

CARTON 1.63

THE GUARDIAN

LE ROI JONES INTERVIEW

MARCH, 1968

BARAKA, AMIRI  
HUTCHINGS, PHIL  
IMPERIALE, ANTHONY

2017/193  
c



Phil Hutchings 4/23/68

Some white & one black reported  
arrested in prison last week.

2 blacks burned.

City wants to get rid of  
trouble makers - a list  
of people active since 1964

Jesse Allen, Hutchings,  
Willie Wright, Bob Curwin  
former COKE chum, Hayden  
Derek Williams, white activist  
close to WCLUP.

based on Jones interview  
Essex county  
prosecutor Joseph Lordi  
repts <sup>Anthony</sup> Zorelli ~~county~~ to  
look into charges of left  
starting prison. Capt. Kinney



had list of names. A.  
thinks they collaborated.  
H. told Sunday to expect  
grand jury indictments this  
week. ~~Charges~~ Charges  
may be conspiracy to commit  
arson or more all encompassing  
charge. Purpose: 1) ~~not~~ discredit  
these people in black community  
by making them appear criminals  
2) release would be on parole  
which could last all summer  
and impose work on parole.  
thinks this real purpose: to  
render ineffective this summer  
Trials in fall.

thinks Jones, Imperiale



kinny come to some  
conclusions for different reasons.  
Each  
may or may not have been  
aware of other's <sup>motivations</sup> reasons.

Cops want to begin moving  
against troublemakers - this goes  
first and isolate others. They  
may think they have done  
already.

Imperial believes that as polarization  
between races occurs in Newark he  
can move to legitimize his position  
(and impose Mafia which basically  
wants power + order) Imp. represents  
confused poor & colorless whites  
who are trapped in city & terrified.  
Wants to show poor whites,



establishment & mafia that  
he can take care of blacks.  
(by splitting black inhabitants)  
<sup>although</sup> he wants "some kind of  
personal freedom in N. Newark  
& wants mafia to give him  
part of the turf"

Jones "sees himself buying  
time." sees police aiming against  
blacks (and also <sup>right wing</sup> whites aiming).

Seeks to "forge a non aggression  
pact" with the armed whites.  
to keep power thru 1970

elections. Agreement is for  
Stabron to control N. + W. <sup>part of E.</sup> wards.  
Blacks (thru United Brothers)  
control central & South wards.



shows  
failure of City Hall  
& anti-poverty program  
to keep order



Boach goes to maintain the  
peace in its area and avoid  
racial bloodshed (<sup>Stobely's aims</sup> race)

"Since this is to be new  
power retention, it has to  
be cemented and ~~with~~ any  
body who threatens it by  
telling black people to get guns  
(Willie Wright) has to be  
attacked."

also independent white & black  
leftists pose threat - especially  
since they have potential independent  
center of power in Clinton Hill  
area (South ward). This is old  
NCUP turf. NCUP controls one  
<sup>UCC</sup> area board.



Phil thinks eggs  
eventually aim to get  
Jones as well



Phil thinks right-wing  
whites may have been setting  
fires.

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(Hoyden  
Segment of) (police) <sup>(+ rightists)</sup> want to start counteraction  
and get troublemakers. Cops  
found that Jones had set  
of beliefs which they could  
exploit in <sup>isolating</sup> ~~getting~~ others &  
possibly offer him something  
(they or light sentence) in  
return.

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Friday April 26

7 p.m. Newark

Central H.S.

345 High St.

Stokely

speaking.

Leko; will be there.



Hayden - said his book  
threatened police + hence  
they want to get him.

It raises question abt who  
did killing last summer.

<sup>hundreds of</sup> thousands of dollars of  
damage suits outstanding against  
police. Hayden said nobody  
has been indicted ~~against~~ <sup>for</sup> killing.

Said PL-SDS guy named Polloskov  
allegedly had molotov cocktails  
in his car during riots.

thinks that ~~other cities~~ <sup>New York</sup> crack down  
may become model for other  
cities which want cool summers



This is an interview with Leroi Jones, March 7, 1968.

"Mr. Jones, what is the current status of your court case?"

JONES: "Well, it's being appealed -- we're appealing it, and that's about all I know of it, that the liars -- lawyers, that's a good switch, lawyers have filed for an appeal, and we just wait until they get around to scheduling it. We have to answer a civil case sometime this month -- the Police Commissioner and all the police who were involved in the case are suing us for two hundred million dollars. Actually this is a counter-suit, since we sued them for two million, so they're counter suing us for two hundred million dollars."

"What does that grow out of?"

JONES: "They're suing me for libel, for libeling their character by calling them . . . by saying that they had brutalized us, and apparently they're going to build it around the ~~the~~ reputation of the police as known to me, or something like that. But I think that that Governor's Commission report -- and certainly we have documented cases of police brutality in this town -- it's not a difficult thing to come up with that kind of evidence."

"Do you know offhand what's happened to any of the other people who were arrested last summer? What was the disposition of their cases?"

JONES: "Well, I think about a third they let out immediately, maybe more than that. A lot of them -- maybe another third, had short time, a few days, and things, you know. And I think there is sort of a small core that might still be in. I haven't checked this recently, and the only people who would know that would be the legal services. But I think the majority of the people were let out."

① "What ~~sort of work~~ are you involved in here at Spirit House, and ~~other cultural and political projects throughout Newark?~~"

*based here*  
*art*  
JONES: "Well, let's see, Spirit House, we have a -- let's see, we should have some of our new flyers around, or advertising material . . . we're doing a . . . we have a theater, a repertory theater group, Spirit House Movers, and we've been traveling in black communities and colleges around the country, and reading poetry, putting on plays, ~~you know~~, by young black playwrights, and generally bringing black around the country, and our base is here in Newark, ~~at the Spirit House~~. We usually perform here at least once a week, -- twice a week usually, but at least once. We have a pretty good repertory going now -- I think, and it's unique in that we are able to function right here in the black community, and ~~committed~~, really, to the things that we want to do, you know, with no crackers on the scene at all dictating any policy, so it's purely us. And as such, I think that all of the people involved in the movement are beginning to find out what black art is about, ~~you know~~, in terms of all of its expressions. And it's giving us a chance to develop, really, a style, ~~you know~~, a real style, and a real approach to drama; but also in terms of communication with black people, ~~cause that's what we're doing~~, mostly, developing means of communicating, ~~black communications is really what it is~~. We don't

to  
travel  
and



have any communications, you know, black people -- we rely on white peoples' things, we don't have any newspapers but ~~(UNCLEAR ON TAPE)~~ -- Mohammed Speaks, the Roxbury ~~(Rothbury?)~~ Rebellion News, and Haronbe (?) in California, and maybe the Black Panther Paper, and a paper out of Champaign, but it's not that blanket kind of coverage that's able to shake the mass mind the way the white papers are, and certainly their television thing, which is so, ah, omniscient and powerful. And that in order to mobilize black peoples' minds this communications thing becomes really the central issue in it. How to move them and inspire them, mobilize them, educate them, and delight them."

② "So in a certain sense then you see the theater and black art as being an attempt to communicate with the black masses, and to bring what to them?  
*what are you trying to communicate? to the*

JONES: "Well, now we're working first to clarify what our situation is as black people in America -- to clarify that. Not even those -- many of us who are supposed to be a position to know, really, I think, are completely conscious of just what kind of corny position we are in by being enslaved by this society. And what we envision, actually, is a communications project in all areas, not only the theater. The theater is one good one because it enables us to cut through that electronic curtain that they've got up, you see, by actually being on the scene . . . you know what we need is a television station, and a radio station. That's what you need, communications, newspapers, magazines, see, like black people in every community should at least have a mimeograph flyer system to at least undistort what news is absolutely vital to that particular community. I think the poorest of us can get a mimeograph machine from somewhere -- you know what I mean, we can lift all these other things, so you know, it shouldn't be too much trouble getting hold of these various machines that are floating around these communities."

① "You are now in the process of working with a group that is going to be putting *will soon publishing* out a black community paper here in Newark, is that right?"

JONES: "Right, right! The name of the paper is Black Newark, and it's backed by a very representative cross-section of prominent political figures, black political figures -- I don't mean Toms, or those misguided Negroes, but of the best -- and we're not talking just about militant opinion, so to speak, but we're trying to reach a cross-section. It's a group that is trying to represent itself as a united front, a liberation front, if you will, but what we're working for in Newark is black self-government, because we have the population here in the upper sixties, and by 1970 it'll be even higher. It might be higher now, because we haven't taken any census. But Black Newark is one of the activities that has been inspired by a group called the United Brothers, who are functioning to bring about a political awareness among black people in Newark, and ultimately to insure black self-government by 1970.

② "Who are the United Brothers?"

JONES: "Well, the United Brothers are just what the name implies -- it's made up of black men throughout Newark, businessmen, politicians, religious figures, preachers, artists, doctors, people off the street -- it's just the broadest kind of representation, without any doubt, that has ever appeared in this particular town. It includes the widest possible spectrum of black people, old ones and young ones, who are working for black self government. This is the point that unified us -- Democrats, or ex-Democrats I should say, and



ex-Republicans, and moderates, conservatives and militants, all trying to insure the best black candidate is elected. Right now we're working on a convention to be held in late spring, in Newark, and this convention will be modeled after most political conventions, but in this one we're going to try to get a large cross-section of the black population of Newark to come out and nominate, by consensus, the best qualified candidates. Black Newark, as sort of a communications medium, will be used to inform the people right up to the convention as to the candidates, who's running. And here, we're not a partisan group -- I'm just one of the writers, actually, on the thing. The group is trying to present the most scientific analysis of the various political races here, and trying to come up with the best candidates, the best qualified black candidates, so that only one black man will run for each position, so that we'll insure a victory.

③

"Is the Puerto Rican community represented in the United Brothers?"

JONES: "The Puerto Rican community is not, but we're allied with the Puerto Rican community on several issues that we are working on ~~-- there are Puerto Ricans connected with it as much as possible.~~"

④

"You mentioned the possibility of black self government in Newark by 1970. In view of the recent elections in Gary and Cleveland it appears that the national white power structure may not be opposed to black people running certain cities, because these cities will still be at the mercy of white-controlled state and federal governments; in fact, throwing a few cities to black people may serve to divert the black liberation struggle from a potential revolutionary movement into a traditional ~~municipal~~ municipal politics. Would you ~~care to~~ comment on this ~~possibility~~ possibility?"

JONES: "Well, I'm sure that there are a lot of slick young white men who are conceiving of these things in those terms, but that's not the way we conceive it here in Newark. We intend, I'm sure, to make this city represent the sentiment of black people, in whatever issue, and to take a stand on whatever issue, according to the will of black people, by consensus. So that whatever issue comes up, I think that this city, once it is black-controlled, will take a stand on that issue according to the will of black people. Now, as to how such a city can survive certainly in the face of, probably, white people's determination to see us fail, economically, pulling the money out -- you can't get any money in the city now even when it's Italian controlled, so you know what's going to happen when black people take over. But I think that these are issues which have to be addressed by the black community as a whole, where the people among us who are specialists, you know, in trade and in taxes, municipal government and diplomatic relations with foreign countries -- those among us who are experts in these fields will address themselves to that kind of question. It would be premature for me to talk about it."

⑤

"One of the problems that will have to be dealt with once self-government is achieved, is how to insure that the black politicians and bureaucrats of the government structure do continue to act in the interests of the majority of the black people, the masses of the black people living in the city. Do you see any way of insuring that this does come about and that black politicians and bureaucrats don't become, in effect, a neo-colonial oppressing class?"



JONES: "Yeah, the way to do that is everything move at the . . . that everything be done by consensus, that everything come down to the block and the house in its determinant form; that everything be determined according to what blocks of people say; houses, streets, rather than in terms of some kind of abstract artery-hardened form . . . We'll have to make great <sup>revisions</sup> ~~envisions~~ (Means: revisions? ~~Invasions?~~) in the <sup>existing</sup> ~~political~~ structure. This goes without saying because we've seen what these <sup>existing</sup> ~~structures~~ lead to, and the only way you can insure, as you say, that one group doesn't become isolated from the will of the community is to insure that no such group ever exists; ~~to make, just by the form of your structure, to try to insure that that doesn't exist.~~

"I think that consensus is the most important thing that we are talking about, and decentralization in a sense."

(19)

"Some nationalists use the term 'communalism' in describing what they would like to achieve for black people after liberation. Would you use the same term, and if so how would this differ from what is usually called socialism?"

JONES: "~~Well, the terms~~ . . . here you're dealing with language -- language is crucial because a lot of the meanings in language are hidden except in ~~the~~ resulting kind of conclusions. But communalism is a thing which is older than socialism, because <sup>I think</sup> ~~communalism~~ is <sup>probably</sup> ~~the~~ oldest form of social organization on this planet. And I conceive of communalism as an Eastern thing, an African thing, a black thing, if you will, <sup>something</sup> ~~that~~ our people have always practiced, to a certain extent. The less communalistic they become the more attuned to Western white society they become.

" But socialism, ~~according to my way of thinking, and according to my definition,~~ means something that is to take place in Western society, or something that is to be the result of the decay of capitalism -- something that emerges from 19th century European philosophy. ~~But~~ I think communalism is closer to the ~~sort of~~ thing that we're talking about. I think it means the participation of people according to the needs of the community, ~~the functioning of the community.~~ Socialism always brings to mind European and white solutions ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> problems; that's probably the basic ~~thing.~~ <sup>difference</sup> And we're certainly not basing what we're going to do, I think, on the 19th century European social philosophies, but rather on our needs, and the will of the people to provide for themselves in a much better way.

(QUESTION HERE ASKED BY SOMEONE REMOVED FROM MICROPHONE CANNOT BE UNDERSTOOD)

JONES: "Yeah, I think communalism is a better expression of black personality. Socialism to me, and communism, mean ~~to me~~ abstract European attempts to theorize on the most admirable disposition for peoples, which they have never arrived at, to my way of thinking. It's always been theory. ~~But~~ we're talking about something that has existed <sup>but</sup> ~~that~~ now we want to utilize in a more formal way, in terms of dealing with governments, and economy, society in general. ~~Socialism has always struck me as being largely European theory, rather than as something that had already been exhibited in the nature of the people.~~

(ANOTHER QUESTION ASKED BY PERSON BARELY AUDIBLE)



In your writings & work one can trace your development into  
what might be termed an artist of the people. It would seem  
that this growth process would be important in preventing  
the alienation of the artist from his people...  
for intellectual



3 "In your book one sees the transition from artist, you know, to "artist of the people." Now this is very important in preventing what Bob was saying, that the articulate and educated ~~-----~~ (loud children's noises!) ~~xxxxxxx~~ and talented people who have tended to get away from the black communities, are now coming back to the black community.

JONES: "It's a much more natural thing. That whole idea of the so-called educated intellectual being isolated from communities is Western, European alienation, ~~and it's not~~. the healthy society is the society in which every aspect of it is integrated into the total benefit, for the total benefit of the community. An artist is supposed to be ~~right~~ in the center of the right community. Otherwise how does he function? He's supposed to be there to channel people's normal desires to see beautiful things and to make the beautiful things. Artists are to paint people's houses, the insides of their buildings, to write poems so that people will enjoy; so that art is to be integrated into society -- otherwise it has no place. It's supposed to be the living, breathing definition of man's noblest will to represent his life. Right in the community. But if you've got scholars and stuff, they are supposed to be "next door" to you, so that you can find out stuff -- otherwise, what good are they?"

4 "Would you say that the artist's role ~~--- does it differ~~ in a revolutionary situation, as opposed to a ~~ideal~~ normal situation?"

JONES: "No, in a revolutionary situation it's the same thing -- the artist has to be fully integrated into the will of his people, has to be the people himself, and not be any different. The artist is a special kind of personality, but so is a lawyer special."

(QUESTIONNER REFERS TO STOKES IN CLEVELAND: "That wouldn't happen here?")

JONES: "No, because what we want to do is put the weight of the most intelligent people in the community in it, I mean, so that absolutely what happens must go through whatever claims to be intelligent, whatever claims to be rational and there won't be any separation. Anybody who isolates himself is just isolated. You have no real . . . you don't really deserve to have anything to say about society if you're isolated from it by your own choice. The role of man is to be with men, and you can't be anything other than a man, artist or no. So it has to be defined by, you know, the struggles and the work of men. ~~SE~~

5 artistic (SOME WESTERN EUROPEAN ARTISTS HAVE EXPRESSED (a great deal of) CONCERN ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS TO ~~INDIVIDUAL~~ FREEDOM IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION)

JONES: Well, that's just more European bullshit. What do you want? What are your goals? You work toward your goals, whatever your goals are. You define your goals, then do whatever you have to do to achieve those goals. If a man wants black revolution, world revolution, then he has to commit himself to those things that will achieve that. And if you're not in tune with it, then these kinds of really illusory paradoxes show up like "artistic freedom." That's actually somebody lying to themselves, that means they want to do something other than what's being expressed. Well, do it! That's my own way of thinking about it. For instance, there are many Negroes (and I use that term knowledgeably) who write things that are frankly counter-revolutionary, ~~that are I think vitally needed~~, their talent is vitally needed by black people. But many things they do, their energy is being utilized against the noblest efforts of black man to free himself. For



somebody to talk about artistic freedom then is just to say they want to be doing something different. They just want to mask that. ~~It's the same thing in the United States. There's no reason why the U.S. should allow people to run it down.~~ Think about it rationally. They're doing exactly what they have to do to survive. They're trying to kill ~~me~~ me. They're trying to kill all the rest of the black people who mean to do them harm. I mean to get black people free from their clutches. And they're doing exactly what they have to do. And all of this kind of smokescreen about artistic freedom is just a kind of degeneration of the system. This system represents a particular goal, particular ideas, you see what I mean, and its most characteristic gesture is when it is exactly in tune with those goals, which is the suppression of things that are different from it.

Actually although I'm a progressive and in many senses in ~~the~~ tune with society, in many senses I'm a conservative in that I would like to see black people wholly in tune with those things that benefit them, you know, with the blackest things, with their <sup>experience</sup>. And I know that by squandering them in areas that don't represent their best interests - somebody might call it artistic freedom, it's not, it's just something different - like artistic freedom means to me the right to express within the commitment to certain goals, the right to express those goals in any way your personality, let's say total personality, conceives of it. But in the context ~~like~~ American society, this is a meaningless term, because I represent something quite different than say William Styron. ~~In~~ The society that William Styron represents is U.S. white society. Nobody should get angry at him for writing that book about Nat Turner. That's exactly the kind of book - what else ~~could~~ he write? To talk about William Styron and put the bad mouth on him is futile. It means you're mad cause he's William Styron. What I'd say .. I mean I would blow his head off if I thought about it .. but I don't think it does any good to talk about him. I'd <sup>much</sup> rather see us get together ~~on~~ Nat Turner, <sup>more</sup> rather than see us hung up ~~on him~~ on why ~~he~~ wrote the one he did. <sup>book</sup>

That kind of integration <sup>that</sup> people have conceived of idealistically is a lie. It could never work because people are not spiritually ready for that kind of thing. They cannot be integrated because they represent different goals. There are different levels. <sup>being</sup> There are a lot of us who are animals, you know, who look like humans but <sup>are</sup> feel like animals, who are filled with animal lusts <sup>and</sup> passions, who have never really evolved to a state where they really understood the use of human beings, what human beings are good for. There are some of us who are human beings, who have been made human beings by the trials of <sup>being</sup> living in this particular kind of society where the most admirable qualities of say your particular personality, race, <sup>person</sup> which is what race is, <sup>walking above</sup> ~~which is~~ called degrading by people in power. So I think freedom is a false term. The artist represents the will of a particular idea, a particular way of thinking about the world. And the idea that I represent about the world is probably absolutely antithetical to the one the U.S. government has to ~~maintain~~ maintain to achieve their control over the world. So why should they let me have artistic freedom when all I mean to do is to destroy them? They know this. And for people to be talking about it is really to be double-talking. There's absolutely no reason in the world all those crackers should give me <sup>any</sup> freedom, and they know that. And to try to make them do it is idealism bordering on foolishness. But people play these games. I don't talk about artistic freedom except maybe to persuade a few black liberals to come on over and be black.



(6) It has been suggested that for the revolutionary artist ~~his~~ individual <sup>artistic</sup> freedom is analogous to the freedom of a jazz soloist who plays variations on a theme ~~on a beat~~ within the rhythmic confines of the jazz group. Is this a valid analogy?



(QUESTION ON THE FREEDOM OF REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST BEING ANALOGOUS TO THE JAZZ SOLOIST WHO MAKES VARIATIONS ON A THEME OR BEAT WITHIN THE GROUP)

JONES: Yes, that's the black man's ~~stick~~, see, like talking about collective improvisation. That's what we mean when we talk about artistic freedom for the black man. But when somebody suddenly wants to start breaking up the instruments . . . well, you might even do that ~~if it~~ if it sounded good, I might even go for it. I couldn't say now. But if it didn't sound good, I would just call that nuttiness. But then, suppose there were a group of people who only wanted to break up instruments then he should be with them. ~~(But this would be antithetical to other groups.)~~ *right.* When white people talk about freedom a lot of times they just mean degenerate, just being rotten forms of what they once were. That is, white people once believed this and this is true. Then they come along and say this is no longer true. Well, that's being degenerate. They are not upholding the principles that made their nation powerful. The same thing with our people, say the Egyptian people, when they started being great liberals and sleeping around with Semitic women, white women and whatnot, even back in dynastic times, and started worshipping other people gods and bringing home these different kinds of idols and things, it was degeneracy of that particular form. When a form ~~becomes~~ becomes too free, it changes, that's all. Well, a lot of times what they're talking about is just the will to be degenerate, to change this form. We're talking about freedom in absolute demolition of this form.

Ron Karenga's

(1) (WOULD YOU AGREE WITH ~~THE~~ STATEMENT THAT BLACK ART MUST BE FUNCTIONAL, COLLECTIVE AND COMMITTING?)

JONES: Yes, very much. I think those are good definitions. I think Karenga better than anyone else, better than artists (I use that term because he certainly is an artist and a political theorist and a cultural theorist of great stature and I don't think it's been recognized yet), but that kind of formulation I think is very necessary because it's a black aesthetic. I think one thing that we have to understand is that no black man can be ~~as~~ *called* cultured unless he's consciously black. Cultured means, in a sense, to be conscious. ~~So you can be black, you know, like a lot of brothers . . . we can dance, we can sing, we walk the way we walk, we wear our colors . . . but then idea of reflecting and being conscious of what that means, that's another thing too. Because if you know what it means, then you won't let anybody derogate it, and that's the strength of being conscious . . . that you have a place and it's not a lower place, not a higher place, it's a place where you really are.~~

(2) (HOW WOULD CULTURAL NATIONALISM RELATE TO THIS?)

JONES: This is why we're working on a communications project. This is why communications is so valuable, because ~~unless~~ unless you have this cultural nationalism then you really are kind of schizophrenic, like Harold Cruse pointed out in his book about Garvey, that at the height of Garvey's movement he had one-half of the program given over to European music and the other half was given over to talk about raising a black nation. Absolute schizophrenia. And a lot of black people are schizophrenic like that, where they'll be talking about ~~black~~ politics, getting a nation, even nationalists, straight-out nationalists, and really all the time they're ~~connected~~ *more than James Brown* up with the white culture - they'll still be digging Mozart, ~~etc. Really to the point where they can rationalize about it, but not only the rationalization but I mean just subconsciously, you know, the body, the mind, and you don't want to see that die. We all know that~~ *(and that means you're connected with that)*



all of that shit - Mozart, Beethoven, all of it, if it had to be burned now, ~~if~~  
~~it should be burned up, the next minute~~ <sup>it should be burned up if it</sup> ~~would~~ mean the liberation of our people.  
~~Because~~ frankly I wouldn't feel I was losing anything. I'm being selfish  
 in that sense, but I'm saying that if it represents, and it does, the will of  
 a dying people, it should die with them. And that's ~~what~~ what I mean by  
 cultural nationalism . . . that you have <sup>to</sup> be for the resurrection of new black  
 forms and the resurrection of old forms, traditional forms, that ~~would~~ <sup>will</sup> instruct  
 you in what you're doing and give you a connection, say, with ~~the~~ <sup>your</sup> past. Just  
 move on out with really what is best for you. The rest of that is exoticism  
 and it tends to weaken.

*If a brother wants to save  
 a Mozart sonata, we're in danger.*



~~comment about Mozart which I could not get~~

(9) ASTRID: May I ask you something... <sup>he</sup> ~~about~~ <sup>is in a</sup> white artists. And <sup>vandy</sup> ~~culturally~~ <sup>virtually</sup> there are  
Does this mean there are no real white artists?  
~~no white artists - by your definition there are no white artists because...~~

JONES: ...that's not true, there are white artists.

ASTRID: ~~but~~ <sup>their</sup> from the point of view of representing ~~your~~ people, representing ~~the~~  
masses of white people... ?

JONES: No, you see the definition of art - black and white. There are two  
different definitions. Now white artists, we know what they are. They exist  
in white society. Exactly the way we can identify them. They have a different  
function from ~~a~~ black artist. Black artists functions should be to <sup>best</sup> benefit  
his people. But surely a white artist -- this city is nothing but white art.  
Actually, as ugly as it is, it's been built by white people and expresses their  
kind of spirituality or lack of it.

ASTRID: I wouldn't call it art.

JONES: Well, I think it is art. It's art in this sense. It doesn't move me;  
I think it's ugly. To me it's an expression of their particular spiritual void.  
But it's art nevertheless, in the terms that it is something man made to express  
his insides. I don't particularly like the Beatles music. But it's music.



(JONES continuing) There's just better music -- music I like better.

Certainly music that is <sup>more</sup> expressive of experiences that I value more. Like the experiences that ~~that~~ white art makes me think of ~~(things) that~~ I don't value--they're just depressing and alienating. Which is what they said they want to do. ~~Barker and Kallik~~ Beckett and all ~~the~~ people -- they succeed ~~in~~ in doing that. But I don't think that's healthy. Kafka - Beckett.

~~It's not healthy.~~

*is this because the white artist in ~~America~~ <sup>the West</sup> comes from an unhealthy society*

ASTRID: ~~But they don't come from a healthy society?~~

JONES: That's what I mean - they reflect their society exactly. And they are artists because of that. Great craftsmen. It's just that what they do I can't use.

(ASTRID SPOKE IN BACKGROUND BUT WORDS INDISTINGUISHABLE)

(19) ALLEN: Speaking of Music, which we were a minute ago, <sup>Row Kavenza</sup> ~~? (name)~~ also said that the blues are invalid, <sup>"</sup> ~~using his word~~, because they do not commit us to the struggle of today and tomorrow but keep us in the past. <sup>"</sup> ~~Now~~ <sup>Home</sup> in your book you ~~praise~~ praise the blues and jazz as being the only consistent exhibitors of <sup>"</sup> ~~negritude~~ <sup>and</sup> formal American culture because the bearers of this tradition have maintained their identity as black people. Do you see any way to reconcile these views?



JONES: ~~Yes~~, <sup>2</sup>sure, and I think Karinga would sort of revise that to a certain extent, because we recently talked about that. — About a month ago. You see, what he is talking about essentially is blues that ~~just~~ — are defeating, despairing; that lead you away from the reality of the situation. I said in a book that just came out, Black Music, talking about that problem, for instance, "we're a winner", <sup>is</sup> ~~black music~~, <sup>and</sup> it's called rhythm and blues, <sup>so</sup> ~~you know what I mean~~, it's a form of blues, but it certainly is revolutionary. And "we're a winner" is more revolutionary than most jazz that you hear. So, again, what I think is necessary is that some of the rhythm and blues people have to get together and think about reality. And some of the jazz people have to get together and think about reality. That's our problem. The reality. The music is -- well you fill that with what you want to fill it with. You could make a blues that <sup>might</sup> ~~could~~ tear this city down, if you're singing it right, and got a whole lot of people singing it; so it's about the content, getting the content and the form to make an expression that's going to be valid. But that will be consciously made. I think it is being made now. There are certainly revolutionary jazz artists, and ~~think~~ the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> impressions have always been conscious to me.

(11) ALLEN: What do you mean when you say revolutionary theatre is the theatre of victims, or the theatre of assault?



JONES: Well, I wrote that awhile ago, but what I meant was the theatre of victims

in the sense that I was writing ~~at the time~~ because I felt <sup>like</sup> ~~that~~ I was a victim at the time, a victim of America, and the theatre I wrote was going to be told

from those eyes, not from the side of white people and their luxurious understanding of the world. ~~But from where we as victims~~ <sup>stood and</sup> ~~that's what we were going to talk about.~~

~~The world from that point of view.~~

(12) ALLEN: You say that you wrote that ~~some time back~~. Would your view have changed <sup>a</sup> since you wrote that? ~~in the meantime?~~

JONES: ~~Yes~~. Yes, because the victim thing, I don't think we can just lay with that.

I think that, talking about the <sup>we're</sup> impressions, talking about winners now. So revolutionary theatre has got to talk about winners too, And how we're going to win. It was just at that particular time I was focusing ~~at~~ on the fact that I was a victim. We were black and we were victims. I think at the time I wrote that it was just becoming <sup>clear in</sup> /terribly ~~clearly to come into~~ my mind how victimized we were. That's what I was ~~was~~ talking about.

(13) ALLEN; <sup>recently</sup> There have been reports ~~in the newspapers~~, particularly ~~in the last year~~, that white, private foundations are attempting to underwrite black theatre -- even nationalist theatre. What are the implications of this?



JONES: Well, they <sup>a lot of</sup> realize now that black artists have really committed <sup>themselves</sup> ~~themselves~~ to raising a nation of black people. What they are trying to do is throw out some kind of mirage of white good intentions to suck a few Negros into their camp. So we're talking about black art and they come out ~~they're~~ talking about a Negro ensemble.

It's just a way to cloud men's minds so they can't see. It's just more illusion.

~~Like that Negro ensemble -- so that white people will give them money so they can....~~

~~Express what? Where? ~~Texas?~~ The lower east side? To who? For whose purpose? It's~~

~~just bullshit. And the same way with....~~ The only thing that I think was better than that that was run on white money was the new Lafayette theatre. I think that eventually

McBeth would have gotten that together. I don't see why he did that play about the

South African -- the white South African. But I guess he's working out some things too.

But I think he certainly was getting ready to present some good theatre. But they even

got tired of sending the Negro ensemble into Newark - in workshops - simply because maybe

people in Newark <sup>wanted to do</sup> ~~doing~~ something about these people interested in drama <sup>running</sup> ~~into~~ Spirit House.

~~Again,~~ it's just their attempt to run a false integration game <sup>down</sup> and maintain their

power, ~~so they~~ they can say <sup>OK</sup> ~~OK~~, you're talking about black art and black theatre? here, we're going to build you a ~~we got a~~ black theatre, a Negro theatre really, right in the heart of the

lower east side. Which is a white suburb.



(14) ALLEN: What has been the response of the average black man on the street to

~~Spirit House ? or to your efforts around the country?~~

JONES: ~~Very good, actually.~~ I think it's been very good. We've been very, very

~~gratified. Traveling around and with the theatre downstairs, very gratifying.~~

And we are actually getting back to what theatre is supposed to be about -- just

going in people's hearts and showing them what's in there. And really making them

either turn away from that or reach for it. Depending on what it is -- whether it's

ugly or beautiful. And there are certain things that black people know, and we know

~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> as artists, ~~and~~ we can get into a deep communal thing in art. It really makes being

an artist take on meaning for me. Its only meaning -- to elevate our consciousness.

As a people. And to show us that those consciousnesses are elevated already. If we

would just embrace....

ALLEN: One of the problems that black artists have in the past faced was the lack

(15) of response from their own people in a financial sense. Do the people support you?

Do they sustain what you are trying to do?

JONES: Yes. That's a good question because we've been working and you find two things:

First of all, you say black artists, usually black artists have been a carbon copy of

white artists. And the average Negro interested in Negro art, that's another thing.

A lot of these mid



(Jones, continuing) A lot of these middle-class Negroes, like Franklin Frazer said, they just want expressions of white consciousness. <sup>and</sup> <sup>of that</sup> Imitations. If you're talking about an art that expresses the will and the feeling of the people themselves -- the straight feeling -- then you're dealing with something that will get a little more gut response. And ~~th~~ I think eventually you will see black theatres raised all around this country. ~~And black national theatres, depending on how long this country is going to exist in its present state. Even so, there will be black theatres in every major city. I think we've reached that point in most of the cities. In a lot of the cities now you'll find something happening, to a certain extent.~~ We have to learn ~~black people too many times, as lot of the Negro people anyhow,~~ a lot of the Negroes anyhow, always when they think about money think about white people. But black people have to understand that they have a lot of money. That they have more money than most of the people on the earth -- even catching the white man's crumbs. ~~They~~ They still have a lot of money, if they did with that money what they should do with it, they'd have a lot of better things happening. ~~Because they have a lot of money. Even the people on welfare have a lot of money compared to Africans, Chinese, Latin Americans and a whole lot of Europeans. It's just that they're not doing the right things with their money.~~



6 ALLEN: Turning to the national situation, what would you see as the ultimate objective of the black liberation movement as it's developing now?

~~JONES~~

JONES: Well black liberation is what the ultimate thing is, but I think that's going to take on different meanings according to the context. ~~Like, and this~~

~~is something that can only be seen in people developing programs, through~~

~~programmatic approach to black liberation. Like, what say is good for black~~

~~liberation in Newark might not be good for another place. But I think in the~~

cities it means the mobilization of black peoples with black consciousness ~~and~~

to take control over that space they already inhabit and to achieve programs/ 30

that they can defend and govern that space and survive the onslaughts of white

society. That is, in capsule form, what it's about. But how that can be achieved

will differ in different communities. In Newark we know what form it will take because

we'll achieve some mobilization of black people through this political situation and

once you mobilize the people, for whatever purpose, you ought to get.....

~~(ASHEB:~~



ASTRID (not clear) Do you think Newark would be easier <sup>/an</sup> city to organize

⑦ than say Cleveland, Cincinnati, Harlem...I mean are the people....

JONES: Well Harlem has special problems because big New York, Babylon, ~~the~~ has too much floating around ...and people float off into space in New York. There's a strong nationalist sense in Harlem, but it's not structured by the reality of In New York. It's all these other cities the black community is poor - it's a solid thing, it's an entity. And when you go out of the black community you're in ~~the~~ hostile territory. When you go out of the black community in Newark you're in hostile land.

ASTRID: In Chicago.....you don't ride your bicycle outside the black community.....

JONES: (continuing) Sure. And New York has this kind of fake cosmopolitanism -- same as San Francisco. But in these other cities, when you leave your community you're in trouble.

⑧ ASTRID (not too clear)...in Newark, if they had a strong, large black or Negro middle-class.....has a lot to do with how far you can get with organizing....

JONES: Sure, we have a big one. This city is a kind of schizoid thing in the black community because there are people jumping off these trains every day -- <sup>straight</sup> ~~to get~~ out of the south. Like on Sunday mornings in Newark you can see <sup>scenes</sup> ~~things~~ like you'd see down in Alabama. But also there's the older population that has slid <sup>500 ft</sup> ~~up town~~



JONES (continuing) where the Jews used to live. And the older churches. And who disassociate themselves to some extent. And who are trying to make it.

It's true I guess in most black communities but it's so pronounced in Newark.

This section we live in is the old, ~~beatu~~ beat-up, run-down, junkie-ridden section, and all up through here, through where the rebellion <sup>occurred</sup> ~~is~~ has been whipped terribly.

~~But as you go up, and down, it's old~~ It's old and rat infested. But as you go south to the old Jewish houses, the community starts looking tip-top, getting where the Negroes are getting close to the Jews who are trying to get out, who live in some pretty fabulous houses.

(9) ALLEN: What kind of role is the middle-class Negro playing?

JONES: Well, this is what the united brothers is about. We're trying to get these middle-class Negroes into some shape now. We're trying to tell them that if they don't be black <sup>then</sup> they're just going to have to join the white man's ranks.

And I think this is being driven home here in Newark. We're trying to make that a very well known principle here -- either you be black or you be white. ~~Don't stay~~ ~~Don't skate~~ ~~Where is no skating~~ And the white government has been so crude here in Newark, they don't have the sophistication of a Lindsay, who I think is more dangerous because of that. A lot of black people love Lindsay. But here in Newark (~~something about~~ ~~something~~ ~~and a straight-out Uncle Tom~~)

(pick up on next page)



JONES ( continuing) ...someone (favoring) someone like Annizio (would have to be)

a straight out Uncle Tom and a dangerous person. People have polarized here strongly, very strongly.

ASTRID: <sup>People</sup> ~~Please~~ like Kennedy and Lindsay .....you get a Wallace

JONES: (talking through Astrid) yes, they're dangerous. (Wallace) you can see. You know what's happening/

ASTRID: Another thing -- we may not want to put this in -- but in organizing, what about the NAACP. ... Cutting me down, slicing me down, tripping me up, I feel before the white man comes in.....

JONES: <sup>sometimes</sup> See ~~the~~ only way you can deal with ~~them~~ <sup>these niggers</sup> ~~say we're going to~~ roast them.

<sup>in our paper</sup> Every week, <sup>of the</sup> we're going to have a Tom <sup>with an award being given and everything</sup> & week ~~(cross talk)~~ Because they'll kill you.

They'll be talking that anti-black stuff right down the line.

ALLEN: What's your opinion <sup>of</sup> attempts being made <sup>says</sup> by SNCC and the Panthers, to

create some sort of national black unity. Stokeley Carmichael's Black United Front in Washington. These attempts to establish black unity on a national basis.

JONES: I hope it's successful. It's certainly something that's needed. I just hope unity is what is actually being achieved and what is meant. Because that's what needed. Black unity. We need to have, as <sup>Karenga</sup> says, operational unity, where

we can all do our thing together and ~~to~~ contribute to the final liberation. I hep



JONES (continuing) think it's a good move. I hope that some unity is accomplished.

ALLEN: Do you have any doubts about it?

JONES: Doubts? No. I know that there are a lot of problems to face by any organization that tries to ~~accomplish~~ achieve a wider kind of unity. There are just so many things happening. But I'm sure ~~if~~ Stokely and whoever is dealing <sup>from</sup> ~~with~~ the Panther side <sup>also</sup> ~~is~~ taking into consideration all those things.

ASTRID: Why is it that.....and dumped their bodies in the East River ....or will we ~~g~~ be getting into an anti-white bag because this is not what we want to do....

ALLEN: Do you want to answer that on the tape?

JONES: It doesn't make any difference. What we need to do is sit down and arrive at whatever has to be done scientifically. Whatever ~~has~~ is called for has to be done.

ASTRID:.....like with anti-violence.....

(14A) JONES: Again, violence has to be applied where it will doo the most good. We're talking about a problem. A problem to be solved, and again it has to do with the what we agree on are best way to achieve/the desired results. And to my way of thinking that is anything. Whatever it is. (cross-talk with Astrid - not distinguishable). It doesn't have to be any one thing. It has to be anything that works. Whether you can hyp~~o~~thesize them,



JONES: (continuing) or you have to kill them, or you have to deal with them, or make deals with them, or you have to blow them up, or *poison* them, or whatever you have to do. But it should be something, you should sit down and think about it very rationally, just like a problem, and decide what is the best thing to do.

(14) *Fanon's* *ed* *for the oppressed*  
 ALLEN: ~~What about the (nun's?) suggestion that violence can not only be a factor~~ *be a*  
*spiritually purifying experience as well as simply a factor in*  
*the process of* ~~in physical liberation, but it can for an oppressed person be an - a spiritually~~  
~~uplifting experience?~~ *thing would you agree?* *(pick up on p. 19)*

JONES: Sure, I can see that. Because a lot of the pressure that is built up internally, in the psyche, is something that holds you to the ground, unless it is expressed. That bile, that turns into self-recrimination. A lot of people begin to feel they are what their oppressor says they are. And until they can strike out at them in some way they can never really achieve that kind of stature that will justify their existence. So a lot of times. *you have to do that*

ALLEN: What responsibility do you think a revolutionary leader~~s~~ has for the lives of his people when <sup>"</sup>the deal goes down~~"~~/?

JONES: Well he's supposed to be insuring their well-being, their survival. That's by whatever means he has to achieve their survival and that whatever deal is they come



JONES (continuing) out better for it, stronger, that they win naturally.

ALLEN: The reason I raised that question, I was thinking about the coming summer when we know something is going to happen, and the question is, I <sup>would</sup> ~~should~~ think, for a revolutionary leader, should he help to organize his ~~xx~~ people to make the best response in that situation, if that means fighting, or should he like cool <sup>it</sup> Which is in the best interests of his people.

JONES: Depends on where it is. Depends on a specific context. Depends on an exact situation. And again, that's what dictates what to do. Certainly you can't do anything unless the people are mobilized and informed. Organized or mobilized <sup>and</sup> ~~or~~ informed. You can't do anything, no matter what it is, if you want to sit down in a house together. You can't do anything without that -- that is the prerequisite for anything. Action or inaction. Mobilization, information, organization, program, those are the essential things. What kind of program, how are you going to achieve what your acknowledged goals are, and again the leader has to take into consideration exactly what the situation is.

ASTRID: I want to ask, on another subject, in the coming.....in the summer....we are concerned with leadership...in a sense we've taken the tone of the white man in the sense that it was the leadership that caused the riots.....but I don't think it had anything to do with the leadership....if the individual black man is angry



ASTRID (continuing) enough, given the proper freedom, without any education,  
 to just go and bombast and carry on .....so how much control  
 do the leaders have over these riots?

JONES: Well actually this determines whether or not they are leaders, whether  
 they do have control. Because if you don't have any control over there's no  
 sense saying you're any kind of leader. The point is, leadership has to achieve  
 that: leadership. Otherwise it doesn't exist.

(11) ALLEN: <sup>E</sup> C. Wilson, a <sup>noted</sup> ~~respected~~ black writer, once said that the white left "often  
 shows itself more white than radical left" in its dealings with black people.

Do you think this is an accurate statement?

JONES: Sure. To me. I've never seen anything else, I'll say that. I think that  
 my concern with the white left is at this point rather abstract. I'm not too con-  
 cerned with them at all. I know if there was a rebellion <sup>and</sup> ~~I know~~ if the white left  
<sup>organize and</sup> would run in here and take some of these policemen's bullets I'd have more respect  
 for them. But other than that they don't interest me. They seem to me to want to  
 achieve what they want to achieve, and we want to achieve what we want to achieve.  
 It's a different thing.

(12) ASTRID: Socialism versus communalism?

JONES: Well, actually, communalism to me is abstract too. Because what we want



JONES (continuing) to achieve is something that <sup>is going</sup> ~~has~~ to be defined by <sup>its</sup> existence,

~~xxxx~~ at the brink of a new world -- and we don't even know what it is.

ASTRID: (unclear) ....based on our our background, our real background, Afridca....

JONES: I think that those of us who are in positions to have read that kind of inference into it, or the reasons we deal in that, is that we try to repossess the sciences, the knowledge the black man had when he did, when he was master of his destiny. That's the strength of understanding Egyptian culture and who true Arabs are, ~~xx~~ and the old African nations civilizations -- is ~~really~~ really to repossess the knowledge that made you the masters of the planet. To find out what these things were - <sup>this</sup> ~~because of~~ information that's been distorted and lost. It's something ~~xx new to me~~ <sup>and</sup> something new and something black. Like when somebody comes on the scene, like Sun Ra, <sup>and</sup> sounds so weird until you start listening and you find out it's as old as creation. So that's what that is.

(16) ALLEN: One last question ~~I would like to ask~~. In reviewing <sup>Home</sup> ~~soon~~, the N.Y. Times said "you usually speak as a Negro and always as an American." Could you suggest any reason why the N.Y. Timed <sup>reviewer</sup> ~~editor~~ considers it complimentary to say of a black writer that he speaks always as an American.?"

<sup>They figure</sup> JONES: ~~Because~~ if you're an American you're going to support America. But I'd say



JONES (continuing) one thing, if we are Americans, and we're only Americans by

virtue of our oppression, by our submission to <sup>the</sup> slave master who was an American.

if we are Americans, we are Americans who <sup>understand</sup> ~~know~~ that America don't need to exist ~~anymore~~.

anymore. That American thing is strictly a slave thing. We were called Romans

when we were slaves in Rome, And Greeks when we were slaves in Greece. But I know

anything that will be lasting <sup>out of</sup> ~~in~~ America will be <sup>because</sup> ~~that~~ the black man decided to let

it last. Whether you're talking about ideas or structures. So whatever it is that

comes to last out of America will be because black people decided to let it.

(13) ALLEN: You yourself visited Cuba in 1965 and since that time a number of other

black leaders and artists have visited Cuba and Vietnam. What do you think the

revolution in Cuba and the struggle in Vietnam have to say to black people?

JONES: Ex I think what they should demonstrate to us is how two people<sup>s</sup> had to wage

their struggle to be free. But <sup>even</sup> one thing more important, that those people who are far

away from the sources and the resources of the American military machine can put up

such a good fight ~~but~~ we are a people who have ready access to all the resources of

the American military machine so when we begin to wage our fight, if that is necessary,

<sup>will</sup> ~~that~~ we have ready access, much better access, to the resouces of American military

power than any other people on this planet.



NEWARK REPORT :

phil hutchings

Newark has become the "second Civil War". It is a study in the latest part of the struggle of white people against black self-termination. Since the July rebellion things in Newark have gotten worse. The result has been total polarization. It is white against black. But in the long run that is good , because there can be no change in Newark, no cleansing until the cancer of racism is finally destroyed. For those who bemoan the fact that race relations are at an all-time low, there is the answer that black-white relations in Newark as in America were built upon white supremacy . When that changes , there can be a new Newark.~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

If black people ( along with Puerto Ricans 65% of Newark's population) cannot run and control this city-- then no one will .

White people in Newark understand what is going down. They are organizing in various groups and organizations to keep their hold on power. Best known of the groups is the North Ward Citizens Committee, led by ex-Marine Anthony Imperiale. Imperiale brags that he has a karate school, his own police dogs and an armored car. The NWCC also includes a high percentage of the Newark police force, young white toughs and the well wishes of most of the working-class whites still

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living in the city. Imperiale has easy access to guns both through the Newark police and the Italian mafia which controls the ports of metropolitan New York and New Jersey.

Not as well known is the Loyal Americans for the Preservation of Law and Order. Most of them come from Newark's East Ward ( a hot-bed of ethnic nationalities). Their major program is to curb "crime in the streets" and they have ~~xxxx~~ demanded that the City Council bring police dogs to patrol the streets. Then there is W.O.R.L.D., Women Organized for the Return of Law and Decency. Most of their husbands are policemen who belong to Imperiale's organization. The John Birch Society which is mostly in the suburbs has more of a middle-class base but includes quite a few Newark police as well. The Vailsburg (mostly Italian) section of the city is organizing its own group with the help of Imperiale and his lieutenants. But whatever the organization, Tony Imperiale is the leader, he is the symbol. He can go almost anywhere in white Newark and get a crowd off no less than 300, even on short notice. Three weeks ago Imperiale marched 200 of his youthful legions in hard rain for over two hours in front of City Hall. The face of fascism in Newark is clearly that of Anthony Imperiale.



Power in Newark, white power, is changing. It is moving to the right. Under the direction of Police Director Dominic A. Spina , the Police Department has become the force of organized power in the city often exceeding that of Mayor Hugh Addonizio. Between the Police and Imperiale there is almost an open alliance sharing power in the name of "law and order." Even traditional white politicians are frightened of this new force. Two <sup>city</sup> councilmen have resigned and a third is on the brink. Those who remain or think they have a future in city politics are becoming bed-partners of Spina and Imperiale. West ward (Vailsburg) <sup>coun</sup> councilman Frank Addonizio goes speaking in local schools with Spina and Imperiale; South ward (<sup>a predominantly</sup> ~~mostly~~ black) <sup>area</sup> councilman Lee Bernstein is strong for a K-9 police dog contingent and patrols the city with the police; young Lou Turco from the East Ward recently appointed to the City Council is seen more and more among Polish and Italian youths whose hero is Anthony Imperiale.

There are no radical white groups in Newark of any consequence. Most of the old SDS students who helped organize the Newark Community Union Project have left town or have dropped out. Tom Hayden , the best known, is organizing students at Columbia and <sup>traveling</sup> around the country to gather support for a mass demonstration at the Democratic



Convention in Chicago. The SDS chapter at Rutgers-Newark is in another world. They are talking about the war in Vietnam,, how to resist both Kennedy and McCarthy <sup>plus</sup> ~~and~~ student power in the university. They seem unaware that a fascist movement is building less than 5 minutes away from their campus. That racial bloodshed this summer in Newark could make alternatives both liberal and radical chiefly academic.

Liberal establishment politics in Newark is in retreat. The <sup>highly</sup> ~~highly~~ touted Committee of Concern composed of businessmen, churchmen and prominent people used to get a lot of publicity but even that is now gone. The pattern is historical. As the right gains in power the center disappears.

The United Community Corporation (Newark's anti-poverty agency) has moved from the ghetto, set up a headquarters filled with soft carpets and desk receptionist at every turn. Their grand <sup>project</sup> ~~program~~ for the summer is a giant youth program co-sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and City Hall. Not to be outdone by younger and more dynamic city executives, Mayor Addonizio has <sup>unveiled</sup> ~~unleashed~~ plans for his "Urban Coalition?" But their plans are for "another city", not Newark. They are talking about maintaining corporate interests and democracizing how decisions are <sup>made</sup> ~~made~~. ( The last cry of the bourgeois-capitalists



is always--DEMOCRACY ) The poor black masses and their spokesmen are talking about "power and control". It is clearly a different bag. There is no compromise that the white establishment can make in Newark that will stop black power outside of outward repression. The response of ~~whites~~ <sup>the non-black minority</sup> in Newark to black power <sup>through</sup> ~~by~~ the ballot may convince black people all over the nation that the only solution is not political reform through electoral action but ~~pop~~ <sup>political</sup> revolution by taking up the gun.

Newark is a study in a dying colonialism. It is Algeria in 1960 or the Belgian Congo one year before liberation. Until five months after the 1967 rebellion there was little or no organization in the black community. Then slowly through the efforts of the newly formed Newark Area Planning Association led by Junius Williams, a black law student from Yale and the Committee against Negro and Puerto Rican Removal the sleeping giant began to awake and fight again against a proposed 150-acre Medical School in the black Central ward. Using both new manpower and outside resources they succeeded in cutting the acreage by two-thirds, halting all urban renewal projects and gaining the right to build low-income housing through neighborhood controlled ~~xxx~~ <sup>non-</sup> profit corporations.



That fight was not so important in being a victory but as an example to the black community of what could come from united action.

Early in 1968 a planned summit conference of black leaders resulted in the formation of the United Brothers of Newark. This group was to become the united black front of Newark similar in philosophy to the Black United Front in Washington, D.C. With no one in Newark having the status of a Stokely Carmichael, it was decided to first organize quietly by getting the militants together and then reaching out to bring in the more moderate elements. The United Brothers program is one of black control in Newark (Self-determination, self-government and self-defense). Their first emphasis was to raise the consciousness of blacks to the point of wanting to take power and control their own destiny. Within the United Brothers ~~are~~ there is a cross-section of Newark's black leadership. Only the outright Toms are excluded. By utilizing their individual organizational bases along with their collective power the UBN has pushed the concept of black control and black unity. The Brothers have had special <sup>cultural</sup> programs within local high schools that have been well received before capacity audiences. In the last two months two of the black power movement's most eloquent leaders March Ron Karenga (~~April~~) and Stokely Carmichael (April) have spoken to crowds



# WCBS NEWSRADIO 88

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Transcript of --

NEWARK: AN INTERVIEW WITH LEROI JONES, ANTHONY  
IMPERIALE AND CAPTAIN CHARLES KINNEY

BROADCAST TIME: 7:40 PM, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1968

REPORTERS: STEVE FLANDERS  
JACK CAVANAUGH



LE ROI JONES: Recently, in the recent developments -- sort of situation in Newark -- the unrest caused by Dr. King's death, we found that a lot of the -- the turmoil and a lot of the, in general, the kind of riotous situation, has been caused by instigators, people who really have no interest in the community except to cause riotous conditions.

We, the Black Nationals in Newark, believe that we can gain power in Newark through political means, and there are white-led, so called radical groups, leftist groups, that are exploiting the people's desire for power -- the black people's legitimate desire for power, exploiting it and actually using black people as a kind of shock troops to further their own designs. And this has come to our attention and we are trying to get a better fix on it -- clarify it.

STEPHEN FLANDERS: I think I'll turn now to Capt. Charles Kinney of the Detective Division of the Newark Police Department, who, I think, can throw some more light on this situation.

Captain.

CAPT. CHARLES KINNEY: Well, yes. I'd like to make clear that I am here representing Director Dominic H. Spina of the Newark Police Department who is -- has been quite instrumental in getting these two groups together, Tony Imperiale and his North Ward Citizens Group, and Le Roi Jones and his



group.

We're concerned. The director is hobbled, if you may say the word, with the -- the fact that he is responsible for the public safety. So anything he can do to create a dialogue between these two opposing groups, he intends to do.

I find myself in agreement with Le Roi Jones, and it's a happy thing to find myself in such agreement. To the extent that there are groups in our city, there are groups in our city who are desirous of having a riot, who are desirous of changing not only the form of government in the City of Newark, but are desirous of changing the form of government in the United States of America. Any strife that they can cause, any trouble that they can make between the black and white community is a means to their end.

FLANDERS: Captain, do you have any identities that can be made known at this time?

KINNEY: Well, yes. I have prepared a full report and I am accusing the new left, and in particular the Students for a Democratic Society in the City of Newark. They operate as the Newark Community Union Project, and this group has come to our city and they've been active in our city some four years, and they have been very, very active in fomenting the trouble that we have in the City of Newark, using black men and using white men to take care of their own particular needs.



JACK CAVANAUGH: Captain, do you have substantial evidence to back up this charge?

KINNEY: Yes, I do.

FLANDERS: Well, for example, who is leading the Students for a Democratic Society in Newark?

KINNEY: In Newark, the leader is a man named Thomas Haden. Haden is a graduate of the University of Michigan where he was editor of a Michigan daily newspaper. He came to Newark in 1964 with -- and set up this Newark Community Union Project. He brought some people with him and who have been with him for the entire four years that they've been in operation. Other students, young people, come into the city, especially during the summer months, and where they operate for a few months and then go.

They--- They have taken the opportunity to come into our city to the extent where now they have actually got into control of two of the eight area wards of the United Community Corporation, which is operated by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Now, the United Community Corporation is a fine organization. I want to go on record as saying that. And there are many, many dedicated people in the United Community Corporation, and the United Community Corporation has a potential for great good in the City of Newark. But these people are ex-



exploiting them. These people are controlling two area wards and they are creating problems in our city which culminated in a riot in July 1967, and are trying to cause another one in April 1968.

CAVANAUGH: Did these people actually foment and instigate last year's riot in Newark?

KINNEY: They were very, very instrumental in so doing.

FLANDERS: Mr. Le Roi Jones, when you spoke a few moments ago about these white-led groups, were you aware at that time, or has this just come to your notice now that Mr. Tom Haden<sup>Y</sup> was perhaps behind this?

JONES: Well, I don't know. You know, I don't know the extent of any of their workings because to me they all seem to be interested in the same ends, and whether it's Tom Haden<sup>Y</sup>--- I don't know Tom Haden, you know. But they seem to be interested in the same ends. That's manipulation of black people for reasons of their own.

I think many times this -- the whole idea of these movements which might seem beneficial to black people, seem like they're trying to bring about better understanding between the races, actually, they try to manipulate black people and gain power for themselves.

FLANDERS: Mr. Tony Imperiale, do you feel this is a dangerous situation? ~~Yes~~ I saw you nodding your head when Capt.



Kinney mentioned Tom Haden<sup>y</sup>, and he mentioned this group. What is your viewpoint on this?

TONY IMPERIALE: Well, first of all, from the time that our organization had formed, we immediately, our own people, began investigating as to what we could do to find out what caused some of the riots here in the City of Newark. It seemed at that time that everybody was sweeping the dirt under the rugs, blaming everybody but where it was supposed to go. And we believe that the Communists and the Trotskyite persons who have no interest in the City of Newark, except to cause a distraction on behalf of possibly Moscow or Peking, came in here and helped out on these riots.

Now, we were interested in Thomas Haden<sup>y</sup> also because we had picked up a certain information as to his activities.

CAVANAUGH: Mr. Imperiale, you and Mr. Jones are considered to be at sort of opposite ends of the racial spectrum. Why did you agree to sit down and talk things over with him?

IMPERIALE: Well, first of all, I'll agree to sit down with any American if it's going to mean peace in the City of Newark and prevent bloodshed. But the police director called us in. He wanted to talk to us. And after a good first hour of hostility there in clearing the air, we got to find out that we're just all Americans concerned for our people and for our



lives, and through information that the director was able to give us as to how we can go about in ascertaining a better and safer Newark, we began to form a better dialogue between us, and we were in constant communications to try to see what we could each do for our people and for the City of Newark.

CAVANAUGH: What has this all resulted in so far?

IMPERIALE: Well, it resulted in some pretty good results. This last little incident here in the City of Newark with Jones' people and my people, we were able to get on the streets and stop quite a bit of fuss that was going on. In my particular ward we kept our people at home, got them off the street, prevented the kids from distracting the police with firecrackers and stuff like that.

FLANDERS: Captain---

IMPERIALE: And this helped.

FLANDERS: Captain Kinney, some of these charges obviously are very serious. We are now having our first public airing of them. Is there any legal action pending?

KINNEY: Well, I have submitted a complete report to my superiors with recommendations that my findings go before a county grand jury and/or a federal grand jury.

Many of these people have refused to speak with the members of the Newark Police Department and myself on advice of counsel. So, therefore, we have been handicapped in getting the



first-hand information right directly from them in many cases.

I would like to point out to you that when we say Tom Haden and NCUP, we're not just talking of white people. There are black people at NCUP also. And I might point out that just two months after the riots in the City of Newark, the riots in July of 1967, in September of 1967, Mr. Haden traveled with both white and black people from Newark to Bratislava, Czechoslovakia for a meeting behind the Iron Curtain where they received certain instructions that we know. From there, you may recall, Mr. Haden didn't come home with the other people that he left with, but he went to Cambodia and brought back three United States Army sergeants who were prisoners of war from the North Vietnamese.

FLANDERS: Mr. Le Roi Jones, what do you think the impact on the black community will be -- the effect of these revelations that---

JONES: Well, I don't know. I'm wondering at this point myself what they'll be. You know. We know that there have been a lot of professionals working in the communities -- a lot of white people working in our communities to do things that were not beneficial to black people. We also know there were some black people being duped. There were also some white people being duped by these people.

I think the point for us, for black people, is to



get all of the -- the kind of impurities out of the game and let us handle the situation ourselves. It's about self-government and power for black people to govern their lives, and that's what we're talking about. Anything else is a distraction. Anything else is not our goal.

FLANDERS: Do you feel that a conspiracy exists? You know we've had these reports that have come out saying that there aren't any.

JONES: Well, I say this. The only thing that black people should do is something that they meet together and decide to do themselves. We know in Newark at this point that it is not beneficial to us to go up against policemen with guns and the possibility of tanks with just, you know, stones and rocks and things like that. We also know that political power can change hands in Newark without a shot being fired. We understand that. But as we said, there are people who are not interested in the transfer of power to black people, but are still interested in attaining power for their own motives, which have nothing, finally, to do with the, you know, benefit of black people.

FLANDERS: Well, Mr. Jones, has your cooperation in the last few days, or even the last few weeks, which seemed like a marked change from at least your publicly stated position been brought about by these revelations?

JONES: Well, not totally, not totally. I think in



Newark we're faced with a very unique situation. You know, we're actually kind of maybe an example -- will be an example for many cities in this country.

I don't think it's any secret that a great many of the cities in the United States, the inner cities, are black, and I think that these people will also want to control their own environment, want to gain power -- power to control their lives. And I think what we are trying to demonstrate is how it can be done, you see, and not to get involved ~~in~~ in suicidal fantasies involving the extermination of the police when that is finally not the issue.

CAVANAUGH: Well, Mr. Jones, this disclosure about this alleged conspiracy, will this mean that you and Mr. Imperiale are going to work hand-in-hand from here on in in an effort to keep the peace in Newark?

JONES: Well, I don't know about hand-in-hand. Certainly, we will be talking to each other, you know, about situations that seem to threaten us, I would suppose -- threaten either one of us. I mean there's probably as many rumors about Imperiale in the black community as there are rumors about me in the white community, you know, and I don't think those rumors do either of us any good.

FLANDERS: Mr. Jones, there is one question I think we have to raise to bring this into context. You have been con-



victed of an incident, crime, last summer, and being under sentence now, there are those who would question your motivation in cooperating or coming out publicly in this fashion. Is this--- Is there anything to this? Is there any substance to this?

JONES: You mean was I promised something for doing it?

FLANDERS: Precisely.

JONES: Well, I told you before that they promised to make me a Secretary of State and so when you see that happen, you know that that's what it was.

FLANDERS: How about that, Captain Kinney?

KINNEY: I think Le Roi put it very succinctly. There certainly have been no promises on any law enforcement agency's part. Le Roi has been found guilty. His trial is subject to an appeal. He is getting all the rights of every American citizen, but there's certainly been no promises made to him in any -- in any fashion whatsoever.

CAVANAUGH: Captain, how about these alleged conspirators again? You say they are leftists.

KINNEY: Some of this information that is coming and that is being used is coming right from Peiping, as a matter of fact, and it's coming from China by way of Canada, as a matter of fact, and this -- this information is being used by these people and we're getting -- we were the targets for today.



FLANDERS: Mr. Le Roi Jones, why do you think Newark was chosen as the target by these groups?

JONES: Well, I don't know. Newark is a bad place, you know, in the black community. The black community, you know, its just a bad place. It's a bad ghetto and there was a -- I think a leadership vacuum caused by, you know, establishment Negroes, Toms, on one hand and a kind of despair -- kind of a sloth and despair on another hand, and this is the kind of vacuum that these kind of fantasy revolutionaries like to slide into and utilize for their own ends. It's romantic for them and they feel that they're doing something.

FLANDERS: Mr. Imperiale, as the spokesman for the North Ward Citizens Committee, were these disclosures that Captain Kinney has touched on and Mr. Jones probably the most important factor in changing your thinking?

IMPERIALE: Yes, the similarities after we got down to the center of this dialogue through a strange way came about, the similarities of the knowledge on both sides, was so close that -- I guess like you say, like fools we just sat there looking at each other with amazement and it was there that we set up this dialogue and we -- it was there that we made this arrangement that -- to keep a contact between each other so this way we can dispell rumors which have been coming about between like Jones and I, like last night. I was supposed to



have shot up a motorcycle squad, and he was supposed to have been blowin' up a buildin' and I was going to get blamed for it.

Jobs like that. But this is why since then we have found that we had something in common; that the information we received, we felt it best that we have a line of communication.

Like Le Roi says, it doesn't mean that we're going to be working hand-in-hand, but it's a start.

JONES: What I think that we're both saying is that these things have been exploited, these natural frustrations. These natural reactions have been exploited by people who, finally, we are not seeking to benefit black people or giving black people things that they want, but to get the things that, say, these other people want.

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