

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1015 19TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Alvin A. Spivak
Director of Information
382-8521

RELEASE: Sunday AMs, Oct. 1, 1967

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is conducting a broad program of staff studies to assist in the determination of why riots occur and how they can be controlled and prevented, David Ginsburg, Executive Director, announced today.

These studies are proceeding in conjunction with -- and expanding upon -- closed hearings the Commission has been holding in Washington under the chairmanship of Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois.

The Commission will resume its hearings on October 5, 6 and 7. Witnesses and topics will be announced Tuesday.

Prior testimony has dealt with grievances and tensions in ghetto areas which lead to disturbances; procedures to maintain law and order; relations between police and the community; the Newark and Detroit riots; and historical, economic and social problems affecting American Negroes.

A list of the Commission's hearings and witnesses, to date, is attached.

In addition, members of the Commission -- individually or in small groups -- have visited eight cities which have been the scenes of civil disorders in this or past years. Those visited thus far are Newark, Detroit, New York, Tampa, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Cambridge.

These have been orientation visits in which the Commissioners have talked with ghetto residents, storekeepers, "militant" Negro spokesmen, local officials, and others. Further such trips are contemplated in the future.

(MORE)

The staff program, planned under the direction of Mr. Ginsburg and Victor H. Palmieri, Deputy Executive Director, includes a number of in-depth studies ranging from academic research in universities to interviews with ghetto residents in their own neighborhoods.

A key phase of these studies is a city-by-city survey, now under way, by staff teams in a number of municipalities which experienced disorders in 1967.

Teams already have visited Plainfield, N. J.; Cambridge, Md.; Dayton, Ohio; Cincinnati, Ohio, and New Haven, Conn. More than a score of other cities will be visited in weeks to come.

The teams, usually composed of six staff members, conduct on-the-scene interviews among three groups: local officials; residents and other observers in the areas where disorders occurred; representatives of private, civic or other organizations.

From these interviews, plus other research and analysis, profiles will be compiled on a wide sampling of cities where disorders took place. These profiles will set forth the background, chronology and aftermath of each disorder, followed by its analysis.

The field operations are under the supervision of Charles Nelson, a former Agency for International Development official. Coordination of the field activities and the profile compilations with research and analysis programs is being directed by Stephen Kurzman, Deputy Director for Operations.

Analyses of the city profiles are being conducted under supervision of Dr. Robert Shellow, Assistant Deputy Director for Research. Dr. Shellow, a social psychologist, is on loan to the Commission from the staff of the National Institutes of Mental Health where he was chief of the NIMH Special Projects Section, specializing in collective behavior and police-community relations training.

Further staff studies, aimed at development of short term and long term action recommendations, are being headed by

(MORE)

Associate Directors Richard P. Nathan and Myron J. Lefcowitz. Dr. Nathan comes to the Commission staff from the Brookings Institution. Dr. Lefcowitz, Assistant Director of the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin, was formerly associated with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As a consultant on police-community relations, the Commission has obtained the services of James Q. Wilson, Professor of Government at Harvard University, Lecturer at the Harvard-M.I.T. Center for Urban Studies, Cambridge, Mass., and a leading authority on the role of the police in the community.

As Associate Director for Public Safety, the Commission has obtained Arnold Sagalyn, on loan from his recent assignment as Advisor on Public Safety of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. Sagalyn went to HUD from his permanent assignment as the United States Treasury Department's principal advisor for coordination of criminal investigative activities and training of investigative personnel of the Bureau of Narcotics, Bureau of Customs, U. S. Secret Service, Internal Revenue Service and the U. S. Coast Guard.

Sagalyn was Senior Vice President of the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL) from 1962 to 1965, and was United States representative to that organization from 1961 to 1967.

Robert Conot, of Los Angeles, author of Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness, a study of the Watts riot, also has been obtained as a consultant.

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THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

MEETINGS AND WITNESSES

TUESDAY, AUG. 1, 1967:

J. Lee Rankin, former General Counsel, Warren Commission. (Procedural Matters)

Warren M. Christopher, Deputy Attorney General, Vice Chairman of the California Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Herbert J. Miller, former Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice; Chairman, President's Commission on Crime for the District of Columbia. (Procedural Matters)

Fred Vinson, Jr., Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Criminal Division.

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Brig. Gen. Harris W. Hollis, Director of Operations, Office of Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations, U.S. Army.

Maj. Gen. Winston P. Wilson, Chief, National Guard Bureau.

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WEDNESDAY, AUG. 2, 1967:

Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor.

Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

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WEDNESDAY, AUG. 9, 1967:

Paul Ylvisacker, head of the New Jersey Department of Community Relations, and other witnesses on the Newark and Plainfield riots.

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Cyrus Vance, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, on National Guard matters.

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TUESDAY, AUG. 15, 1967:

Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh and others from Detroit.

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TUESDAY, AUG. 22, 1967:

John A. McCone, Chairman of the Governor's Commission which investigated the 1965 Watts riot in California.

Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio and others from Newark.

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TUESDAY, SEPT. 12, 1967:

Gov. George Romney of Michigan, accompanied by Maj. Gen. Clarence C. Schnipke, Director of the Michigan State Department of Military Affairs; Maj. Gen. Cecil Simmons, Commander of the 46th Infantry Division, Michigan National Guard; Col. Frederick A. Davids, Director of the Michigan State Police; Robert Danhof, the Governor's Legal Advisor, and Charles Orlebeke, Administrative Assistant to the Governor.

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Lerone Bennett, Jr., historian, author, and Senior Editor of Ebony Magazine; Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Professor of History at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md., and author of several books on Negro history.

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 13, 1967:

Dr. Vivian Henderson, economist and educator, President of Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.

Rev. Leon Sullivan, Chairman of the Board, Opportunities Industrialization Center, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa., and organizer of employment and self-help programs for minority groups.

Dr. Kenneth Clark, psychologist and social scientist, President of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., New York, N. Y.

Kenneth E. Marshall, Vice President for Community Affairs, Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., New York, N. Y.

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 20, 1967:

Howard R. Leary, Police Commissioner, New York, N. Y.

E. Wilson Purdy, Director of Public Safety, Dade County, Florida; former Commissioner, Pennsylvania State Police, and former Chief of Police, St. Petersburg, Fla.

William M. Lombard, Chief of Police, Rochester, N. Y.

Byron Engle, Director, Office of Public Safety, Agency for International Development.

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Brig. Gen. Roderic L. Hill, former California State Adjutant General.

Maj. Gen. George M. Gelston, State Adjutant General, Maryland.

Brig. Gen. Harris Hollis, Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Army.

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THURSDAY, SEPT. 21, 1967:

J. Stanley Sanders, a Yale Law School student, Director of summer projects at Westminster Neighborhood Association, Watts.

Ernie W. Chambers, a grassroots Negro community leader, Omaha, Nebraska.

Piri Thomas, author from Spanish Harlem area of New York City.

Rev. James E. Groppi, Milwaukee.

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Roger Wilkins, Director of Community Relations Service, Department of Justice.

Prof. Albert Reiss, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, and former consultant to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

William H. T. Smith, Director, Inspection Division, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; former Police Chief, Syracuse, New York, and former Captain of Police, New York, N. Y.

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FRIDAY, SEPT. 22, 1967:

Patrick V. Murphy, Assistant Director of Law Enforcement, Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice (former chief of Police, Syracuse, N. Y.)

Mrs. Charlotte Meacham, National Representative for the Police-Community-Corrections Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

Quinn Tamm, Executive Director, International Association of Chiefs of Police

James Q. Wilson, Professor of Government, Harvard University, and lecturer at the Harvard-MIT Center for Urban Studies.

TRIPS BY COMMISSIONERS:

Wednesday, Aug. 16:

NEWARK -- Mayor John V. Lindsay, Vice Chairman
DETROIT -- Gov. Otto Kerner, Chairman;
Hon. Katherine G. Peden; Charles B.
Thornton
NEW YORK -- I. W. Abel; Roy Wilkins

Monday, Aug. 21:

DETROIT -- Rep. James C. Corman; Rep. William M.
McCulloch; Chief Herbert Jenkins

Wednesday, Aug. 23:

NEWARK -- Mr. Abel; Mr. Jenkins; Miss Peden;
Mr. Wilkins; Mr. Thornton

Friday, Aug. 25:

NEW YORK -- Sen. Edward W. Brooke

Saturday, Aug. 26:

TAMPA -- Rep. McCulloch; Rep. Corman

Monday, Aug. 28:

LOS ANGELES -- Rep. McCulloch; Rep. Corman;
Mr. Wilkins; Mr. Thornton

Tuesday, Aug. 29:

MILWAUKEE -- Mr. Jenkins; Sen. Fred R. Harris;
Mr. Wilkins; Miss Peden

Wednesday, Aug. 30:

CINCINNATI -- Mayor Lindsay; Sen. Harris
CAMBRIDGE -- Mr. Abel; Miss Peden

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

October 3, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

For your information.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

OCTOBER 2, 1967

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Secretary of Defense
The Secretary of Commerce
The Secretary of Labor
The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
The Administrator of General Services Administration
The Director of Office of Economic Opportunity
The Administrator of Small Business Administration

We are launching today a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for thousands of America's hard-core unemployed.

The heart of this new effort is to reach the forgotten, and the neglected -- those citizens handicapped by poor health, hampered by inadequate education, hindered by years of discrimination, and by-passed by conventional training programs.

To succeed in this venture will take more than promises or good intentions. It will require -- on an unprecedented scale -- the concerted action and involvement of the private sector, working closely with the Federal Government.

As we embark on this new course, let us be clear about what is involved: our purpose is not to hand out but to help up, to help provide every American the opportunity for a good job at a good wage.

Our goal is to replace the waste and failure of unemployment with the productivity of meaningful work.

We call upon private industry to join us in tackling one of America's most urgent domestic problems. I have no doubt that the private sector will respond. For we have witnessed in the past few months a remarkable series of events which attests to the dedication of American business in meeting the needs of the society in which it flourishes:

MORE

- On September 12, 1967, the insurance companies in this country agreed to commit \$1 billion of their funds for investments in city core areas to improve housing conditions and to finance job creating enterprises. Some of these resources are already financing promising housing projects and insurance company executives and officials of this Administration are working together to develop other projects.
- A project has been launched to use surplus Federal lands to meet the housing needs of our cities in which the efforts of private developers will be the most important single element.
- A Committee, headed by Edgar F. Kaiser and composed of distinguished industrialists, bankers, labor leaders and specialists in urban affairs is examining every possible means of encouraging the development of a large-scale efficient construction and rehabilitation industry to reclaim the corroded core of the American city.
- Upon the recommendation of the Kaiser Committee we have begun the "Turnkey Plus" project to encourage private industry not only to develop and build, but also to manage public housing.

In this effort, we will again attempt to bring the great resources of the private sector to bear on a critical national problem. Through the great talents and energies of private industry, with full support from the Federal Government, we hope to:

- Bring new job training opportunities in existing plants to the hard core unemployed.
- Create new jobs and new training opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged in plants which will be established in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.
- Encourage new enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to provide jobs and job training opportunities for the disadvantaged.

To initiate this effort, the resources of the Departments of Commerce, Defense, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration will be combined to provide maximum assistance and to minimize the added cost of those in private industry willing to assume responsibility for providing training and work opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged.

Initially, nearly \$40 million from a wide variety of existing programs will be made available, as will millions of dollars worth of surplus Federal property and excess Federal equipment.

We will offer to private industry:

- A full spectrum of aid to assist them in recruiting, counselling, training, and providing health and other needed services to the disadvantaged.

- Aid which will enable them to experiment with new ways to overcome the transportation barriers now separating men and women from jobs.
- Surplus Federal land, technical assistance and funds to facilitate the construction of new plants in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.
- Excess Federal equipment to enable them to train more disadvantaged people.
- Assistance to joint enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to bring jobs and training opportunities to the disadvantaged.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor to direct this test program and insure that all available Federal resources are utilized. The Secretary of Commerce will designate a full-time Special Representative as the single point of contact for private employers participating in this project. The Special Representative will provide employers with one-stop service for the entire Federal Government and will make whatever arrangements are appropriate with the various Federal agencies for all forms of Federal assistance.

The Secretary of Labor will designate a full-time officer in the Manpower Administration to work with the Special Representative of the Secretary of Commerce in connection with the training and employment elements of these projects.

I have also asked the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Administrators of the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration to assist the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor in this test program and to assign a single official in their agencies who will coordinate their efforts in support of this program.

Provision will be made for continuing liaison with local projects and for careful research and evaluation to crystallize field experience into guidelines for future action.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce to invite corporations throughout the country to join this new effort to bring meaningful employment to disadvantaged citizens both in existing plants and, where feasible, in new locations near areas of concentrated unemployment.

I have directed each Department and Agency of this Government to give top priority to all phases of this important effort.

/s/

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

OFFICE OF INFORMATION
382-8521

Oct. 3, 1967

F O R I M M E D I A T E R E L E A S E

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders will hear testimony on Thursday, Oct. 5, from the Mayors of Milwaukee, St. Louis, Jersey City and Baltimore.

This will begin three days of closed meetings in Washington. There will be testimony Friday, Oct. 6, on social welfare and on community involvement in social welfare programs. Testimony Saturday, Oct. 7, will deal with ghetto manpower and job training programs, the employment service and the ghetto, and methods to reach the hard-core unemployed.

The meetings Thursday and Friday will be at the Executive Office Building, Saturday at the Statler Hilton Hotel.

The mayors who accepted the Commission's invitation to appear Thursday are Henry W. Maier of Milwaukee, Wis., 10:00 a.m.; Alfonso J. Cervantes of St. Louis, Mo., 11:30 a.m.; Thomas J. Whelan of Jersey City, N.J., 2:00 p.m.; and Theodore R. McKeldin of Baltimore, Md., 4:00 p.m.

Other meetings and witnesses:

Friday, Oct. 6

9:30 a.m. Social Welfare

Dr. Herbert J. Gans
Center for Urban Education
New York, N. Y.

Rev. H. Carl McCall
Chairman, New York City
Council Against Poverty
New York, N. Y.

(MORE)

William L. Taylor, Staff Director
M. Carl Holman, Deputy Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

2:00 p.m. Community Involvement in Social Welfare Programs

Richard W. Boone & Others
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
Washington, D. C.

Theodore M. Berry
Director
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Don I. Wortman
Associate Director for Program Operations
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Donald K. Hess
Associate Director for Program Planning
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Saturday, Oct. 7

9:30 a.m. Ghetto Manpower and Job Training Programs

Stanley H. Ruttenberg
Assistant Secretary and Manpower
Administrator
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Eli Ginzburg
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

Dr. Garth L. Mangrum
Research Professor of Economics
George Washington University
Washington, D. C.

(MORE)

H. C. McClellan
Chamber of Commerce Building
Los Angeles, Calif.

2:00 p.m. The Employment Service and the Ghetto

Alfred L. Green
Executive Director
New York State Employment Service
Albany, N. Y.

Truman Jacques
California State Service Center
Los Angeles, Calif.

Charles E. Odell
Director
U. S. Employment Service
Washington, D. C.

Frank H. Cassell
Assistant to the Vice President
for Administration
Inland Steel Company
Chicago, Ill.

How to Reach the Hard-Core Unemployed

Dr. Paul Bullock
Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California
Los Angeles, Calif.

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Dr. Paul Bullock, Associate Research Economist, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles; author of more than a dozen books and articles on Employment of Disadvantaged Negroes and Mexican-Americans.	2409
<u>THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1967:</u>	
Richard G. Coleman, Director of the Better Housing League of Greater Cincinnati, Incorporated.	2457
Dewey C. Fuller, Director of the Economic Development and Employment, Urban League of Greater Cincinnati, Ohio.	2485
Bailey Turner, Treasurer of the United Community Black Organizations of Cincinnati, Ohio.	2511
John E. Hansan, Director of the Community Action Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio.	2551
Honorable W. H. Bachrach, Mayor, Cincinnati, Ohio.	2567
R. J. Campbell, Assistant to the City Manager, City of Cincinnati, Ohio.	2570
<u>MONDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1967:</u>	
Dr. Kenneth Wright, Vice President and Chief Economist of the Life Insurance Association of America	2670
Dr. Kenneth McFarland, Educator and Superintendent of Schools, Topeka, Kansas	2701
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.	2773
<u>TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1967:</u>	
Mr. Alexander Summer, Former President of the National Association for Real Estate Boards, Accompanied by: Edwin Stoll, Director of Public Relations	2899
Mr. Arthur R. Lumsden, Executive Vice President, Hartford, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce.	2935
Mr. John R. Bunting, Jr., Executive Vice President First Pennsylvania Banking and Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Accompanied by: A. G. Felix	2957

NEGRO EMPLOYMENT, 1963-66

Arthur M. Ross
Commissioner of Labor Statistics
U.S. Department of Labor

The Civil Rights Act, including Title VII on equal employment opportunity, became law early in 1964.

The statistical record of Negro employment between 1963 and 1966 indicates that considerable progress has been made, but by no means sufficiently large or sufficiently rapid.

Employment of Negro workers* rose from a monthly average of 7,234,000 in 1963 to 7,968,000 in 1966, an increase of 10.1 percent. The corresponding increase for white workers was from 61,575,000 to 66,097,000, or 7.3 percent. The relative increase of Negroes in the labor force was also slightly greater.

The unemployment rate for Negroes fell by one-third, from 10.8 percent to 7.3 percent (monthly averages). The relative decline in the white unemployment rate was identical, from 5.0 to 3.3 percent. If the goal of equal employment opportunity means that the gap should be reduced and eventually closed, progress was not made in this respect between 1963 and 1966.

* * * * *

But obviously all jobs are not equal. Clearly the objective of the equal opportunity principle is that Negroes should have an

* Technically, the statistics are for "nonwhite" workers, including a few other than Negro. For practical purposes they may be regarded as describing the situation among Negroes.

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opportunity to move into the better jobs--those with better pay, better chances for advancement, more security, and more dignity. Traditionally the majority of Negroes have been concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder--in household work, other service occupations, agricultural labor, and unskilled labor in the cities.

The period from 1963 to 1966 saw significant employment gains for Negroes in some white-collar and skilled-labor fields, in relation to the low level of Negro employment at the beginning of the period. The great majority of Negroes remain in unskilled, semi-skilled, and service occupations, however.

Table 1 shows the number of Negroes in each occupational group, and the extent of change, between 1963 and 1966. The net increase of 734,000 jobs over this period included gains of 116,000 in professional and technical occupations, 228,000 in sales positions, 130,000 in skilled-labor jobs ("craftsmen and foremen"), 310,000 in semiskilled jobs ("operatives"), and 124,000 in service activities, combined with a loss of 217,000 in agriculture. Within the service category, there was a significant decline of 94,000 household workers, indicating a reluctance on the part of better-educated Negro women to accept domestic service jobs and the availability of more desirable openings.

Occupations with the largest percentage increases included those in the medical field (48.6 percent), salaried officials (29.3 percent), clerical workers (43.6 percent), craftsmen and foremen generally (27.7 percent), and operatives in manufacturing (36.3 percent in durable goods and 31.9 percent in nondurable goods).

Among the desirable occupations with low rates of increase were the teachers (9.6 percent), independent proprietors (a decline), carpenters (4.3 percent), and construction laborers (no change).

* * * * *

Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of Negro workers among the principal occupations from 1963 through 1966. At the end of the period, 20.8 percent were in professional, clerical and other white-collar jobs, and 7.5 percent in skilled-labor jobs. Another 22.4 percent were semiskilled factory operatives and drivers. The remainder, approximately 50 percent, were in household work, other service occupations, urban laboring jobs, and agriculture.

That the upgrading of a disadvantaged labor force is a painfully slow progress is evident. Table 2 does show progress in some fields, however. The proportion of Negroes working in the health field rose from 1.0 to 1.4 percent; those in clerical occupations from 7.2 to 9.4 percent; those in the skilled-labor categories from 6.5 to 7.5 percent; and those in semiskilled factory work from 15.8 to 17.9 percent.

The exodus from domestic service, which declined from 14.3 to 11.8 percent, is a plus factor so far as the overall quality of employment opportunity is concerned. The same can be said of the lower percentage of Negroes in farm labor, which dropped from 7.4 to 4.5 percent.

The proportion of the Negro work force in certain sought-after types of employment did not increase to any noticeable extent, however. These include teaching and selling most notably.

* * * * *

Table 3 shows the relative share of the jobs in each occupation held by Negroes. Since Negroes held 10.8 percent of all jobs in 1966, they were "under-represented" in the occupations with smaller percentages (all the white-collar and skilled-labor categories), and "over-represented" in those with larger percentages (all the semi-skilled, unskilled, and service activities except for protective service workers, as well as farm laborers).

It cannot be expected that Negroes or any other population group would ever have strictly proportional representation in all occupations. But if the principle of equal opportunity is translated into results, the Negroes will gradually obtain a more equal share of the better jobs in general.

There is a clear-cut tendency, in the long run, toward upgrading of the labor force as a whole. This means that if Negroes are to obtain a more proportionate share of the better jobs, then they will have to upgrade more rapidly than the whites.

Table 3 is thus a more exacting test of equal opportunity than Table 2, just as Table 2 is more exacting than Table 1. The difference can be illustrated by the case of teachers. The number of Negro teachers rose from 177,000 in 1963 to 194,000 in 1966 (Table 1). So far, so good. But the proportion of Negro workers holding teaching jobs remained level at 2.4 percent (Table 2); and the proportion of teaching jobs held by Negroes declined from 9.7 to 9.6 percent (Table 3).

Among the more important improvements in the share of jobs held by Negroes between 1963 and 1966 were--

Medical workers	5.5 to 7.3 percent
Clerical workers	5.1 to 6.3 percent
Craftsmen and foremen	5.3 to 6.3 percent
Operatives	11.8 to 12.9 percent

Despite these improvements, it is evident that at the recent rate of progress, many years would elapse before the Negroes attained "proportional representation" in the more attractive occupations.

Table 1
 Nonwhite Workers By Occupation, 1963-66
 (In thousands)

Occupation	1963	1964	1965	1966	Change 1963-66	Percent change 1963-66
Total	7,234	7,480	7,747	7,968	734	10.1
<u>White-collar workers</u>	1,283	1,399	1,508	1,659	376	29.3
Professional and technical	435	499	525	551	116	26.7
Medical and other health	74	88	93	110	36	48.6
Teachers, except college	177	187	193	194	17	9.6
Other professional and technical	184	224	239	247	63	34.2
Managers, officials, and proprietors	192	193	204	208	16	8.3
Salaried workers	75	68	86	97	22	29.3
Self-employed workers in retail trade	61	68	63	55	- 6	- 9.8
Self-employed workers, except retail trade	56	57	55	56	-	-
Clerical workers	523	571	633	751	228	43.6
Stenographers, Typists, and Secretaries	95	110	112	135	40	42.1
Other clerical workers	428	461	521	616	188	43.9
Sales workers	133	136	146	149	16	12.0
Retail trade	87	94	108	106	19	21.8
Other sales workers	46	42	38	43	- 3	- 6.5
<u>Blue-collar workers</u>	2,877	3,020	3,156	3,320	443	15.4
Craftsmen and foremen	470	525	520	600	130	27.7
Carpenters	47	53	42	49	2	4.3
Construction craftsmen, except carpenters	128	146	140	162	34	26.6
Mechanics and repairmen	145	147	148	161	16	11.0
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics	40	46	53	72	32	80.0
Other craftsmen and kindred workers	81	102	101	102	21	25.9
Foremen, not elsewhere classified	29	31	35	54	25	86.2
Operatives	1,475	1,520	1,651	1,785	310	21.0
Drivers and deliverymen	330	340	334	361	31	9.4
Other operatives	1,145	1,180	1,317	1,424	279	24.4
Durable goods manufacturing	372	370	450	507	135	36.3
Nondurable goods manufacturing	332	353	381	438	106	31.9
Other industries	441	457	486	479	38	8.6
Nonfarm laborers	932	975	985	935	3	.3
Construction	205	235	224	205	-	-
Manufacturing	253	256	272	260	7	2.8
Other industries	474	484	490	470	- 4	- .9
<u>Service workers</u>	2,376	2,411	2,453	2,500	124	5.2
Private household workers	1,035	1,013	981	941	-94	- 9.1
Service workers, except private household	1,341	1,398	1,472	1,559	218	16.3
Protective service workers	44	49	36	45	1	2.3
Waiters, cooks, and bartenders	264	270	295	317	53	20.1
Other service workers	1,033	1,079	1,141	1,197	164	15.9
<u>Farm workers</u>	704	650	629	487	-217	-30.8
Farmers and farm managers	168	145	138	127	- 41	-24.4
Farm laborers and foremen	536	505	491	360	-176	-32.8
Paid workers	437	413	411	311	-126	-28.8
Unpaid family workers	99	92	80	49	- 50	-50.5

Source: U.S. Department of Labor
 Bureau of Labor Statistics

Table 2
Percent Distribution of Nonwhite Workers,
By Occupation, 1963-1966

Occupation	1963	1964	1965	1966
<u>TOTAL</u>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>White-collar workers</u>	17.7	18.7	19.5	20.8
Professional and technical	6.0	6.7	6.8	6.9
Medical and other health	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.4
Teachers, except college	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4
Other professional and technical	2.5	3.0	3.1	3.1
Managers, officials, and proprietors	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6
Salaried workers	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.2
Self-employed workers in retail trade ..	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7
Self-employed workers, except retail				
trade	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7
Clerical workers	7.2	7.6	8.2	9.4
Stenographers, Typists, and secretaries.	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.7
Other clerical workers	5.9	6.2	6.7	7.7
Sales workers	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9
Retail trade	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.3
Other sales workers	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5
<u>Blue-collar workers</u>	39.7	40.4	40.7	41.7
Craftsmen and foremen	6.5	7.0	6.7	7.5
Carpenters	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6
Construction craftsmen, except carpenters	1.7	2.0	1.8	2.0
Mechanics and repairmen	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.0
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9
Other craftsmen and kindred workers	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.3
Foremen, not elsewhere classified	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.7
Operatives	20.4	20.3	21.3	22.4
Drivers and deliverymen	4.6	4.5	4.3	4.5
Other operatives	15.8	15.8	17.0	17.9
Durable goods manufacturing	5.1	4.9	5.8	6.4
Nondurable goods manufacturing	4.6	4.7	4.9	5.5
Other industries	6.1	6.1	6.3	6.0
Nonfarm laborers	12.9	13.0	12.7	11.7
Construction	2.8	3.1	2.9	2.6
Manufacturing	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.3
Other industries	6.5	6.5	6.3	5.9
<u>Service workers</u>	32.8	32.2	31.7	31.4
Private household workers	14.3	13.5	12.7	11.8
Service workers, except private household.				
Protective service workers	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6
Waiters, cooks, and bartenders	3.6	3.6	3.8	4.0
Other service workers	14.3	14.4	14.7	15.0

Table 2
 Percent Distribution of Nonwhite Workers,
 By Occupation, 1963-1966 (Cont'd.)

Occupation	1963	1964	1965	1966
Farm workers	9.7	8.7	8.1	6.1
Farmers and farm managers	2.3	1.9	1.8	1.6
Farm laborers and foremen	7.4	6.8	6.3	4.5
Paid workers	6.0	5.5	5.3	3.9
Unpaid family workers	1.4	1.2	1.0	0.6

Source: U.S. Department of Labor
 Bureau of Labor Statistics

Table 3
 Nonwhite Workers As A Percent of Total Employment, By Occupation, 1963-66

Occupation	1963	1964	1965	1966
Total	10.5	10.6	10.7	10.8
White-collar workers	4.3	4.5	4.7	5.0
Professional and technical	5.3	5.8	5.9	5.9
Medical and other health	5.5	6.3	6.3	7.3
Teachers, except college	9.7	10.0	10.3	9.6
Other professional and technical	3.6	4.3	4.3	4.3
Managers, officials, and proprietors	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.8
Salaried workers	1.8	1.6	1.9	2.1
Self-employed workers in retail trade	4.2	4.6	4.5	4.4
Self-employed workers, except retail trade	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.8
Clerical workers	5.1	5.4	5.7	6.3
Stenographers, typists, and secretaries	3.6	4.1	3.9	4.4
Other clerical workers	5.6	5.8	6.3	7.0
Sales workers	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1
Retail trade	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.7
Other sales workers	2.6	2.3	2.1	2.3
Blue-collar workers	11.5	11.8	11.9	12.2
Craftsmen and foremen	5.3	5.8	5.6	6.3
Carpenters	5.8	6.5	4.9	5.7
Construction craftsmen, except carpenters	7.1	8.1	7.6	8.2
Mechanics and repairmen	6.6	6.6	6.3	6.7
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics	3.7	4.2	4.8	6.1
Other craftsmen and kindred workers	4.5	5.6	5.6	5.5
Foremen, not elsewhere classified	2.3	2.5	2.8	4.0
Operatives	11.8	11.8	12.3	12.9
Drivers and deliverymen	13.5	13.5	13.3	14.0
Other operatives	11.4	11.3	12.1	12.6
Durable goods manufacturing	9.6	9.3	10.5	10.9
Nondurable goods manufacturing	9.6	9.9	10.3	11.6
Other industries	16.1	15.9	16.8	16.7
Nonfarm laborers	26.2	26.9	25.6	25.3
Construction	28.1	29.9	27.8	28.3
Manufacturing	25.2	24.9	24.9	23.7
Other industries	26.1	26.7	25.0	25.2
Service workers	26.3	26.0	26.3	25.8
Private household workers	44.9	43.6	43.6	41.8
Service workers, except private household	19.9	20.2	20.8	21.0
Protective service workers	5.2	5.5	4.1	5.1
Waiters, cooks, and bartenders	14.1	14.1	15.1	15.8
Other service workers	25.7	26.1	26.8	26.3
Farm workers	15.3	14.6	14.7	12.6
Farmers and farm managers	7.0	6.3	6.1	6.1
Farm laborers and foremen	24.2	23.8	24.3	20.2
Paid workers	31.3	31.2	32.9	28.2
Unpaid family workers	12.0	11.5	10.4	7.2

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 5, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSION

Enclosed is a paper entitled "The Future of American Ghettos" prepared by Anthony Downs of the Real Estate Research Corporation and Systemetrics in Chicago.

Mr. Downs is consulting with us. The paper, however, was a personal expression of his views and will be published later this month.

D.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

encl.

October 5, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSION

Since police and community relations will be a central area in our Interim Report, you may wish to read the enclosed paper which was prepared by the School of Police Administration and Public Safety in Michigan State University.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

encl.

bcc: Mr. McCurdy w/encl.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

with respect to

Disorders in our Cities

particularly as to

Police and Community Relations

Prepared by

The National Center on Police and Community Relations
School of Police Administration and Public Safety
College of Social Science
Michigan State University

for

The Vice-President of the United States
August 7, 1967

The most severe and manifest problems in the police and community relationship are found in big-city ghettos. Before the causes and possible solutions of riots are discussed, it is necessary to focus attention on the following considerations:

1. A riot is an expressive form of communication. Although it may indicate a failure of certain programs and responsibilities of society as a whole, it is more important to view riotous behavior as the expression of needs, wants, and protests of the ghetto community. The people of the ghetto lack psychological and social resources to communicate their wants, needs, and grievances. The riot becomes the ultimate available means of communication, for there is a lack of knowledge among ghetto dwellers about how to fight exploitation by businessmen, landlords, government and a lack of knowledge of alternative means of protest against cumulative, crushing injustices.
2. The reasons for involvement in riots are not universal among all participants. Some participants are protesting against "the establishment", others against the failure of society to heed their plight, others against perceived extremely coercive law enforcement (whether or not factual in nature), others for reasons of self-esteem, and others for a variety of actual and perceived discriminatory practices. In this sense, a riot becomes an outlet for the frustrations encountered by the victims of ghetto living. It is more than frustration; it is despair - it is a throwing to the

winds of values relating to order, responsibility, etc.; it is an ultimate reaction to what Ralph Ellison characterized as "invisibility".

3. A riot allows those who are deprived to gain needed physical possessions. When the opportunity arises, the normal societal controls fail to act as a deterrent against the opportunity to obtain needed materials and goods. It should be noted that the percentage of the ghetto population actively involved in property destruction, fire bombing, and other life-threatening activities is small; much greater participation is found in non-life threatening activities such as looting. This behavior is rationalized on the grounds that revenge is, in equity, owing to the exploited; it is behavior connotating righteous hostility against "the establishment" - the "have-nots", mainly Negro, in rebellion against the "haves", mainly white - although middle and upper social class Negroes are regarded by those rebelling as "fair game" also. What is involved is strikingly more a matter of social class warfare than it is strictly racial.
4. The precipitating incident of almost all riots has been a police action of one type or another. The initial outbreak of violence is frequently directed against the police. This is not to say that such hostility is directed only at the police but it would seem that the police are the only immediately available targets of such hostility, mainly directed against the broader society - in short, what psycho-

ogists call "displaced hostility".

5. There is a lack of community identification of those who reside in slum areas. Jobs must be obtained outside their neighborhoods, businesses are owned by outsiders, the slum feeds upon itself, and is not productive to the rest of the city. There is nothing in the slums that produces a feeling of community pride. The destruction of selected portions of the community is of little concern to its residents.

The above factors can be found in almost all of the urban riots throughout the United States. In looking at these facts a wider variety of causes for riots have been set forth. A number of these appear to have a certain degree of validity, but none of them have been totally documented and scientifically established. Most of them, as a result of superficial analysis, lack in-depth documentation. A brief description of some of these theories follows:

Powerlessness

The result of the lack of psychological and social resources for communication coupled with the inability to handle exploitive practices occurring within the ghetto causes a sense of powerlessness. The power concept is useful in understanding behavior, if treated as a political and psychological variable. In this way, it refers to a person's ability to achieve his own welfare and a proper allocation of his resources. When we speak of "powerless" individuals, we are therefore identifying those who, through environmental, physical, or personal factors, are unable to achieve their own welfare and proper allocation of resources.

The segment of our society living in the cesspools of our cities are those least able to wield any power.

Several causes of this problem may be cited. One centers around the bureaucratic structure of our society. The problem is that the disadvantaged are often powerless to find their way within the complex structure of this bureaucracy. They lack the know-how and sometimes even the motivation of communicating their needs, and their complaints of mistreatment all too often fall on deaf ears; thus, the powerless individual is rendered even more so.

It follows that effective complaint procedures must be established to protect the welfare of all citizens. Dr. William Brown, former Inspector with the New York City Police Department now Professor of Public Administration at the State University of New York, aptly states:

"A bureaucracy in a democracy should be responsive to the needs of even the poorest and least vocal of those it serves. The organizations that comprise the bureaucracy benefit if the actions of their agents must comply with reasonable standards of respect for individuals. Therefore, not only conscience, but also good administration calls for the establishing of some mechanism that can assure any person who is aggrieved by official action a chance to be heard and to know that his complaint will be listened to with respect and the power to correct wrongful administrative actions or positions." (William P. Brown, "The Review Board Proposals Do Not Go Far Enough.")

Speech presented at the 71st National Conference on Government, New York, N.Y., November 17, 1965.)

Such mechanisms do not presently exist. The inability cope with bureaucracy is pervasive among the ghetto poor.

It is quite evident that the lower socio-economic class needs power to force its way into a predominant middle-class world. Unfortunately, this force has historically almost always had to be by violent means. Charles E. Silberman, in Crisis in Black and White, calls attention to the strategic importance, in both the political and the psychological sense, of the concept of power:

"In the last analysis, what Negroes need more than anything else is to be treated like men--to believe, in their hearts, that they are men, and that they can stand on their own two feet and control their own destinies. Asked what it is that Negroes want, spokesmen from Frederick Douglas to W.E.B. DuBois to James Baldwin have answered in almost identical terms: Negroes want to be treated like men."

Many social scientists have emphasized that power brings better jobs, housing and civil rights; this is the political component of power. Dr. Dan Dodson of New York University feels that power is also crucial for the psychological health of people. He has stated: "It is impossible for a member of a group which is powerless in the community to grow to maturity without some trauma to his perception of himself." (Lecture presented to the 13th annual National Institute on Police and Community Relations, Michigan State University, May 24, 1967.)

This demand for power, in psychological terms, is to help compensate for the devastation wrought on the Negro over several hundred years. To quote Silberman again:

"The apathy, the aimlessness, the lack of interest in education that characterizes the Negro lower classes, and the crisis of identity that affect Negroes of all classes, stem from their sense of dependency and powerlessness-- their conviction that "Mr. Charlie" controls everything."

Apathy and aimlessness--the normlessness that is the crucible of violent behavior--pervade our big-city slums.

Submerging of Culture and Values of Lower Socio-Economic Class

Several social scientists have identified the distinct culture and value system that exists in the ghetto. The social anthropologist, Oscar Lewis, has studied the "culture of poverty" in Mexico, Puerto Rico and New York. Walter B. Miller, a social psychologist, has identified the six focal concerns (or values) of the lower-class culture to be: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. The dominant society has little understanding of this distinct value system. There is a predominant feeling that those who live in the culture of poverty must be socialized to possess middle-class values. The truth is that not all the values of the lower-class are dysfunctional - they are needed for the ghetto dweller to survive in the type of culture in which he exists. Moreover, there is evidence that middle-class values are not the "sure bet" to a happy life. The pathology of our suburbs is seen in the emptiness reflecting a futile struggle to find substance and worth through the con-

cretes of things and possessions. This lack of understanding of the culture of poverty, the condescending moralizing of the middle class toward the lower-class, and the pressure for all to be governed by the "good" middle class values has resulted in rejection of middle-class society by those being pressured to change.

Breakdown of the Family

Most of the families of the slums can be categorized as unstable i.e., as having neither economic nor personal stability. The sociologist, S.M. Miller, tells us that, "The low-income class generally and the unstable in particular is a category of unskilled, irregular workers, broken and large families, and a residual bine of the aged, physically handicapped, and mentally disturbed."

The effects of the broken-fatherless family of the ghetto can be seen in the violence that has afflicted our cities. Daniel Moynihan tells us that in 1960, almost half of poor non-white families with children in our cities were headed by a woman. To grow up without a father jeopardizes a child's development of adequate self-esteem. Fatherless boys cannot acquire mature relationships with authority. Such boys become sexually confused, and masculinity is never firmly established. It is a melancholy reflection to point out that much of the violence exhibited by male youths in recent disorders was probably motivated in part by an urge to prove and reassure manliness. These statements are supported by the Los Angeles County Probation Department's study of juveniles arrested during the Watts riots in 1965. A

typical profile was: male Negro, age 17, born in California, doing poorly in school, product of a broken home, the mother present, the father not; there was some major problem in the family, and income was about \$300 a month.

Rehrer and Edmonson have described with great clarity how particularly difficult it is for boys brought up in families where the father is absent or weak, and the mother has become the dominating figure. Boys in such situations often invent a world of their own, the world of the gang, a group in which deeply insecure, self-hating young men try to rescue some sense of dignity and control in a very difficult environment. Their "solution" is crude, but it must be understood by those interested in getting to the root of what causes social behavior of the type observable in riots and disorders. Who am I? What is a man? Riot behavior is, in part, an attempt to overcome doubt that one is a man.

Education

The educational inequality existing between the ghetto and the rest of the community has been documented by educators and social scientists. Dr. Kenneth Clark points out that there is an ironic and tragic inversion of the purpose of education in the ghetto - that Negro children in ghetto schools tend to lose ground in I.Q. as they proceed through the schools and to fall further behind the standard for their grade level in academic performance. The schools are presently damaging the children they exist to help. The high school dropout rate, in the ghetto,

is one indication. Yet the fastest and most efficient way of achieving the ability to obtain necessary resources and social status in our society is through academic achievement. This is another contributing factor to the ghetto dwellers low self-esteem and feeling of powerlessness.

Unemployment and Subservient Employment

Of course, lack of academic achievement results in poor preparation; this means no jobs and poor jobs. Feelings of oppression and loss of self-esteem occur from the menial, low-income jobs held by most ghetto residents. The victims of the ghetto need not only more jobs, but quality jobs that give adequate salaries, give a sense of accomplishment, and give a sense of progress for the future. The ghetto resident has been left behind in the prosperity and social progress of the nation as a whole, and he readily perceives the discrepancy between his income and the average income of the citizens of the city in general. Of course, this condition feeds his disrespect for self and his low efficacy.

Aggressiveness as a Way of Life

Several social analysts have pointed out that aggression is a prime means in America to achieve ends. Children are socialized to be aggressive in school and sports, businessmen are aggressive in dealing with fellow businessmen and customers, aggressive and violent behavior is commonly depicted in the mass media, and so on. We are not a passivist nation; aggression is our way of life. Destructive behavior in our urban centers is a distorted

expression of this aggressive norm. It is an expression of power. Though it is dysfunctional to society, it is a functional means of achieving visibility for residents of the ghetto, in their value terms.

The Negro Revolution

It may be that the violent disorders in our cities are natural and predictable steps of a revolution. History has shown that the dynamics of a revolution work in favor of the extremist leaders. The French, Russian, and Algerian revolution began with moderate movements and ended with violence advocated by charismatic, extremist leaders. Concessions and the hope of better things to come in the future encourage these leaders to expound more militant and tougher demands. A government trying to correct a bad situation has a much harder time than one that relies on oppression of dissent. As William V. Shannon pointed out in the July 30, 1967 issue of the New York Times:

"The analogy between American Negroes today and the French and Russian people before their respective social revolutions is valid as far as the economic aspects are concerned. The Negroes have inferior opportunities than do white Americans. Their unemployment rate is higher, their infant mortality rates and their death rates from tuberculosis are higher, and their schools and health facilities are usually worse.

For these economic and social problems, the solutions of the 1930's will still work if put into effect on a

large enough scale. Public works programs that use a lot of unskilled labor, for example, would help greatly. More Government programs and more money would help close the economic gap between slum Negroes and other Americans."

The Conspiracy Theory

Some feel that the riots are a well planned phase of the Communist conspiracy. Some feel that these outbursts are directed by Moscow. All evidence points to the fact that these notions are myths. The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, recently released a statement saying that he can find no basis for the Communist conspiracy notion. At the same time, there undoubtedly is some degree of conspiracy gravitating toward violent action, existing between some segments of the ghetto community. People standing on street corners, unemployed, dissatisfied with their lot, and desirous of some type of response from those whom they feel are responsible for their condition quite naturally have tendency to discuss among themselves means of expressing their dissatisfaction.

The Role of Police in the Ghetto

If few clear facts have so far come from the recent outbreaks of urban violence and unrest, it is obvious that each outbreak of violence has been "triggered" - which is to say preceded - by police action of one type or another. In Watts, it was a routine traffic arrest; in Chicago it was the shutting off by police of a fire-hydrant providing some degree of relief from

heat to ghetto youth; in Newark it was the arrest of a taxi-cab driver for a minor traffic violation; and in Detroit it was a police raid on an illegal afterhours drinking establishment. It is easy for some to erroneously pinpoint police activity as the cause of the riots, but they are but a part of a broader relationship between ghetto resident and the larger community. It is equally simplistic for police executives to point a finger at certain extremist civil rights leaders, and to suggest that these leaders cause social disorder by their "agitation." It is much more relevant to ask, What sentiments in the community of the ghetto make the activities of extremist spokesmen worthy of attention? What causes a Rap Brown or a Stokely Carmichael (or in an earlier day, a Marcus Garvey), and what is the social significance of the constituency for whom such leaders presume to speak? There is general evidence indicating that if ghetto support is not present for the "violent" type protest, it will be met with resistance.

The police are the most visible, most readily available symbol of the dominant white power structure within the community, and the nature of their task takes them into daily contact with the ghetto dweller. Ghettos breed crime and the police occupation is concerned with crime. As such, given present urban conditions, contact between police and ghetto dweller is inevitable. The police are given a task of controlling crime, while often being untrained in successful techniques of dealing with individual behavior. Moreover, the police officer working in

the Negro ghetto easily acquires the stereotype that there is something in the nature of race itself that causes so-called "Negro crime".

During the first half of 1966, the National Center on Police and Community Relations, Michigan State University, conducted a general survey of police and community relationships across the country for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Our findings, heavily relied upon in Chapter 6 of the Task Force Report on the Police and separately published by the Commission as Field Survey V, specified a number of recommendations, which are briefly summarized below.

1. The police must place greater emphasis on the concept of public service as a legitimate goal of their organization.

Police public services rarely involve the adversary role found in most crime repression and detection activities. Conflict and tension in the police and community relationship varies inversely, to a large degree, with the number of public service contacts the police make. This is especially important regarding the police-youth relationship. One must note that the most active involvement in riots is by youth under the age of 25. There is some evidence that this age group harbors considerable resentment toward the police, and toward society as a whole, which the police represent. Some understanding of this phenomenon is found in ghetto conditions; the lack of a father in the home, the general freedom allowed in many forms of behavior, the lack

of normative control mechanisms, etc. The one "force", and often the only one, telling youth how he must behave and frequently forcing him to behave in a manner alien to his learned behavior, is the police. Often this negative type of contact is the only contact between police and youth in the ghetto.

Some progress has been made in the direction of incorporating the community service concept into police operations and goals; for example, the Winston-Salem Police Department has established a Community Service Bureau mainly concerned with community problems not directly related to crime repression and investigation, and Chicago recently assigned Community Service Sergeants in every precinct to deal with community problems. Other departments, to a limited degree, have assigned this function to their community relations units. Yet such an orientation must not be confined only to a special unit in a police agency. All activities of the police organization must reflect the public service concept, for while increased efficiency in crime suppression is laudable, the means utilized must be balanced against the effects of sheer management efficiency on the police and community relationship and what one author calls "values in human autonomy."

2. All police agencies must develop extensive, formal, and comprehensive police and community relations programs.

Police and community relations programs have evolved in many cities from a recognition of the factors described in the first part of this report. While the major efforts have been directed at garnering support for the police through the reduction of

apathy, a few programs have aimed at increasing community involvement in specific mechanisms of social control. We feel that such involvement is the key to improvement of the police and community relationship. The ghetto resident must feel that the police are responsive to his needs, culture, and problems; that they are his police.

Most current programs at the State, Local, and Federal levels aimed at dealing with urban problems, have failed to allow for self-determination among ghetto dwellers. There are a number of reasons such a failure, but central to it is distrust and lack of understanding of militant, ghetto social movements, and their legitimacy. All programs have an underlying visualization of conflict and controversy as destructive when, in fact, conflict and controversy can provide identity and cohesion to the members of a ghetto community. Power and self-determination are more important to the young militant than integration and the elimination of defacto segregation in public schools. Little tolerance is held for ideas imposed by the community power structure. Laws developed outside the ghetto, especially those mala prohibita, gain little support from those who feel themselves subjected to "outside control." Housing, employment, and education are considered to be important factors for improving ghetto conditions, but violent conflict will not be eliminated until the feeling of powerlessness is removed.

The implications of self-determination and community identity among ghetto residents are important in planning community action

toward solution of the urban problem. Studies have shown that as one's lot improves and a taste is obtained of better conditions, coupled with improvement of a person's status within the community, the urge toward greater improvement increases and even becomes intense. When there is no hope, there is docility and submission. When ghetto residents are shown what is possible in the affluent society, the desire to obtain the goods of affluence becomes dominant. Frustration is increased when no allowance is made for self-determination and community participation in the **decision**-making process.

In effect, therefore, effective endeavors to improve police-community relations in the ghetto must help instill a sense of community where none exists; i.e., a sense of meaningful participation, of voice and vote, in the process of government - a sense of identity with the "system." And this must be accomplished on the terms of the ghetto dweller. It is, in truth, much more than the slogan "support your local police" or "improving the police image." In end of itself, this kind of goal delineation in programming has no significance or meaning for the ghetto resident. The fact is that there is more satisfaction, for him, to "spit in the eye" of a police officer.

The basis of any productive police and community relations program must be the establishment of liaison and effective and meaningful communication with all community segments, especially those generally viewed as "radical" and in conflict with the police or other community groups. It is imperative that the commitment to the program saturate the entire police organization at every level.

The program must have three parts: 1) the identification of tension, conflicts, and problems within the community, both actual and perceived, 2) the development of programs to deal with these tensions and conflicts via productive interprofessional problem solving and community action, and 3) the informing of the public about all aspects of police problems and activities. Community organization must be implemented - directed at involving all citizens in action programs. Community and neighborhood councils, block organizations with broad police participation, auxiliary "keep the peace" groups, and school liaison programs are but a few of the means to be utilized. Details of these and other programs are available through this office.

One of the major aims of successful police and community relations programming must be the development of community access to the police policy-making decision process and the development within the community of a low tolerance level toward violence. There are many specific programs which can help accomplish this task.

Additionally, increased support must be given those organizations in the private sector of the community which have been active in formulating police and community relations programs on the local, state, and national levels. One example of such work is the National Conference of Christians and Jews, which has provided leadership at these levels through special programs, institutes, and other valuable public service activities for many years. Effort must be made, by such organizations, to extend

programs to involve the ghetto-dweller and others of the lower socio-economic class.

3. The police organization must evaluate existing procedures through which citizens may register complaints.

Related directly to the feeling of powerlessness among ghetto dwellers is the ability for them to be heard, if they feel a police wrong has been done. Recognition must be given to the fact that the public has a right to complain about what they believe are valid grievances, and machinery should be installed which is easily available, fair, just and impartial, to encourage all citizens to "speak their piece." If the machinery developed for handling citizen's complaints is not perceived by the citizen as being fair and impartial, the feeling of powerlessness is never dissipated.

4. Police training in human relations must be increased.

To a great degree, training in human relations must be directed at changing specific police behavior, perceptions, and actions, and in this sense the method utilized in training is of paramount importance. Emphasis must be placed on instilling good judgment and common sense in preparation for the great number of instantaneous decisions the officer must make. Additionally, adoption should be made of the professional-sub-professional concept advanced by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Professionals and aspirants should receive their education at the university level through broad programs encompassing social science and human behavior. The School of Police Administration and Public

Safety at Michigan State University, under the leadership of Director A. F. Brandstatter, has had some success in preparing young people for careers in law enforcement. A distinction should be made between the broad aspects of "education" and the relatively narrow aspects of "occupational training," the latter more properly being the realm of special training academies.

5. Police administrators must review and assess their current field procedures in light of police and community relations.

There is some evidence to support the contention that police behavior in ghetto areas leaves much to be desired. Given the large amount of crime in ghettos and a public demanding "social order," the police tendency frequently is to disregard both the rule of law and general principles of respectable behavior insofar as such become inconsistent with what they perceive as their primary goal, i.e., crime suppression. Likewise, the police, when faced with disagreeable conditions and behavior, as found in many ghetto neighborhoods, tend to classify this behavior as illegal, when in fact it sometimes is not illegal, and the residents are simply abiding by a set of rules of another culture, somewhat different in its values and priorities than that of the white community. The effect of police classification and action on this type of behavior becomes critical, especially when the police and the law are seen as one and the same. In this sense, the police are doing little more than expressing that which they have learned through organizational acculturation. No room is left for an understanding of the ghetto in which the

policemen must work; in fact, his ties to his organization are far stronger than any social awareness.

While specific law enforcement actions and operations can have a significant effect on the police and community relationship, equally important are the perceptions held by police and community toward each other. In most riotous situations, after each police action preceding the outbreak of violence, there was a period during which rumors of some particularly vicious police action circulated throughout the ghetto area. The perceptions already held by ghetto residents about the police were strengthened by the new rumor and fed the disposition to violence. It must be remembered that a relatively small number of ghetto residents were initially involved in the riot, and that direct involvement of relatively large numbers of residents occurred some time after the initial outbreak. Although as yet unsupported by empirical research, it is doubtful that any riot has involved a majority of ghetto residents, with the possible exception of some widespread looting (in which instances the opportunity to obtain desired material possessions outweighed the desire to remain law abiding). Yet it seems as if a majority of the ghetto community tended to "morally" support the expression of protest symbolized by many rioters, at least until the protest and violence had gone to the point where their homes were threatened.

The action of law enforcement officers, often untrained in the proper handling of civil disturbances and riots except for

a few brief hours of instruction, would seem to be a contributing factor in general continued ghetto support for the riotous activity. This support is indicated in many ways; for example, it is difficult for a sniper to continually elude the police unless residents are disposed to conceal him. Additionally, some actions on the part of the police are repulsive to the ghetto community, and frequently such actions result from frustration of policemen not knowing what to do in certain civil and riot situations; thus the utilization of pure force or mandatory arrest, sometimes directed at initially non-involved citizens.

Given the tenseness of riot situations, the police-directed hostility of citizens, and the lack of police training for handling complex human relations problems, to some, the police frustration is understandable. They feel the police are being blamed for society's ills, when, in fact, the police are an important and highly visible part of a social system faced with revolution, frightened by the rapid advance of social change, and vocally supported by individuals who desire to maintain the status quo, "at any cost".

Basically, there is a need for increased sensitivity by the police service regarding police field activities, especially those involving force occurring in parts of the community where some groups are seeking a reason for precipitating major conflict or where delicate and sensitive social problems prevail. The alternative police actions not directly involving force, such as the use of preventative or passive and conciliatory means

must be considered. Generally, the guidance necessary for the lower operating levels of the police force, in the form of policy statements, is lacking. The result is, for example, the failure to utilize summonses or conciliatory meetings which seek the resolution of relatively minor offenses and the use, instead, of force exercised through arrest and detention. Such actions in tense ghetto neighborhoods produces a fertile ground for rumor growth, and are certainly not the best means of solving the problems at hand. Part of the police problem in such situations is in conditions of ambiguity, as to what the police may do and should do, with assurance that their exercise of discretion will have general community support.

It should again be emphasized that no amount of special programming can significantly affect the police and community relationship unless the commitment exists among all members of the department to equal and fair enforcement and service. Such a policy must be enforced by the police department's command.

The five areas of concern suggested above, with related recommendations, can be broadly expanded. But equally important to these recommendations is development and empirical testing of valid research models. The tools of social science, of great benefit when applied to other matters, have been widely neglected by the police field. Many areas of importance have been unexplored. How much community involvement is desirable in police activities? What is the best teaching method to change behavior? What effect would sensitivity training of police in the ghetto have on their relationship with residents? To what

extent is the police-citizen relationship basically an adversary interaction?

These are but a few of the pertinent questions to be answered by research yet to be undertaken. The administration of justice in our society is complex, at least, and as of now, too little is known about the effects of many proposed and active programs in the field of police and community relations. The Federal assistance programs to law enforcement are certainly beneficial, but frequently lack the organization and design necessary for productive evaluative research. Even when valid research is done, the results are not made readily available to other agencies concerned with the same types of problems.

Indeed, the basic training needs of the police service have been so acute that Federal funds now being expended to encourage it tend to emphasize quantity rather than quality. There is a proliferation of training and educational opportunities for police, but too little attention is currently given to qualitative considerations; i.e., the importance of carefully researched evaluation. Likewise, police training as presently conducted, in general, tends to reinforce traditional attitudes and procedures, when the current need is for enlightenment and new insights.

One further point must be raised. In all probability, riots and disorders will continue to occur, at least in the immediate future. There is a tendency to allow such outbreaks to thwart progress toward urban problem solving. No doubt exists in our

minds that rioting must be stopped, but questions arise regarding the methods used to accomplish this goal. Some types of forceful action, frequently taken too late by untrained police forces, can often further alienate the ghetto community. One of the most immediate needs is depth research by a reliable organization to answer the following questions:

1. What is the effect of police riot control techniques on mass behavior?
2. What is the effect of military procedures utilized by the National Guard on mass behavior?
3. What type of riot control techniques, and by whom, is most effective in quelling riots and disorders while generally garnering the most support in the neighborhood in which the disorder occurs?

The answers to these questions are not currently known. Some research is being done on riot causation (such as that being done by the Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University, and a current study by Michigan State University's Sociology Department and the School of Police Administration), but as far as we know, little attention is being directed specifically toward police behavior in disorder situations. Such research is imperative before sums of money are expended to further train police and/or National Guard in the tactics of controlling disorders. Inevitably there will continue to be small segments of our population who will advocate violence. They must be controlled. But the methods used in such control must be socially and morally acceptable.

Prepared by: Martin G. Miller, Louis A. Radelet, Robert Wasserman
. . . of the Staff of the Center.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20036

October 6, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Commission

For your information.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

Newsman

Trace Riots *Expect* To Source

ASSOCIATED PRESS

NEW YORK — The summer's riots appear to have faded but in their aftermath President Johnson's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is working to uncover the reasons — and find cures — for racial violence.

The President himself outlined a set of questions he wants the commission to answer.

The Associated Press presented the same questions to three reporters of its special Racial Task Force — men who have covered most of the riots and reported on the racial scene generally.

The panel members were Austin Scott and Lester Carson of New York and Don McKee of Atlanta.

They have sought to answer the presidential questions in the light of their own reportorial background and experience.

Here is how they see it:

Q. What happened?

A. A series of rebellious, violent outbreaks in Negro slums and a Puerto Rican section in New York.

The blind, furious, desperate protest against miserable living conditions in the midst of plenty that ensued was more than racial; it also was a class action.

Q. Why did it happen?

A. Riots often were triggered by incidents involving police and Negroes, sometimes by wild, false rumors, sometimes by real or imagined police brutality. But they were nothing but catalysts, the sparks to the piled-up fuel.

Why did mere incidents become sparks? Sometimes because it was hot and kids were hanging around the streets with nothing to do. And because of mutual distrust, disrespect and fear between Negroes and police. And because young black men say they won't "take it any longer."

And because of years of slavery and lynchings, white supremacy and segregation; because it's hell to sit in a smelly, rotten tenement, sweating and reading a double-page ad about how great a Buick makes you feel; because black youth see their parents entrapped in a perpetual misery; because radio and television and slick magazines keep flaunting what they don't have in their faces, and because too many Negroes who stick it out and get an education still can't get a decent job.

The "why" involves two basic factors:

racial discrimination and class struggle—the struggle of the have-nots.

Q. What can be done to prevent it from happening again and again?

A. There must be both immediate and long-range steps. The first, foremost thing is to improve relations between police and Negroes — police-minority group relations in general. This is the great common problem. Policemen must be trained to get along with Negroes, and more Negroes should be hired as policemen to help remove the image of "Whitey's law."

Visible Action Needed

Another immediate step would be improvement of physical conditions in the slums. This includes simple things like regular garbage collections, street maintenance, trash cleanup and rat extermination. The main need here is concrete, visible action. Vacant lots can be fenced. Abandoned buildings can be torn down. Housing codes should be enforced. Merchants in slum areas should try to hire more Negroes.

In the long run, prevention lies in abolishing slums, reducing unemployment and, more important, reducing underemployment of Negroes—and up-

grading schools. There needs to be a real, national crash program to clean up slums.

Q. Why do riots occur in some cities and not in others?

A. This involves many intangibles, psychological factors. We're not sure of the answer. But part of it might lie in Negro ownership of property—of stores and shops. Primarily it was "Whitey's" store that got hit.

The Small Business Development Opportunities program should be expanded to allow more Negroes to open businesses in slum areas.

Q. To what extent, if any, has there been planning and organization in any of the riots?

A. We have no evidence of organized groups starting riots. There were agitation and attempts by some Negroes to manipulate crowds to stone police and loot stores. There did appear to be organized looting for profit.

Q. How well-equipped and trained are the local and state police and National Guard units to handle riots?

A. Well-equipped and poorly trained or untrained in handling riots, crowds and snipers. Guardsmen in Newark and Detroit shot thousands of rounds in and

or may not agree with those of a panel of are in an accompanying story. Kentucky's Katherine Peden, behind LBJ, is on the advisor

around buildings where they thought snipers were hiding. Innocent people were wounded or killed in Detroit. Not a single sniper was caught in Newark, few in Detroit. Many Guardsmen clearly lacked discipline, were trigger-happy, and some were openly prejudiced against Negroes.

Q. How do police-community relationships affect the likelihood of a riot—or the ability to keep one from spreading?

A. Very strongly. More trust of police among Negroes would reduce the chance that routine arrests or other incidents involving police will mushroom.

Q. Who took part in the riots? What about age, level of education, job history, their origins and roots in the community?

A. Young, black and angry. Many of them were out as an excuse to raise hell. These were the ones who destroyed. The violence in most cases was started by men in their early 20s or teens. A profile of the really violent one, would be a youth with some formal education, born of parents who came from the South, doing factory or service work and not involved in antipoverty projects. He would be sober, often dressed neatly. Detroit police records showed the "average" looter was a Negro man, 20 to 28.

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President Johnson, shown with his Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, has outlined a set of questions about this summer's racial riots which he wants the commission to answer. Their replies may

or may not agree with those of a panel of reporters whose opinions are in an accompanying story. Kentucky's Commerce Commissioner Katherine Peden, behind LBJ, is on the advisory panel

Associated Press

cial discrimination and class struggle—the struggle of the have-nots.

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Q. Who suffered most at the hands of the rioters?

A. Negroes in the riot area, and the owners of stores, most of whom were white. Most of the dead, injured and the inconvenienced were Negroes.

Q. What can be done to help innocent people and vital institutions escape serious injury?

A. Better police work will help, but only prevention offers a long-term answer.

Q. How can groups of lawful citizens be encouraged, groups that can help to cool the situation?

A. Carson. "Traditional" leaders should be bypassed in favor of grass-roots people. In Newark, schoolteachers and antipoverty workers appeared effective, while the elected district leaders stayed away.

McKee: The "power structure" must be responsive to Negro spokesmen before the riots. Spokesmen say they cannot command any following when they fail to produce victories. Many Negroes say only by rioting can they attract attention.

Q. What is the relative impact of the depressed conditions in the ghetto—joblessness, family instability, poor education, lack of motivation, poor health care—in stimulating people to riot?

A. This is one of the two key problems. The other, a related one, is discrimination. The overwhelming motive at the time, however, is revenge for things done or undone in the past.

Q. What federal, state and local programs have been most helpful in relieving those depressed conditions?

A. The antipoverty programs have done most, but their over-all effect is like using a water pistol on a forest fire.

Carson: Job training and referral programs appear effective, but would be more so with greater community participation. State employment agencies should be more aggressive. Community-action programs bring an awareness that causes strife, but also develops the "contacts" needed to stop trouble.

Q. What is the proper public role in helping cities repair the damage?

A. This is a question for Congress.

Q. What effect do the news media have on the riots?

A. They don't cause riots, although they do tell other Negro communities what is going on in a trouble spot, and tell slum dwellers what is or is not being done for them. Sometimes the presence of white reporters in riot areas brings them under attack and adds to the violence.

October 9, 1967

Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of Illinois
Capitol Building
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Commissioner Kerner:

I am sending to you a copy of the testimony of William J. Haskins, Associate Director, National Urban League, Washington Bureau before the President's Commission on Civil Disorders. A copy of this has been marked Exhibit 84, and made a part of our record. I thought you might be interested in it.

Sincerely,

Merle M. McCurdy
General Counsel

MMMcCurdy/tcl
October 9, 1967

IDENTICAL LETTER SENT TO MEMBERS LISTED ON ATTACHED PAGE.

COMMISSION MEMBERS RECEIVING LETTER AND COPY OF HASKINS
TESTIMONY

Honorable John Lindsay
Mayor of New York City

Honorable Fred R. Harris
United States Senator

Honorable Edward W. Brooke
United States Senator

Honorable James C. Corman
U. S. Representative

Honorable William M. McCulloch
U. S. Representative

Honorable I. W. Abel
President, United Steel Workers

Honorable Charles B. Thornton
President, Director & Chairman
of the Board
Litton Industries, Incorporated

Honorable Herbert Jenkins
Chief of Police
Atlanta, Georgia

Honorable Katherine G. Peden
Commissioner of Commerce

Honorable Roy Wilkins
Executive Director of
the NAACP

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 9, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSION

Subject: Transcripts of Hearings

1. Attached is a list of all the witnesses who have appeared before the Commission up through the last set of hearings; and

2. If the transcript of the testimony of any of these witnesses would be helpful to you please let us know (have your secretary call Claudette Johnson) and we'll send excerpts or copies to you.

The transcript should be regarded as confidential.

DG
David Ginsburg
Executive Director

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

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Mrs. Charlotte Meecham, National Representative for the Police-Community-Corrections Program of the American Friends Services Committee.	1774
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Honorable Theodore B. McKeldin, Mayor of the City of Baltimore, Maryland.	1996

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Dr. Herbert J. Gans, Senior Research Sociologist at the Center for Urban Education.	2025
Honorable William L. Taylor, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; formerly, staff attorney, NAACP.	2045

Honorable M. Carl Holman, Deputy Staff Director,
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; formerly,
Professor of English, Clark College; author
"Anger and Beyond." 2062

Richard W. Boone, Executive Director, Citizens
Crusade Against Poverty; Formerly, Director,
Program Policy and Development Division,
Community Action Program Office of Economic
Opportunity; Formerly, Captain of Police,
Juvenile Bureau, Sheriff's Office, Cook County, Ill. 2140

Paul Shrader, Director of Western Region Six, United
Auto Workers; member of Executive Board, United
Auto Workers. 2151

Miss Marian Write, Legal Director of the Office of
the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund in
Jackson, Mississippi; Graduate of Yale University
Law School. 2162

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1967:

Honorable Arthur Ross, Commissioner of Labor
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Honorable Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Assistant Secretary
and Manpower Administrator, U.S. Department of
Labor; formerly, Director, AFL-CIO, Economic
Policy Committee. 2255

Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Hepburn Professor of Economics,
Columbia University; Member, National Manpower
Police Task Force, 1962- ; Author, numerous books
on Manpower and Human Resources. 2272

Dr. Garth L. Mangum, Research Professor of Economics,
George Washington University; formerly, Executive
Director, National Commission on Technology,
Automation and Manpower. 2287

H.C. McClellan, President, Management Council for
Merit Employment, Training and Research; formerly
President and Chairman of the Board, Old Colony
Paint and Chemical Company. 2305

Honorable Charles E. Odell, Director, U.S. Employment
Service, Bureau of Employment Security, U.S.
Department of Employment Security, U.S. Department
of Labor; formerly, Director, United Auto Workers'
Older and Retired Workers Department.

Frank H. Cassell, Assistant to the Vice President -
Administration, Inland Steel Corporation; formerly
Director, U.S. Employment Service. 2373

Honorable Alfred L. Green, Executive Director, New York
State Division of Employment; formerly Assistant
Director, New York Unemployment Insurance Fund. 2386

Truman Jacques, Manager, Management Service Center,
Located in the Watts Section of Los Angeles. 2397

Dr. Paul Bullock, Associate Research Economist,
Institute of Industrial Relations, University
of California at Los Angeles; author of more than
a dozen books and articles on Employment of
Disadvantaged Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

2409

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036OFFICE OF INFORMATION
382-8521

October 9, 1967

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is hoping to beat its March 1 and July 29 reporting deadlines by about two months in order to speed action on proposals for handling urban problems that result in violence and unrest.

Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, Chairman, said in a status report last weekend that the Commission "cannot guarantee at this time that we can meet an accelerated date, but we believe it desirable if we are going to be of any help or use to legislatures, to city governments, to Congress, and also to the people of the United States."

In response to questions at a news conference, held jointly with Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York, the Vice Chairman, Kerner also said, "there is no evidence that we have yet found" of a national conspiracy to start disturbances last summer, but "we are not eliminating the possibility."

Kerner also said he believed a deep feeling of inferiority and rejection among residents of the ghettos contributed to the outbreaks of disturbances.

"They have been rejected as to housing, as to jobs, and after jobs as to improving the status of the job. I think there is an awful lot of that, just built into the entire problem," the Chairman declared.

It is his own personal opinion, Kerner said, "that the white community of the United States is not aware of the existence of this problem. . . . And many who are aware of it, are not aware as to how deep and sensitive this is," the Governor added.

(MORE)

The status report was given as the Commission wrapped up hearings on welfare and employment problems in the ghetto and prepared to hear witnesses from Cincinnati, Ohio on October 12. Kerner also announced that further hearings will be held here October 23 and 24.

The Commission had hoped to conduct its first field hearing in Cincinnati, but because of other commitments by some of the members, decided to invite witnesses from that city to appear in Washington instead of going there, the Governor said.

In addition to holding hearings, Commission members have travelled individually or in groups to eight of the cities where disorders occurred "to get the feel of these areas, to see the neighborhoods involved and to talk to local people--in the ghettos, in City Hall and elsewhere...." he added.

These cities are Newark, Detroit, New York, Tampa, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Cambridge, Md.

Teams of staff members are also conducting detailed surveys of 25 to 30 cities which have been selected for "minute-by-minute, development-by-development, issue-by-issue samplings" of what happened and why it happened when violence flared and how it can be averted in the future.

Kerner said the Commission is stepping up its activities in order to issue an interim report to the President by the end of the year or shortly thereafter.

The report will advise on "short term measures that can be taken to prevent riots," as well as preliminary accounts of what happened in 1967. The Commission is also seeking to change its final report and recommendations from the President's July 29th deadline to June or May of next year, the Governor stated.

The Commission announced the appointment of Milan C. Miskovsky as Director of Investigations for the agency. Miskovsky is Assistant General Counsel of the Treasury Department and was formerly with the Central Intelligence Agency for 13 years.

(MORE)

Besides Kerner and Lindsay, other members of the Commission include Senators Fred H. Harris (D-Okla.) and Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.); Reps. James C. Corman (D-Calif.) and William M. McCulloch (R-Ohio); I.W. Abel, President of the United Steel Workers; Charles B. Thornton, President of Litton Industries; Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP; Katherine G. Peden, Commissioner of Commerce of Kentucky; and Herbert Jenkins, Chief of Police of Atlanta, Georgia.

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THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 9, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSIONERS

Subject: Police and Public - A Critique and A Program

I am passing along to you a copy of the final report of the Citizens' Committee to study Police Community Relations in the City of Chicago to Mayor Richard J. Daley which Congressmen McCulloch and Corman asked be distributed.

DG.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
 1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 9, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSIONERS

Subject: Proposed Schedule of Hearings and Meetings Through Mid-December

Before mid-December, we need to:

(a) Hold hearings on (1) possible action programs in the areas of employment, education, and lesser related areas such as recreation, consumer protection, sanitation, transportation, etc.; (2) the role of private enterprise in dealing with urban problems; and (3) the point of view of conservatives and conservative organizations, such as those discussed at last night's meeting.

(b) Participate in special conferences and meetings on the role of the media.

(c) Most importantly, hold a large number of sessions devoted to revising and acting on drafts of the interim report.

Accordingly, we propose the following schedule for hearings and meetings through mid-December:

1967 OCTOBER 1967							1967 NOVEMBER 1967							1967 DECEMBER 1967							
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				1	2	3	4						1	2
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30
															31						

- NOTES:
1. October 12 - Hearing in Washington before panel of Commissioners on Cincinnati riot and related problems.
 2. October 29 - Sunday evening, dinner meeting with heads of networks and news services. Commission Chairman and Vice-Chairman to attend.
 3. November 10 and 11 - Final set of hearings before interim report; simultaneously, conference in Poughkeepsie, New York, on media.
 4. November 18 - Commissioner Thornton and Mayor Lindsay will go through Watts area. Other Commissioners who have not yet been to Watts are encouraged to join.
 5. November 20 - December 16 - Work sessions on drafts of report.

DG

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 9, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSION

Enclosed is a copy of the letter sent to
the President Saturday afternoon.

The text of the letter takes into account
changes made at the Commission luncheon meeting as
well as our previous discussions in this area.

DG.
David Ginsburg
Executive Director

enclosure

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1010 17TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20531

October 7, 1967

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, on the basis of testimony thus far received, recommends that you direct the Department of Justice to conduct a series of intensive training conferences this winter for governmental and police officials. The series would focus on effective measures for the maintenance of law and order and on programs to improve police-community relations.

We emphasize that knowledge and programs in these areas are not substitutes for solutions to the problems of racial discrimination, alienation and poverty, as reflected in such areas as employment, education and housing. But there is need for cities, as soon as possible, to share the knowledge that has been gained in methods for maintenance of law and order.

Some seventy-five witnesses, including mayors, chiefs of police, other state and local officials, representatives of federal departments and agencies, and residents of disorder areas have now testified before the Commission. Many others will be heard.

The President
October 7, 1967
Page Two

The testimony to date convinces the Commission that a substantial body of knowledge now exists in the fields of prevention and control of civil disorders that could profitably be communicated through training conferences under the auspices of the Department of Justice. Of course, we are aware that a number of valuable meetings and programs for local law enforcement officials are underway. But these meetings we believe can be significantly supplemented by a conference of broader scope and longer duration such as that we here propose.

The precise format of this conference and the cities to be involved would, of course, be determined by the Justice Department. The conference could be conducted here in Washington or on a regional basis, perhaps in cooperation with colleges or universities. A short program might be appropriate for key state and municipal officials, a slightly longer one for police chiefs, and a more extensive one for other public safety and government personnel. Subjects to be covered presumably would include advance planning; control techniques; communications systems; decision making during disorders; joint operations with neighboring police, state police, the National Guard and Army; community relations and effective means of dealing with citizen's grievances.

Respectfully yours,

OTTO KERNER
Chairman

JOHN V. LINDSAY
Vice Chairman

October 9, 1967

Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of Illinois
Capitol Building
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Governor Kerner:

As per our conversation on Saturday, I am hereby sending you the transcript of that day's hearing.

Sincerely,

Merle M. McCurdy
General Counsel

Enclosure:

a/s

GC/MMMcCurdy:met

#31

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

OFFICE OF INFORMATION
382-8521

October 10, 1967

F O R I M M E D I A T E R E L E A S E

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders will meet in Executive Session Thursday, October 12th, to hear witnesses from Cincinnati, Ohio.

The session will begin at 9:30 a.m. in the Executive Office Building.

Witnesses tentatively scheduled to appear are:

Mayor Walter S. Bachrach; City Manager William C. Wichman; Police Chief Jacob Schott; Safety Director William Sandman, and Clinton Reynolds, Director of the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission.

Also, the Rev. Harold L. Hunt, minister of the Mt. Carmel Presbyterian Church and President of the United Black Community Organization; Richard Coleman, Director of the Better Housing League; Dewey Fuller, Director of Economic Development and Employment of the Urban League of Greater Cincinnati; John Hansan, Director of the Community Action Council, and Allen Brown, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union of Cincinnati.

Officials of the AFL-CIO Council of Cincinnati and the Municipal Court also have been invited.

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COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

Cincinnati Hearing
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Room 303, Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

David Ginsburg, Executive Director
Merle M. McCurdy, General Counsel
Nathaniel R. Jones, Assistant General Counsel

ORDER OF WITNESSES

Reverend Harold L. Hunt
Minister, Mt. Carmel
Presbyterian Church
President, United Black
Community Organization
201 Hearn Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Richard Coleman
Director
Better Housing League
2400 Reading Road
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Dewey Fuller
Director
Economic Development and
Employment
Urban League of Greater
Cincinnati
2400 Reading Road
Cincinnati, Ohio

AFL-CIO Council Representative
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. John Hansan
Director
Community Action
Commission
820 Linn Mall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Walter S. Bachrach
Mayor
City of Cincinnati
City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. William C. Wichman
City Manager
City of Cincinnati
City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. William Sandman
Safety Director
City of Cincinnati
City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Jacob Schott
Chief of Police
City of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Clinton Reynolds
Director, C.H.R.C.
City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. Allen Brown, Esq.
Attorney-at-Law
A.C.L.U.
Cincinnati, Ohio

-2-

The Honorable George S. Heitzler
Presiding Judge
Municipal Court
Cincinnati, Ohio

or

The Honorable William Matthews
Assistant Presiding Judge
Municipal Court
Cincinnati, Ohio

Katherine Peden

October 10, 1967

Donald W. Webb

Summary of Cincinnati Trip

Thought you might be interested in a brief summary of my understanding of the Cincinnati situation.

MAYOR

Mayor Bachrach, a ceremonial figurehead, has little actual knowledge of what went on during the riot period. He announced last January that he would retire in December. His activities included being present during the Monday night problems, meeting with the group on Tuesday morning and going on TV Tuesday night with the answers to the demands, making the formal call to the Guard on Tuesday night, etc.

POLICE

The Police, Fire, and Building Departments are controlled by Col. Henry Sandman, Director of Public Safety. Col. Sandman and Police Chief Col. Schott were both out of town at the beginning of the disorders on Monday night. Both returned on Tuesday.

The Cincinnati police force has about 600 men, about 60 of whom are Negro, there being a decrease in the number of Negroes over the past few years. Chief Schott was promoted from Chief of Detectives about one year ago. In the traditional sense, I would say that Chief Schott is a "professional" policeman and a good one. However, I do not think that he is completely aware of the fact that many patrolmen have some hostilities toward Negro citizens, but rather assumes that most of the complaints are without a real basis, and proceeds with the idea and attitude of protecting his men. As with most police departments, Chief Schott is also faced with a recruiting problem, etc., which undoubtedly influences some of his actions and attitudes. Captain Rogers, who heads the Police-Community Relations section, seems competent, and has two Specialist assigned to him, but seems to be in a situation where the importance of his program is not fully realized.

The tactics of the police during the riot seemed to be that the solution was to clear the streets of every person, including traditional Negro leaders, poverty workers, and others who had undertaken a role of urging the participants to "cool it." Identification cards issued by the Mayor and/or the Human Relations Commission to these people, were not honored, presumably because they had not had prior approval of the police. This resulted in the arrest of several of these people, and complaints of abuse by others including State Representative Bowen, a Negro. Officer Rockel, a 22 year old patrolman with 11 months experience, was tried before a Police Board as a result of the Bowen incident, but absolved of the charges. Rockel was reported to have made almost ten percent of the arrests during the riot, including 12 young Negroes who were sentenced to one year terms for a violation of the riot act. According to some witnesses and the Negro community, these people were on their way home from a ball game, stopped for gas near the riot area, were confronted by the police, etc., but had not been involved in the riot.

A portion of the Police-Community Relations problem may be that although a citizen's complaint is heard by the police, the resulting decision and reasons for it are not properly communicated back to the complainant, resulting in a situation where the citizen thinks his complaint has been ignored.

NATIONAL GUARD

The National Guard was called on Tuesday night, the second night of the disorder. The call was made sometime 8 p.m., officers and some enlisted men began to arrive by approximately 10 p.m. There was some delay in getting ammunition for the Guard due to a policy that no ammo is kept in Cincinnati. This policy was established some time ago when kids broke into an armory, stole some ammunition, and one of them was injured. However, it is my impression that this caused no delay in getting the Guard on the streets, since the troops could not be deployed until the arrival of the Adj. General at about 1 a.m. The Guard was on the street by about 1:30 a.m.

ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

The complaints from the Negro community concerning administrative agencies are similar to those heard in other communities. The feeling of "second class citizenship" and "double standards of just" for Negro areas is somewhat a result of such agencies as the Health Department (Food Inspection), Planning and Zoning Commission, Building

Inspection, Sanitation, etc. failing to enforce their regulations in the Negro to the same extent they do in white areas. The feeling of the Negro community is that these officials differentiate between white and Negro communities in all phases of government.

COURTS

One of the specific complaints of a "double standard" of Justice in Cincinnati is the result of two criminal trials during the past year. The Fisk case involved a former City Editor of a Toledo newspaper who had domestic problems, became an alcoholic, went downhill, and ended up in Cincinnati, working for a newspaper. He and his alcoholic female companion had a "drunken-brawl" fight, he beat her, and she was found dead, supposedly as a result of a fall against a nightstand. Fisk was tried for manslaughter, and because of his family background, work history, and the type of charge, the Judge placed him on probation for five years.

The Laskey case involved a young Negro with a long record of assaults on white women. He was found guilty of murder in the Barbara Bowman case, and was sentenced to death. (The Bowman murder occurred during the Cincinnati strangulation series.) Two of the prime witnesses against Laskey were Negroes, and there were two Negroes originally selected for jury duty, however, one was struck by the defense, and then the prosecution struck the other.

The reaction among the Negro Community was that Laskey was given a death sentence because he was Negro and Fisk given probation because he was white. The official explanation is that the two cases were of completely different types, one being a murder case, and the other being more of an "accidental" death type. There is a firm denial that Laskey was tried as "the Cincinnati strangler" and evidently there was a great effort made to prevent his being branded as such.

On the Saturday night before the Monday disorder, Laskey's cousin, a Mr. Frakes, was arrested for a violation of the city loitering ordinance. Frakes had been soliciting for the Laskey Defense Fund" by walking the streets, carrying a sandwich board, etc. He had done this many weeks before his arrest, and had not been arrested for it before. This is considered one of the precipitating incidents to the Monday disorder.

The other major complaint of the Negro community was that those arrested during the riot period were given such swift trials that they had no time for the preparation of an adequate defense, and that bonds were set too high, and, thirdly, that sentences were too harsh. All of those arrested were given counsel, but some were tried within hours of their arrest. Many continuances were granted and many were granted jury trials, which delayed the proceedings. It is also claimed that Judge Matthews (who announced on Tuesday that all of those riot participants brought before him would be given the maximum sentence) had pre-judged the guilt or innocence of Negroes and that testimony for the defense was ignored.

THE RIOT PERIOD

Saturday p.m. - Firkos was arrested for loitering after midnight on Saturday.

Sunday - Dr. Martin Luther King spoke at a Cincinnati church. Speech was described as a "mild one". Seems to be no connection with the riot, except that an announcement was made that there would be a Monday night meeting in Avondale near the "Lincoln Statue."

Monday - The rally was held and some police were in the fringe area but out of sight. Jimmy Vinogaz, a Negro leader and poverty worker, made a radical speech. Mr. Spencer, a Negro real estate man and leader (depending on whether you are talking to the white or Negro community) arrived and spoke out in favor of enforcement of the loitering law. The crowd evidently became enraged, the meeting broke up, and minor violence and window breaking occurred. Police immediately responded and by approximately 1 a.m., the situation was under control.

Tuesday - In the morning, a group of Negroes met with the City Council and presented a list of "demands." The Council met that afternoon, discussed the demands, and the Mayor answered them that night on local TV stations.

Tuesday night, another meeting was scheduled in the Avondale area, but the meeting never really materialized, and violence began. Some evidence pointed to the young Negroes who had stopped and blocked delivery trucks in the area because they did not have Negro drivers, as the start of trouble. They had a confrontation with the police, and

a Dr. Reid arrived and tried to settle the problem, and did to some extent. But, supposedly after they overheard a patrolman refer to them as "nigger hoods" or something to that effect, the disorder began. Trouble then spilled over into neighboring areas, and the Guard was called.

Wednesday - Evidently the violence continued on Wednesday and that night. Another meeting on Wednesday between City Officials and Negro leaders broke up and the Negroes walked out when National Guardsmen marched into City Hall, supposedly to maintain order.

Thursday - By Thursday, the violence seems to have subsided and some control was restored. By the week's end, things had quietened to the point when the Guard began to withdraw.

NEGRO COMMUNITY - The Negro situation in Cincinnati seems to be comparable to that in other cities. The complaints are similar to those heard from the many Negro leaders who have testified before the Commission. The militant leadership in Cincinnati seems to be well educated, and some of them are followers of the "Black Power" group.

It seems that the situation in June resulted in much bitterness between the white and Negro citizens. The Committee of 28, an organization of 14 white (including Presidents of Shillito's, P & G, Kroger, Cincinnati Milling Machine, etc.) and 14 Negro leaders seems to have overcome this and are making some effort toward solving the problem, especially as pertains to new jobs.

The response from the official community has been 'nil. There is a definite lack of communication between them and the Negro community, and seems to be little change in their response to Negro problems. The attitude of many of the Negro militants is that the next time, and there will be a next time, things will be much worse. They are almost apologetic that their disorder did not compare with the one in Detroit.

SUMMARY

Employment - There seems to be a fairly high degree of Negro employment in Cincinnati industry, although the Building Trades continue to discriminate and there is very little Negro employment in the apprentice trades.

Again, as in other city investigations, it seems that many jobs are available, but trained people are not available to do them. It seems that most of the Negroes who are trained or easily trainable are employed. The "hard-core" is again the problem including some of the young people and many of the other Negroes who do not have proper work attitudes or are not trainable. Also, a vast number of the Negro citizens are "under-employed."

Housing is certainly a problem, although Avondale is an area formerly occupied by the higher income Jewish community. Therefore most of the housing units have the basic plumbing facilities, etc. and the houses are basically structurally sound. However, over-crowding, failure to enforce building codes on electrical wiring and heating etc., poor house-keeping habits, etc. are real problems. Also, there are complaints that developers are allowed to build large apartment complexes on small lots in violation of Planning and Zoning Regulations, and also that older houses are partitioned off into smaller rooms in order to get twice as many apartments in the building.

Recreation as in all cities, is a problem and mainly a financial problem. However, the Avondale area has a program that has evidently been fairly satisfactory to the community.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Commissioners DATE: October 11, 1967

FROM : Merle M. McCurdy, General Counsel

SUBJECT: Summary of Views of Prospective Witnesses in the Cincinnati Hearings

The United Black Community Organization was formed following the riot by the organizations that drew together for the purpose of preparing a list of demands that was presented to city officials. It is an organization of organizations, in that it requires all members to be representatives of organizations of Negroes with memberships of at least 10 persons.

Bailey Turner, Treasurer of the United Black Community Organization, President of the Avondale Community Council which serves the area in which the riot erupted.

It will be noted from the testimony of Mr. Turner that he and members of his organization referred to the riot as a rebellion.

RICHARD COLEMAN, Better Housing League

The Better Housing League is made up of organizations and agencies interested in improved housing conditions. It is one of the oldest citizen organizations in the United States, being continually active over a period of fifty years. The League is financed by the Community Chest and the City of Cincinnati, and is the only organization, public or private, concerned with everything that affects the living environment of the people of the entire metropolitan area. The Better Housing League has among its objectives:

1. Promoting efforts to clear slums;
2. Preventing neighborhood deterioration;
3. Encouraging the provision of adequate housing for all groups of the population, particularly for minorities and low-income people;
4. Supporting sound laws for planning, zoning and housing, and their enforcement; and
5. Improving housekeeping practices and landlord-tenant relations.



5010-108

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

Policies are determined by a Board of 36 trustees elected by members of the League. The League serves as an advisory committee to the city government and as a consultant and reviewer of various city programs.

The League made a survey, at the request of the City Manager, of the relationship between housing and the riots. On July 20, 1967, following its survey, the League recommended to the city:

1. A review of the extent to which Negroes had been limited in residency. (Despite an open housing law, there are repeated charges of rental discrimination, and that efforts to date to obtain complete compliance with the Ohio laws have not been sufficient.)

2. A higher level of building code and health code enforcement on door-to-door or area-to-area basis, rather than on a complaint basis should be initiated.

During the year 1966 the League recommended that no more than five sites in the Avondale-Corryville area be utilized for public housing; that the City Council join the Better Housing League in urging the Ohio State legislature to enact legislation to establish tenant rights on evictions; that the city approve the City Planning Commission's proposal to raise minimum lot area requirements for new construction and conversions; and City Council adopt a 180 day cut-off date after which all building code violations shall be cited to court.

Among the action taken by the Better Housing League in 1966 are the following:

1. Convened representatives of neighborhood groups to review staff reports on neighborhood improvement, reduction on substandard housing, need for recreation facilities, safety in residential areas, open housing and residential improvement through neighborhood organizations.

2. Formulated a policy on blockbusting and suggested procedures for code enforcement.

Mr. Coleman, who will testify on behalf of the Better Housing League, is in a position to recommend to the Commission various Federal housing programs, which in his opinion, are in need of revision in order to become more effective in solving housing problems on the local level.

DEWEY FULLER, Urban League

As Director of Economic Development and Employment of the Urban League of Greater Cincinnati, Mr. Fuller has

been deeply involved in implementing the on-the-job training program, and is conversant with the various roadblocks that interfere with the smooth operation of same. He cites the attitudes of small employers toward the Federal government as being a factor, of irrelevant standards for employment by some employers. Transportation problems and the wage scale on some jobs. Mr. Fuller describes the change in the reception he receives from employers since the riot. There is greater polarization, he states, but that the dialogue is more meaningful. Furthermore, Mr. Fuller reports that there is greater dialogue between the Urban League and dissident groups, and he cites the cooperation between the Urban League and the United Black Community Organization. In Mr. Fuller's view, the overt activity of the dissidents has subsided since this working relationship has emerged. It is his view that many of the dissidents did not know of the efforts that were being put forth by organizations like the Urban League, and now there are more meaningful channels of communication between traditional organizations and ghetto representatives. The latter are finding other roles to play short of violence. The activities of the militants have permitted the Urban League to act with less caution in advancing its program, according to Mr. Fuller.

JOHN HANSAN, Poverty Programs

The Community Action Commission of the Cincinnati area is the official organization for developing and coordinating the "war on poverty" in the 5-county metropolitan area, created by the City of Cincinnati, County of Hamilton, the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati Board of Education, and the Community Chest of Cincinnati. The Community Action Commission brings together in a single organization 42 trustees from the major elements of the community. Most of the funds used by the Commission are from the Office of Economic Opportunity, under authorization of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended.

Mr. Hansan will describe the various programs funded by CAC, the purpose of same, and the individuals served. Most CAC funding has been in programs of education, employment, and community organization. There does not appear to have been any priority established as to the importance of one program over the other, and each is viewed as essential.

MAYOR WALTER S. BACHRACH, Mayor, City of Cincinnati

In Mr. Webb's memorandum to Miss Peden, there is a discussion of the function of the Mayor of Cincinnati, and the extent of his participation and activities during the period of the riot.

WILLIAM C. WICHMAN, City Manager

During the interview with the members of the field team on September 21, 1967, Mr. Wichman stated that he thought the police officer who arrested Peter Frakes for violating the controversial anti-loitering ordinance was a little hasty, but he did not care to pull the rug from under the police department. On Monday, June 12th, in a meeting with a group of Negro leaders, Mr. Wichman indicated to them that he sympathized with their position on the matter of the arrest of Peter Frakes. The group announced during that meeting of their plan to hold a protest rally over the Frakes incident, on the evening of June 12th. As a precaution Mr. Wichman arranged to have additional policemen in the general area of the rally. He stated that he had a suspicion that the militant element was trying to find a reason to provoke an uprising. On the following morning after the first night of rioting, a set of demands was received from Negro leaders which related to the way in which the loitering ordinance was being enforced; police community relations, enforcement of the sanitation code, etc.

During the post riot period, Mr. Wichman has met with heads of banks, building and loan associations, and other business leaders in an effort to spur them to take action on the problems of concern to the Negro community. He cited advantages and disadvantages of the city manager form of government, pointing out that with the absence of the political factor, he is able to speak out. However, he is unable to exercise political leadership when that is required.

Wichman also advised the field team that he offered to resign during the riots, telling the Council that if they needed a scapegoat he would be glad to serve that function. He delegated to Safety Director, Henry Sandman, the responsibility of working directly with Negro representatives and he is reported to have said that he does not care to "build up" the militants. He does not like big pronouncements, but prefers to work quietly. It is his feeling that white elements of the Cincinnati community are critical of any help given to Negroes. Mr. Wichman is working with Ernest Waits, a Negro, in organizing some businessmen in the Negro community to establish a non-profit corporation to build a shopping center in the Avondale area, and has made the City Planning Staff available to assist in the project.

JACOB SCHOTT, Chief of Police

Colonel Schott was Chief of Detectives prior to being elevated to Chief of Police. He is a veteran of 30 years in the police department. He has testified before the Eastland Committee, and his testimony before that body has been severely criticized by the Negro community. He testified that there was no ghetto in Cincinnati, and expressed the hope that a defense fund that had been established to provide bail for persons arrested during the riot was bankrupt. In various interviews Colonel Schott has ruled out employment as a factor in the riot, because 75% of those arrested were either students or employed persons, according to his figures. He appears quite pleased with the citizens complaint procedure, which is supposed to be the procedure through which citizens may lodge complaints of misbehavior on the part of police officers. A number of ghetto residents who had filed complaints of police abuse reported that they were never informed as to the disposition of their complaints. The Chief stated to members of the field team that when it was felt that any complaint had a basis in fact, a hearing body was convened to determine the facts. He was unable, however, to state the number of times that this body had been convened during the past year. From other sources in the police department it was learned that from April to December of 1966, there were 44 citizen complaints filed, and that 12 of these were found to be justified. There was no indication of the racial breakdown of these 12. It was also ascertained that 25 complaints of misconduct had been filed by police officers against other police officers, and of those 25, 21 were found to be justified. All 25 of these complaints went to the police committee for hearing, and only 10 of the 44 citizen complaints went before the police committee.

There were a number of complaints filed by citizens during the riot, and it appears that none of these have resulted in disciplinary action against the accused officers, including the complaint filed by William Bowen, State Representative. Bowen had accused Officer Rockel of abuse, when as he attempted to disperse the crowd during the first night of the riot, after exhibiting an identification card that had been given to him by the Human Relations Commission, was ordered to leave the area and allegedly threatened.

Chief Schott feels that there is no role for Negro leaders to play during this period of a riot, as he refers to this period as the ninth inning of a ball game. He stated that the only mistake the police department made in handling the riot was that officers were too soft the first night, and this led to the situation getting out of hand on the second night.

There is a cadet program within the police department involving fifty young men; only three of them being Negroes. He recognizes that there is a gap between the police department and the Negro community, but is uncertain what program will be devised to bridge the gap.

Chief Schott has been quoted as calling for tighter law enforcement and more law and order which is in the Negro community being interpreted as a license for policemen to further abuse residents of the Negro communities.

CLINTON REYNOLDS, Director, Cincinnati Human Relations Commission

Mr. Reynolds has now resigned as Director, however, his resignation is not yet effective. During an interview with members of the field team, Mr. Reynolds stated that the riot revealed the low esteem in which the Commission is held. He stated that he was given no more courtesy on the street during the riot than a Negro who was actually involved in the riot. He stated that the only trouble he had in the riot area came not from Negroes, but from policemen, and that he was treated quite discourteously by some officers. With regard to precipitating incidents, Reynolds states that there were conflicting recommendations from the Negro community as to the desirability of enforcement of the anti-loitering law. He called into a conference the two factions in the Negro community who were making recommendations with regard to the ordinance. He said that they worked out a compromise which was embedded in a draft pamphlet following the preparation of this pamphlet. A meeting was held to protest the arrest of Peter Frakes. Mr. Reynolds attended the meeting and will be in a position to testify as to the events occurring during the course of the meeting and subsequent to it. He will also be in a position to testify about the initial incidents during the evening of June 12, which was the first night of rioting, and he will also be able to testify about the role of enforcement in the area, the performance of the National Guard and the police department in the Negro community.

ALLEN BROWN, Esq., A.C.L.U.; WILLIAM MATTHEWS, Assistant Presiding Judge, Municipal Court

There is considerable discussion in legal and Negro community over the manner in which the persons who were arrested during the riot were handled by the police and by the court. Mr. Brown will discuss what is considered to have been invasions of the fair trial guarantees of the defendants and of the inflamed atmosphere in which these

were litigated. There is the issue of Judge Matthews declaring his intention to impose the maximum penalty on all persons convicted during the riot. The Commission might wish to inquire into the procedure which resulted in individuals being tried within hours after their arrest. It would be fruitful if the Commission explored with the witnesses the subject of mass trials of persons arrested in connection with the riot, as well as the arraignment and bail bond procedures that were followed.

October 13, 1967

Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of Illinois
Capitol Building
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Commissioner Kerner:

Commissioner Jenkins has made the enclosed
booklet available to each of the Commissioners.
I find it especially valuable as I know you will.

Sincerely yours,

Merle M. McCurdy
General Counsel

Enclosure

cc: To All Commission Members-10/13/67

GC:MMcCurdy:tcl

October 13, 1967

Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of Illinois
Capitol Building
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Commissioner Kerner:

I am enclosing a statement made by Mr. Dewey C. Fuller, a Director of the Urban League of Greater Cincinnati. Mr. Fuller read this statement to a panel of Commissioners on Thursday, October 12, 1967. I think you will find it of great interest.

Sincerely yours,

Merle M. McCurdy
General Counsel

Enclosure

cc: To All Commission Members - 10/13/67

GC:MMcCurdy:tcl

October 13, 1967

Honorable Otto Kerner
Governor of Illinois
Capitol Building
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Commissioner Kerner:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a statement prepared for delivery to the Commission by the Honorable W. C. Wichman, City Manager of Cincinnati. Mr. Wichman was to have appeared before the Commission on Thursday, October 12, 1967 but an emergency kept him from appearing. He sent the statement by an assistant and it was marked as an exhibit and made a part of the record.

Sincerely yours,

Merle M. McCurdy
General Counsel

Enclosure

cc: To All Eleven Commission Members
Mailed 10/13/67

GC:MMcCurdy:tcl

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

10/15/67

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 15, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSIONERS

Subject: Media Conference in Poughkeepsie;
Simulmatics Contract

1. As reported at the dinner meeting on October 5, we are proceeding with our study of the media. This is being coordinated by Professor Abram Chayes of the Harvard Law School, who has taken steps to organize: (a) an analysis of media content and other aspects of coverage, and (b) an informal conference of Commissioners, media representatives and other interested parties at The Homestead, Poughkeepsie, New York on November 10-12.

2. This is the status of the content analysis study:

We are negotiating with the Simulmatics Corporation of Cambridge, Massachusetts and New York to conduct a study of the treatment of racial and riot news by television, radio, newspapers and magazines in 22 specific cities as well as on network or other national bases. This effort will include examination and analysis of television film clips and video tapes, radio broadcast tapes and transcripts, and newspapers and magazines. Quantity and positioning of coverage will be measured and recorded, and key words and phrases (and other data) programmed for computer analysis. The statistical result will form a basis for analysis by social scientists and recommendations to the Commission.

At the Commission's dinner meeting on October 23, Professor Chayes will be present to discuss the background and details of the proposed contract and other phases of the media study.

3. The enclosed memorandum which Professor Chayes sent me explains in detail the suggested participants, agenda and topics for the media conference in Poughkeepsie. These are tentative -- invitations are only now being extended -- and the final form of the sessions is open to revision.

IBM is making available to us its facilities at The Homestead in Poughkeepsie, and we're much indebted to the company. Because of the nature of the conference and the limited facilities, we're trying to hold the total number of participants to about 40. The invitees were selected with the advice of several persons with expert knowledge of the media and after consultation with Governor Kerner. We've managed to fit in a pretty good cross section of editorial viewpoint interests, geographic areas and publication sizes.

The conference will begin with a dinner meeting Friday, November 10 and extend into Sunday afternoon, November 12. Our hope is that some of the Commissioners, after attending the Friday hearings in Washington, will fly to Poughkeepsie for the opening of the conference. The others can remain for the final hearings on Saturday and then, if possible, fly to Poughkeepsie for the dinner Saturday night and the Sunday sessions.

D.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

October 13, 1967

Following is our proposal for a conference of media representatives, Commissioners and staff to be held at The Homestead in Poughkeepsie from November 10-12, 1967.

The proposal includes:

- 1) Suggested participants.
- 2) Draft agenda and topics to be discussed.
- 3) Suggested procedure for each roundtable conference.

IBM's staff at The Homestead is now moving ahead with arrangements for the conference. They seem competent and are prepared to do just about everything we ask them to - provided we give them enough time. Bruce Paisner went to Poughkeepsie yesterday to meet with them and look over the facilities.

We are shooting for a final go ahead on the conference today, so that we can get the mechanics of inviting speakers and participants completed this weekend. This is really all the time we have got. Early next week, you may want to supplement the invitations with telephone calls or another letter.

The conference will serve at least two primary purposes:

First, it will enable representatives of the media from all parts of the country and different types of cities and publications to get together in relaxed, informal setting where they can discuss the inter-relationship of the press and race relations, and perhaps begin to articulate some of their concerns and their approaches to the problems in this area.

Second, it will permit media representatives to meet with members of the Commission in an atmosphere, hopefully free of the suspicion and hostility that might otherwise surround this kind of inquiry.

In this way, we think a free and more candid exchange can take place. The Commissioners and staff, for their part,

will have a chance to appraise the outlook and problems of the media in race relations and riot coverage with the men who do the reporting and make the editorial decisions.

The following information will be available to the Commissioners before the conference starts. If it should prove desirable, some or all of it can be given to the other participants.

- 1) A preliminary report from Simulmatics, Inc. on the statistical information they have developed to that point. We have been assured that they will have some returns on at least a few cities.
- 2) The complete report of Mr. Robert E. Smith, a member of the Newsday staff, who is now interviewing editors in various cities, reporters and television management people on the general subject of the decisions they make in covering riot news and civil disturbances, and why they make them. Mr. Smith can attend the conference if we wish.
- 3) Information from the City Reports on special incidents of media misconduct or exemplary conduct.
- 4) A preliminary survey of the existing literature in this general field. The survey is now being undertaken by a research assistant at the Harvard Law School.

In addition, relying on this information, and our general knowledge, we will prepare a list of questions, keyed to each of the conference sessions. These questions will be given to the Commissioners in advance for use in probing subject areas in which they are interested.

Abram Chayes

LIST OF SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS
IN ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE

I. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- 1) Hedley Donovan - Editor-in-Chief - Time, Inc.

He exercises a more or less direct supervisory role over the editorial content of all Time, Inc. magazines.

- 2) Wes Gallagher - General Manager - Associated Press

- 3) Roger Tatarian - Editor - United Press International

Al Spivak suggested he would be the best representative of U.P.I.

- 4) John Sengstacke - Editor and Publisher - Chicago Defender and Pittsburgh Courier, leading Negro newspapers.

He is reputed to be among the most successful and influential Negro publishers in the country.

- 5) Neil Shine - City Editor - Detroit Free Press

A central figure in the coverage of that city's riots.

- 6) Gene Roberts - Reporter - New York Times

Has racial experience in the South and northern cities. He headed up The Times riot coverage in Detroit this summer and was involved in the coverage of many other disturbances. He is a former City Editor of the Detroit Free Press.

OR/

- Karl Fleming - L.A. Bureau Chief - Newsweek

Before coming to Los Angeles he had wide experience reporting racial affairs in the South. He directed Newsweek's coverage of the Watts riot in 1965.

- 7) Hodding Carter, Jr. - Editor - Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, Miss.

He is well known for his moderate views on racial questions, and his attempts to influence for the

good thinking in the Mississippi Delta region. When his father, Hodding Carter, Sr., was Editor of the Democrat-Times, Mr. Carter, Jr. was a general assignment reporter for that newspaper.

- 8) Ed Guthman - National News Editor - L.A. Times

He has considerable experience as a reporter and editor, and from 1961-64 was Chief of Public Information for Robert Kennedy at the Justice Department.

- 9) Ben Bradlee - Managing Editor - Washington Post

He is a former Washington Bureau Chief of Newsweek.

- 10) Bob Maynard - Reporter - Washington Post

Mr. Maynard is a Negro, a former Nieman Fellow and has close ties to the Negro ghetto and the Black Power movement.

OR/

Joel Strickland - Reporter - Detroit News

He reported extensively on the riots this summer. He is a Negro.

- 11) Paul Miller - Editor and Publisher - Rochester Times-Union

His name was suggested to us as an outstanding representative of a small city newspaper by Dwight Sargent (Curator of the Nieman Foundation).

OR/

Joseph Shoquist - Managing Editor - Milwaukee Journal

- 12) Thomas Eastham - Executive Editor - San Francisco Examiner

This is the top editorial position. He is on the list as a representative of the Hearst newspapers.

II. TELEVISION AND RADIO

- 1) Frank Stanton - President - CBS

He was involved in an interchange of rather tough letters on television codes with Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania this summer.

- 2) Julian Goodman - President - NBC

- 3) James C. Hagerty - Executive Vice President - ABC

- 4) Bill Matney - Reporter - NBC

Mr. Matney is a Negro and was heavily involved in riot coverage this summer.

- 5) Ike Pappas - Reporter - CBS

Was one of top CBS reporters in the field during this summer's riots.

- 6) Tom Jarriel - Reporter - ABC

Considerable experience with racial news.

- 7) Stanhope Gould - National Field Producer - CBS

He was the executive most responsible for coordinating the work of CBS reporters and deciding what went on the air during the Detroit and Newark riots.

- 8) Fred Freed - Producer - NBC

He put together NBC's controversial program "What We Learned From the Riots". He did extensive investigating in Detroit for the program.

- 9) Edward P. Morgan - News Director - Public Broadcasting
Laboratories

Former Correspondent for ABC.

- 10) John Esther - TV News Director of Station WISN-TV -
Milwaukee

His name was suggested as a representative of the point of view of a local television station manager.

PROPOSED CHAIRMEN AND SPEAKERS

CHAIRMEN:

Dean Richard T. Baker - Columbia School of Journalism

Louis Lyons - Former Curator - Nieman Fellows

SPEAKERS:

Governor Kerner or Mayor Lindsay

John Spiegel - Dr. Spiegel is director of the
Lemberg Center for the Study of
Violence at Brandeis

Roger Wilkins - Department of Justice

Herbert Gans - Sociologist - Author of "The Urban
Villagers."

Jack Rosenthal - Kennedy Fellow - Harvard

former chief public information
officer at Department of Justice.
He served as a Special Assistant
to Under Secretary of State Nicholas
Katzenbach, and is spending this
year as a Kennedy Fellow at Harvard.

Stanhope Gould - CBS

Ed Guthman - Los Angeles Times

Pen Kimball - Professor - Columbia School of
Journalism

Lerone Bennett, Jr. - Senior Editor - Ebony

Bayard Rustin

Ben Bagdikian

Curtis MacDougall - Professor - Northwestern
Department of Journalism

PROPOSED AGENDA AND TOPICS

Roundtable Conference, November 10-12,
The Homestead, Poughkeepsie

Friday, November 10:

- 4:00-6:00 p.m. Conference participants arrive at
The Homestead - housing arrangements
handled by Homestead staff.
- 6:00 Limousines available for transportation
to cocktail party.
- 6:15-7:30 p.m. Reception
- 8:00 Dinner
- (1) Speaker - Gov. Kerner or Mayor Lindsay
Topic - "What the Commission is
Trying to Do".
- (2) Informal questioning and discussion
after speech.

Saturday, November 11 (first working day):

General Topic: "The Responsibilities of the Media in
a Riot City"

- 9:30-12:00 a.m. First Session: "The Incipient Riot"
Television (Chairman: Louis Lyons)
- (1) The problems presented by rumors,
false reports, and agitators who
rely on media reports of their
speeches and press conference state-
ments to foment disturbances. Can
we report the news, yet avoid
creating public figures out of fringe
agitators?
- Paper by: John Spiegel

- (2) Embargoes: delayed reports of actual events; experience with existing codes and guidelines.

Paper by: Roger Wilkins

Newspapers (Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker)

- (1) The problems presented by rumors, false reports, and agitators who rely on media reports of their speeches and press conference statements to foment disturbances. Can we report the news, yet avoid creating public figures out of fringe agitators?

Paper by: Herbert Gans

- (2) Embargoes: downplay of stories; experience with existing codes and guidelines.

Paper by: Jack Rosenthal

12:30

L U N C H

2:00-4:30

Second Session: "The Actual Riot"

Television (Chairman: Louis Lyons)

- (1) Methods and techniques of coverage of civil disturbances; the role of the editor in assigning, analyzing and putting the reporters' work on the air; what gets on the air and why.

Paper by: William Monroe

- (2) The problem of competitive pressures and duplication of effort and coverage; crowding of men and camera equipment as a factor contributing to the development of a riot; possibilities and difficulties of pooling techniques; a proposal for pooling.

Paper by: Stanhope Gould

Newspapers (Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker)

- (1) Methods and techniques of coverage; the role of the editor in assigning, analyzing and printing the reporters' work; decisions as to amount of space, display, and headlines on local and national "disturbance" stories.

Paper by: Edward Guthman

- (2) The problem of competitive pressures and duplication of effort and coverage; crowding of men and equipment - particularly photographers - as a factor contributing to the development of a riot; the dilemma of the reporters in publicizing and inadvertently glorifying snipers, fringe agitators, and others who contribute to the exacerbation of a riot; problems presented by displaying law enforcement officials as ineffectual or unable to control the situation; necessity and techniques of pooling arrangements.

Paper by: Pen Kimball

4:30-6:30 Open [Could be used for continuation of afternoon discussion].

6:30 Reception

8:00 Dinner

9:30 Informal Session: perhaps films of Detroit or Newark riots, followed by discussion. Perhaps we could get films of journalists in action at these riots.

Sunday, November 12 (Second Working day):

General Topic: Effective Continuing Coverage of Urban and Racial News

10:00-12:00 a.m. Third Session: "A Constructive Role for the Press in Race Relations"

Chairman: Louis Lyons

(Speakers to be rotated - address television roundtable in morning, newspaper roundtable in the afternoon).

- (1) Hiring, training and using Negro reporters - a discussion of the role of the Negro reporter in covering racial riots, Black Power and the self-organization of Negroes, and actual civil disturbances.

Paper by: Lerone Bennett, Jr.

- (2) The problems of a constructive role for the media beyond reportage and editorial comment. Can the media, by special articles, programs and projects, help to improve race relations and stifle riots? Is such a role a legitimate one for the media?

Paper by: Ben Bagdikian

2:00-4:00

Fourth Session: "Getting Into the Ghetto and Getting the News Out"

Chairman: Dean Richard T. Baker

(Rotation: Address newspapers in the morning, television roundtable in the afternoon).

- (1) The ghetto as part of the city; conveying to the rest of the city an understanding of conditions and life inside the ghetto; where the media falls down now; how to improve coverage; what to report on besides crime, violence and civil disturbances?

Paper by: Bayard Rustin

- (2) Coverage by the white press of run-of-mill Negro news (e.g., social news: weddings, deaths, reports of PTA and community club meetings in Negro neighborhoods). Does the failure of newspapers to report fully on routine news of the Negro community contribute to a sense of alienation among Negroes and aloofness or disinterestedness among whites? What can be done?

Paper by: Curtis MacDougall

SUGGESTED PROCEDURE FOR ROUNDTABLE SESSIONS

Each topic will be discussed in two simultaneous sessions, one for television and radio; one for newspapers and periodicals. For the first day, the present schedule suggests two speakers at each of two 2-1/2 hour conferences. The afternoon conference on "The Actual Riot" could run longer, if necessary. It is assumed that each of the designated "speakers" will be asked in advance to prepare a paper (10-15 minutes long) which he can present to focus discussion. Since each of the topics on the first day can be conveniently divided into two sub-topics, it might be useful to have the first paper presented at the beginning of the session, then follow it with an hour of discussion. Then the chairman could end the discussion and call for the second paper. The chairman will have an outline of the various subjects for the discussion to focus on, and it will presumably be his job to keep the meeting going and make sure each item is covered.

Sunday's sessions are shorter and, if we can get the suggested "speakers," a slightly longer, more focused presentation by each of them might be in order. It is possible we will want to rotate the Sunday sessions, so each speaker can make a presentation to each group.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 15, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSIONERS

Subject: Work Program Through December 16

FUTURE SCHEDULE

At our last hearings, the following meeting schedule was proposed through December 16:

October 23 - 24

November 2 - 3

November 10 - 11

November 20 - 21

November 30 - December 1

December 7 - 8 - 9

December 14 - 15 - 16

The six sessions through November 11 are tentatively reserved for hearings; we propose to use the ten sessions from November 20 through December 16 to consider, revise and adopt segments of the Interim Report.

OCTOBER 23-24 DETAILS

A memorandum setting forth the tentative list of witnesses and subject matters for the October 23-24 sessions is enclosed.

We are seeking during our next hearings to obtain views and recommendations from the more conservative end of the spectrum. We have already invited representatives of several important organizations, including the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the American Bankers Association. We will, in addition, receive testimony from Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, the Reverend Martin Luther King, and George Meany, all of whom had been invited to appear long ago and none of whom was available at any other time.

TAX INCENTIVES AND ACTION PROGRAMS

We hope to wind up hearings on the role of private enterprise on November 2 with a session on tax incentives and other techniques for attracting capital into inner city areas (we're having trouble locating informed witnesses in this area and would appreciate help from anyone who has ideas on the subject) and will then return to a more detailed survey of possible short-term actions in various fields including education, welfare administration, recreation, consumer protection, and youth programs. Special sessions on the problem of migration from rural areas to the cities and on the administration of justice during civil disorders are also tentatively scheduled.

OPEN SESSIONS

We have, of course, reserved times for other areas which any Commissioner would like to have covered before the Interim Report; these can also be used for sessions with the staff. If any Commissioner has suggestions for other subjects or witnesses for the November hearings, please call Merle McCurdy or me within the next three or four days. We should proceed quickly to invite witnesses.

DINNER AND LUNCH MEETINGS

At the end of the first day of each of the next two sessions of the Commission, we have scheduled a dinner meeting; we've also saved time for long lunch meetings. The dinner meetings will permit staff presentations of program plans; the lunch meetings will be attended by only one or two staff representatives in order to permit a freer exchange and development of ideas among Commissioners.

MEDIA CONFERENCE

In addition to the hearings, a conference on race relations and the relationship between the mass media and civil disorders is being arranged for the Commission in Poughkeepsie, New York, beginning Friday evening, November 10 and extending through Sunday noon, November 12. This was discussed at our last dinner meeting.

Since hearings are scheduled in Washington for that Friday and Saturday, we hope that the full Commission will attend the session here during the day on Friday and then, late Friday

afternoon, some of the Commissioners fly to Poughkeepsie for the opening of the Conference. The other Commissioners could remain here for the final hearing Saturday and then, if they choose, fly to Poughkeepsie late Saturday afternoon for the Saturday evening and Sunday sessions of the Conference. A memorandum giving greater detail about the Poughkeepsie Conference is being sent simultaneously with this memorandum.

J.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

Enclosure

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF HEARINGS

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23

- 9:30 a.m. The Role and View of Private Enterprise,
Including Action Program Proposals.

Representative of the National Association
of Manufacturers.

Representative of the United States Chamber
of Commerce.
- 11:30 a.m. Dr. Kenneth McFarland, former Superintendent
of Schools; author, The Topeka Plan for
Law Enforcement; conservative commentator
on urban problems. Dr. McFarland has not
yet confirmed his availability.
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch (in hearing room).
- 1:30 p.m. Dr. Martin Luther King.
- 3:00 p.m. The Role and Importance of Negro Ownership
of Business, Including Action Program Proposals.

Berkeley G. Burrell, President, National
Business League, a Negro business
association; accompanied by Mr. Matthew
Clark.
- 4:00 p.m. The Honorable Sam Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles.
- 6:30 p.m. Commission Dinner, Statler Hilton Hotel,
Pan American Room.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24

- 9:30 a.m. The Role and View of Real Estate Business Community, Including Action Program Recommendations.
Representatives of the National Association of Real Estate Boards.
- 11:00 a.m. The Role and View of the Financial Community, Including Action Program Recommendations.
Representatives of the American Bankers Association.
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch Meeting (2-1/2 hours).
- 3:00 p.m. The Role and View of Organized Labor, Including Action Program Recommendations.
George F. Meany, President, AFL-CIO;
accompanied by union representatives.
- 6:00 p.m. Adjourn.

[The following pages are suggestions; please let us know if you have others. Witnesses have not yet been finally determined or invited, but we will begin to do so very shortly.]

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2

10:00 a.m.	<u>Techniques for Attracting Private Investment in Inner Cities (Tax Incentives, Subsidies, Government Loans, Etc.).</u>
12:00 p.m.	Lunch.
1:30 p.m.	<u>The Problem of Negro Migration to Urban Areas.</u>
4:00 p.m.	Open.
6:30 p.m.	Dinner Meeting.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3 -- ACTION PROGRAMS

9:30 a.m. Action Programs in the Field of Education.

12:00 p.m. Lunch Meeting (2-1/2 hours).

2:30 Action Programs in the Field of Welfare
Administration.

3:30 p.m. Action Programs in the Field of Consumer
Protection (Loan Practices, Price
Discrimination, Etc.).

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10

10:00 a.m. Action Programs to Improve Physical Aspects
of the City.

12:00 p.m. Lunch.

1:30 p.m. A Summary View of Action Programs and Their
Impact on Youth.

3:30 p.m. Open.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11

- 9:30 a.m. Administration of Justice (the Role of
Courts in Dealing with Civil Disorders;
and the Role of Recent Court Decisions
in Civil Disorders).
- 11:00 a.m.
(?) Action Recommendations for Legal Mechanisms
for Control of Civil Disorders (Desirability
of Federal Criminal Anti-Riot Statutes; the
Role of Interstate and Intrastate Agreements
for Sharing Control Forces; Adequacy of
Existing Statutory Mechanism for Employing
Federal Troops).
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch.
- 2:00 p.m. Open.

— *Handwritten: 10/16/67*

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 16, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSION

Attached is a first rate paper, dated
September 1967, entitled "Alternatives to the
Gilded Ghetto", by John Kain and Joseph Persky.

The cover sheet explains the background.

D.G.

David Ginsburg

Attachment

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1015 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

OFFICE OF INFORMATION
382-8521

October 17, 1967

F O R I M M E D I A T E R E L E A S E

The National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas will conduct open hearings in Washington, D. C. on November 8-9, Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey, the Chairman, announced today.

These hearings will be held in the Indian Treaty Room (room 474) of the Executive Office Building.*

Governor Hughes said the Panel would seek views from urban residents and businessmen; insurance agents, brokers and companies; lending institutions; state and federal officials, and interested groups and individual citizens.

The Panel was established by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to study the availability and cost of property insurance in center city areas.

The open hearings will be held to determine the problems urban residents and businessmen face in obtaining adequate property insurance and to consider any new programs that might be needed to protect the public interest in property insurance. The Panel urged all persons concerned with these subjects to make their views available.

Because of time limitations, appearances at the hearings must be scheduled in advance. Those wishing to appear should write to the National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas, 1016 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036, stating their interest in the matter, and the amount of time desired. Applications for appearance must be received not later than November 1.

*/ News media representatives desiring to cover these sessions should notify the Information Office of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders so that clearance for admittance to the building can be arranged. The telephone number is 382-8521.

- 2 -

The Panel also urged all persons wishing to submit written views to do so as soon as possible. The Panel has set December 15, 1967, as the target date for its final report. All written information should be sent to the Panel by November 15 to assure that it will receive full consideration.

In addition to Governor Hughes, other members of the Panel are former Governor William Scranton, Vice-Chairman; Walter Washington, Commissioner of the District of Columbia; Frank Farwell, President of the Liberty Mutual Insurance Company; George Harris, President of the Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Assurance Company; A. Addison Roberts, President of the Reliance Insurance Company; and Frank Wozencraft, Assistant Attorney General.

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THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 19, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSIONERS

Subject: The Job Ahead

Attached is a copy of a speech entitled "The Job Ahead" delivered by Mr. Charles F. Palmer, a prominent business and civic leader in Atlanta. Mr. Jenkins has brought this to my attention and asked that I forward it to you.

D.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

(NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE
2:00 P.M. MONDAY,
OCTOBER 16, 1967)

THE JOB AHEAD

by

CHARLES F. PAIMER

(Formerly President National Association of Housing
and Redevelopment Officials, U. S. Defense Housing
Coordinator, Special Assistant to President Roosevelt)

at

ANNUAL MEETING

of

GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AUTHORITIES

JEKYLL ISLAND, GEORGIA

OCTOBER 16, 1967

INTRODUCTION

This annual meeting of the Public Housing Authorities of Georgia brings back happy memories of more than a quarter century. In our field we have always led. Our state had the first public housing project of the nation. Our Southeastern Region has more Authorities and more projects than any other.

To accomplish this we have had dedicated leaders. Some have gone before us. One such was Brown Nicholson, Executive Director of the Columbus Housing Authority from its inception in 1938. He became President of our National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials in 1952. Had he lived to attend its 1963 Convention in Denver, Colorado, which reviewed our first 25 years of existence, I am confident Brown would have been as disappointed as I.

PUBLIC HOUSINGS OF PAST

There we viewed a film which at first seemed an encouraging record. But on analysis I became ashamed. Twenty-five years of public housing! 500,000 public units built when 5 million should have been. An average of 20,000 housing units per year for 20 years. A miserable record! Something needed to be done to shock the nation from its apathy. 1963 was a time of peaceful protest marches. Might a parade of slum dwellers do the trick?

Suppose they came down Park Avenue, one of the most diabolical streets of the world. From 40th to 90th Street it is beautiful. It represents hundreds of millions of dollars of wealth in buildings and occupants. From 90th to 125th it is horrible. It is ugly. It should be wiped from the face of our nation. There, and in other places of New York, a million five hundred thousand slum dwellers live in hovels with their rats.

Now, in mind's eye, let's watch them pour into Park Avenue from the north. There are more than a million of the sick, the halt and the blind. Most nations of the world and most colors of all people are represented. That is the kind of march the whole world would see in its most affluent nation.

Such a demonstration would so shock all citizens and Congress that we all would go to town in a big way, I thought. Such marches might even sweep every major city of our nation.

That was my reaction to our 25 year film which I shared with fellow delegates. But how naive to believe such a mere, peaceful protest, by some of our 22 million slum dwellers Have-Nots, would shock the 170 million of us Haves and the Congress into action!!

STAGNATION

Of course the hypothetical march never took place. Instead riots did. Here's how Urban America reports them. They "happened because we have kept a large group of Americans from their share in the rewards of our society so long that a sub-group has formed that is quite ready to fight, loot and burn -- every urban program that we have is a demonstration program, showing what could be done if the nation decided to put money behind it...twenty years from now the youths who threw rocks and burned will have learned more sophisticated use of power. What they failed to do in 1965 with the torch they will succeed in doing in 1985 with the vote."

There is no need to enumerate the riots from coast to coast. You all know what happened in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Newark and many smaller cities too. The scores of lives lost, the billions in property damage, the hundreds and hundreds of city blocks now lying in complete rubble as though bombed by Hitler merely mark the preliminary skirmishes of the Have Nots against the Haves.

My, how futile that Park Avenue march would have been when even riots haven't waked us up. More than two years have passed without needed action by Congress.

CIRCUMLOCUTION AND POSTPONEMENT

Instead, same old records are being played as they were thirty years ago. They say let Private Enterprise do the job. Nonsense. We all know the families of the 22 million now in slums are so poor they can't feed and clothe their children and still have enough money left to pay the return on the capital for a decent, safe and sanitary house. Federal subsidy must furnish that.

Insurance companies, realtors and others who originally opposed subsidy for public housing now say subsidize us instead and we may do the job. Isn't that just dandy? A billion dollars may be advanced the first year by big lenders to see if Uncle Sam can make it profitable but action now is needed.

Public Housing per se, is no more the field of private enterprise than private schools were. Just recently George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, related how their predecessor unions a century ago supported the battle for public schools when private school owners fought public education tooth and nail. It was the same story with public roads opposed by the owners of the toll roads.

To subsidize private industry to produce public housing for the Have Nots is like subsidizing private schools to teach all children, and toll road owners to provide our highways!

Actually no matter which way you do Public Housing Private Enterprise is going to furnish the materials, build the buildings and reap the profits. The big difference is that Uncle Sam, with Emergency powers, can put the job together faster and get it done quicker.

DANGER OF PRESENT CALM

Make no mistake about it, the seeming calm we now enjoy may be but the eye of the hurricane. We are in dire straits. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish Sociologist-Economist who knows America well, states we have created a disadvantage group, lower than the lower class, where conditions are so bad that even motivation for betterment has been lost.

The world's leading authority on race questions, he states our problem of the ghetto is not a race problem. Only a third of the desperately poor in America are negroes. The balance are a large number of poor whites as in Appalachia, Indians, Mexicans, Asians and immigrant groups from eastern and southern Europe.

He finds it "shocking to see how much easier it is to get appropriations for war and war preparations than to make a modest start on the development of a more wholesome urban life."

No nation of the world since Rome so flouts the affluence of the Haves in the faces of the Have-Nots. Before Rome fell it built its Coliseum in the midst of slums, just as we in America are now doing in city after city. Both those ancients and we have our priorities hind-most. Housing should come first.

The rioting Have Nots are not anarchists. They do not seek destruction of our government. Instead they are reacting much as our forebears did against Great Britain. The colonists merely wanted their rights. Our Have-Nots only seek the same for themselves.

Never before in the history has our form of government lasted so long. Twice it has faced failure. The first time was under Lincoln who recalled to us that "our fathers brought forth on this Continent a new nation conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great Civil War testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure". With great valor and at great cost we survived that test.

The second time we were on the brink was in 1933. Then we had riots as now. The Battle of the Depression, though less bloody than the Civil War, was a tough fight to win. But win we did against great odds.

Before Roosevelt took office Morris Markey, skilled reporter, published in 1932 "in every part of the country I found an acceptance of the fact that our government has broken down. - More than once, I drew a clipping from my pocket and handed it to men to read. It was a letter written by George Washington to John Jay in 1787 and it ran: "Among men of reflection few will be found, I believe, who are not beginning to think that our system is more perfect in theory than in practice; and that notwithstanding the boasted virtue of America it is more than probable we shall exhibit the last melancholy proof, that mankind are not competent to their own government without the means of coercion in the sovereign".

When Markey asked what we should do about it most viewed any change in our system as "the first awful step toward the nationalization of women, the murder of all self-respecting burgers and the looting of banks". Time and again though, the cry was "we must have a leader. We can't get along much further without a leader".

Summed up, as of the latter part of 1932 Markey wrote, "The ideals and the aims upon which our country was founded have disappeared. They no longer occupy our minds privately or publicly. Freedom and equality, self-government and the pursuit of happiness survive only as phrases for Fourth of July orators. Nor have these worthy desires been replaced by other ideals, other aims".

It was not long before a leader came with the shout "We have nothing to fear but fear itself!!". Once he took the helm with Congress and the people, forming a loyal, rugged crew, our Ship of State was brought through the storm, rough weather though it was! Again we had been tested and not found wanting.

CRISIS

The crisis of our inaction now is not unlike the crisis of the inaction early in 1932. Words, words, words are piling up but men are not doing things. Months ago the dramatically publicized Urban Coalition of business, church and civic leaders trumpeted a call to action. It met with rebukes. Nothing happened.

The Congress is getting more and more letters about the rioting in the cities and doing less and less about that problem. One public official states that "people are frustrated, they are unhappy and it is getting worse". Instead of acting, recesses and long weekends are increasing.

The excuse for inaction is that "the Dodd censure case took a lot of time -- almost two months used up debating campaign financing -- long discussions of Vietnam policy".

The anti-poverty program is still bogged down, so is civil rights, social security, increase in taxes, foreign aid with some Public Servants saying "Why rush when we will be here all year?". Others even inquire "Why not call it quits now and finish up next year?"

Belive it or not since the riots the Congress has not had a single bit of legislation before it to solve the problem of our cities in a big way. After being roundly defeated when trying to open that door, Senator Clark remarked "I am not unaware that it will appear that many Senators are falling away from their compassion for the urban poor. But this is just a minor skirmish in the war that has just begun."

During the depression the people milled like bewildered cattle. They were ready to stampede in any direction. It's lucky some Dictator didn't take over before Roosevelt came to the rescue. He mustered his forces and fought through to victory.

Once more that milling is taking place. But now there is an ominous difference. Some of them have the loco-disease caused by eating the loco-weed. It drives beats crazy and causes them to strike out insanely in every direction. In our population today many have the loco disease from feeding on the false doctrines of the Stokely Carmichaels and hundreds of others.

We, the Haves, have provided them with most of their fodder. Lincoln proclaimed we could not survive half slave and half free. Today he would say "with so few so rich and so many so poor." As President Kennedy put it "A free society that will not help the many who are poor, cannot save the few who are rich." No wonder anger is boiling over into riots.

But it is not because of the riots, but in spite of them, we must act and act now. For more than thirty years the tools we have to clear slums have been little used. The two thousand Public Housing authorities in all states have built but 650,000 units. That's about 20,000 units per year for our entire nation. This graph shows the sorry record. We should have built six million instead.

SOLUTION

Our Congress is milling too. Not eager for action, as are the people, but listlessly hoping some fortituous event may take them off

the spot. They lack the courage to take a stand. Someone must act to stop the drift toward possible destruction.

No matter what the politics of any President might be today -- Democrat - Republican - Liberal or Conservative - it is as much his duty to call a joint session of Congress immediately and declare a National Emergency to fight the slum battle of our cities, as it was the duty of President Roosevelt to call a joint session of Congress to declare war against the Axis Powers in December 1941.

We know the results of his call to arms. We rolled up our sleeves and did the job. If called upon now we'll do the slum job too.

The declaration of a National Emergency in our cities to rehouse the Have-Nots will again furnish the tools successfully used to house defense workers. The President then was empowered to declare Defense Areas wherein war workers had top priority.

With similar powers today Emergency Areas can be designated wherein (1) obsolete restrictive building code provisions could be waived (2) land condemnation expedited (3) zoning and land use patterns made to harmonize with practical needs (4) mobile and demountable houses provided for displaced Have-Nots until new homes are built (5) schools, community facilities, playgrounds, sewers and streets must be provided in Emergency Areas by Uncle Sam, too.

War Housing built in four years proves it can be done. Uncle Sam provided 804,675 housing units or an average of 200,000 per year.

Only Emergency powers made such a crash program possible. Without it the slum owners, the petty politicians, the quarrels between governmental units on the local level and apathy of citizens will continue to make the whole program fail. Atlanta, Georgia is a perfect example.

I quote an editorial from the October 8th Journal. "The drive hopefully undertaken early this year to have 9,800 good low cost housing units by the end of 1968 is lagging badly. It will fail unless we have new approaches. -- The effort began eight months ago when Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. called a housing conference, to appeal for help from business and finances to accomplish the task, and set the numerical goals.

"Unfortunately others have not given the task the priority attached to it by the Mayor, who called the housing shortage Atlanta's number one problem. The Mayor realized the results of the cities' concentration in recent years upon commercial development on urban renewal land thus displacing many of the poorest people without providing low cost housing units.

"The import of all the city progress is to make poor people even more reliant than before upon public housing for which many cannot qualify, and upon the worse kind of slum housing, for which they must pay exorbitant rent -- Atlanta is a slum owner's heaven. This is a slum owner's market -- one of the greatest obstacles to solution of this problem is the apathetic attitude of the community as a whole."

With emergency powers in Federal hands, as during the war, the petty local fillibustering can all be by-passed. By declaring Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Newark and other victimized cities Emergency Areas Uncle Sam can swing into action through local Housing Authorities, school boards, and municipal governments. Construction can start on hundreds of blocks of areas cleared two years ago by fire bombs and dynamite.

Some columnists say the wars of the slums and the war in Vietnam can't be fought at the same time. Such talk is nonsense! This graph proves it. In one war year, 1941, with Federal Funds we built more Public Housing than in any year before or since.

Our Gross National Product - the total of the nation's goods and services which forms our economic barometer - averaged 201 billion dollars during four war years while our last four years 1963-1966 averaged 610 billion dollars. The year 1966 itself was 743 billion dollars.

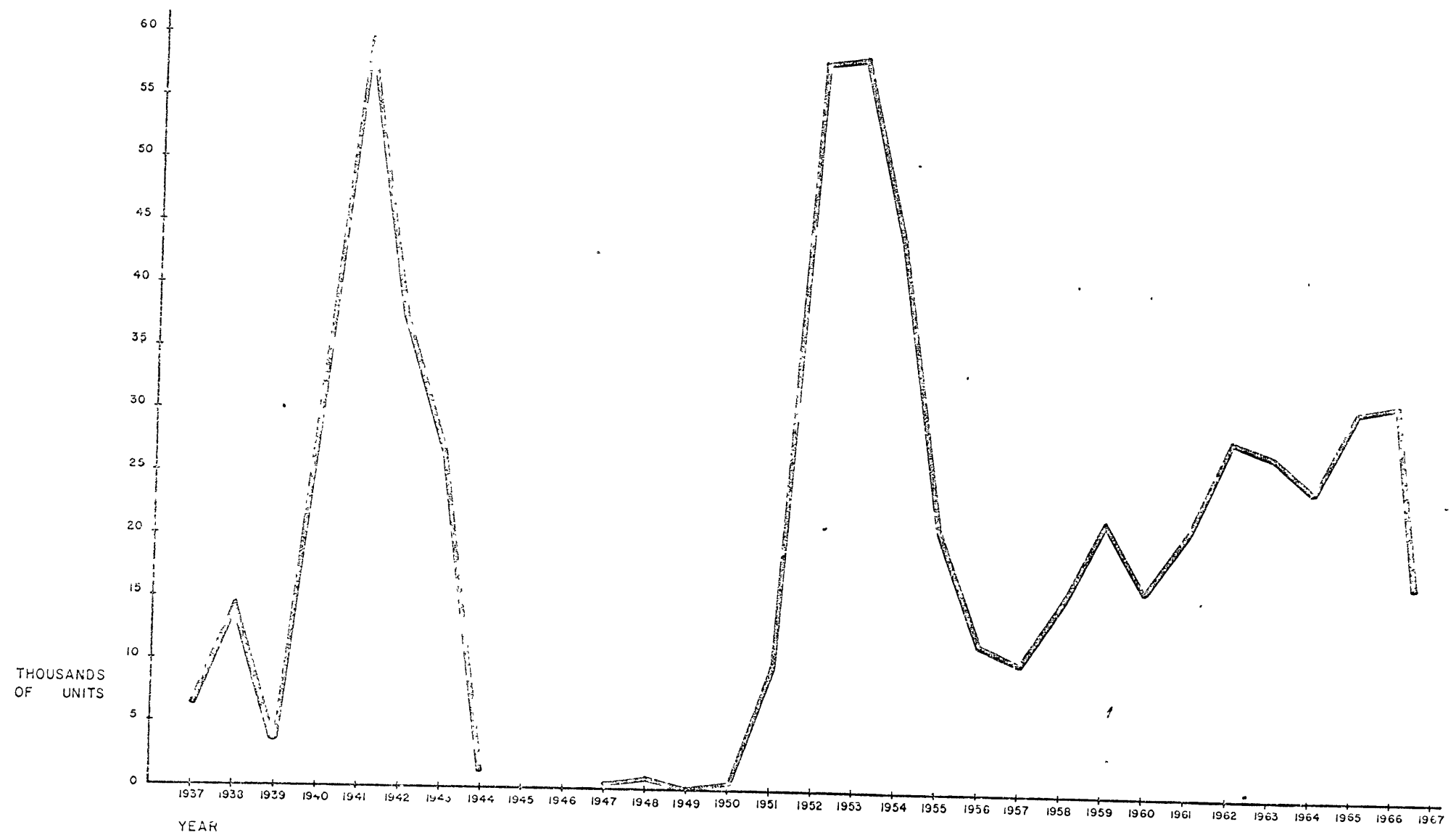
Estimates by economists state the GNP for 1967 will have increased more than twice the annual cost of the war in Vietnam. Who says Uncle Sam can't fight both wars at the same time!!!

Our forebearers gave us our heritage by winning the war against Great Britain. They held our nation together with their blood through the outcome of the Civil War. We all overcame the depression threat of final destruction with bold measures courageously taken and implemented.

Time for decision is again before the nation! Only forthright action, bold action, immediately taken can suffice. Let not future historians compare us to those men who failed as depicted in Archibald McLeisch's "The Fall of the City" when he recorded "the long labor of liberty ended, they lie there".

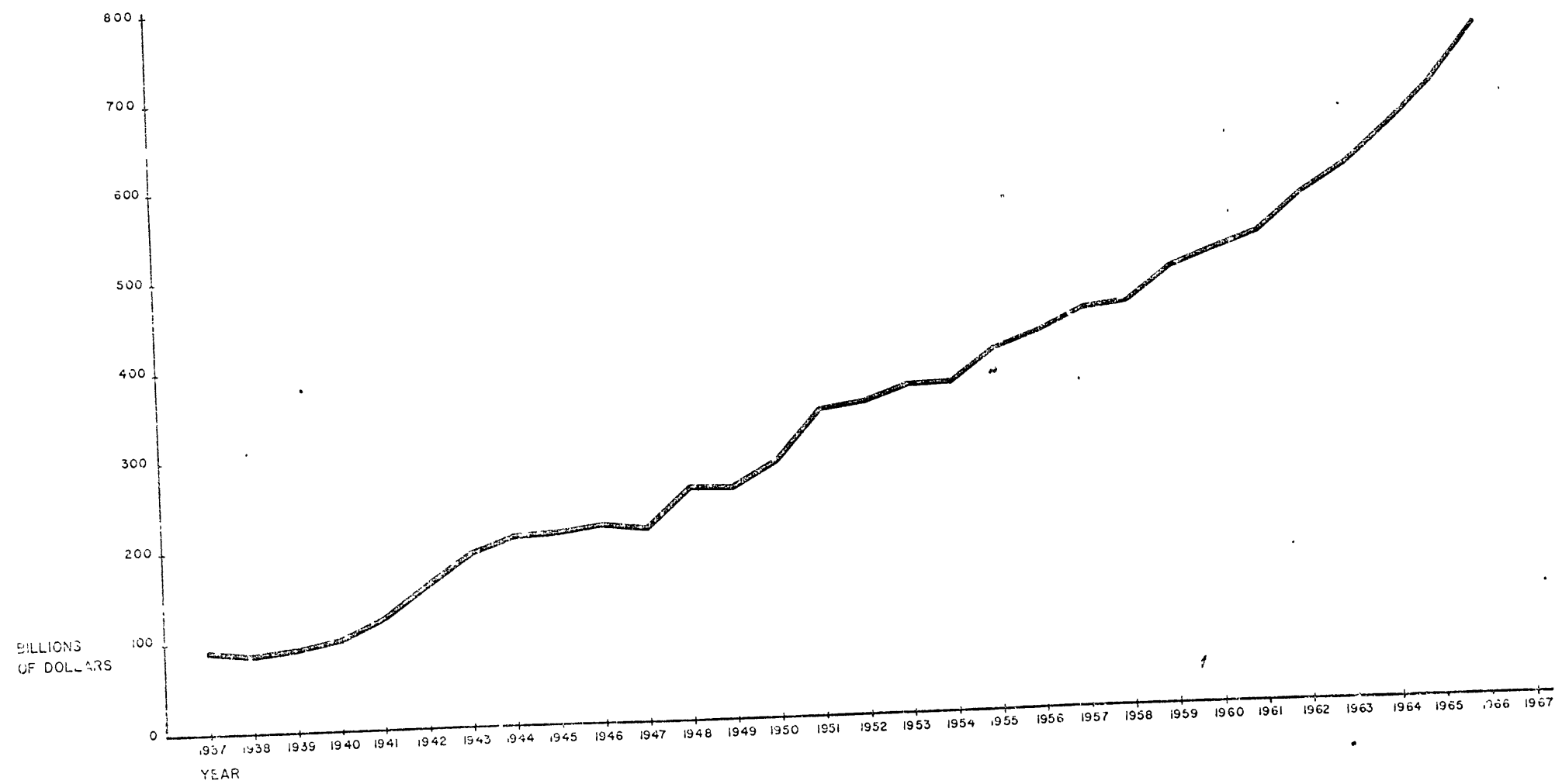
Had President Roosevelt lived one day longer his clarion call to the nation would have been, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith".

LOW-RENT HOUSING UNITS COMPLETED FOLLOWING THE HOUSING ACT OF 1937



ADDRESS BY CHARLES F. PALMER
GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AUTHORITIES
JEKYL ISLAND, GEORGIA
OCTOBER 16, 1967

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT



ADDRESS BY CHARLES F. PALMER
GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AUTHORITIES
JEKYL ISLAND, GEORGIA
OCTOBER 16, 1967

#33

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

OFFICE OF INFORMATION
382-8521

October 19, 1967

F O R I M M E D I A T E R E L E A S E

The appointments of Stanley P. Hebert as Deputy Director of Investigations and Lawrence A. Still as Deputy Director of Information for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders were announced today by the Commission.

Hebert, a former Assistant City Attorney of Milwaukee, will be on loan from his present post as Deputy General Counsel of the U. S. Navy Department.

He will be chief assistant to Milan C. Miskovsky, Assistant General Counsel of the U. S. Treasury Department, who was recently named Director of Investigations for the Commission.

Hebert, a native of Baton Rouge, La., was formerly a civil rights lawyer in Columbus, Ga., and associate professor of law at North Carolina College in Durham and Southern University in Scotlandville, La. He resides with his wife and six children at 7905 Orchid Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Still was loaned to the Commission from his post as Chief of Information Services for the U. S. Employment Service for the District of Columbia.

He is a former staff writer for the Washington Evening Star. He was a member of the staff of the Afro-American newspapers and a former White House correspondent for the Johnson Publishing Company of Chicago.

Still, a native of St. Louis, Mo., is an instructor in journalism at Howard University and President of the Capital Press Club of Washington. He resides with his wife, Cecelia, and three children at 5704 New Hampshire Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C.

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THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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October 19, 1967

F O R I M M E D I A T E R E L E A S E

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders will hear testimony from the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles on Monday, Oct. 23.

They will be among witnesses including AFL-CIO President George Meany who will appear during two days of executive sessions which will extend through Tuesday afternoon in the Executive Office Building.

Testimony will be heard on a number of subjects, including roles played in the solution of urban problems by private enterprise, Negro business ownership, the real estate industry, the financial community and organized labor.

At 9:30 a.m. Monday, the Commission will hear from Kenneth Wright, Vice President and Chief Economist of the Life Insurance Association of America, from New York City. At 11:30 a.m., Dr. Kenneth McFarland, former Superintendent of Schools in Topeka, Kansas, will testify.

Dr. King will appear Monday at 1:30 p.m. Berkeley G. Burrell, President of the National Business League, a predominantly Negro group, and Mayor Yorty are also scheduled to appear Monday afternoon.

An official of the National Association of Real Estate Boards will testify at 9:30 a.m. Tuesday. He will be followed by Arthur R. Lumsden, President of the Hartford, Conn., Chamber of Commerce, and John R. Bunting, Executive Vice President of the First Pennsylvania Banking and Trust Company, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Meany will appear before the Commission Tuesday at 3:00 p.m.

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THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 19, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSION

Subject: Further Details, Hearings, October 23-24

1. We have just been notified that the National Association of Manufacturers has decided not to accept our invitation to appear before the Commission at the next set of hearings; instead, around November 1, the Association will submit a written statement for insertion into the record. We will, of course, distribute a copy to each Commissioner.

2. The United States Chamber of Commerce is also unable to appear at Monday's hearing. Mr. Arthur Lumsden, President of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, will, however, appear for an hour on Tuesday morning to discuss the positions taken by the Chamber at its workshop on riots held this week in St. Paul at the Chamber's annual convention.

3. Appearing Monday morning in place of the N.A.M. and the Chamber of Commerce will be Mr. Kenneth Wright, Vice President and Chief Economist of the Life Insurance Association of America. The Association is coordinating the recently announced \$1 billion program to make mortgage loans and other financing more widely available in low-income areas. Mr. Wright will describe this and other possible action programs involving private enterprise.

4. Dr. Kenneth McFarland, whose name was brought to my attention by Mr. Thornton, has now confirmed that he will be with us on Monday morning following Mr. Wright.

5. As a matter of procedure for the meetings, in order to conserve time and ensure that we cover all of the essential points, I've asked our General Counsel, Merle McCurdy, to be prepared to question each witness. This was done at the hearing with the Cincinnati representatives and seemed to work out extremely well. Each Commissioner will, of course, have ample opportunity for further questioning if he deems it advisable.

6. The hearings will begin promptly at 9:30 a.m. in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building. We will confirm by telegram.

D.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 20, 1967

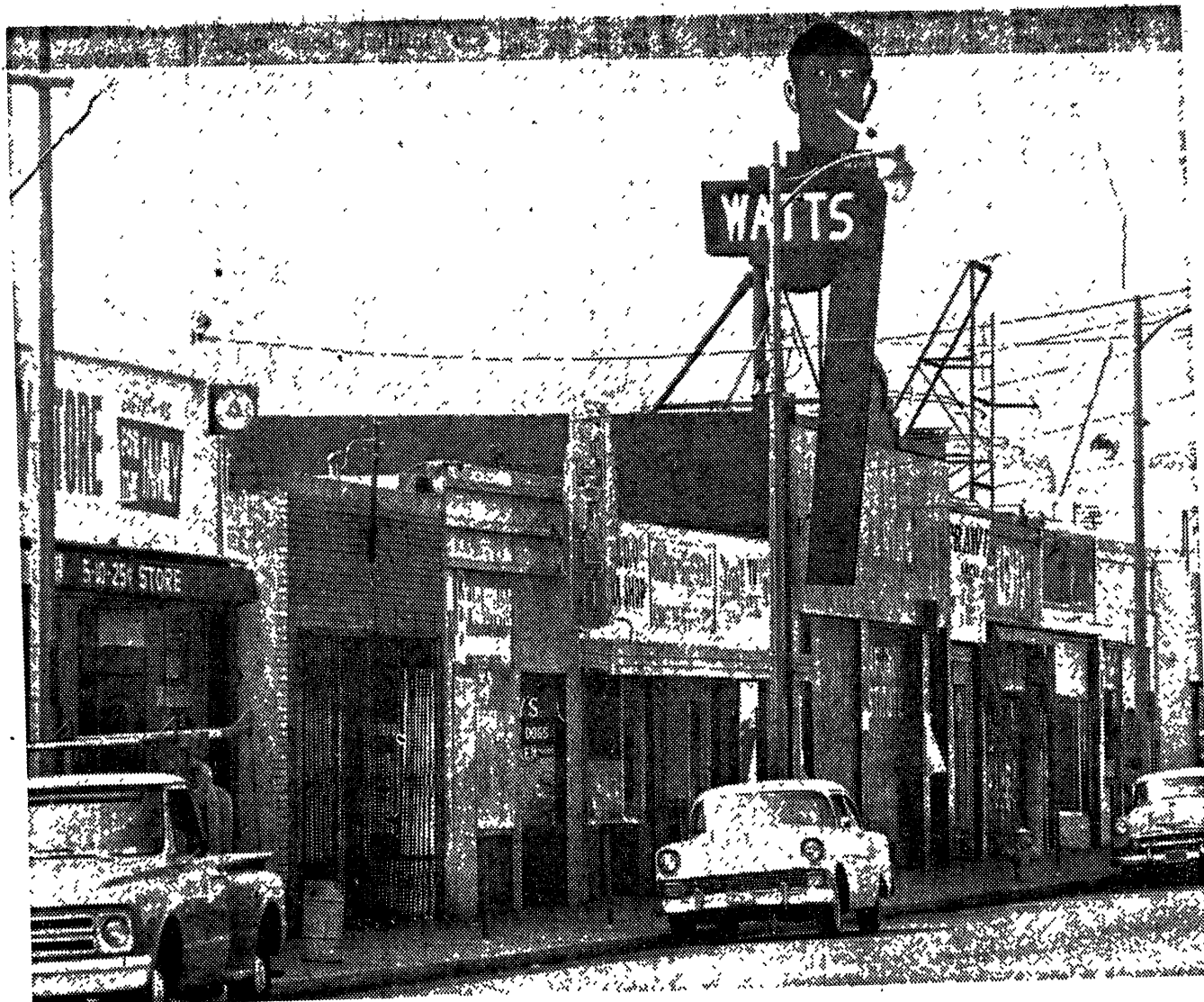
MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSION

Enclosed are two informative articles on
the aftermath of Watts.

D.G.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

2 Years Later, Watts an Economic Wasteland



STILLNESS IN WATTS—Once one of America's busiest retail centers, 103rd St. in the heart of Watts

is almost devoid of shoppers today, indicating an economic collapse since riots struck area in 1965.
Times photo by Joe Kennedy



'CHARCOAL ALLEY' TODAY—Overview of 103rd shows gaping empty lots where retailers were burned out in riots. Some new businesses

have located in area, but shoppers are taking their money to retailing centers elsewhere, due to the scarcity of retailing outlets in Watts.
Times photo by Bill Murphy from Santa Monica Flyers plane

FHA Cranks Up Loan Program in Ghetto Areas

BY VINCENT J. BURKE
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The government within the last two months has provided mortgage insurance to help more than 1,000 families buy their own homes in city ghettos.

These are the first fruits of a reversal in the Federal Housing Administration's long-standing policy of denying insurance for mortgages in blighted neighborhoods.

The old policy denied to potential Negro neighborhoods any chance to buy a home with a low down payment and a reasonable mortgage interest rate.

Philip N. Brownstein, FHA commissioner and assistant secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, was asked in an interview how much FHA insurance was provided for home purchases in blighted areas prior to the change in policy.

"Nil," he replied.

"But we are now making commitments at a rate of more than 150 a week and we believe this is going to accelerate," he added.

UNDER THE NEW policy, insurance applications have been approved for home buyers in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Los Angeles and a number of other cities, FHA officials said.

(An FHA official in Los Angeles said no tally had been made of the number of ghetto-area mortgages insured here. He confirmed, however, that the local office had relaxed its "economic soundness" standards in the police-defined "curfew" area.)

Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R-Calif.) is the unsung hero of the policy change. Kuchel last year decided the government's policy was wrong. He sponsored an amendment to the 1966 housing act permitting a change in policy.

Kuchel's amendment empowered FHA in "riot or riot-threatened neighborhoods" to waive its requirement of "economic soundness"—the test which, in practice, has barred FHA mortgage insurance for entire neighborhoods.

FOR ALMOST a year there was no change in FHA policy. Brownstein's explanation is that FHA didn't know how to define a "riot-threatened" neighborhood. But after this summer's riots policy-makers concluded there was no blighted area in America that could not qualify under Kuchel's amendment.

"On Aug. 3 we ruled that no area should be red-lined," Brownstein said. "In each case we would have to look at the house to see if it meets sound standards of construction and if there is a prospective buyer who

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Ghetto Area Loan Program Begun by FHA

Continued from First Page

can meet the payments. We pretty well wiped out the old policy of looking at the rest of the neighborhood, except, of course, for problems such as sliding soil or noxious fumes that would affect livability."

FHA's willingness to insure a mortgage does not, of course, guarantee that there will be a lender who will provide mortgage money.

Three weeks ago at a highly publicized White House conference the life insurance industry pledged to invest \$1 billion in housing and job-creating industries in ghetto areas.

Some of this money, but possibly not a large percentage, will become available in the months ahead for investment in individual home mortgages.

Multi-Unit Housing

Under present plans a large share of the \$1 billion seems likely to be invested in big multi-unit housing projects to be built under the government's rent supplement program.

Those rent supplement projects already authorized by Congress could absorb almost \$450 million of the life insurance industry funds and President Johnson is trying to persuade Congress this year to more than double this authorization.

Dr. Kenneth Wright, an insurance industry spokesman, said in a telephone interview from New York that the industry's ghetto investments will include rent-supplement projects, individual home mortgages and investments in job-creating industries.

But he indicated that the insurance industry is not likely to provide investment funds for small ghetto business, such as a grocery or candy store, which would merely provide self-employment for the proprietor.

Light Industry

The commercial, or non-housing investments, probably will be focused on light industry, or other job-creating industries, Wright said.

"This is more likely to be the focus, rather than a candy store," he said.

"The insurance industry wouldn't know anything about investing in a small store," he said. "We would have to invest where we have some know-how. Moreover, I doubt whether investment laws in many states would permit insurance companies to invest their policy-holders' money in a small store."

Wright is a spokesman for the Urban Problems Clearinghouse set up by the Life Insurance Association of America, industry trade association, to insure that the industry meets in full its pledge of ghetto investments.

Pro-rata Share

Each one of the participating companies will be assigned a pro-rata share of the \$1-billion pledge. The identity of the companies, which probably will number about 100, will not be disclosed until late this month.

Then, it will be possible for groups or individuals seeking investment funds for the ghetto areas to apply directly to a participating company.

In the meantime, the industry has indicated that it will take over eight of the nine rent-subsidy slum projects for which the federal government earlier had committed itself to provide mortgage funds. The effect of this was to relieve the federal government of a contingent liability of \$7.7 million.

Remaining Businessmen Say Money and Shoppers Scarce

BY ARELO SEDERBERG, Times Staff Writer

THERE IS A QUIET that is not wanted these days on "Charcoal Alley," 103rd St. in Watts.

"Everything is at a standstill," says Marvene Morse, Negro manager of the only bank in Watts, a small branch of First Western Bank & Trust Co. The branch is losing money. So is Watts. "There's not much to draw shoppers back," Morse says. "The money should be staying here, but it is not. People cash their checks at our bank and go to Huntington Park or Manchester and Broadway to shop."

A walk with Morse down 103rd St. graphically illustrates his point. Empty, weed-choked lots gape openly where thriving retailers operated an uninterrupted succession of small shops prior to the riot two years ago. Brick walls show black burn scars, grim evidence that economic malaise has not left the area and undoubtedly has even intensified. Foot traffic is sparse, except on some street corners. Even the parking meters are gone.

"This street once ranked with the top 50 in the country in terms of pedestrian traffic," Morse says. "Now you have a store here and there, then three vacant lots, then maybe another store. Women shoppers like a succession of shops."

The slower economic pulse is evident not only in Watts, but throughout much of the South Central Los Angeles "curfew" area, businessmen say. "We're finding that white customers who came here before the riots no longer come," says Peter W. Dauterive, executive vice president of Broadway Federal Savings & Loan Assn. "And a great number of Negro customers aren't coming here any more, either."

The association, under Negro management, is at 45th and Broadway. Weeds grow in the cracked cement of three empty lots on Broadway, across 45th from Dauterive's office window, and beyond the lots the wall of an inoperative theater is stained with fire scars. The lots used to contain a ladies ready to wear

shop, a children's clothing store, and a shoe store.

"They took their insurance money and left," Dauterive says. "They aren't going to come back, of course. Everything in the curfew area has a black mark on it, a stigma. I haven't seen any economic progress since the riots. I would say we've gone downhill economically."

At the Negro-operated Bank of Finance, 27th St. and Western Ave., the story is much the same, perhaps even more intense. "Our loan demand is high, but we haven't got the money," says a top officer. "We've had to cut back to lending to depositors only, although we might lift this rule for auto loans. It's primarily due to the riots. Money has left the curfew areas since then. We were caught right in the middle of it here, and had a lot of money outstanding on destroyed property in the area. Our loan losses have been heavy."

Bank of Finance was founded a year before the riots. Growth has been slow. "The riots hurt everybody," says an officer, "and they most certainly hurt us."

"There might have been some kind of progress (in the curfew area) but certainly not enough," says John Brown, president of the South Central Los Angeles and Watts Chamber of Commerce. Brown, a builder and a real estate agent, adds: "Instead of upgrading the area, Negroes are moving the hell out. We just took a survey and discovered 600 units vacant in Watts. Before the riots, the area had about an 8% vacancy factor; now it's about 22%."

On real estate values, Brown says: "How can you determine what they are? There are no sales."

First Western's Morse says two factors are primarily responsible for keeping retailers from returning to the area, and expanding within it.

One is the difficulty of getting insurance.

"Most of the retailers who are here now are operating without insurance," he says. "You really can't make a loan on inventories in a store unless there is insurance."

Another factor holding up progress, for now, is uncertainty about the city's Community Redevelopment Agency, which is looking into the possible industrial development of Watts. If industrial development is to come to the area, retailers would have to relocate.

As a consequence, many hesitate to establish facilities.

One who has not hesitated is George E. Crawford, 31-year-old Negro who is running a clothing store on 103rd St. at a site that used to be a pawn shop. He came in after the riots. Business has picked up this year, he says, but still is slow.

"I've been able to get fire insurance, but the price for liability and inventory insurance is so high I can't carry it," he says.

Consequently, Crawford isn't

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Businessmen Say Economic Gains in Watts Practically Nonexistent

Continued from First Page
about to get a loan to expand his inventories. That restricts sales. With low volume, he's forced to buy (for cash) from clothing wholesalers, not manufacturers; thus his prices are "about 20% higher."

Crawford, quite naturally, isn't anxious to see 103rd St. turned into an industrial center. "This area doesn't lend itself to industry," he says. "It's

been a good retail area and it could become a good retail area once again."

White businessmen or ex-businessmen who have closely followed the economy of South Central Los Angeles after the riots agree that progress has been nil, or backward.

"I'd share the opinion that there have been very few gains," says H. C. (Chad) McClellan, head of the Management Council,

set up after the riots to bring industry to the area. "There hasn't been much progress."

McClellan, however, does rapidly tick off evidence of progress—the return of the burned-out White Front Store and Thrifty Drug, the establishment of the Watts Manufacturing Co. (subsidiary of Aerojet General Co.), the Sons of Watts Standard Oil service station. McClellan

says he hopes soon to announce that several companies are planning to put "major, major" capital investments into the area.

But he adds: "There are still fears of the area. Industrial realtors tell me: 'Take me anywhere in the Los Angeles area (for industrial development) but Watts. I don't want to get bombed out.'"

Milton M. Weiss, executive director of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, a five-city business counseling organization founded by the Urban League and the American Jewish Congress and co-chaired by Rodman C. Rockefeller, son of the New York governor, sums up the

slow economic progress in one word:

"Inertia. There is a tendency to react instead of to act."

The problem is money, say Weiss and others, and also jobs; the two, certainly, go together. Weiss adds another element: the problem of leadership.

Look to Businessmen

"When you look at any community for economic leadership, you look to the businessman," he says. "The business leaders pledge money and get out and ring doorbells. If you put five or six business leaders into a room together they could come up with a plan in a day and put it into effect pretty fast, whereas it takes politicians years. You have no Negro business leadership; you do not even have Negro leaders, period."

By that, Weiss does not mean there are no Negro businessmen. He means that there are very few who can provide jobs on a wide-scale basis. Jesse L. Robinson, Negro president of Robinsons' Research, a management consultant-public relations-advertising firm on Crenshaw Blvd., puts it another way:

"Where are the responsible Negro leaders? Why aren't they out doing something? How come they haven't come forth? The reason is that you've got to be able to deliver in a community to be a leader. If you can't bring money in, if you can't provide jobs, you cannot lead."

Spearheaded by Family Savings & Loan Assn., five Negro-operated financial institutions in Los Angeles have launched a coordinated program to attract funds for investment in the South Central area. The "Good Neighbor Program" emphasizes that the institutions are basically sound but being retarded by lack of funds due primarily to the fears lingering after the riot.

Loan Value Drops

"We were putting on \$9 million a year in new loans in 1963 through 1965," says Albert E. Hampton, president of Family Savings (the former Watts Savings, relocated on Crenshaw). "Last year,



RETAILER—After working for J. C. Penney, George Crawford has gone on his own in Watts. Sales have improved, he says, but insurance costs and slow foot traffic have limited expansion plans.

Times photo

we did \$1 million in new loans."

The institutions reason that if money comes to them for reinvestment in the area, it will tend to stay and circulate within the area which has a multiplying economic effect. The group is asking for deposit "pledges" from business and industry and so far has "raised" about \$500,000.

"But that is nothing, not even the slightest ripple," says Dauterive of Broadway Federal.

Negro managers of South Central Los Angeles financial institutions claim that "white money" dried up after the riot and that in many areas loans simply are not being made. Meanwhile, "white" banks and S&Ls are attracting funds for investment outside the area.

"We offer the same interest rate and insurance protection," says Hampton of Family Savings. "It's primarily a communications problem, defeating this still-lingering fear

psychosis against coming into the area."

Dr. Preston Martin, California's savings and loan commissioner, says there is "a whole lot" of real estate in the South Central area owned by savings and loan associations as a result of foreclosures following defaults in payments.

The exact amount is unknown, but Martin says he knows of several associations that hold millions in property values in the area — property they're unable to sell because of a weak real estate market.

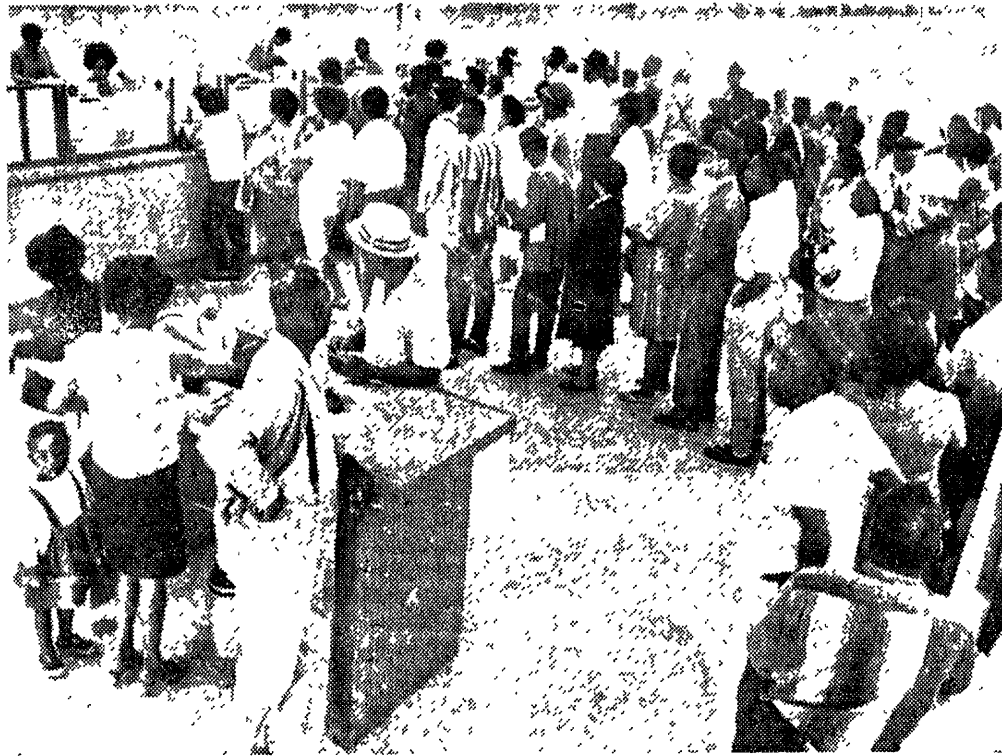
Most observers—Martin, McClellan, Weiss, and others—say the answer, at least in part, is industry in the area. They regard the White House's pilot program, announced last Monday, to urge private industry to train hard-core unemployed as an important forward step. Some, however, discount this effort and say industrial progress for the Negro is up to the Negro himself.

"The Watts Manufac-

turing facility is an outstanding 'hint' that something better may be happening, but I'd like to see that even more 'Negro,'" says Weiss of the ICBO. "I'd like to see it spun off someday into the hands of stockholders, perhaps at first Negro, then later integrated shareholding, but with continuing Negro management."

Answering charges that banks and other financial institutions in or near the curfew area merely take

Please Turn to Pg. 9, Col. 5



BUSY BANK—Check-cashers line up at the only bank in Watts, a branch of First Western on 103rd St. The majority are welfare checks. Bank is losing money, but manager Marvene Morse sees potential for new loans in Watts area.

Times photo

WATTS BUSINESS

Continued from 8th Page

in deposits and do not lend within the area, Stafford Grady, president of First Western, says his institution's "loan-to-deposit" ratio of two branches in South Central Los Angeles is "about 50%." That means that loans are approximately half deposits.

No Charge

"This is not really too unusual for individual branches," says Grady. "Many of our loans are concentrated at our head offices and that lowers all the loan ratios of the branches."

Grady says First Western's Watts branch does not charge for cashing checks of non-customers, whereas all other branches charge 50 cents. The bank figures it costs 52 cents to collect the money on a cashed check.

About 75% of the checks cashed by the Watts branch are welfare checks. The branch cashed 3,810 checks for non-customers this March, Grady said, of which 2,600 were county checks, mostly welfare. When First Western discontinued its 50-cent charge on non-customer check cashing, its check volume doubled.

"The branch has the highest ratio of employees in our system to the amount of business transactions, measured by loans and deposits," Grady says. "It handles a lot of transactions, but they are not money-making transactions."

The branch has lost money for the past three years and most certainly will lose money this year, he adds. "Despite the losses, we've made a policy determination to stay in the area," Grady says.

Profits Seen

Manager Morse most certainly agrees with that determination. He believes the Watts branch could become highly profitable in time.

Despite the exodus from Watts, many people stay

and are trying to put down economic roots. Like the volcano people who move back to the craters after an eruption, explaining that they're volcano people, the stayers in Watts explain that they're Watts people.

"I'm in love with the place and I want to do something for it," says Jack Everage, 25.

He was born there, the baby brother among 11 children; he went to Jordan High and after the riots he and two of his brothers established a market on 103rd St.

"I've got to have success, and I've got to have it here," he says. "I don't want the handouts. They make you lazy. I want a chance to work and I can make it my way then. Give me a chance to compete, and I'll take care of myself and my area."

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 23, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSION

Subject: Move to New Federal Office Building

Having reached the limits of available space at 1016 16th Street, I have moved with a part of the staff to the new Federal Office Building near the corner of 17th and H Streets, N.W., a block from the Executive Office Building. Our mail should continue to be sent to the old address, but the new room and telephone numbers are:

	Room	Telephone
David Ginsburg	8236	(202) 395-4666
David Chambers	8236	395-4566
Claudette Johnson	8218*	395-4816*
Victor H. Palmieri	8236	395-4677
John Koskinen	8236	395-4682
Merle M. McCurdy	8228	395-4784
Nathaniel Jones	8228	395-4784
David Birenbaum	8228	395-4784
Roger Waldman	8228	395-4784
Milan Miskovsky	8222	395-4816
Stanley Hebert	8222	395-4816

A complete directory of the Commission staff will be mailed within the next few days.

*Temporary room and telephone number; will give further notice when permanently placed.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR


October 24, 1967

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSION

Subject: Memorandum of William L. Taylor,
United States Commission on Civil Rights

At the hearing on October 6, William Taylor, the staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights was asked to send us written proposals for action programs that might be immediately implemented.

Enclosed is a copy of the memorandum that Taylor prepared. It has been inserted into the record.


David Ginsburg
Executive Director



STAFF DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

OCT 20 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE OTTO KERNER, CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

FROM: William L. Taylor *Bill Taylor*

This is in response to your request for suggestions on specific proposals for measures that could be taken over the next several months that would have an impact on relieving the problems underlying the racial unrest and disorders in the Nation's cities. We have set forth our proposals by subject areas. We have attempted to emphasize proposals that could be adopted by administrative action of Federal agencies or by Presidential executive order, without resorting to new legislation. In some instances, however, new legislation would be required.

I. Employment

A. Measures to assure nondiscrimination in job opportunities for minority group employees.

1. Federal nondiscrimination requirements concerning employment on government contracts or on federally assisted construction contracts should be changed to apply more directly to the policies and practices of labor unions. This could be accomplished by amending Executive Order 11246 to require government contractors and federally assisted construction contractors to obtain from labor unions with which they have collective bargaining agreements written assurances that the unions will take appropriate affirmative action to assure to minority group members equal access to union membership, including participation in apprenticeship programs.

Under the Executive Order, as it now stands, there is no effective remedy against a union which, through its own discriminatory practices, prevents contractors from complying with the Order's non-discrimination requirements. The proposal would have a particular impact on opening up opportunities in certain construction trades where nonwhites either have no representation or only token representation. Although construction trades do not account for a statistically large number of jobs, effective action to open up opportunities in these trades would be of great symbolic importance and would represent clear evidence of forward movement in ending job discrimination.

2. Federally assisted construction contractors should be required to include in their affirmative action programs under Executive Order 11246 a commitment that an appropriate portion of the work will be performed by minority group contractors. This would be one of the most effective ways of breaking down the exclusion of Negroes and other minority group members from better-paying jobs in certain building trades. Minority group subcontractors would be likely to employ a substantial number of minority group employees and, in turn, other minority group persons would be encouraged to go into these building trades if there was a prospect of their becoming entrepreneurs, themselves.

3. Measures should be taken to assure equal opportunity in State and local employment, which is the fastest growing area of employment. Currently, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not apply to State and local government employment. An appropriate amendment to Title VII prohibiting such discrimination and granting effective enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (as contained in Title III of the 1967 Civil Rights Bill) would accomplish this.

In the absence of such legislation, however, administrative action along this line could be taken by Federal agencies. A uniform policy should be established to the effect that Federal agencies will require assurances of nondiscrimination in employment by State and local agencies administering Federal assistance programs and operating facilities constructed with Federal assistance. Some Federal agencies, such as OEO and HUD already require such assurances, but many agencies do not. Such a requirement should be uniform among all Federal agencies, to the extent permitted by law, and should be accompanied by requirements of appropriate affirmative action on the part of State and local agencies to attract minority group employees.

B. Measures to assure access of minority group employees to employment centers and adequate training for skilled jobs.

1. More strategic use should be made of the location of Federal installations as a means of providing jobs for minority group members in ghetto areas. This could be done by an executive order requiring that one essential criterion in determining the location of all Federal installations in urban areas shall be the contribution of such installations to reducing unemployment.

Federal installations can have an enormous effect on the economy of the area in which it is located and on its growth and vitality. For example, compare the economy and character of Huntsville, Alabama before and after the Redstone Arsenal was located there. The intense competition for the AEC installation, now to be located in Weston, Illinois, was clear evidence of the recognition of the potential impact on the economy of Federal

installations. In determining the location of Federal installations in urban areas, uniform Federal policy should be established by Executive Order that consideration will be given to the impact the installations will have on reducing hard-core unemployment in ghetto areas, either through locating the installations in the ghetto, itself, or through assuring that there is adequate access for ghetto residents to the installations, if located outside the ghetto.

2. Measures should be taken to require government contractors to provide assurance that minority group members -- particularly those who are disadvantaged -- will have adequate access to employment. The most effective way for this to be accomplished is through assurance of the availability of housing in the community, open on a nondiscriminatory basis and within the means of lower-income minority group families.

In a number of instances, large employers have been induced to move their plants from central cities to suburban or outlying areas where Negroes and other minority group members either are not permitted to live or do not have the means to acquire housing there, or both. The assurance of nondiscrimination which such employers give to the Federal Government under government contract is of little effect when minority group members, through exclusion from the area, have no access to employment there.

Through an amendment to Executive Order 11246, government contractors could be required to demonstrate, as a condition to the contract, that housing in the community in which their plants are located is open to minority group members and that there is a sufficient supply of housing within their means. The community could be induced to take the kind of action necessary to permit the contractor to comply with these requirements, if it were made clear that failure to comply with these requirements would mean loss of the contract.

3. Existing job training programs should be reoriented to attack more effectively the problems of hard-core unemployment of unskilled ghetto residents. Programs such as those conducted under the Manpower and Development Training Act are defective in several ways: First, they tend to train people who are most readily trainable, while ignoring those who lack basic skills. Second, the training often has not provided trainees with skills that are marketable. Training often has been for jobs either in declining industries or for which openings are scarce. Third, there have been inadequate links formed between the training programs and the jobs, so that often, persons trained for jobs in which openings do exist fail to obtain employment because they are not aware of the openings, nor are the employers aware of the availability of this source of skilled workers. These deficiencies should be corrected through appropriate administrative changes that would permit the training programs to operate more effectively.

II. Housing

A. Measures to assure nondiscrimination in housing.

1. Coverage of Executive Order 11063 should be extended beyond its current limits (new FHA and VA-aided housing) to include conventionally financed housing provided with loans from federally supervised lending institutions.

The confinement of minority group members to deteriorating housing in central city ghettos can be attributed, in large part, to the continuing discriminatory practices of the housing and home finance industry. Under existing law, Federal equal housing opportunity requirements cover less than 20 percent of the new housing market and less than 2 percent of the entire housing inventory. Title IV of the 1967 Civil Rights Bill would prohibit discrimination in virtually all housing. Its chances of enactment, however, are dim. If Title IV fails of enactment, it is important that existing executive authority be used to the fullest extent permissible to extend coverage of Federal nondiscrimination requirements. By extending the Executive Order to apply to housing conventionally financed by federally supervised lenders (savings and loan associations, commercial banks and mutual savings banks, whose accounts or deposits are insured by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation or the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation), coverage would be broadened from less than 20 percent of the new housing market to between 60 and 80 percent of the market.

There is some question of the President's authority to direct Federal agencies to take such action and of the agencies' authority to comply with such a direction. If it is determined that sufficient authority exists, it should be used.

2. The Federal Housing Administration should take action to assure that multi-family projects, built prior to the effective date of Executive Order 11063, but still receiving the benefits of FHA mortgage insurance, are open without discrimination. Under the Executive Order, FHA is directed to use its discretion in selecting the most appropriate means to "promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices" with respect to housing built prior to the Order's effective date. Thus far, FHA has taken no sterner actions than the use of "good offices" to assure nondiscrimination in the more than 300,000 pre-order apartment houses receiving its aid. A nondiscrimination requirement, imposed by FHA regulation, could open up substantial housing opportunities to middle-income Negroes and other excluded minority group members.

3. Enforcement of the existing Executive Order should be made more effective. The enforcement programs conducted by FHA and VA -- the agencies principally concerned under the Executive Order -- are inadequate to effect any real change in the discriminatory practices of the housing industry.

Although builders aided under the programs conducted by these agencies are required to sign nondiscrimination agreements, little is done to assure that they comply with their agreements. They are not required to conduct affirmative marketing programs to attract Negro and other minority group home seekers, nor do FHA and VA attempt, through routine inspection or record-keeping requirements, to determine whether such builders are, in fact, discriminating against minority group home seekers. Sole reliance for enforcement is placed on a complaint procedure which is time-consuming and inadequate to assure the complainant of the opportunity to acquire housing. There is also evidence that FHA officials -- particularly those in the field -- fail to take even minimal steps in carrying out the Executive Order on the principal ground that this would reduce business for FHA. It is necessary that some means be used to impress upon FHA insuring offices the seriousness of their responsibilities under the Executive Order, and that a more effective enforcement program be instituted.

B. Measures to increase supply of standard housing to disadvantaged ghetto residents within and outside the ghetto.

1. The authorizations for existing lower-income housing programs should be substantially increased. The public housing program, which for many years seemed incapable of producing a large volume of low-income housing regardless of the amount of funds it had available, now is utilizing new tools such as "Section 23 leasing" of existing private housing and the "Turnkey" program, which appear to enable the program to provide a significantly larger number of housing units. These new tools also permit the program to generate housing much more rapidly than under its traditional new construction procedure. The leasing program, for example, makes use of vacancies in existing housing. The program's authorization should be expanded to permit it to use these new tools to the fullest extent.

The rent supplement program, which attempts to meet the need for lower-income housing through the use of private enterprise, has been limited to less than half of the funds authorized to it. The full amount of its authorization should be appropriated to the program to give it the opportunity to demonstrate its capability for generating a large volume of housing. In addition, the local government approval provision, which serves to confine the housing built under the program to the central city alone, should be eliminated so that private industry will have a greater choice of sites, throughout metropolitan areas, from which to choose.

The FHA 221(d)(3) (below market interest rate) program, which attempts to meet the housing needs of families whose incomes are too high for public housing but too low to compete in the normal housing market, has been limited to approximately 50,000 housing units in six years, a volume much too low to have any real impact on the housing problems of the families it attempts to serve. The authorization for this program should be substantially increased and the workable program requirement, which tends to confine this housing -- also built by private enterprise -- to the central city, should be eliminated.

2. Measures should be adopted to increase the availability of FHA and VA acquired properties to lower-income minority families. FHA and VA acquire a substantial number of properties each year through default (approximately 70,000 units a year). Very few of these are resold to lower-income families, although the average sales prices (for FHA acquired homes, \$11,000) would suggest that many lower-income families would be in a position to acquire them. The terms under which these properties are offered put low-income and minority families at a disadvantage. The agencies are interested in high down payment, short loan term, and strong credit standing on the part of would-be purchasers. Further, no affirmative action is taken to market the properties to low-income minority families. A number of steps could be taken by FHA and VA to assure that this substantial volume of housing is made available to these families. Local housing authorities or appropriate non-profit corporations could be given first options to purchase or lease the properties for the use of low-income families. In addition, FHA and VA could lease these properties to low-income families with options to purchase.

III. Welfare

A. Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

This program, which serves a disproportionately large number of ghetto families, is one of the worst examples of how a program aimed at assisting impoverished families often can do more harm than good. Among the deficiencies in the operation of the program are as follows:

1. In most States, assistance under this program is available only if a parent is absent from the home. Thus an unemployed father must make the choice either of leaving his family or seeing them cut off from assistance under the program. In other States, assistance is available even if both parents are present in the home, provided that the father is unemployed. In these States, an employed father who earns too little to support his family must make the same choice.

2. Any income earned by adults is deducted, dollar for dollar, from the assistance provided under the program. Thus little incentive is provided for adults to secure gainful employment.

3. States are permitted to set arbitrary ceilings on the amount of assistance they will pay to needy families -- ceilings which often are well below the standards for minimum need established by the States themselves. For example, in 20 States, the maximum that may be paid to assist a family of four is \$150 a month. In seven States the ceiling is less than \$100. In Mississippi, a family of four may receive no more than \$50 a month.

4. Too little attention is paid under the program to providing training and employment opportunities to enable members of needy families capable and desirous of obtaining employment.

The Social Security Amendments, passed by the House of Representatives and now pending in the Senate, will provide several needed reforms to this program, such as permitting earning exemptions and assuring work and training programs. Other provisions, however, such as those placing an arbitrary limit on the number of children for whom Federal payments may be made under the program and requiring all adults in needy families whom the State considers "appropriate" for training and employment to accept such training and employment or have assistance under the program discontinued, would serve only to deprive the poor even further of basic rights and exacerbate many of the problems that have given rise to frustration and disorder.

We urge your Commission to take a strong position against these repressive measures and in support of genuine reform of welfare law and its administration.

B. Food Stamp Program.

The Food Stamp Program is aimed at assisting needy families to obtain wholesome and nutritional food which their low incomes would not otherwise permit them to buy. The program permits participants to purchase food stamps, worth more than their purchase price, which can be used like cash to purchase food in participating markets. The cost of food stamps is determined by family size and monthly income. Participants must contribute the amount determined by the State, the minimum of which, until recently, was \$2 per person, per month. In some instances, needy families are too poor even to afford the \$2 minimum payment and thus are unable to take advantage of the program.

A strong argument can be made that the statute governing the program authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture (who administers the program) to make food stamps available without cost to families who otherwise cannot afford them. The Secretary, however, takes a contrary view. Nonetheless, in two States where the need was established -- Mississippi and Alabama -- the Secretary reduced the minimum payment to \$.50 per person. Similar action should be taken with respect to all other States and the minimum payment

should be reduced even more, to assure that no needy family is unable to participate in the program for lack of enough money to meet the minimum payment requirements.

IV. Miscellaneous Proposals

A. Continuing subcabinet action group on policies and program review.

A continuing apparatus at the subcabinet level should be established with responsibility for reviewing policies and programs having an impact on ghetto communities. This body would supplant the numerous ad hoc task forces which wax and wane from crisis to crisis. The subcabinet group should be authorized to expedite action on those Federal programs most relevant to the problems of the ghetto, to establish standards for evaluating the impact of the programs on the minority poor, and to devise means for achieving more efficient coordination of Federal, State, local, and private efforts to bring about changes of real magnitude in the ghetto.

B. Research and Grant Programs.

There are currently several hundred million dollars in Federal research and demonstration funds, comparatively little of which is used to deal with inner-city problems. A directive should be issued to Federal agencies that administer such research and demonstration programs to earmark a substantial proportion of those funds for projects aimed at improving opportunities for ghetto residents. For example, some of the research and demonstration funds administered by HEW might be earmarked for projects which would fund "new career" job programs for welfare families.

C. One-Stop Service Centers.

One of the basic reasons for the failure of many programs designed to help inner-city residents is that these programs, administered by a variety of agencies, deal with the problems of ghetto residents in a fragmentary and compartmentalized way. The programs are not adequately coordinated and there is little communication among the representatives of the administering agencies on the local level. It would be helpful if one-stop service centers could be established within neighborhood settings, to provide coordinated assistance under the variety of programs available in such areas as employment, welfare, physical and mental health, small business, and housing, so that the problems of ghetto residents could be dealt with as they exist, rather than through their compartmentalization into separate and discrete Federal programs.

D. Increased participation of ghetto residents in programs that affect them.

Too often, programs that affect the vital interests of ghetto residents have been imposed upon them without regard to their own needs or views. For example, urban renewal, which so often involves massive displacement of ghetto residents, typically is planned and carried out with little more than token consultation with minority group representatives -- despite the program's requirement of "full-fledged community wide citizen participation." By the same token, welfare programs to assist needy ghetto residents contain obscure requirements and conditions which are imposed upon the families without consultation or explanation. This helps to produce an atmosphere of hostility and alienation among ghetto residents and makes them mistrustful of attempts to improve living conditions.

Federal, State, and local governments, as well as private groups whose programs affect ghetto residents should provide staff and other resources necessary to improve communication with ghetto residents, and to provide an effective means for involving ghetto residents in the decision-making concerning programs that affect their vital interests.

E. Police-Community Training Programs.

Tensions between the police and the ghetto community frequently have been the spark that has produced urban riots. A good part of this tension arises from the lack of sensitivity on the part of the police to the feelings and concerns of ghetto residents. By the same token, ghetto residents often view the police, not as protectors, but as oppressors. Although there already are programs available aimed at professionalizing police forces, and in some cities police are being given some human relations training, much more needs to be done.

It would be helpful to initiate immediately programs that would bring together members of the police department and leaders of the inner-city community in training programs aimed at reducing tensions and increasing mutual understanding of the problems and points of view of both the police and the ghetto community. Such programs might bring together the resources of local colleges and universities, welfare officials, and representatives of the more actively involved inner-city religious institutions.