdon St. was told Saturday night, when they protested that police were carrying out their job unfairly.

On Friday a group of Hunterdon St. residents went to the police station to ask the police to serve the needs of the block better. The police's answer Saturday was to slap a ticket on a car double-parked for a minute while the owner was getting a child from the house; the owner demanded that the police also ticket policemen's personal cars nearby, illegally parked on the sidewalk and by a fire hydrant. In insulting language like the quote above, the police refused. They even moved another car onto the sidewalk; even after another cop said the cars were illegal, the Lieutenant inside said nothing would be done.

We demand:

1. A WRITTEN APOLOGY to the family involved for the insults and vulgarity which the police used Saturday night.
2. IMMEDIATE TICKETING of the illegally parked policemen's cars that were seen Saturday night : a '54 Chevy, lic. no.: FAF752; a new Olds, lic. no. ILJ452; and a '60 Caddy, EBJ-18.
3. POLICE COOPERATION ON THE DEMANDS MADE FRIDAY
  - remove cop cars from sidewalk
  - remove abandoned cars from street
  - stop ice-cream truck from going thru street after 10pm
  - assistance in setting up a 9-to-5 playstreet on Hunterdon St.
  - alternate side of street parking
  - foot patrolmen
  - stop speeding and drag racing on block      - stop signs on block

EVERYONE:  
PICKET  
5th Precinct Station  
MONDAY 7:30



OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

M E M O R A N D U M

April 19, 1967.

TO: Police Director  
Dominick A. Spina

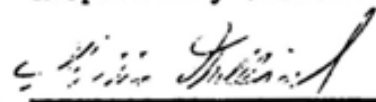
FROM: Detective William Millard

SUBJECT: 107 So. Orange Avenue  
Black Liberation Center, S.N.C.C.

1. Attached envelope show 107 So. Orange Avenue as being S.N.C.C. Investigation by this unit indicates it was set up by S.N.C.C. and are working closely with The Black United Action Front, 139 W. 125th Street., headed by James Horton ex N.A.A.C.P. official. Once headed by William Upton, leader of the New York City Riot.
2. Literature of a meeting April 28, 1967 with Colonel Hassan of the Blackmans Volunteer Army of Liberation. Hassan unknown to the N. Y. Police Department.
3. Plans by C.O.R.E. to stop work on Camden Street School.
4. A check with N.Y. P.D. on a car plate H:D 946 N.Y. Owner Arthur Devilen R.F.D. #2 Hudson, N.Y. Active in Newark with S.N.C.C.

Submitted literature picked up at 107 S. Orange Ave. this date by undersigned and Detective Hedgespeth.

Respectfully submitted,.

  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Detective #67.

Detective J. Hedgespeth #207

The-



FINDING AND MAKING LEADERS

By Nicholas von Hoffman

Check →

Leaders are found by organizing, and leaders are developed through organization.

The statement is so self-evident and so simple-minded that it is usually uttered only to be assented to and forgotten.

Instead of acting on the assumptions implicit in the observation, we begin the great hunt for the "natural leader", "the indigenous leader"; he is the great organizational nugget, whom we could find by panning for him if we only knew what the hell he looked like, and how he differed from the silt washed into our tin.

It's worth noting that practically everybody is looking for him. The civil rights movement, big business, big social work, church organizations, everybody finds it handy to blame their problems on expressions like the "dearth of leadership", the "problem we're having finding leaders", etc.

He does not exist. If he were there—that wondrous all-purpose leader that every organizer dreams about in his moments of exasperation with and anger at his would-be constituency, you would not be necessary. The all-purpose indigenous leader with the sharp tactical mind of Lenin, the forensic abilities of Demosthenes or F.D.R., and the general loveableness of your mother would have long since asserted himself.

The quest for the natural leader—the quest it is actually carried on is like the quest for the natural man. There is no natural man; there is no natural leader. The ideas are important because they remind us in any group of men some can come to live by certain ethics and some can become leaders—given the occasion.

I am hammering at this point because I have seen so many ardent young people run into communities, zoom around frantically for eight or ten months, and then say they can't find any indigenous leadership. Now when it is put to them in so many words that this is what they are doing, they deny it. Nevertheless it is obvious that they are acting on notions of leadership that are wholly unrealistic.

Let's try and see why. Bear in mind, I am now speaking of the lower class Negro ghetto. In the main the same observations would hold for any community but in white areas there are certain differences in application.

The first objective in the ghetto is building an organization that wields power. That is in marked contrast to the flash-flood demonstration kind of thing that northern big-shots quickly become blasé about. An organization that wields power as opposed to the kind that throws an intermittent stickbomb, must be big, must be broad, must be quasi-institutionalized.



The kinds of leadership it must have to operate successfully are the kinds that cannot exist in the community because no one or almost no one in the community has had the chance to gain any experience with big organizations. Most of the community's people will not even have been in the army. The few that have will have served in such a low echelon that they will not have had the opportunity to acquire a sense or a feel for the big organization, how it is put together, how it stays together, and what you have to do to run it.

A few people in the community may work for a large corporation or the government but here again they are cut off from gaining experience with the big organization. For another few the church may begin to supply the experience, but most people aren't church members or are very passively so, and most churches aren't very big, and most churches are not very organizationally run.

The long and short of it is we are speaking of people whose organizations are mostly small, and, consequently, whose leaders are schooled in techniques which work for small groups, but seldom for large ones. If they had the large enduring organizations they would have the leaders to run them, and you would be superfluous.

However, it is also true that every community has a few naturals, that is a few people who by accident of life experience, an exceptional intelligence and some other qualities can begin to move to the forefront almost as soon as the first organizational beginnings are under way. But who are they? How do you find them, and how do you make sure that they actually do begin to assume the major roles they are capable of? It would be so much easier if we could spot these people in advance---unfortunately that is impossible. At the beginning of organization you are the leader-natural or otherwise because at least theoretically you know more about what you are doing---building an organization---than anyone else around. If any of these three conditions doesn't hold, by-the-ty, get out and give the job over to somebody else.

Recognize the fact that the organizer who comes into the community for the first time is internally in a precarious position. He is afraid---or at least he should be if he has got any brains which he doesn't want beaten out.

He is afraid because he doesn't know the people, and we are all vaguely afraid of people we don't know. If he is white and he is going to work in a Negro community he is doubly afraid. If he is a middle class negro, he is afraid too, for similar but not quite identical reasons.

He is afraid because he is the bearer of a new idea. Mankind does not cotton to new ideas in general, but especially not to the new ideas that organizers bring. This is so because they may mean trouble and because the organizer's mere presence in the community is a tacit insult. The organizer, merely by his presence, is saying in effect to the people, "You are so dumb that you need me to think your way out of this mess you are in." Don't kid yourself about this. I shouldn't have to remind you here---who have actually organized---of this reaction. (Nor I might add does blaming the white man or the status quo or anything else absolve the organizer of the sin.)

The organizer is also afraid because a failure is a crashing blow to his ego or his self respect. Even a bad organizer puts a tremendous part of himself on the line when he goes into a community. In his eyes, he is being tried as a person, as a huge test of his own worth. To fail is to be adjudged a capon, a sexless, impotent thing by one's self, or so I always found it.

These fears work on most organizers to make them very susceptible to thinking that people they meet in the community who are sympathetic are the people to listen to and work with. I can't count the number of times I have wandered into communities to find the people who were supposed to be building a mass organization mucking around with pious, middle class clergymen or teenagers.

Or, of course, there is the organizer who sees the weakness in himself, and overcompensates by finding a bunch of social outcasts, usually winos, addicts or semi-criminal types, the kind that talks a good fight but lack the self-discipline to make hard-core organizational material. This kind of organizer may also be playing to a gallery of middle class friends (often white) who will be mightily impressed by his acquaintance in the demi-mode. It's nice to have one's outside friends think you are "in", but the question is, in what?

For the organizer who gets beyond acting as a reaction to himself---in my experience, few do---plucking out "natural leaders" by dint of casual observation and conversation is very chancy. I recall having picked a number of these on-first sight gems and I also recall spending months kicking myself for having done so.

The guy who is indeed the natural small group leader may turn out to be the guy who gets hopelessly and permanently confused by committees or simply by having to keep in mind that now instead of dealing with ten old faithfuls in the block club he's got to worry about what 400 people think. The guy you met at the barber shop, who seemed so articulate and understanding, may turn out at second meeting to be a dogmatist of the first order or a flannel-mouthed idiot. The guy with the big line about how "it's about time the black man showed those "m-f's" can turn out to be one great big chicken, or what can be worse yet, a lazy bum who only comes to meetings to make long theatrical monologues.

Those of you who may recognize your own experiences in some of these words will say, "Don't tell us what won't work, tell us what will."

To you I repeat, leaders are found by organizing and leaders are developed through organizations. So let's discuss organizing and organizations.

But before we get to that, I want to set down two of the observations I have made where leadership has developed. They are: the leaders in the third month of an organization's life are seldom the leaders in the third year; a few leaders, ourselves included, are really all-purpose; and the best organizations create a "collective leadership"

Why should so few of the leaders in an organization's infancy be around as it grows to maturity?

The first leadership is usually the closest leadership at hand. It is selected usually in the enthusiasm of the first campaign, because it is available.

You don't have a choice and you have to go with what you've got.

It may be a rent strike, a school demonstration or what have you. Reverend so-and-so says he'll be the spokesman, and you want him because he's a clergyman and you figure he'll cut more ice because he's respectable. Maybe it's Mrs. Jones, because she's the only one of the tenants who shows signs of being able to speak out in front of a judge. Or, perhaps, it's so-and-so else because he has a reputation (with you anyhow) as a freedom fighter.

Note that all these people were picked on the basis of what they could do in a one-shot affair. And the beginning of every viable organization smacks of being a one-shot affair, for the simple reason that theorists who fiddle around waiting and delaying until they've got a full commence swinging into action.

But you will notice too, that the reasons for your picking the first leaders (and you know it's you who pick them) say nothing about how they will wear over a period of time. That respectable clergyman can turn out to be a timid jerk; the lady who was so good at sounding off in front of the judge may be good for nothing else, and that big freedom fighter can look like a vain egomaniac living off the reputation of the deed done many years ago.

at

The lesson I draw from this is that/the beginning keep the organization very loose, spread the responsibilities and the conspicuous places around. This permits you and the new membership which you are supposed to be recruiting to judge the talent, and it keeps things sufficiently porous so that new talent isn't blocked off.

Nothing is more absurd than an organization that's six months old, without a dime in the treasury and a membership that can fit in piggy leadership. Vested interests are only tolerable when they are protecting something of value, not fancy organizational charts, letterheads and research programs.

Don't laugh. This kind of thing is a clear and present danger. Vain men frequently prefer to be members of obscure executive committees where they can spend years expounding doctrine. It is the realities of making and using power.

Men with the most to lose or men with the most to give in talent, money and experience are often not the first to join an organization. They will never join if they see there is no room for them in the top leadership.

Why should some of the most talented people hang back? One of the reasons, of course, is that they want to check you and the incipient organization out. If they are worth having, they won't be the kind who must/ on a guaranteed winner, but also, by the same token, they don't want any part of a born loser.

A big northern city is not like the south. In one sense the people are all in the same boat thanks to skin pigmentation but not quite so. People can and do make a variety of deals with life. In the north there are a lot of negroes who may have cause to think that they have more to lose than to gain by signing on with you. They will be those who fear loss of jobs, prestige, business or such - and many will fall into that category. But there will also be those who think they can make a better deal by joining with somebody or something else and those who just may not think what you're driving at is worth it OR that you can deliver the goods.

The varieties of reactions have to be tackled in a variety of ways, but all the people fall into these groupings - your potential second generation of leaders -- must not be driven away gratuitously. They must not be allowed to dismiss the organization out of hand at the very beginning.

Yet in fact many organizations are killed off by their organizers even before they get close to a second leadership generation. It is pure charity of course, to speak of such preliminary groupings as organizations at all. Most of these endeavors never grow to look like much more than an aborted six-month foetus. They have been murdered by their own parents, the organizers who were supposed to give life to them.

In the case of young organizers, their youth is enough to do it. People admire youth, they may praise, they may believe that youth is showing the way in which age should follow, but they are very, very reluctant to trust youth with anything of immediate value. Youth is not an insuperable handicap, I rush to add. I have known top-notch organizers in their twenties.

The good ones know, however, that they must pick up more in the way of membership that the people with the least to lose, the people who are willing to put themselves under guidance to unreliable appearing strangers. Beware of the groups lead by a couple of college students, composed of a membership of teenagers, ministers without serious institutional responsibilities and a few desperate mothers, driven to trying anything to get their kids into decent schools. Anyone who has been around knows the type of enterprise I am talking about. Yet such is the look of the organizational endeavor which failed to bud a second generation of leadership; it is also the characteristic profile of the collegiate organizer's botched job. It is as recognizable as the insulated, dessicated organizational product put out by the professional social worker.

At the risk of sounding like a mother, may I say that impressions do count. I'll mention, clothes. It is one thing to wear overalls in Mississippi where many of the people actually do and another to wear them as an occasional stunt, but to indulge in peculiarities of dress and speech simply makes you look like a faddist. I apologize for saying this to those of you know better, but those will also know it has to be said. Faddism makes you look like a horse's ass. White middle class girls from Des Moines, to be extreme about it, did not grow up referring to males as "cats" and when they do it on the south side of Chicago they sound either patronizing or idiotic - take your pick.

Nothing is so reassuring as a person who acts like himself. If you don't know who you are, stay out of organizing until you do and are willing to accept yourself as yourself. When you do, you will find that other people will.

Next, may I urge you to drop as much of your excess ideological baggage as you can outside the place where you are organizing. You are building a power group, a mass organization to serve a particular constituency, one that has certain paramount demands to be met. The demands are remote from "peace" or from any number of other, perhaps laudable, but irrelevant interests.

In other words, don't act like cultists. If you a vegetarian, keep it to yourself, hide it, because there a certain number of butchers in the community and you want them in the organization too.

This work demands self-discipline in every way. It means you either get your rest or hide the fact that you haven't because people who arrive at sixes and sevens and announce they haven't slept for 26 consecutive hours give the impression of being unstable. It also means that you recognize that you have no private life, or put differently, you do not offend against the public morals of the community. Why? Not because the morals are necessarily correct, but because organizers who do not seem to be observing them alienate potential members for no good reason.

Some people may read that I have just said and think, "Ah Ha! White man's conventional middle class values - ethnocentrism, etc., etc." To which I reply, these are the public values held by substantial portions of the people you hope to organize.

Whether they practice them is as beside the point as whether middle class whites do. The cultist will say that there can be no surrender and that freedom of the individual is involved. Perhaps it is, but he who wastes time debating such abstractions, or, worse, insists on making it clear by his behavior that he believes otherwise is enjoying a luxury that is organizationally ruinous.

As organizers, apostolic vegetarians can only organize and inspire confidence among other vegetarians.

The best organizers have single track minds. They care only for building the organization. When they alienate a potential member, they do so out of organizational need, not out of the egotism of irrelevant personal values. The best organizers stifle their tastes, their opinions, their private obsessions.

The organizer's first job is to organize, not right wrongs, not avenge injustice, not to win the battle for freedom. That is the task of people who will accomplish it through the organization if it ever gets built. When things are looked at through the glass of organizational calculation, they assume new shapes.

A couple of examples may help to explain the meaning:

1. When the cops pick up a whore, shake her down and bet up her pimp, they have done wrong. Both the whore and the pimp have rights, which have been grossly violated, but a thinking organizer may wonder how good an idea it is to commit his new group to their defense. What will the public at large say? More important, what will the different segments of the community say?

The caballeros on the street hustling will love you, but what about the solid family types? Should the solid family types be taught the relativity of all human values, and will they consent to learn? Six months from now, will the caballeros think enough of the organization to support it by coming to one meeting, by contributing one dollar?

2. Rent strikes. They are very popular now, but as with leadership they are seen as something that is good to do merely if you can do them. However, as anybody who has ever run one can tell you, they gobble up an organizer's time - which should be valued assets and may produce very few organizational dividends.

How might an organizer look at a rent strike proposition? ( I am spinning this example out to illustrate the mentality which we might call organizational calculations)

Of course he looks at the building. He does this for two reasons - the first is defensive; he wants to make sure the tenants aren't lying to him. Who doesn't think his landlord is a louse? Nothing is worse than getting into a fight in which the enemy can publicly prove your facts are wrong - note I said publicly prove.

The second reason he looks is to see how the building will photograph and will strike the eye of the often not very sympathetic press. I recall once having an argument with a photographer from the Saturday Evening Post as to whether a dead rodent in a slum building was a rat or a mouse. In short, the rats should look like rats.

If it still appears that a strike is feasible, he must ask what it will do for the organization. I will list a few possible things it might do, again by way of illustrating the organizational mentality.

1. If the political climate is right and you know local government is with you it may provide a quickie victory--something every organization needs on occasion.

2. It can be a device to shoe people via face to face confrontation that a big, important white man like a slum landlord can be humiliated and beaten.

3. It may be a way to force a municipal government to begin rigorous enforcement of minimal housing standards.

4. It may be useful in building up general organizational cohesion. I recall one rent strike during which the landlord retaliated by such tactics as failing to buy coal for the building. The organization responded in its turn by taking a portion of the sequestered rents to buy coal. The coal truck was decorated with appropriate signs; the gentlemen from the teamsters union who customarily drove the truck was replaced by several local leaders in the cab while other people from the neighborhood surrounded it as it paraded around the neighborhood before finally coming to its destination. Humor, color, the relish of a small triumph and greater solidarity came out of the little episode.

5. The strike may also be a useful method of organizing the people in the immediate locals around the building in question. Unless you have all of officialdom on your side, a rent strike is liable to be a protracted contest of natty little surprises which each side springs on the other. The landlord's surprises are usually legal ones, bailiffs, court orders, etc. If the whole area is mobilized and organized into a big warning system, the landlord can't pull off much.

But if the strike is really you and a few others the tenants versus the landlord in the midst of an indifferent populace, you are likely to invest hundreds of hours of time keeping the tenants morale up, with little to show for it but some publicity.

There are other reasons, good organizational reasons, for having rent strikes, but the point to bear in mind is having some reason other than the pure injustice of it all. It is, of course, very hard for an organizer to know when he has a valid reason for doing something or when he is conning himself.

By nature most organizers are optimists - they have to be or they wouldn't be doing what they do. Optimists tend to be credulous. They get so fascinated by the putative advantages of a proposed line of action they never seriously examine either its drawbacks - or - and this is just as important - how they might be better spending their time.

I found in my own experience that my ego was incessantly trying to sabotage my judgement. For instance, I would argue in favor of striking a slum on the basis of organizational advantage without ever realizing that actually I was in a rage over the conditions the people in the building were living in. A good organizer cannot afford to vent his anger, anymore than he can use his position to push miscellaneous irrelevant pet social beliefs.

The ego works in other ways to deform the organizer's powers of judgement. Promising young organizers are prone to come up with clever ideas - and in their pride of invention or in the egotism of mischief-making, to attempt to carry them out in circumstances that are neither propitious no even apropos.

The calculating organizer is forever suspicious of himself forever mistrusting his analysis of the situation, and his plan of action. He is always asking himself questions like, "What am I doing? Why am I doing it? What if I succeed in doing what I am trying to do, will I really have gained anything worth gaining?" However, the organizer with a calculating mentality shall assuredly fail if he is trying to do the undouble.

What is an attainable organization in the working class ghetto? It is an organization of perhaps two-percent of the people. Those who talk about organizing "all of the people" or "the masses" or the great majority of the people, are talking unrealizable balderdash.

In the first place it cannot be done. The only way all the people or most of the people can be organized is by drafting them into the army. On the rare occasions when large percentages of the population are directly "participating" in the affairs of the community, they are probably having a riot. But this form of mass participation I use the work that is fashionable - hardly gains much. Moreover, if you stop and reflect a second, you will see that any non-governmental organization comprizing huge portions of the population would be so completely unweildly that it could never achieve anything.

The purpose of organization is, I remind you, at least in this discussion, power. As a practical matter the organizing of two percent of the population is more than sufficient for the purpose of power. This you know from the history of modern revolutions - or if you look around, from the composition of the most effective present day political machines. Indeed, even two percent of a population actively in an organization is an immensely formidable number. With two percent of a district's population closely organized, the organization should have an unbreakable control over things.

When the problem is viewed this way, it becomes more manageable intellectually and actually. To begin with, it now becomes possible to see where are the plausible places to start organizing and to sort out what elements in the community demand organizational attention and which are purely optional to be courted provided the occasion arises and you have the time.

An organization needs three things: 1) a network of people spread out and in position to reach and mobilize the inert majority; 2) continuity, and 3) money.

The majority of small groups in the ghetto districts I am familiar with turn out to be potentially strongest in one of these three qualities. Thus block club adds a good deal to the mobilization network, has some money potential but is usually quite low in supplying continuity. The same can be said of the sorority or the poolroom gang, while a business group scores higher on the money and may bolster an organization's continuity.

Obviously what is needed is the right mix of groupings to make up the sinews of organization. Sometimes this is accomplished by finding what the textbooks call the most common denominator. But the catch is, the most common denominator evokes the least general interest. Everybody is against juvenile delinquency, but who cares enough about it to do anything? An issue which lines a whole community up on one side is most often so innocuous as to be organizational value. The shock and anger they cause are soon dissipated. Furthermore, they are of much greater value to an existing organization than they are to building an organization.

Where an organization exists, the emotion the momentary crisis causes to be released can be harnessed to well-thought out political maneuvers and demonstrations; it can also be exploited for money raising and recruiting in sections of the district where you are organizationally weak. But where there is no organization, there is no way to capitalize on the opportunity. There may be a few indignation meetings, or even a riot, and then all collapses back into its previous shape.

The foregoing should suggest that the right balance of network, continuity and money is engendered by an organizational program containing a balance or mix of goals or would be payoffs (which organizationally is all that a goal is) for the various groupings you need to recruit. For homeowners the program may be defense against venal building inspectors, for the unemployed it may be pressure on some well known local firm that discriminates, for the church group or local civil rights movement it may be some sort of an assault on the local educational system. Hence, it has been said that organizing of this nature, is, at least in part, building up of a community wide set of interlocking log-rolling agreements: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours, but if we don't combine, nobody's back will get scratched."

Purists may find such a procedure intolerable. For example you don't put pressure on the white small store owner past a certain point - even if he can hire an extra negro clerk. The reason is you need his money which you will get if he fears you, but not if he hates you. You will also get his money, I hasten to add, if the organization's program includes objectives that are worth something to him. Purists will find many of the things the individuals and groups which you are courting want, to be picayune. Yet these picayune wants are the stuff of which organizations are built. They are the things that must of necessity most occupy people and which move people to action as great abstractions seldom do. Moreover, it is by meeting through organizational conquest the picayune demands that the great issues are made immediate and divested of their abstract distance. The mother learns about segregated education by fighting for schoolbooks for her child, the homeowner struggling with urban renewal learns about society's huge engine of residential segregation by battling to save his property the people learn these lessons and the most important lesson about how the world that bears down on them actually functions. However, the organizer is there to draw the lesson, to make the experience valuable, to lead on into the next and larger round in this match which will only be won by those adaptable enough to use victorious methods.

The organizer who merely sees the people's day-to-day problems as the proof that oppression demeans men, and not as the chance to be exploited, lacks the patience, the ingenuity and the opportunism that makes success. The I-can't-be-bothered-with-that-attitude is self-important, and the organizer who is mostly concerned with "big issues" will never meet success outside the debate room.

Again I am speaking of the ability to see with calculation and act with calculation. It is not easy, particularly once you have sensitized yourself to the importance of little favors, little worries, little preoccupations, to know which are the organizationally useful ones and which are heart-rending but profitless. I remember a newly founded organization that was offered several thousand dollars worth of Christmas baskets by a group of terrified local businessmen hoping to placate the popular wrath. First we battled with the local sufferers for humanity about putting whiskey in the baskets. They wanted to give them to the needy! The organizers wanted to give them to the strategic, flat janitors and other key people whom it is good to have obligated to the organization.

If I may, I would like to advert to the stringing of beads on the necklace one more time. The beads, it turned out, are not all of one shape size or color. They are a variety, and as you pick them out and string them, the necklace will have a correspondingly different pattern.

The bead pattern analysis holds with leadership also, too many money beads - that is organizations brought in primarily for the dough they can contribute - and you will find yourself with a lot of money, but a soggy conservative leadership. Too little money, too many youth groups, and you will get an organization that's always broke, that's short on continuity, and will always undertake more than its organizational base can carry out.

OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

41

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lt. Rocco Ferreante  
FROM: Detective William Millard  
SUBJECT: Jessie Gray

April 19, 1966

Jessie Gray of 300 W. 221 St. Long Island Ckty reported of had a meeting with Clarence Coggins of 18 Gardner Ave. J.C. Sat. April 15, 1966.

He is schedule to speak at a rally in Military Park Sat. April 30, 1966 2Pm Rally Sponsored by Coggins Flyer submitted.

Respectfully Submitted

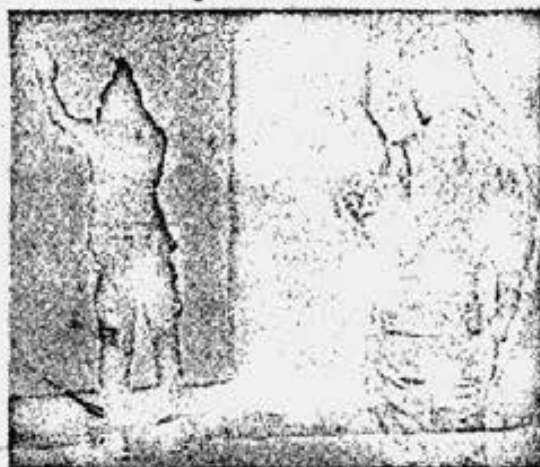
*William Millard*  
Detective #67

What the hell are we doing there?

Black youth in Watts.



Black youth in Vietnam.



**MOTHERS**

**FATHERS**

## **ORGANIZE TO SAVE YOUR CHILDREN**

L. B. Johnson says that the war in Vietnam may last up to ten or more years!  
**DO WE FULLY UNDERSTAND WHAT THIS MAN IS TALKING ABOUT?**

1. He is saying that if we have sons that are 8 years or older now that he will take them into the racist U. S. Army to fight in the wars that the U. S. government is waging against colored peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
2. Black children receive inferior education so they cannot go to college and stay out of the Army. So, as soon as they are forced out of High School (they call them "drop-outs") they go right into the "man's" Army.
3. White middle- and upper-class children have better schools and teachers who gear them to college so they are able to stay out of the Army. Also, white parents rightly protest, march, picket and do everything else possible to keep their children out of the Army and Vietnam.
4. Defense Secretary McNamara, who along with Johnson is responsible for the murder of tens of thousands of Vietnamese, black Congolese and Dominicans, said recently that he is going to draft 100,000 young men in the next year. He says that these youngsters have "poverty-encrusted" backgrounds. (N. Y. Times, 8/24/66).
5. The N. Y. Times of 8/25/66 said that "possibly 30 per cent" of these young men that the Army would "salvage" would be black men!

**NOW, WHAT ELSE DO THESE MURDERERS SAY? THEY SAY THAT THIS IS PART OF THE "ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM"! HOW ABOUT THAT? THE WAY TO SOLVE THE POVERTY OF THE BLACK PEOPLE IS TO GET THEM KILLED IN FOREIGN WARS!**

## **WAKE UP BLACK PEOPLE**

President Johnson has made it clear what he wants to do. He wants to use the black people to fight in wars against our colored brothers. He wants us to help enslave them just like we are enslaved.

**Join OUR Demonstration Against  
the War in Vietnam April 15, 1967**

**March to start at 11 a.m.  
At 135th St. & Lenox Ave.  
Rally at U.N. at 3 p.m.**

THE BLACK UNITED ACTION FRONT, composed of many grass-roots organizations, meets to plan and carry out action every Monday night at 8 p. m. at 139 West 125 Street, Room 4, 666-0787.

# **U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!**

# DEFEAT WHITE RACIST CITY HALL!!

## THE TIME IS NOW!!!

Do NOT sit idly by while City Hall LAUGHS!

LET THE WORLD KNOW THE CROOKED PLANS TO DISPLACE AND CONTROL BLACK PEOPLE BY BUILDING A WHITE MEDICAL COLLEGE INSTEAD OF NEEDED HOUSING, SCHOOLS AND JOBS FOR BLACK MOTHERS and FATHERS and THEIR CHILDREN!!!

COME OUT TO DEMAND THAT THE PLANS for the BLIGHT-AREA BE CHANGED TO BENEFIT BLACK PEOPLE.

Monday June 12<sup>th</sup> 7:PM

COUNCIL CHAMBER - City Hall

We demand a VOICE in the plans in Newark - BLACK PEOPLE number more than 60% of the city and 80% of school enrollment. WE PAY THE SAME TAXES AS WHITES!!!

*Full Jesse Gray*

B DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1966

# Gray Leads Protest, But It's Lacking Bite

By DONALD SINGLETON

Rent strike leader Jesse Gray put his false teeth in his pocket for an hour yesterday afternoon, just long enough to lead a siege on City Hall.

Gray led 25 members of the Harlem Tenants' Council in an unsuccessful attempt to see Mayor Lindsay, who was in Utica, N.Y.

Police were ready when Gray and company arrived at 2 P.M. All City Hall doors except one had been locked since early morning, and police waited at the open door.

### Scuffle Breaks Out

A scuffle broke out on the steps outside, when the demonstrators tried to push their way through the police line.

Onlookers said Gray was wearing a new set of store teeth, but stuck them in his pocket when the action started.

One woman wedged herself between a door and a partially closed gate and three others in the group infiltrated the building, where they acted in an orderly fashion.

### "Open the Door, Lindsay"

Outside, where reporters, city employes and others with legitimate business were forced to wait, the demonstrators chanted

slogans citing alleged discrimination by the Lindsay Administration. They yelled: "Lindsay, open the door! Lindsay, open the door!"

When police continued to refuse them admittance, Gray shouted: "All we want to do is talk, that's all."

Another organization, the People's War Council Against Poverty, demonstrated with the Gray group, demanding jobs for the poor. Before the doors were locked, four of the group entered the hall, where they talked quietly to newsmen.

### Cries Police Brutality

When things quieted down, Gray made claims of police brutality, saying two women were pushed and children were mauled in the scuffle.

He demanded the arrest of two policemen and called Lindsay a fraud.

Gray said the group had been rebuffed by the Mayor in efforts to discuss housing, welfare and employment problems affecting minority groups in the city.

Feb. 18, 1966

Jessie Gray is a close friend of Newark's Central ward Dem- Chairman Ulysis Ward, He is also a close friend of Clarenc Coggins of Gardner Ave. Jersey City, Al Oliver of Dayton St. Newark.

Mr Gray has attempted to hold a rally in Newark during the summer of 1963. This was aborted.

He has been observed one night during the Summer of 63 in the Owl Club on Clinton Ave. Newark, no knowledge of any other appearances in Newark.....

He is a sloppy dresser dirty and has false Teeth, and a heavy drinker.

*John J. ...*

OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

46

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

May 13, 1966

TO: Lt. R. Ferrente

FROM: Detective Wm Millard

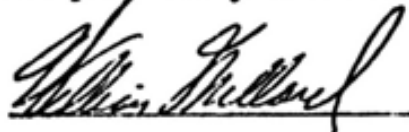
SUBJECT: Jessie Gray

Jessie Gray of 300- W-121 St. Long Island N.Y. Separated from his wife who lives in Manhattan (Harlem) N.Y. Gray arrested in March 1966 on complaint of his wife in N.Y. for assault.

He is unemployed, he has been linked to the communist party and active in black nationalist activities in Harlem. He is a sloppy dresser and drinks heavy. He is a close friend of Alvin Oliver William Clark, Rosta Nette, Clarence Coggins of the Labor Vanguard Conference.

When in Newark he sometimes frequent the Owl Club on Clinton Ave. He spoke in Newark April 29, 1966 at Military Park. Labor Vanguard Rally (May Day)

Respectfully Submitted



Detective #67

JULY 25, 1967

47

MEMORANDUM TO STAFF  
FROM CHIEF OLIVER KELLY  
SUBJECT: CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

Two (2) men loading shot guns and rifles as of this 3:00 p.m.  
in Holyoke, Mass. onto a Blue or Green walk-in type van truck.  
Mass. plates.

men are: Ed De Meers and  
Charles La Fonde

one white and other Mulattoo, light yellow. Both have  
been arrested in New Jersey for smuggling cigaretts.

Delivery to Newark, N.J. to-night.

Mass. State Police, New York State Police and New Jersey  
State Police have been notified.

*Oliver Kelly*

OLIVER KELLY  
Chief of Police

OK; bmc

Copies to:

Director Spina  
Lt. Ferrante  
Captain Martin  
D. C. Cohen  
D. C. Redden  
D. C. Foley  
D. C. Scanlon  
D. C. Barres  
D. C. O'Neill  
Insp. Donnelly  
Insp. Saporito  
Insp. Murphy  
Insp. Melchior  
Insp. Henry  
Insp. Zillmer  
Insp. Kodman  
Capt. Vols  
FBI  
State Police  
Insp. Dughi

XERO  
COPY

XERO  
COPY

XERO  
COPY

XERO  
COPY

LWE-39 | New Jersey  
FORD 1 67 Station Wagon, Commercial  
Serial #87149  
Issued to Newark Leasing Corporation  
11 Commerce Street, Newark

Records Check certificate of ownership reflects the above named vehicle was sold on March 28, 1967 by R. L. Mulliken, Inc., Ford Agency, Englewood, N. J. to the Newark Leasing Corporation, (above).

Lien is with the First National Security Bank, Springfield Ave., Newark

Further check reflects that Harold Schwartz is a partner in the Newark Leasing Corporation and advised that the vehicle was rented to the Blazer Youth Council which is an anti-poverty training program.

Any further information needed, contact Harold Schwartz, 568-3800.

The above address, 11 Commerce Street, Newark is the law office of Mark Grossman, Suite 805, who is the registered agent for the corporation.

(HEDGESPETH, MILLARD & QUIRK)

## Black Power Parley Shift?

News 7-17-67

The rioting in Newark may force transfer of the National Conference on Black Power to another location.

Rev. Dr. Nathan Wright Jr., chairman of the conference and director of urban work for the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, said a decision will be made today on where to hold the meeting. It is scheduled to open Thursday at the Hotel Military Park and Cathedral House.

Gov. Hughes has asked that the program be cancelled or moved, and said he cannot think of a worse time or place for such a conference.

Dr. Wright said he still thinks the meeting should be held here, but it might be wise to move it "as long as a state of emergency is being prolonged unduly . . . We do not want chaos thrown into plans we have worked on since September."

### 200 to Attend

The conference, expected to attract more than 200 Negro leaders from all over the country, might be shifted to New York or some other New Jersey community.

Dr. Wright had previously said the disturbances added to the timeliness of the conference, which is supposed to deal with development of black power as a positive force in the community.

50  
UNITED COMMUNITY CORPORATION

124 BRANFORD PLACE

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Area Board Presidents  
FROM: Mrs. R. Neal Owens - UCC - Education Department  
RE: MONTGOMERY SCHOOL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

You and I are serving in an advisory capacity on a committee for the Montgomery School and Girls Trade School. These are classified as "special schools" and the Administration wants our thinking in regards to curriculum and employment.

The students who attend these schools come from city-wide, consequently the involvement of the Area Boards is needed.

There has been two meetings. At the last meeting those in attendance were asked to contact those who were not present. Thus the reason for this memorandum to you - to remind you of the importance of serving on this committee and to urge you and/or your chosen representative to attend.

The next meeting will be at Montgomery School - 90 Montgomery Street, Newark, New Jersey on Wednesday, April 19, 1967 at 9:00 a.m.

Please attend or send a representative from your Area Board.

LIPPMAN Dr. Harold

1594 1/2

51

68 Elizabeth Ave, City

5-19-55 witness at hearings before house Un-American Activities Committee. Refused to admit as being communist, invoked 5th Amendment. Was told that he was head of the doctors group in CP, invoked 5th Amend.

LIPPMAN Dr. Harold E.

1575

Newark, N. J.

Signed petition protesting appearance of Sen. McCarthy in Newark, N. J. 5-6-54 at dinner sponsored by Army & Navy Union of N. J.

*Dr. Lippman is Hayden Post  
signed in Clark County Court  
12-11-57. for Hayden*

LIPPMAN Dr. & Mrs, H.

1576

Maplewood, N. J.

*125 Fairfield Rd.*

Sponsor of communist meeting held 5-15-54 in Wideway Hall, 929 Broad St, under sponsorship CALL for a CONFERENCE for JOBS, TRADE & PEACE. See pamphlet. jo

ARREST DESCRIPTION

PHYSICAL

CUSTODY AND DETENTION

DISP.

R. &

I.

1. PRISONER'S LAST NAME: <b>Allen</b>		FIRST <b>James</b>	MIDDLE <b>Lee</b>	2. TIME AND DATE OF ARREST <b>9:00 AM 4-3-67</b>	3. DIST. <b>(02)</b>	3A. COMMAND <b>5-561</b>	4. CENT. ARREST NO. <b>542</b>	<b>52</b>	
5. ALIASES: (OR MAIDEN NAME, IF FEMALE) <b>4260</b>				6. WHERE ARRESTED: <b>47 Clinton Ave.</b>	7. PCT. COMPLT. NO. <b>5-3962</b>	7A. CENT. COMPLT. NO. <b>1852</b>			
8. PRISONER'S ADDRESS: <b>227 Jelliff Ave.</b>				9. SPECIFIC OFFENSE: <b>Obstruct &amp; Interfering with Public (reason)</b>					
10. VICTIM OR COMPLAINANT'S NAME: <b>Sgt. John H. Holik</b>				10A. COMPLTS. TEL. NO.	11. STATUTE OR ORDINANCE NUMBER <b>2A: 170-29 B</b>				
12. VICTIM OR COMPLAINANT'S ADDRESS: <b>5th Pct.</b>				13. TYPE OF ARREST: <input type="checkbox"/> PICK UP <input type="checkbox"/> WARRANT <input type="checkbox"/> COMPLT. <input type="checkbox"/> F.O.A.					
14. TIME AND DATE OF OCCURRENCE: <b>Prior 3:00 PM 4-1-67</b>		15. TYPE OF PREMISES: <b>Sidewalk</b>		16. PLACE OF OCCURRENCE: <b>479 Clinton Ave.</b>					
18A. DETAILS OF ARREST: (USE WHEN SUBMITTING AS COMBINED OFFENSE - ARREST REPORT) <b>Prisoner arrested for above offence, at indicated time and place.</b>								CHECK REPORTS SUB. DP1: 802 DP1: 785 DP1: 789 DP1: 1001 DP1: 1817 DP1: 182 DP1: 182:1 DP1: 225A	
17. RECORD CHECK MADE BY: <b>Di Pisci</b>		18. RESULTS OF RECORD CHECK <input type="checkbox"/> RECORD <input type="checkbox"/> NO RECORD		19. IS PRISONER WANTED? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO		20. IF WANTED, BY WHOM?		21. WHO WAS NOTIFIED?	
22. AGE <b>37</b>	23. RACE <b>M</b>	24. SEX <b>M</b>	25. DATE OF BIRTH <b>6-2-29</b>	26. PLACE OF BIRTH <b>Union NJ</b>	27. HEIGHT <b>5'6"</b>	28. WEIGHT <b>165</b>	29. HAIR <b>Blk.</b>	30. EYES <b>Brn.</b>	31. BUILD <b>Sl.</b>
32. <input type="checkbox"/> MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE		33. OCCUPATION <b>Minister</b>		34. SOC. SEC. NUMBER <b>07-2-32461</b>	34A. NAME OF EMPLOYER OR GOVERNMENT AGENCY <b>United States Army Corp. 471 Clinton Ave.</b>				
35. SCHOOL GRAD ATTAINED BY JUV.		37. PARENTS OF JUV. NOTIFIED BY:			34B. IF EMPLOYER IS A FEDERAL AGENCY, CHECK ONE <input type="checkbox"/> CIVILIAN AGENCY <input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY				
36. JUVENILE PAROLED TO:		39. JUVENILE DETAINED AT:		35. COMPLEXION <b>Fair</b>		35A. SCARS, MARKS AND OTHER DESCRIPTIVE DATA <b>2" scar over left eye</b>			
40. PRISONER TO BE FINGERPRINTED: <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO		41. PRISONER TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED: <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO		43. SIGNATURE OF ARRESTING OFFICER: <b>James M. Di Pisci</b>		43. READ, CLASSIFIED AND APPROVED BY: <b>Lieut. J. M. Di Pisci</b>		44. CLASSIFICATION	
45. PRISONER SEARCHED BY: <b>Mataraso</b>		46. MONEY IN PRISONER'S POSSESSION <b>20</b>		50. INVESTIGATION ASSIGNED TO:					
47. LIST PRISONER'S PERSONAL PROPERTY: <b>App. A 1030</b>				51. RESTRICTIONS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		52. ARRAIGNMENT (DATE)		53. COURT:	
54. INVESTIGATION COMPLETED (SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR)									
55. AMOUNT OF BAIL:				56. SIGNATURE OF PERSON PAROLED TO:					
57. BAIL SET OR PAROLED BY:				58. LIEUTENANT ACCEPTING BAIL OR PAROLING PRISONER:					
59. TIME AND DATE TO COURT:				OFFICER					
60. TIME AND DATE FROM COURT:				OFFICER					
61. TIME AND DATE TO JAIL:				OFFICER					
48. OFFICER IN CHARGE OF PRISONER		49. SENT TO CELL BLOCK BY: LT.		62. I HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF THE PROPERTY LISTED UNDER ITEM NO. 47 ON THIS REPORT TO BE ALL OF THAT REMOVED FROM ME ON THE OCCASION ON MY ARREST AS INDICATED ON THIS REPORT.  DATE _____ PRISONER'S SIGNATURE _____					
63. RECEIVED AT CELL BLOCK BY:		64. TIME & DATE REC.							64A. CELL NO.
65. MAGISTRATE	COURT	DISPOSITION		DATE OF DISPOSITION		FINAL CHARGE			
66. DISPOSITION POSTED BY:		67. DISPOSITION MAILED BY:		68. FINGERPRINTED BY:		69. F. P. NO. <b>5-565</b> GAL. NO.			
70. KEY PUNCHED BY:		71. INDEXED BY:		72. FILED BY:		73. PHOTOGRAPHED BY:		74. S. B. NO. F. B. I. NO.	

*Handwritten initials/signature*

*Handwritten signature*



F. B. I. NO.	31 736 C
N. J. STATE BUREAU NO.	508 691

**POLICE DEPARTMENT  
NEWARK, N. J.**

F. P. NO.	
DATE CHANGED	
GAL. NO.	9-15-45
S. U. NO.	

SS: 962-32-4509

RECORDS AND IDENTIFICATION BUREAU

NAME	Jesse Lee Allen	COL	Blk	SEX	Male	DATE OF BIRTH	6-2-1929	19
OTHER NAMES USED								
Jessie Lee Allen,								
Jeffrey Allen,								

*520*

**RECORD**

- 3-7-1953 SO, Live Oak, Fla., as Jessie Lee Allen, #21019, D W L R.
- 9-11-1955 State Police(How.), Princeton, N.J., as Jesse Lee Allen, #C-770, 2A:170-9 (False Alarm to Police), 60 das. Mon. Co. jail. On 9-13-55, Rec. Monmouth Co. Jail, Freehold, N.J., as Jessie Lee Allen, #14-798, D.P.
- 10-17-1959 Newark, N.J., as Jesse Lee Allen, M.V.V. (Cont. of Crt, 2 Cts.), & Creating a Disturbance, Offs. Corbo, Martin & Zack, Mag. Lohman, & Mamie Butler, Compl'ts. On 10-19-59, Mag. Walsh, MC Pt 6, fined \$5.00, paid, on chg. of MVV. On 10-19-59, Mag. Hazelwood, MC Pt 2, chg. of creating a Disturbance, Dismissed, lack of prosecution.
- 3-18-1962 Newark, N.J., as Jesse Lee Allen, Mat. Witness to A A & B, Ptlm. C. Hargrave, 5th Pct., Vincent Herbert Fritz, Newark, N.J., Compl't. On 3-30-62, Mag. Castellano, MC Pt 1, Dismissed.
- 4-5-1965 Newark, N.J., as Jesse Allen, Creating a Disturbance, Ptlm. T.H. Harris, 3rd Pct., Off. Compl't. On 7-7-65 Mgst Del Mauro MCP 1, Fined \$50 Pd.
- 4-5-1965 Newark, N.J., as Jesse Allen, Resisting arrest, Ptlm. T. Harris, 3rd Pct., Off. Compl't. On 7-7-65 Mgst Del Mauro MC Pt 2 30 das SS Prob 1 yr fine \$26.
- 4-1-1967 Newark, NJ as Jesse Lee Allen, Viol Of City Ord. 20:7-C, Det. M Matarazzo, DB., Officers Compl't.
- 4-1-1967 Newark, N.J., as Jesse Allen, Cont.of Crt. (Traffic-3). Det. Matarazzo, DB. Mag., MC-6, Compl't.

**709**

*GRG*

F.B.I. NO.	1 464 616
N. J. STATE BUREAU NO.	339 604

# POLICE DEPARTMENT

## NEWARK, N. J.

F.P. NO.	
DATE CHANGED	
GU. NO.	50161
S.U. NO.	

S: 117-05-5612

### BUREAU OF RECORDS DETECTIVE DIVISION

NAME	COL	Bl.	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH
James Albert Walker			Male	9-3-1918 19
Albert Jesse Walker	<small>OTHEL JAMES GIBB</small>			9-3-22
Jessie Walker				

### RECORD

- 2-18-1938 New York, N.Y., as Albert Jesse Walker, No. B-166282, Sect. 617 U.S. Code (Stealing from Mails) On 2-19-1938 Rec. U.S. Mar. New York, N.Y., as Albert Walker, No. C-13-148, Theft from Mails. On 3-22-1939, Rec. U.S.I.R. Chillicothe, Ohio as Albert Walker, No. 15373, Viol. Postal Laws, Theft from Mails, 1 yr. 1 day. On 1-4-1939 cond. rel. all. reg. good time.
- 12-8-1945 Orange, N.J., as James A. Walker, Non-Support, No. 4385. On 12-9-1945 TOT Essex Co. Sheriff's Office.
- 12-4-1948 Montclair, N.J., as James Albert Walker, No. P-4212, Non-Support. TOT Essex Co. Peos. Office.
- 9-7-1949 Newark, N.J., as James Albert Walker, Petit Larceny (Shop), Lt. T. McHugh & Det. J. McKernan, Det. Bur., F. Worthington, L. Bamberger & Co., Newark, N.J., compl't. On 9-9-1949, Act. Mgst. Guthrie, Mun. Crt. Part 1, Fined \$50.00 and committed.
- 9-21-1951 Rec. Essex Co. Jail, Newark, N.J., as James Albert Walker, (Essex Co. Ident. Bur. No. A-76499). Desertion.
- 11-30-1954 Rec. Essex Co. Jail, Newark, N.J., as James Albert Walker, (Essex Co. Ident. Bur. No. A-76499), Viol. of Probation (Non-Support). On 12-21-1954 Rec. Essex Co. Pen'ty., Caldwell, N.J., as James A. Walker, No. 20534/70680, Viol. of Prob. 6 mos.
- 12-3-1954 Newark, N.J., as James Albert Walker, Petit Larceny, Dets. M. Skurla and C. Kinney, Det. Bur., Doremus Reives, 2042 Webster Ave., Bronx, N.Y., compl't. On 12-7-1954, Mgst. Pine, Mun. Crt. Part 1, comm. Grand Jury w/o bail. On 4-13-1955, Judge Waugh, Essex Co. Crt., 6 mos., Essex Co. Pen'ty., Consec., to ter, now serving.
- 12-3-1954 Newark, N.J., as James Albert Walker, False Pretense (Warrant), Dets. J. Bradley & G. Schimpf, Det. Bur., Mary Davis, 470 Belmont Ave., City, compl't. On 12-7-1954, Mgst. Pine, Mun. Crt. Part 1, comm. Grand Jury w/o bail.

12-20-1955 Newark, N. J., as James A. Walker, Contempt of Court (Traffic) Dets. Fogarty & Farrell, B.O.I., Mgst. Jacobs, Mun. Crt. No. 6.

1. PRISONER'S LAST NAME <b>Walker</b>		FIRST <b>James</b>		MIDDLE <b>Albert</b>		2. TIME AND DATE OF ARREST <b>9:00 A.M. 4-3-67</b>		3. DIST. <b>(51)</b>	3A. COMMAND <b>5-562</b>	4. CENT. ARREST NO. <b>5431</b>									
5. ALIASES - (OR MADDEN NAME, IF FEMALE) <b>None</b>						6. WHERE ARRESTED: <b>479 Clinton Ave.</b>			7. PCT. COMPL. NO. <b>5-3961</b>	7A. CENT. COMPL. NO. <b>18528</b>									
8. PRISONER'S ADDRESS: <b>10 Custer Pl.</b>						9. SPECIFIC OFFENSE: <b>Obstruct &amp; Interfering with Public ( person )</b>													
10. VICTIM OR COMPLAINANT'S NAME: <b>Sgt. John Mihalik</b>						10A. COMPLTS. TEL. NO.			11. STATUTE OR ORDINANCE NUMBER <b>2A: 170-29 B</b>										
12. VICTIM OR COMPLAINANT'S ADDRESS: <b>5th Pot.</b>						13. TYPE OF ARREST: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PICK UP <input type="checkbox"/> WARRANT <input type="checkbox"/> COMPLT. <input type="checkbox"/> F.O.A.													
14. TIME AND DATE OF OCCURRENCE: <b>Prior 3:00 PM 4-1-67</b>				15. TYPE OF PREMISES: <b>Sidewalk</b>		16. PLACE OF OCCURRENCE: <b>479 Clinton Ave.</b>													
17. RECORD CHECK MADE BY: <b>Strong</b>										18. RESULTS OF RECORD CHECK <input type="checkbox"/> RECORD <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO RECORD		19. IS PRISONER WANTED? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO		20. IF WANTED, BY WHOM?		21. WHO WAS NOTIFIED?			
22. AGE <b>45</b>		23. RACE <b>W</b>		24. SEX <b>M</b>		25. DATE OF BIRTH <b>9-3-22</b>		26. PLACE OF BIRTH <b>New Haven 3</b>		27. HEIGHT <b>6'1</b>		28. WEIGHT <b>210</b>		29. HAIR <b>Blk.</b>		30. EYES <b>Brn.</b>		31. BUILD <b>Med.</b>	
32. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE		33. OCCUPATION <b>Gen. Worker</b>				34. SOC. SEC. NUMBER <b>117-05-5612</b>		34A. NAME OF EMPLOYER OR GOVERNMENT AGENCY <b>Operation Ho Care, 451 Hunterdon St.</b>											
35. SCHOOL GRADE ATTAINED BY JUV.				37. PARENTS OF JUV. NOTIFIED BY:				34B. IF EMPLOYER IS A FEDERAL AGENCY, CHECK ONE <input type="checkbox"/> CIVILIAN AGENCY <input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY											
38. JUVENILE PAROLED TO:				39. JUVENILE DETAINED AT:				35. COMPLEXION <b>Lt. Brn. 6</b>		35A. SCARS, MARKS AND OTHER DESCRIPTIVE DATA <b>Upper left arm, mustache, glasses</b>									
40. PRISONER TO BE FINGERPRINTED: <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO				41. PRISONER TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED: <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO				43. READ, CLASSIFIED AND APPROVED BY: <b>P. McDonald</b>				44. CLASSIFICATION <b>19 D 244</b>							
42. SIGNATURE OF ARRESTING OFFICER: <b>Det. Incarolla</b>				COMMAND <b>5th</b>		BADGE NO. <b>1566</b>		45. PRISONER SEARCHED BY: <b>Det. Incarolla</b>						46. MONEY IN PRISONER'S POSSESSION <b>\$ 34.04</b>		50. INVESTIGATION ASSIGNED TO:			
47. LIST PRISONER'S PERSONAL PROPERTY: <b>Add Arrest</b>										51. RESTRICTIONS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO		52. ARRAIGNMENT (DATE) <b>4-3-67</b>		53. COURT: <b>Pt. 2</b>					
										54. INVESTIGATION COMPLETED (SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR):									
55. AMOUNT OF BAIL:						56. SIGNATURE OF PERSON PAROLED TO:													
57. BAIL SET OR PAROLED BY:						58. LIEUTENANT ACCEPTING BAIL: OR PAROLING PRISONER:													
59. TIME AND DATE TO COURT:						OFFICER													
60. TIME AND DATE FROM COURT:						OFFICER													
61. TIME AND DATE TO JAIL:						OFFICER													
48. OFFICER IN CHARGE OF PRISONER										49. SENT TO CELL BLOCK BY: <b>LT.</b>		62. I HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF THE PROPERTY LISTED UNDER ITEM NO. 47 ON THIS REPORT TO BE ALL OF THAT REMOVED FROM ME ON THE OCCASION ON MY ARREST AS INDICATED ON THIS REPORT.  DATE _____ PRISONER'S SIGNATURE _____							
63. RECEIVED AT CELL BLOCK BY:				64. TIME & DATE REC.		64A. CELL NO.													
65. MAGISTRATE		COURT		DISPOSITION		DATE OF DISPOSITION		FINAL CHARGE											
66. DISPOSITION POSTED BY:				67. DISPOSITION MAILED BY:				68. FINGERPRINTED BY:				69. F. P. NO. <b>112191</b>							
70. KEY PUNCHED BY: <b>2</b>		71. INDEXED BY:		72. FILED BY:		73. PHOTOGRAPHED BY:		74. S. B. NO. F. B. I. NO.											

ARREST  
DESCRIPTIONPHYSICAL  
DESCR.CUSTODY  
AND  
DETENTION

DISP.

R. &amp; I.

54 2



54 2



Department of Police  
NEWARK, N. J.

Name James Walker No. \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Arrest \_\_\_\_\_ Color \_\_\_\_\_

Offense \_\_\_\_\_

Officers \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Height \_\_\_\_\_ Command \_\_\_\_\_

Build \_\_\_\_\_ Hair \_\_\_\_\_ Weight \_\_\_\_\_

Eyes \_\_\_\_\_ Compl. \_\_\_\_\_

Notivty \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ S. U. No. \_\_\_\_\_

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS

250 WEST 57th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019, TELEPHONE: (212) 265-5626

55

**JULIAN BOND**  
**SIMON CASADY**  
Co-Chairmen

## MEMORANDUM

To: The Steering Committee and the Board of Directors  
From: William F. Pepper  
Re: Some Administrative Concerns and a current campaign

I. Following the recent Board meeting, and my conversations with some members of the Steering Committee, we are going to attempt to implement the following administrative procedures:

A. Monthly financial statements will be sent to each Steering Committee member.

B. Copies of correspondence will be forwarded for circulation to all Committee members.

C. Periodic administrative reports will go from the office to members of the Committee.

D. We will attempt to have the Committee meet once every month or six weeks, if possible trying to work into the eastern travel plans of some or all of the west coast members.

E. We are revitalizing the Administrative Committee and involving some new people who have specific contributions to make in the area of organizational administration. The Administrative Committee will meet every two weeks.

II. As you may know, Dick Gregory is running a "write in" race for Mayor of Chicago. He is opposed to the practice of large campaign contributions and has set a limit of \$100 for any single contributor, for he doesn't believe that an office holder should be overly indebted to any single individual or group. I pass this along to you in the event any Board member might like to make a contribution in support of one of our Board members.

III. Let me take this opportunity to inform the Board that the "revolving loan fund" has been firmly established and hence, N.C.N.P. now has the machinery to loan money to New Politics campaigns. Now, criteria must be developed and an "effectiveness" study of past contributions is under way in order to help us establish these guidelines.

IV. I also hope to hear from members of the Board shortly with respect to their individual undertakings in the area of fund raising support for N.C.N.P. As you may recall, a previous memo was recently dispatched on this subject. The first N.C.N.P. Lawyers pledge club "approach" meeting is set for the first week in April in New York City.

Respectfully submitted,

*Bill Pepper*

William F. Pepper  
Executive Director

WFP:mv

3

Forward to: **DIRECTOR**

---

*Oliver Kelly*

Date: **AUG 10 1964** CHIEF OF POLICE

**POLICE DEPARTMENT**  
**NEWARK, NEW JERSEY**

CONTENTS NOTED  
 Forwarded to: CHIEF OLIVER KELLY  
 Date: **AUG 7 1964**  
*Henry Cohen*  
 DEPUTY CHIEF OF POLICE

DATE August 7 1964

*Copy for file*

TO: **Bruno Barillari**  
 Acting Captain of Police  
 Commanding Detective Bureau

TITLE: .....

SIR: At approximately 10:30 A.M. this date Detective Samuel Damiano received information from an informant that there was "an arsenal on top of the roofs of the Douglas Harrison Apartments". This informant implied that she had knowledge that there were bricks, bottles etc. on these roofs which conceivable could be used against Police authorities if there was a racial disturbance in the area. This informant, whose identity Detective Damiano wishes to keep confidential, was known by him as reliable as she had given him previous good information.

Undersigned together with Detectives Damiano, Rolleri and Albertocki of the First Detective Squad and Detective Michael Skurla of the Youth Aid Bureau proceeded to the scene. We were joined there by Sergeant Michael Keegan and Detectives Dell Ermo, Inneo and T. Smith of the Bandit Squad.

The Douglass Harrison Apartments consist of twelve units four of which are six-story and eight of which are five-story. There are no elevators in these apartments. The roofs of the twelve units were searched by the above Detectives and eleven of the roofs were found to be clear.

On the roof of 63 Somerset St. which is on the south west corner of Somerset and Spruce Streets, eight paving blocks were found together with a small bottle in which some substance appeared to have been burned. The blocks were approximately 9" x 9" and about 2" thick.

Photographs of these blocks in the original position they were found were taken by Identification Officer McNamara. They were then removed from the roof and turned over to a maintenance man for disposition.

The bottle found alongside of the bricks was brought to Headquarters by the undersigned and will be sent to the Police Laboratory for possible analysis.

Respectfully submitted,

SIGNATURE: *Bruno Barillari*  
 Superior Receiving Report

SIGNATURE: *Henry Cohen*  
 RANK: Lieutenant #61



F. B. I. NO.	14 866 955
N. J. STATE BUREAU NO.	829427

**POLICE DEPARTMENT  
NEWARK, N. J.**

F. P. NO.	57
DATE CHANGED	
GAL. NO.	113259
S. U. NO.	

RECORDS AND IDENTIFICATION BUREAU

-SS# 246 28 6373

NAME	John William Smith	COL	Blk	SEX	Male	DATE OF BIRTH	1-27-1927	19
OTHER NAMES USED								

**RECORD**

- 11-15-1944 .. Southern Rwy. Co., Gr ensboro, NC, as John Willie Smith, #8289, Investigation, Released.
- 1-17-1956 Newark, N.J., as John William Smith, Malicious Damage, Arr. 6th. No. 28. On 1-17-1956, Judge Mc Kinley, MC Pt. 2, Not Guilty.
- 4-23-1964 Newark, N.J., as John William Smith, Contempt of Court, (2), Ptlm. Gus Bryant Jr., 1st Pct., Mag. MC Pt 6 Newark, N.J., Compl't.
- 5-22-1965 Newark, N.J., as John William Smith, Traffic Warrant, Ptlm. White, 1st Pct., Magt. Mun Crt. Pt 6, Newark, N.J., Compl't.
- (A) 7-12-1967 Newark, N.J, as John William Smith., A&B on Polke Officer, Ptlm. Pontrell, 4th. Pct., Officer's Compl't.
- 7-12-1967 Newark, N.J., as John William Smith, Resisting Arrest, Ptlm. Vito Pontrell, 4th. Pct., Officer's Compl't.
- 7-12-1967 Newark, N.J., as John William Smith, Loud and Off. Lang., Ptlm. Vito Pontrell, 4th Pct., Officer's Compl't.

*N. Wright*

May 25, 1967

To: Area Board Friends  
From: Nathan Wright, Jr.

Let me add a word to that of your leaders concerning the importance of deepening your solidarity at this crucial time in the City of Newark's life. Support them this coming Monday night at the Board of Education meeting.

1. Last Tuesday Evening's Board of "Education" Meeting. New meaning was added to the term Board of Education at the May 23rd meeting of the Board. Such large numbers were present that the meeting had to be held in the main auditorium at City Hall. The attitude and antics of the majority of the Board spoke in an unveiled way of the continuing contempt for black people which has for too long been a pervasive ingredient in Newark's life.

As black people spoke of their deep rooted grievances several things were as clear as crystal. I observed that few, if any of the well-dressed and so-called "responsible" white people who were present gave visible evidence of their support, even in spirit, for those whose just complaints were presented with the most devastating eloquence.

As the able and distinguished Chairman of the City's Commission on Human Relations spoke, the sullen and seemingly insensitive spirit of many non-blacks present was driven home by remarks of several people associated with the schools who sat close by. In the face of the sober recitation of an ugly employment record by the Board of Education hardly matched in the deepest South, no white voices of shame near me were raised. Yet I was reminded repeatedly by them that, as a "leader," I should teach what was described as "your people" to "take it easy" and "behave."

It was an "education" in itself to see white many Newarkers present conduct themselves in a way that unjustly demeans the more sober and sensitive non-black people of Newark.

A man's best friend is himself. We must build black solidarity in order to coalesce our united and determined strength, as one commonly spat upon black people, with the strength of moral and truly responsible white people in Newark. When we build our corporate strength, and these fair-minded white people clearly identify themselves with issues vital to Newark's present life, then the majority will rule Newark "for the greatest good of all." This must be done now.

~~Black People of Newark, let us unite! Our problems across the board are basically associated with our non-whiteness. We are discriminated against and debased as a group, not as individuals. Let us build solidarity as a group, and only as a group - with the power of our united ethnic numbers - let us build power alliances with others.~~

2. Some Practical Next Steps

- (a) Let this coming Monday night's meeting of the Board of Education be the largest ever in the history of the Newark schools. History needs to be made. It can only be made by your presence. The time is 7:30 P.M., Monday, May 29th at City Hall.
- (b) Make it clear to the Mayor of Newark that the majority of Newark's citizens will no longer be treated as though they did not exist.

The black people of Newark have been ignored by the present and past administrations. We must no longer let the Mayor, or anyone, think that we are dead. Black people of Newark, arise!

(c) Make it clear to Mr. Titus, who went into his office with the support and acquiescence of the black people of Newark, that fair play and educational soundness dictates that drastic changes be aggressively initiated by him.

This must be done with our advice and our technical assistance - not that of others - to meet our needs.

Mr. Titus himself cannot escape our personal attention. He must be persuaded to cease acting as a kindly white man, and to become aggressively committed to broad and sweeping changes in the Newark schools in the interest of Newark's survival as an honorable and decent city. Mr. Titus is a man who can - and must - be persuaded. He must, along with the Mayor, be given no choice but to work for our good which, at the present time, is for the greatest good for all.

(d) Support two immediate actions:

(1) Demand Wilbur Parker's appointment as permanent Secretary to the Board of Education. Allow for no other choice, at the risk of calling the city to a halt.

(2) Support at Monday night's meeting the resolution of the Newark Committee for Better Public Schools calling for a series of all-day Saturday public meetings of representatives of the people, the Board, and the school and city administrations, to be held beginning in October. This would create an orderly process for all of us to work for basic changes in the life and management of the schools.

The Board of Education and the city administration should deeply desire this public forum. Let us make it clear that we will not be simply content to protest - as much as we must. We want the best means possible for being heard and for working together for the greatest good for all.

(3) Support the single location in Newark of a community college and insist that all basic adult education be integrated into the community college's life. The best means for rehabilitation of our adult poor lies in the creative and thoughtful use of the proposed county college. Let us work together. Let us have all education in Newark serve the basic needs of all.

(4) Demand at least three more places on the Board of Education immediately for black Newarkers. This is an immediate necessity.

OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dominick A. Spina  
Police Director

FROM: Detective William Millard  
Detective Junious Hedgespeth

SUBJECT: Board of Education Meeting Council Chambers, City Hall  
May 23, 1967. President and Chairman of the Board Harold Ashby

The above meeting started at 8:00 p.m. and terminated three and half hours later. The meeting was terminated when the foot stomping and heckling became so abusive and control of the meeting was impossible by the chairman.

The last speaker was Dr. Nathan Wright who refused to surrender the speakers platform. After inciting the audience with the remark "Tell the Mayor the niggers ain't happy no more".

Highlights of the meeting was the following:

1. Walter Dawkins, Director of Blazer: Predicted rioting in the city if a negro was not appointed as Secretary to the Board of Education.
2. Chairman of C.O.R.E. predicted the same thing as Dawkins.
3. Robert Curvin accused the Board of bigotry and singled out two of its members of belonging to a bigot organization, the Moose.
4. A conference between the board members and the president to decide a course of action.
5. Almost one hundred percent of the audience singing and stomping to a chant of "Hell No we ain't going to go".
6. The appearance of members of the Black Liberation Army in uniform.

At least three hundred and fifty people present, twenty five percent white. All known agitators in the community were present, and active.

Observed moving about giving instructions to hecklers were Thomas Hayden, Robert Curvin, James Lawson.

Agitators who disrupted the meeting listed below:

1. Dereck Winans
2. Robert Curvin
3. Walter Dawkins ✓
4. George Richardson
5. Duke Moore
6. James Lawson
7. Col. Hassan - Alias Tony Williams
8. Eulis Ward

-2- Board of Education Meeting  
May 23, 1967

9. Dr. Nathan Wright
10. Thomas Hayden
11. McCurdy, Mary Sheila w/f N.P.D. Gal 104201
12. James Hooper, President C.O.R.E.
13. Sandy Muszalski w/f Vista worker -- Bethany Baptist Church
14. Mary Ousley " " "
15. Barbara Dunn " " Fuld Neighborhood House  
(All three live at 22 Rutgers Street)

The spark for the unruly meeting was set in a speech by the chairman of the Newark Human Rights Commission who was very Militant.

There was no arrest, no one was ejected from the meeting. Members of the Board were escorted by police to their autos.

Mrs. Bernice Bass, a local radio commentator observed with Eulis Ward and Col. Hassan in a conference after the meeting at the foot of stairs in City Hall.

Respectfully submitted,

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Detective #67.

TO: Acting Chief Anthony Barres  
FROM: Bernard J. Mc Cabe - Chief's Office

1. At 11:00 a. m. June 29, 1967 a Negro woman visited the Chief's Office and was personally interviewed by Bernard J. McCabe. The woman refused to give her name because of the information she had. She related the following:

In the neighborhood in which she lives (would not disclose) she has heard rumors of proposed "riots" at the Boylan Street Pool. They have been having trouble there lately. There is a Negro man, about 25, whom she knows by sight and who is in the possession of two shotguns and he goes through the neighborhoods, of 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th Streets, between South Orange Avenue and Springfield Avenue urging youths, from 10 to 21, to join him in creating trouble and preventing whites from using the pool. They spoke of getting New York youths to come over by truck, and to bring Molotov Cocktails. They are determined that the whites are going to be put out of the pool. They spoke of two trucks coming at different times so the police would not know it. Someone mentioned how to keep the police away and they said they would throw the Molotov Cocktails into the police cars. They mentioned Friday and Saturday nights of this weekend as big nights.

2. The woman seemed a little emotional but she was very interested in the welfare of her own children and of others and I have no doubt that the information she gave she actually overheard. She stated that she didn't even know what a Molotov Cocktail is but she had heard about them.

*Bernard J. McCabe*  
BERNARD MC CABE

- Copies to:
- C. O. Patrol Div.
  - C. O. Detective Div.
  - C. O. Traffic Div.
  - C. O. Investigation Div.
  - C. O. Administrative Div.
  - Inspection Office
  - Lt. Ferrante, Dir's Off.
  - Capt. Martin, Comm. Rels. Bur.
  - Police Director ✓
  - Dep. Mayor Paul Reilly
  - Capt. Graf - Chief's Office

Determined to be an  
administrative marking

61

12:10 p.m. July 18, 1967

By AF On 7/22/10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ telephone call received by Bernard McCabe, Chief's Office, from F.B.I. Agent, William Martin, who stated that their New York Office received a call from the New York Police that they were informed that at about 6:00 p.m. tonight, July 18, 1967, four bus loads of negroes will leave Newark to go to Beach 68th St. where they will be met by Roosevelt Zimmerman a known Nationalist who will take them to South Jamaica Section of Queens for Riot purposes. Agent Martin contacted bus companies who have no information in this regard.

bmc:do

BERNARD MC CABE

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

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NEWARK NJ PD DM 420

7-15-67

002008 FILE 13 SP CLARENCE NY JULY 14-67

TO NEWARK NJ POLICE DEPT, NEW JERSEY STATE POLICE - SP COMMAND POST  
NEWARK NJ

INFORMATION RECEIVED AT 10-45 PM THIS DATE FROM F B I AGENT CHARLES SANDHILL, BUFFALO OFFICE OF FBI, THAT 20 TO 30 CAR LOADS OF NEGRO SUBJECTS ENROUTE FROM DETROIT, MICH TO NEWARK NEW JERSEY PASSED OVER THE PEACE BRIDGE AT BUFFALO NY// NEW YORK BETWEEN 6 AND 9 AM THIS DATE. INFORMATION WAS DEVELOPED THROUGH A PART TIME EMPLOYEE AT THE PEACE BRIDGE. NO OTHER INFORMATION AS TO INTENTIONS, DESCRIPTIONS, OR ROUTE OF TRAVEL AT THIS TIME.

AUTHORITY AND SENT TPR M G OROURKE

SP TRENTON NJ RELAY 1015 7-15-67

1033 JJB JAD AS ALL COMMANDS NOT  
TWO BELLS

*Pic  
OFFICE*

## NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

63Voluntary Registration  
of Firearms

1967

	Pistols-Rev.	Shotguns	Rifles
Jan.	7		2
Feb.	20		2
Mar.	6		2
Apr.	5		
May	8		
June	6	1	2
July	3		1
Aug.	21	2	4
Sept.	10		1
Oct.	14	1	1
Nov.	21	3	5
Dec.	1		1
TOTAL	122	7	21

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY  
Voluntary Registration  
of Firearms

1966

	Pistols-Rev.	Shotguns	Rifles
Jan.	10	2	4
Feb.	5		
March	45		1
Apr.	7		1
May	4		1
June	4	1	2
July	1		
Aug.	6	2	
Sept.	7	3	6
Oct.	10	5	5
Nov.	7	5	3
Dec.	8	1	1
TOTAL	114	19	24

OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

M E M O R A N D U M

June 22, 1967.

TO: Lieutenant Rocco Ferrante  
Intelligence Unit

FROM: Detective William Millard

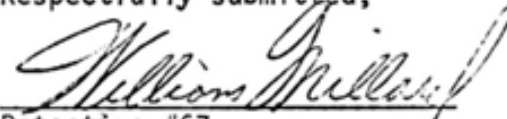
SUBJECT: Information via Informant -- Civil Rights Activities

1. Ed Kessler, 346 Cumberland Road, So. Orange, N.J. -- 763-3306 and 763-3220  
Martin Bressler, 231 Wyoming Ave., Maplewood, N.J. - 762-0954 and 762-0940  
Mrs. George Erdman, 50 Cedar Street, Millburn, N.J. -- Pr 6-2528

These people attended a meeting at Peoples Action Group, 471 Clinton Avenue at 8:00 p.m., June 21st. Thomas Hayden presided over the meeting. These people pledged thousands of dollars of N.C.U.P. Hayden suggested changing the name of N.C.U.P. He also suggested moving to West Market Street by Bethany Church. He stated they must move to where the action is.

2. Six Vista lawyers visited P.A.C. Area Board 3 June 21st. They volunteered their services for a proposed demonstration June 30th at three County Welfare offices in the city and one in East Orange, N.J. A welfare recipient and an organizer for U.C.C., Marion Kidd, Sheila McCurdy, Constance Brown, all w/f members of N.C.U.P. organizing for this demonstration. Constance Brown is a County Welfare worker at the Central Avenue office.
3. Clinton Hobson Bey left his wife Ossie Bey and departed for Mississippi in a borrowed car. The car owner, a Newark School Teacher Steven Block, had no idea his car was going to Mississippi. Ossie Bey has since left Newark for Mississippi. Reports are that Bey has another wife and family in Mississippi.
4. N.C.U.P. plan a demonstration in the Fall against the Board of Education.
5. Constance Brown receives a kickback from relief clients for raising their checks and approving their purchases of furniture. With assistance from Hayden with whom she lives.
6. Louis Danzig, Director of Housing, received a note explaining the Medical School controversy could be ended by certain conditions. Informant did not know the exact contents of the note.
7. Corina Fales w/f is organizing for the school demonstration in the Fall. Carrol Glassman will not be reemployed by the Board of Education in the Fall.

Respectfully submitted,

  
Detective #67

## OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

66

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lieutenant Recce Ferrante

FROM: Detectives William Millard Fredrick Rothlein  
Thomas Querk

SUBJECT: Newark Community Union Project Demonstration  
Newark, Sat. June 26, 1965

About fifty people at scene of N.C.U.P. Hedq. Peshine and W. Bigelow St. 10:AM

11:20 March started North on W. Bigelow St. North on Bergen St. East on Clinton Ave.

11:35 At Clinton and Badger.

12:05 North on Belmont Ave.

12:15 East On Spruce St. North on Prince St. East On Springfield Ave. To Market and Broad on Market St.

1:15 Broad & Market St.

1:25 At City Hall.

Cars involved operated by members of N.C.U.P.

Reg. CTP 732 N.J. w/f driver ARM 997 N.J. w/m driver PB6505 Chev. Missouri Reg. w/f driver CB4602 N.Y. w/m WP2360 Buick station wagon with sound system.

JBN 261 N.J. c/m driver. N22713 Mass.

A9394 Vermont w/f driver Williams University sticker on rear window. 142-035 VA. 539-329 Conn. Cadd.c/f

Above cars toured area of march and passengers in car got out passed out hand bills to pedestrians and stores. From the sound system a voiced stated "Police Brutality must go.

At the City Hall steps they had speakers who denounced the P.D. and called for a review board. They stated "Martinez and Dennerstein must go." Spokesman for the march were. Al Herstein w/m 194 Ridgewood Ave. He is from Boston Mass. In Newark on a summer job. James Sampson 271 18th Ave. Wm X 13 349 Prince St.

In picket line at city Hall 70 people. After twenty minutes Chief Redden permitted there sound truck to pull in City Hall Driveway and all cars moved from in front of City Hall.

2:45 One of the Pickets a c.f passed out. She was taken away by the pickets in a private auto. N.P.D. offered assistants the refused medical aid and took her away.

WP2360 is N.Y. Reg.

Amount of people in march averaged about 65-70 people. Drunks children included in march. The affair did not draw any spectators other than news people and a few shoppers in front of City Hall.

State Police submitted additional car Reg. I O S 767 N.J. HLB 127 N.J. JLS 459 N.J.

OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

*Area Board #3* 67

April 27, 1967.

TO: Dominick A. Spina  
Police Director

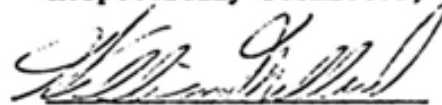
FROM: Detective William Millard

SUBJECT: N.C.U.P. (Area Board #3 Peoples Action Group)  
471 Clinton Avenue

1. April 17th, Clinton Avenue merchants and members of the above group met at a joint meeting at 471 Clinton Avenue at 11:00 p.m. They met for two hours. The meeting was set for fifteen merchants but all did not attend. The following are some of the merchants who attended: .  

Randy from "Randy's" Market -- 486 Clinton Ave. -- 248-7454  
A representative from Levinson Furniture Store, Mr.  
Levinson -- 243-6316  
Mr. Wells of Wells & Smith Dist. Co., 515 Clinton Avenue,  
824-2277  
Robert Curvin, Earl Harris and Thomas Hayden were reported  
at the meeting.
2. Erick Mann, a former Newark school teacher, now setting up a private school, met with his lawyers April 17, for a charter for the school starting with the Sixth grade.
3. Peoples Action Group have rented a store on Bergen Street near Hawthorne Place for a shopping center for relief clients, who are to be members of the newly formed buyers club. Peoples Action Group to buy food in bulk and sell to relief clients at a low price.
4. They have stated to undersigned the used furniture stores on Clinton Avenue will be their next target for demonstrations and possibly Randy's Food Market. They stated contributors will not be exempted from their pickets. But they will take their money as they have from Alice Furniture, Mantells Shoes and Randy's.
5. ~~Three white girls from the South have arrived in Newark this week~~ and are active with the group. More are expected as the schools close for the summer.

Respectfully submitted,



Detective #67

# NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT

No. 2 NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT - SDC 247 PESHINE AVE. 243 3355

## CLYDE WRIGHT WAS BEATEN BLOODY IN S. KLEIN'S DEPT. STORE

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED TO CLYDE IN HIS OWN WORDS:

"On November 28, 1964, Saturday night, about 6:30 p.m., I entered S. Klein's department store with two friends to do some shopping. Then I started to look for a sweater for my wife. After I bought the sweater I started to go out of the store. Then Mary (one of the two friends who came with me) saw me and told me to hold her package until she got back. Then both of us started out of the store. I had my package in my right hand, and her package in my left hand. Then one guard stopped me and asked, "Was the package paid for?" And I told him, "Yes." And he said that the package I had in my left hand wasn't paid for. I told him it should be because she (Mary, one of the two friends I came with) gave it to me. Then the guard said, "Let's go in the back." And after I got in the back I sat down and the lady said, "We're going to have him put in jail." Then I asked them to let me go get the woman who stole the package. Then I started to get up and one of the guards caught me by the arm, and another started to hit me and kick me. I asked them to stop beating me. Then the lady said, "Kill him!" Then I started to fight back. About four men were hitting and kicking me. Then they handcuffed me to a pole. They pulled a gun on me, and threatened to hit me with a black flag; they beat me till I was unconscious. Then some way I broke out of the handcuffs. Then they beat me, kicking me, and chained me again, both my hand and legs. For two or three minutes they beat me, until detectives came, who told the Klein's employees to release me. I went downtown with the police, and was charged with shoplifting and assault and battery.

Clyde Wright

### WE DEMAND

1. DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST MR. WRIGHT.
2. COMPENSATE MR. WRIGHT FOR ALL MEDICAL EXPENSES AND LOSSES INCURRED BY HIM.
3. FIRE ALL EMPLOYEES WHO WERE INVOLVED IN THIS MATTER.
4. PUBLICATION APOLOGIZE TO MR. WRIGHT AND GUARANTEE THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN NEWARK THAT BRUTALITY WILL NEVER AGAIN BE PERMITTED.

## PUT IT ON YOUR CALENDER

THE DAY AFTER CHRISTMAS

OUR FIRST FUNDRAISING AFFAIR

TO PAY FOR REHEAT?

POSTAGE FOR THE NEWSLETTER  
WANT OTHER THINGS WE NEED TO KEEP  
GOING:

# COCKTAIL PARTY AT THE OWL CLUB

99 CLINTON AVE. — 6:00 p.m. till ?

DON'T WASTE YOUR FIVE TICKETS!  
CALL — Mrs Dorothy Jean, 42 Hillside,  
St. 85678  
or the OFFICE — 243 3355

# NO MORE POLICE BRUTALITY

Should Patrolman Martinez have his gun?  
Do you pay taxes to have police beat you?  
Do we need a citizen's police review board?  
Is Newark another Mississippi?

## COME WALK WITH US!

NEWARK Community Union Project

"It's been a long time coming  
but I know a change juma come."

OFFICE OF THE POLICE DIRECTOR

70

NEWARK NEW JERSEY

M E M O R A N D U M

February 28, 1967.

TO: Dominick A. Spina  
Police Director

FROM: Detective Fred Rothlein

SUBJECT: "Students For A Democratic Society"

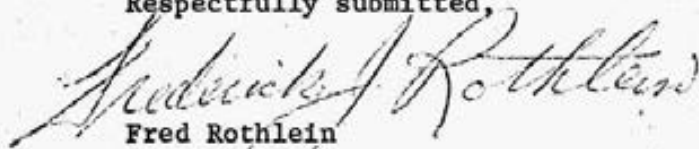
Sir:

This organization is an off-spring of the League of Industrial Democracy. They describe themselves as student members of the Liberal-Left on the socialistic theory. They disclaim both communism and capitalism, but their history has shown that they are not adverse to seeking membership from among the communist student community and throughout their turbulent history since their formation by Upton Sinclair in 1905, they had been repeatedly infiltrated by communists. This however in all fairness to SDS does not mean that they are at the present time controlled or dominated by members of the communist party.

The above information is used as an explanation by the New York Police Department when requested.

In the New York Times Magazine, dated November 7, 1965, this issue had a large story and photos of SDS: VOICE OF THE NEW CAMPUS "UNDERCLASS" by Thomas R. Brooks.

Respectfully submitted,



Fred Rothlein  
Detective  
Intelligence Unit.

### Off-Limits Trio

IN MOVING to revoke the passports of three representatives of the so-called New Left (one, a notorious Communist) who sneaked into Hanoi on a phony "peace mission," the State Department has taken a small step in expressing Administration displeasure.

The Justice Department ought to take a bigger step by prosecuting the trio for breaking the law.

The three are Staughton Lynd, an assistant professor of history at Yale; Herbert Aptheker, a leading American Communist theoretician, and Thomas E. Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, an anti-draft organization.

Hanoi is off-limits for travel by Americans and the Supreme Court has upheld the right of the Secretary of State to thus designate certain areas. The three made their way to the North Vietnamese capital secretly, by way of Moscow and Peking. In Hanoi they had the flagrant arrogance to proclaim their views for settlement of the war. The position of the New Left is not much different from that of Ho Chi Minh.

"Lifting a passport is only an administrative slap on the wrist," a Washington official commented. This is a case of disservice to the country that merits more than a slap.

If they're so darn anxious to travel, a short trip to--and a little time spent in--the hoosegow might be just what they need.

LOCAL - PAPER

Post Card sent  
to Hayden →

June 1<sup>st</sup> - N.Y.C.

Dear Tom:

By about Tuesday I had to go out of town and need that AFSC memo and also the letter from George Houser of the American Committee on Africa.

Can you stick them in the mail to me by return mail? I'd also much appreciate getting back that Cuban press clipping on our TV documentary "Yeah, No!"

Many thanks,  
Bill Worthy

APT. 2  
210 E. 19 ST.  
N.Y., N.Y. 10003

WILLIAM WORTHY (AUTHOR)

FRIEND OF ROBERT WILLIAMS (INCUISA)

WRITES ARTICLES OF A  
CONTROVERSIAL NATURE

WROTE ARTICLES ON "MUSLIMS"  
WHICH APPEARED IN "ESQUIRE"

RESIDES IN AND AROUND NEW YORK

# What happened in Newark?

## Depends on who's looking

73

By JOSEPH HAAS

The coming months and years will produce a torrent of books about the Negro ghetto riots of our long, hot summers. People will be wise to read them critically to avoid being swept away by rabble-rousing passing as journalism.

The responsible studies, such as Robert Conot's Bantam original, "Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness," about the Watts riots of 1965, should be read by everyone. Conot deals, always and objectively, with facts.

He never attempts to justify the riots, no more than he glorifies the incidents of unnecessary violence by Los Angeles law enforcement agencies and National Guardsmen. What he does do is attempt to show us why the riots were inevitable and how the social injustices that caused them might be corrected.

\* \* \*

"Rebellion in Newark," by Tom Hayden (Vintage, \$1.65), published in collaboration with the New York Review of Books, is the antithesis of Conot's book. Hayden commits the worst sins of irresponsible journalism, and we can only hope they were done in innocence or ignorance rather than in an attempt further to inflame the emotions of already suspicious whites and blacks.

Whatever the reason, Hayden has written a dangerous and unfair book. Under the guise of a report on the Newark riots this summer, he slants and colors every incident he writes about.

Hayden, identified in the book as a civil rights and peace activist, co-author with Staughton Lynd of "The Other Side" and as a white "community organizer" for four years in Newark's Negro ghetto, might have been able to justify every accusation he makes in the book with facts. Instead, whatever his motives, he resorts consistently to the lowest innuendoes and to the disguise of opinion as fact to try to prove his case.

On the chance that this book might become

The STAR LEDGER  
OCT. 1, 1967

Book

Shelf

influential in the black power struggle, it deserves full length rebuttal. But perhaps a few examples such as these will suffice:

After reporting that the police finally were given the order to use "all necessary means—including firearms — to defend themselves," Hayden then says, "murdering looters now was possible."

Chapter IV begins, "We will never know the full story of how these troops and the police hurt the black people of Newark." A journalist or a historian would try to learn the "full story".

Page 50, half page, begins with a bold-face title, "Cold-Blooded Murder," and goes on: "An evaluation of the deaths so far reported suggests that the military forces killed people for the purposes of terror and intimidation."

\* \* \*

An evaluation of Hayden's "facts" permits no such conclusion. Rarely does he support his charges except with a one-sided statement from an anonymous "witness," and even less does he try to get both sides of a story, from the Negro victim as well as from the police or guardsmen.

On page 60, he says Gov. Richard Hughes finally called for the withdrawal of guardsmen because of their weariness, the outbreak of rioting in other cities, the threatening rail strike, and "there were all those political engagements awaiting a man with large ambitions." He doesn't offer one fact to support that damning statement, not even a date from the governor's appointments calendar.

It would be possible to go on for page after page citing such prejudicial statements. But let's focus upon his most serious unsupported charge, a quotation on page 57:

"Clearly the evidence points to a military massacre and suppression in Newark rather than to a two-sided war" (here he disregards the slain fireman and policeman, the beatings of whites, the burning and looting of stores).

He goes on to conclude "... it seems to many that the military, especially the Newark Police" (the military?), "not only triggered the riot by beating a cab-driver" (he reports the cabbie's side of the tale, not the police version; Conot, by reporting both sides of the Los Angeles trigger incident, gave the police a fair shake) "but then created a climate of opinion that supported the use of all necessary force to suppress the riot."

Perhaps less force, or an earlier police or guard withdrawal, might have muted the violence. Hayden doesn't offer any evidence beyond possibly biased opinion to support this view, however. And he ignores entirely the possibility that these steps might have worsened an already tragic situation.



This a photo taken of Thomas Hayden at the Board of Education meeting ,on May 23,1967 .He was standing in the center doorway amongst the crowd of people.

This photo taken at my request by Jim Lowrey of the Newark,News.

Det.Hedgespeth

# A VIEW OF THE POVERTY PROGRAM

## "WHEN IT'S DRY YOU CAN'T CRACK IT WITH A PEG"

*William Bellard*

by Tom Hayden

TRAINING SERIES



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK • NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

**A VIEW OF THE POVERTY PROGRAM:  
"WHEN IT'S DRY YOU CAN'T CRACK IT WITH  
A PICK"**

**By  
TOM HAYDEN  
Organizer, Newark Community Union Project  
Newark, New Jersey**

The Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth is conducting training, consultation, curriculum development and research relating to the employment problems of disadvantaged youth.

•  
Dean, Graduate School of Social Work  
Alex Rosen

•  
Co-Directors, Center For The Study of Unemployed Youth  
Melvin Herman  
Stanley Sadofsky

•  
3 Washington Square North  
New York, New York 10003

•  
853 Broadway  
New York, New York 10003

"It's hell to tear down a foundation that's been made already.  
When the concrete is wet you can stick your fingers in it.  
But when it's dry, you can't crack it with a pick."

Jesse Allen

Prepared for:  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY  
Graduate School of Social Work  
Center For The Study of  
Unemployed Youth  
July, 1965

This paper is part of a project conducted by the N.Y.U. Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth under a grant provided by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop curriculum materials for program planners and operators.

## A VIEW OF THE POVERTY PROGRAM:

### "WHEN IT'S DRY YOU CAN'T CRACK IT WITH A PICK"

What would it take to let poor people in America today speak out and act in their interest as they see it? Is American society prepared to pay the political, the economic, even the psychological costs of this kind of change? I think these questions can best be examined in the context of the development of our "welfare state", and then in the more concrete context of direct experience with the current anti-poverty program—in my case, in Newark, New Jersey.

Most Americans feel that our society is being improved constantly in the fields of civil rights and economic welfare. But the evidence does not necessarily point to durable improvements in people's lives since the New Deal "revolution". For Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, Appalachian miners and many Southern whites, as well as for many industrial workers, the reforms of the last thirty years are token, illusory, or meaningless.

The Wagner Act, for instance, was supposed to lead to the unionization of workers; but today barely half of the working class is unionized, the union base in mass-production industry is declining, and national authorities rarely have acted to stop the leaks, such as the right-to-work laws, through which the meaning of the act is drained and lost. The Social Security laws, too, were supposed to serve people in distress, but today those with coverage can barely make ends meet, while the law leaves millions of people still uncovered.

The 1946 Employment Act is still another case: it was supposed to ensure government action to provide a living for every American in need, but it is widely known today that the major corporations prefer a state of managed unemployment to keep their costs low and their bargaining strength high when they negotiate labor contracts. The 1949 Housing Act was to create 800,000 low-cost units by 1953, but today less than half that number are constructed and most of them are beyond the budgets of the poor. It is possible to make the same comments about the rest of our government's social programs in the areas of medical care and public health, education, urban renewal, civil rights, and simple urban services. Amidst these failures there has been established a new and explicitly public kind of authoritarianism which is growing under the name of the welfare state. Public relief clients

and public housing tenants, for example, have no organization of their own with even the strength of a union local in a factory. Existing associations of welfare clients or tenants are little more than vehicles by which authorities strengthen their position. This leaves the poor fully vulnerable to the caprice of supervisors, investigators and local machine politicians. Urban renewal programs, to extend the example, mostly serve as major domestic outlets for investment capital and, consciously or not, as a means of demoralizing and politically fragmenting the poor. With its labor, welfare, and civil rights legislation, the national government gradually becomes the chief force for stabilizing the private economy and for managing social crisis. Whose welfare does this program serve? Not that of the poor, unless by accident.

I make this comment sharply because I think it is time to forsake the view that each step towards "more of the welfare state" is also a step towards greater freedom and security for the majority of the American people. Without denying the fact that solid changes have occurred, changes which lifted a large number of American workers out of conditions of brutal starvation, it is crucial to expose the uglier side of the New Deal "revolution". Those who gained security in the thirties are threatened still by the decline in union power, and the continuing possibility of unemployment and stagnation. As for those who, by the President's own definition, are poor—they remain unhelped, unrewarded and unrepresented.

The general failure of all these programs is receiving wide attention because domestic problems are becoming urgent again after the long moratorium of the forties and fifties. The decline of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs at the time of population boom among the young; the movement of industry away from urban areas; the growing concentration of the poor in the cities; the breakdown of all services and administration to the ghetto poor; the bitterness of the Negro poor and the anxiety of the whites perched slightly above them in the economy—these are the constantly restated problems which form the modern American crisis. The poverty program is the latest step taken to meet this crisis. It declares traditional ways of approaching poverty inadequate, and defines new programs to coordinate old services and also attempts to aid the so-called "unreachable" or "hard-core" poor. The program adds a community action emphasis to welfare programs.

The amount of money allocated for the poverty program is barely more than enough to consolidate existing bureaucracies. Most of it is going to local politicians, school boards, welfare agencies, housing authorities, professional personnel and even to the police; its main effect is to shore up organizational machinery of local power groups—not to shift the distribution of influence or income towards the poor. In reality, the poor only flavor

the program. A few are brought into it, induced by its prestige and high salaries, but they come only as atomized individuals, separated by their choice from the great mass of people in the ghetto. The poor do not have independent organizational strength within the program, as do the political machines and social agencies.

Some of the more sophisticated poverty planners believe that the involvement of the poor is essential to effective programs; thus the heavy emphasis on, and debate about, the need for "maximum feasible participation" of the poor. What this policy concept rests upon is the observation that the modern poor cannot be socialized upward and into the mainstream of American life in the tradition of the earlier immigrants. The modern poor, according to this view, lack the tight-knit culture, the economic skills, and the expanding market opportunities which were so common in the life of the immigrants.

In the particular case of the Negro poor, it is said, the male has been robbed of his dignity, first by the slave system and later by the exploitative economy. The result is the breakdown of the family, at least in its function of preparing the young to take their places in the slots offered by the established industrial machine. Though it is not put this way, the poverty program thus becomes a parent substitute more than a meal ticket, an agency of socialization more than of welfare. Not only is this the conception which underlies the Job Corps camps and the new batteries of "psychological service" counsellors, but it underlies the community action program as well. Self-organization, the development of skills, helping oneself through social action—these are supposedly the steps by which the ghetto residents will be rehabilitated. The amount and kind of conscious stress on this process varies from city to city. A "pure" example of it is evident in testimony recently given to a Congressional subcommittee by Denton Brooks, Director of the Chicago Anti-poverty Program. Asked whether rent strikes might be necessary to make progress, his answer was negative for this reason:

Once you get the interaction of all groups, once you have a policy that something should be done for the poor, once this becomes a national policy, then you work on a problem and you find a positive solution. Then the need for protest is eliminated.<sup>1</sup>

The practical importance of such reduction of conflict is explained by Father Theodore R. Gibson, who was assigned as federal trouble-shooter for Newark last summer. According to a Newark news article, Gibson was convinced that the anti-poverty program was the key to racial peace

<sup>1</sup> Denton Brooks, Hearings before the Subcommittee on the War on Poverty Program, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 89th Cong., 1st sess., 1965, p. 327.

in Newark this summer . . . "All the things I saw that would make for trouble got their answer in the anti-poverty program", asserted the Community Relations Service Representative. "What saved the community more than anything else was the involvement of so many people in so many things. Even members of the most militant groups, he said, were so busy working on anti-poverty projects that they had little time to stir up dissension."<sup>2</sup>

Many of the poverty planners believe that this process will require some element of conflict instead of being a simple matter of painless assimilation. The feeling is that change can be accomplished through a "dialog" between the poor and the powerful, in which the poor assert their needs as clearly as necessary. There is a variance in interpretation of this view, of course, but the common tendency is reflected in a letter from OEO Director Sargent Shriver to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, in which Shriver encourages "representative neighborhood advisory organizations" to give "advice on programs" which can then be "channeled to the community action agency". Such a set-up, Shriver argues, gives the neighborhood people "an effective voice in the conduct and administration of neighborhood-based programs . . ."<sup>3</sup>

It is expected that quite an orderly adjustment of interests can be arranged through such a process.

The planners' faith lies in the idea that all interests are negotiable. But suppose that some are not. Suppose that enabling the poor to participate means attacking the status and privileges of professional agencies. Next suppose that strengthening the political power of the poor means alienating large groups of middle class voters. Then suppose that Negro militancy causes a backlash among those same white groups. Then there would arise situations which planners cannot negotiate, because the conflicts are too serious and deep to be adjusted. It is realistic to view the ghetto as a kind of American-style colony, controlled almost completely from the outside, a place which no one can leave unless he can fit into the patterns of the colonisers. That most of the "natives" identify in part with the colonisers does not change the actual exploitative relationship. Because of the colonial relationship, the "native's" way of life is organized outside of, and against, the ruling system: the life of black youth, of welfare women, of public housing tenants, the styles of attacking white people while appearing to agree with them, the sense of "soul" and separateness, the widespread sympathy with nationalism. Finally, there is violence, an inevitable part of the protest against a system that has used, and therefore taught the uses of, violence as a means of control.

<sup>2</sup> Newark Evening News, Sept. 14, 1965.

<sup>3</sup> Sargent Shriver, House Committee Hearings on Poverty Program, op. cit., p. 78.

Seen in this perspective, the purposes of American domestic and foreign policy are the same: 1. to keep the poor dependent on the power structure while using them as cheap labor and promising eventual equal rights; 2. to cultivate a group of the "loyal natives" to administer the colony; 3. when disruption occurs, to use military power both to suppress it and serve a warning to others that it will never work.

It is no wonder that John McCone chaired the Commission that studied the Watts riots; he merely applied his experience with revolution abroad to the American scene. As with the pacification program aimed at Vietnamese peasants, the Watts Report blames "hotheads" and "criminal elements" in the Negro community for the disturbance, then recommends greater police efficiency, more counselling and economic aid administered by government-picked officials. The military is the strong backbone of the program, though our officials say that "winning the people's confidence" is most important. In Vietnam and Watts, the "natives" are left with more police surrounding them—but no more political or economic power than before.<sup>4</sup>

The poverty program, then, is a liberal administrative response to a colonial crisis. It cannot be successful if it supposes a harmony of interests where there are deep divisions. If it cannot admit and participate in the obvious conflicts between the poor and their assorted oppressors, then the poverty program must side finally with the colonisers. In so doing, it will only deepen the crisis by demonstrating to the natives once again that the present government does not represent them.

## II.

If there is anything new and important about the poverty program, it ought to be visible in Newark, for this is the city where—apparently more than any place else in the country—an attempt is being made to create a program involving the poor at every level. The non-profit corporation set up to administer the program, the United Community Corporation (UCC), intends to be as democratic as it considers possible. It has an open membership policy, elections of a rotating group of trustees, open "task forces" on housing, education, and community action which are supposed to be organized by grass-roots people. No proposal is supposed to go to Washington without the participation of all these groups.

<sup>4</sup> The argument I am making is most easy to demonstrate about the Negro ghetto, but I do not mean to ignore the white poor or ignoring people from the same analysis. They are similar in many ways to working classes in Western colonial societies, in relation to the Negro, having more benefits and privileges than the native poor in the colonies. The organizing of the white poor must take this into account as a major problem of program if it is not to make even wider the differences between white and black poor in America.

The UCC is headed at present by Cyril Tyson who previously worked in the HARYOU program under Kenneth Clark. Clark, in his book *Dark Ghetto*, and Tyson in his memoranda and activities, both stress the crucial role of social action in the poverty program. The UCC *Manual of Procedure*, for example, declares that the whole program must be directed at breaking the poor free of the "traditional dependency-producing social service process".

However, few would deny that at this point, about two years after its inception, the UCC is influenced by the poor the least of all participating groups. The reason for this lies in the apparent need to satisfy first the existing powerful agencies, particularly the city administration and council. The top-down structure of the program and its middle-class atmosphere also contribute in decisive ways to the alienation of the program from the poor.

Whose status is being respected by the UCC? Without the scrutiny of the poor, millions of dollars have been awarded to the City of Newark for a Neighborhood Youth Corps and a senior citizens program; to Essex County for retraining programs; to the Newark Housing Authority and the Welfare Federation for training programs; to the police for recreation programs. These happen to be the institutions which most of the poor, with at least part of their consciousness, resent and blame for their poverty. In a city which is more than half Negro, City Hall is controlled alternately by the Italians and the Irish. The Housing Authority is responsible for the continuous mass relocation programs that keep tenants in forced movement from one tenement to another. The Welfare agency is a highly suspicious investigating body which keeps the budgets of thousands of people at poverty levels. Whether these descriptions tell the full story is beside the point; the poor still feel, to a substantial degree, that they have no access to, nor control over, these huge agencies which shape their everyday lives.

Besides being a source of new profit for existing agencies, the UCC is a political battlefield for the various "in" and "out" factions in the city. At an early point the City Council threatened to withhold a grant to the UCC until all councilmen were given trusteeship positions. A compromise was reached; the UCC got the money and the councilmen got representation. Later, three councilmen, in an official investigation of the UCC, charged that aspiring politicians were trying to "muscle in" on the program and "use the poor" for their own purposes. One of this trio has cried that the "out-of-town Students for a Democratic Society members" have created a puppet area board in his district and have their "fangs" deeply into the program. The pressure grew so strong that, over a period of time, a number of drastic concessions were made by the UCC to the Mayor and City Councilmen. For instance, at one point the UCC's operating budget was slashed from

\$300,000 to \$200,000; the reasons were suggested accurately in the written statement of a local trade unionist:

Local, county and state elected and appointed officials would view with jaundiced eye the emergence of a new power force with money, prestige and jobs. However, when this natural fear is compounded because of the participation in leadership roles of recognized political opponents, then it must be anticipated that efforts to weaken or destroy the UCC will occur. The purpose of the UCC is to wage war on poverty. The cooperation of the established power structure is a prerequisite for success. That the existing power structure would derive political dividends and enhancement is a fact of life and we must accept this if we are serious about our determination to launch attacks on poverty . . . Our chief and indispensable weapon is money from Washington. Obviously, Washington will not send money to the UCC if the political leadership in Trenton, Essex County and Newark oppose it.<sup>5</sup>

From its day of incorporation, the UCC board has reflected, according to their relative power, the organized interests of the city. But from its outset, the UCC was pledged to "eventually" involve the poor. The UCC is open to anyone who wants to join, and elections of a number of the trustees are to occur each year. But short-comings of this process are obvious. As in a large corporation, the "shareholders" have power in theory, but actual power flows from the full-time executives and administrators who are able to develop a staff loyal to themselves. Moreover, this form of organization depends on bureaucratic manipulation and parliamentary meetings; in other words, situations which real poor people are unaccustomed to. Therefore, built into the program is an appeal to only certain segments of the community. These are the "deserving poor", those who are going places and simply need a bit more help. These are the children who join the pre-school program, and they themselves are the ones who qualify for whatever benefits are available through other programs. These are people already adjusted to the norms and direction of American society; the more they enter the program the less likely is it that the so-called hard-core poor will be attracted. By their nature, the "deserving poor" resent their less loyal and enterprising neighbors in the ghetto. In particular, they accuse welfare women, "winos" and youth of causing most of the problems of the community. Unable to overcome these feelings, they are cut off from the people the program hopes to reach. Put simply, all colonial feelings must be shed before the organizer will be trusted by the natives; but the colonisers cannot hire a person who does not have their feelings.

<sup>5</sup> Written statement by Irving Rosenberg, Trustee of UCC.

Even these "deserving poor" are difficult to "keep in line", however. When a number of militant groups opposed the placing of 27 city officials on the Board of Trustees, they were supported by a meeting of 700 who voted 10-1 in favor of adding more poor people instead. The difficulty with this kind of membership action, however, is that implementation is left to the very UCC hierarchy whose proposal was defeated. The community people thus have a kind of advisory power which can be exercised at the margins of real power, if they are able to keep up with a full-time bureaucracy that never informs them accurately.

All this criticism is centered on the problem of "maximum feasible participation". A fuller argument, however, would have to deal with program, with the question of maximum feasible participation in what. On this level the poverty program has had little success. Most of the money is channeled to the power structure. But even were the power structure willing to grapple with the problems, there probably is not enough money in the OEO budget to bring Newark's poor up to an equal level with their suburban neighbors. The state of the poverty program is most clearly revealed by this one report: that despite all the Federal concern over "youth in the ghetto", despite the numbers of these youth siphoned off to Vietnam, the Labor Department reports that unemployment among Negro youth is up from 27 percent last June to 32 percent this June. (New York Times, July 12, 1966)

The effect of this program is to heighten conflicts, not reduce them. When the programs collapse, as they certainly will if they continue the way they have, there will be left a still deeper discontent in the country. The poverty program will cause riots.

### III.

Besides being a pilot area for new federal experiments, Newark is also the scene of one of the organizing efforts begun by Students for a Democratic Society in 1964. Armed with little more than hope and some experience in the Southern civil rights movement, thirteen students arrived in the Newark ghetto as part of an organizing attempt made simultaneously in several Northern cities. The "SDS students" as they first were called, went door to door through most of a ten block area all summer, discovering what they could about peoples' needs and grievances, forming block organizations, and finally a "community union" led by the activists uncovered in the summer's work. That group, which calls itself the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), is still evolving. It has developed a reputation as Newark's most controversial organization. It has taken up struggles against slum landlords, city inspectors, the welfare system, judges, police, city councilmen

and the city administration. Its tactics have included letters and petitions, picketlines in the ghetto, the downtown area, and the suburbs, rent strikes, rallies, organization of play streets, running its own political candidates and supporting others. It has published its own newsletter, made two films about organizing in the neighborhood, lent its name and manpower to demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, sent its people to Mississippi and welcomed the militant Mississippi civil rights leaders in Newark, created its own freedom songs and freedom singers. Its plan has been to bring together poor people in a movement where they can have a voice and status, flood the neighborhood and the city with protests over grievances, and build a powerful group that can influence local government, and the poverty program as well, with its demands for new treatment of the poor and new resources under their control.

In early 1965, when the poverty program started to go into action, one of the sites chosen for an "area board" was Clinton Hill, the impoverished neighborhood that the student organizers had come into the previous summer. NCUP decided to explore the potential of the poverty program by attending some of the area board's founding meetings. Our staff also spent considerable time in the neighborhood informing people about the program. This initial organizing warned us of the difficulties of attracting people to the program.

In the first place, there are many people active in, and committed to NCUP for whom the poverty program is unreal. For them to expect the government to help them intentionally is impossible; for them to work methodically and bureaucratically in hope of influencing the powerful is extremely improbable. These are the people who appreciate our work, though they assume it is mostly in vain, and who wait observantly for the next in a life-long series of promises to be violated. These are the people whose patience may some day come to an end.

The NCUP "regulars" took a different approach to the program. They looked upon it through their experience in trying to "change City Hall". Since that experience was negative, their expectations about the poverty program were limited to cautious speculation on whether anything could be gotten from it more easily than through other channels.

Their first difficulty with the program was caused by its middle class style. The barrier of style reflects a substantive political barrier: it is one of the crucial ways through which established interests maintain their domination over the program, and reinforce the passive or inferior attitudes of poor people. Our own program, for instance, is based on a different style, reflecting different substance and politics. NCUP tries to free people from

fear and embarrassment, help them to displace the sense of blame from themselves to the responsible authorities, begin to make their own decisions based on what they really know about exploitation, instead of on the basis of what they are supposed to believe and conform to. This experience in NCUP has brought out and developed in people some very deep and important attitudes which were significant in shaping their approach to the poverty program. Some typical expressions of these attitudes can be seen in these tape-recorded comments made by neighborhood people:

**Mrs. Bessie Smith—**

I think NCUP means that people can get together. This is what it means to me . . . The fact that they can get together with other people and they don't have to feel inferior or feel shamed because maybe they don't know how to speak well or they are not outwitted, so to say, with this parliamentary procedure. People don't feel that they are looked down on the way they feel if they go to an NAACP meeting.

**Mrs. Lucy Parker—**

It's that we've lived our lives as Negroes, you see, and it's hard to believe that someone who comes into your midst, who's unfamiliar with you, your particular problems (of course, though, the problems of the poor are the same all over—I don't care whether on the map it is) but still and all, he's into your neighborhood, you don't know quite how to take him; when he says, "we're going to try and get you a better place to live", and so forth, well, you know you need it, but you don't see how . . . what . . . why is he going to help you do it? To do all of this giving, and not getting anything but self-satisfaction is something very new. They just don't tell you to go here and there. They're all, you know, right along there with you. When the person has a problem, something, and they don't know what to do themselves, it's a good feeling to know that there is somebody that you can depend on, not only to tell you, but to be right along there with you so that it boosts your morale, and makes it easier.

**Mr. Jesse Allen—**

The Newark Community Union is an organization that is built by the people and for the people in the South Ward. We organize ourselves by block groups. We don't believe in leadership; we believe in one man, one vote. The people we have organized come together to decide what kind of action they want to take to solve the problem. Therefore, we carry through a vote where all the people in the community will have some voice in what kind of decision is to be made, and what kind of action we must take, to solve the problems that our poor people face today.

The clash of these feelings with those promoted by the poverty planners caused NCUP people to develop these concepts about their experience in the Great Society:

Mrs. Bessie Smith—

At the first Area Board meeting there had been some notices sent out, some people were informed, and it was in the newspaper. About two hundred people attended. They were mostly people that worked at City Hall, representatives from various organizations, the Housing Authority; etc. The fact that NCUP was there meant that there were poor people involved, and some were elected as temporary officers of this area board. Nominations for temporary chairman were held. Two people were elected—myself and Clyde Mitchell, who works for the Sheriff's Department. The fact that I belonged to NCUP, and worked with community people helped elect me chairman. Mr. Mitchell was elected co-chairman by the people who were there representing him, and the other groups such as NAACP and the higher-ups of this area.

It's hard for poor people at these meetings of the Area Board to express themselves and get their ideas across. One example is this: at our second area board meeting, some of the big ministers and people that generally run all the programs of importance here in the city, they wanted to use parliamentary procedure. Most of the people are not familiar with this; if they have something to say, they want to be able to raise their hand and say it, and not be called on a point of order, and Roberts Rules. It was at this meeting that the issue of parliamentary procedure was brought out and discussed, and it was the general feeling of the people, because they were community people, that had come into the poverty program through NCUP, that felt very strongly that the meeting should be conducted by the people and the way they felt it should be conducted.

I don't believe there's been any real effort made by any individual, or even organizations other than NCUP, to involve poor people in the anti-poverty program. Due to this fact, and the fact that the upper crust were not able to control this area board, the attendance has dropped off from what it was in the beginning.

Mrs. Joanne Robinson—

I first heard about the poverty program on the radio, but I really didn't pay too much attention to it. Then some of the members of NCUP started coming by and talking to me about it, and then I got

slightly interested in it, and decided to go to a meeting. I thought there was a slight possibility something would come of it, but after I went to the meeting, I found that nothing at all was going to happen. The meeting was run wrong. It was like they were making up a new language—nobody understood what they were talking about.

An example of this language barrier is this quote from a typical UCC memorandum:

"While each area board is unique and autonomous, the problems they each face are in many instances similar. Sharing of such situations and factors is ancillary to the education, growth and development of each unit; to the thrust and progress of the total anti-poverty effort; and to the progress of the city of Newark as a whole".

They were speaking strictly for college students and the average poor person didn't even finish high school. I'm quite sure nobody understood what they were talking about.

It seemed to me the meeting was run by politicians, whereas I thought it should be run by the poor people themselves. I didn't feel free to stand up and say anything, really. Because the people there were divided into groups and everything that was said by members of NCUP was immediately overruled by somebody else. It was as if everybody wanted who they knew in, and no strangers. If you join something, you want to feel part of it, and the people at the poverty meeting just didn't give you a chance to feel part of it. It was like you're an outsider looking in. So I don't intend to go back.

**Mrs. Louise Patterson—**

(She was named by the UCC as a founding trustee, the only neighborhood person of the original 60).

I find myself not wanting to criticize this anti-poverty program because it is so wonderful on paper. As a trustee of the Newark board, I find the poor are not represented. I had the hope that deprived people—welfare and people who would not have the opportunity of being a trustee—would be allowed the initial "ok" of what was being done with them. The Trustee board is set up with the same people, "heads of". When there is an opening on the board, duplicates of the rest of the board are chosen.

**Mrs. Dora Holder—**

I met this lady after one of the area board meetings, and she got me so mad I walked away, the way she was talking. She owned a house, I guess she was kind of wealthy in her own way. She felt that the

meetings should be run by wealthy people and people who understand what was going on. All the people that didn't understand, I think that if they went to enough meetings that were being run by trying to help the people understand, people would be more interested, and gradually understand. Because I wasn't interested at all, that's why I never did go back. That time, I had a hard problem, and had to make a big effort to go. I had to find a baby-sitter. But that's the only meeting I went to. Confusing! Lots of people jumping up, shouting "you're out of order". My mother had something she wanted to say, and I kept punching her to say it. But she said, "no, I'm not going to stand up". One time we had a vote on whether poor people should be majority. My mother didn't even want to stand up and vote. Neither did I! She had to make me stand up because I wasn't going to vote. I felt it wouldn't do any good, because the only people that were talking there were people on the board, or committees, or something like that.

Every time you looked, they were talking. The other people, the people from the area, they didn't talk. They just sat there. And I'm quite sure a few of them did just like I did, they never came back. The meetings are going to get smaller and smaller unless things start changing.

This one man got mad and started hollering at people. He said he was there to help the meetings run smoothly. But to me, it was running pretty smoothly until everytime you turn around, someone would say, "you're out of order", when you try to say something. The people there didn't know anything about parliamentary procedure — I know I don't. We didn't know when to say the right thing at the right time! When is the right time? You don't know so you don't say anything. You don't go back because what's the use of sitting there at a meeting, if you want to say something, but you're afraid to say it because you may be out of order?

If only the poor people were there it would be more comfortable. Maybe if more poor people were there (it doesn't have to be all poor people), but more of them, where we could understand each other, it wouldn't be so complicated:

I'm going back to one more meeting, but if I don't like it I probably won't go back anymore. Lots of people never heard of the poverty meetings, or aren't fully sure what the meetings are about, or what good they could do. Long as people understand what's going on, it doesn't matter how long it takes.