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FROM MR CALIFANO
TO MR VALENTI
CITE WH50235

EFTO

EXECUTIVE

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UNCLAS E F T O FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY TO MR VALENTI

THERE FOLLOWS THE DRAFT EXECUTIVE ORDER AND PROCLAMATION PREPARED BY RAMSEY CLARKE, CLEARED BY DEFENSE, AND APPROVED BY WHITE.
BEGIN EXECUTIVE ORDER:

7/2/65

K/B

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROVIDING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

WHEREAS, ON AUGUST 1965, I ISSUED A PROCLAMATION ENTITLED "PROVIDING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA" PURSUANT IN PART TO THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 334 OF TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATE CODE; AND

WHEREAS THE INSURRECTION, AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE REFERRED TO IN THAT PROCLAMATION CONTINUE:

NOW, THEREFORE, BY VIRTUE OF THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN ME BY THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING CHAPTER 15 OF TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE, PARTICULARLY SECTIONS 331 AND 334 THEREOF, AND SECTION 301 OF TITLE 3 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IS AUTHORIZED AND DIRECTED TO TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS TO SUPPRESS THE INSURRECTION, AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE NOW IN PROGRESS IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

SECTION 2. IN FURTHERANCE OF THE AUTHORIZATION AND DIRECTION CONTAINED IN SECTION 1 HEREOF, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IS AUTHORIZED TO USE SUCH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES AS HE MAY DEEM NECESSARY.

SECTION 3. I HEREBY AUTHORIZE AND DIRECT THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE TO CALL INTO THE ACTIVE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES, AS HE MAY DEEM APPROPRIATE TO CARRY OUT THE PURPOSES OF THIS ORDER, ANY OR ALL THE UNITS OF THE ARMY NATIONAL GUARD AND OF THE AIR NATIONAL GUARD OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA TO SERVE IN THE ACTIVE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD AND UNTIL RELIEVED BY APPROPRIATE ORDERS. IN CARRYING OUT THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 1 THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IS AUTHORIZED TO USE THE UNITS, AND MEMBERS OF THE ARMY NATIONAL GUARD AND OF THE AIR NATIONAL GUARD OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA CALLED INTO THE ACTIVE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES PURSUANT TO THIS SECTION OR OTHERWISE.

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GENERAL FILES

SECTION 4. THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IS AUTHORIZED TO DELEGATE THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY OR THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE, OR BOTH ANY OF THE AUTHORITY CONFERRED UPON HIM BY THIS ORDER.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

AUGUST , 1965

END EXECUTIVE ORDER

BEGIN PROCLAMATION

PROVIDING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS DIVERSE PERSONS IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, INDIVIDUALLY AND IN UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLAGE, HAVE BEEN AND ARE NOW ENGAGING IN WIDESPREAD ACTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN AN OPEN INSURRECTION AGAINST THE AUTHORITY OF THE DULY ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT OF THAT STATE; AND

WHEREAS THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA HAS REQUESTED ME TO MAKE SUCH USE OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES OR OF THE MILITIA OF THE SEVERAL STATES AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO SUPPRESS THE INSURRECTION:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, UNDER AND BY VIRTUE OF THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN ME BY THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING CHAPTER 15 OF TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE, PARTICULARLY SECTIONS 331 AND 334 THEREOF, DO COMMAND ALL PERSONS ENGAGED IN SUCH INSURRECTION, AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE TO CEASE AND DESIST THEREFROM AND TO DISPERSE AND RETIRE PEACEABLY FORTHWITH.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I HAVE HEREUNTO SET MY HAND AND CAUSED THE SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO BE AFFIXED.

DONE AT THIS DAY OF ,
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE,
AND OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THE
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH.

BY THE PRESIDENT:

SECRETARY OF STATE.

EFTO

END PROCLAMATION

DTG 150504Z AUGUST 1965

(FOR COMM CENTER USE)

THE WHITE HOUSE

OUTGOING MESSAGE



WHASA

IMMEDIATE
PRECEDENCE

EFTO

UNCLAS E F T O
CLASSIFICATION

15 AUG 1965
DATE

FROM: CALIFANO

TO: VALENTI

INFO:

CITE: _____

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There follows the draft executive order and proclamation prepared by ~~Ramsey~~ Ramsey Clarke, cleared by defense, and approved by White.

Begin Executive Order:

/ 4 page text attached /

EFTO

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PAGE 1 OF 1

For Violent Form (11) AND

THE DRAFT IS TO BE DATED AND
CLEARED BY
EXECUTIVE ORDER

(1)

PROVIDING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

BY WHITE
REG IN
ELEV. TO
DATE: X

WHEREAS, on August 1965, I issued a proclamation en-
titled "Providing Federal Assistance in the State of California" pursuant
in part to the provisions of Section 334 of Title 10 of the United States
Code; and

WHEREAS the insurrection^{AND} domestic violence, ~~and unlawful~~
~~combinations and conspiracies~~ referred to in that proclamation continue:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by
the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15
of Title 10 of the United States Code, particularly Sections 331 and
334 thereof, and Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is
hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Secretary of Defense is authorized and directed
to take all appropriate steps to suppress the insurrection^{AND} domestic
violence ~~and unlawful combinations and conspiracies~~ now in progress in
the State of California.

Section 2. In furtherance of the authorization and direction
contained in Section 1 hereof, the Secretary of Defense is authorized
to use such of the Armed Forces of the United States as he may deem
necessary.

Section 3. I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of Defense
to call into the active military service of the United States, as he may

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deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this order, any or all of the units of the Army National Guard and of the Air National Guard of the State of California to serve in the active military service of the United States for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders. In carrying out the provisions of Section 1, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use the units, and members of the State of California called into the active military service of the United States pursuant to this section or otherwise.

Section 4. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to delegate to the Secretary of the Army or the Secretary of the Air Force, or both, any of the authority conferred upon him by this order.

Lyndon B. Johnson

August , 1965

PROVIDING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS diverse persons in the State of California, individually and in unlawful assemblage, ~~combinations, and conspiracies,~~ have been and are now engaging in widespread acts of domestic violence in an open insurrection against the authority of the duly established government of that State; and

~~WHEREAS such insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations and conspiracies so hinder the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within that State, that a part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable to protect that right, privilege or immunity or to give that protection; and~~

WHEREAS the Governor of the State of California has requested me to make such use of the armed forces of the United States or of the militia of the several States as may be necessary to suppress the insurrection:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in

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me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, particularly sections 331, ~~333~~, and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such insurrection, ^{AND} domestic violence, ~~and unlawful combinations and conspiracies~~ to cease and desist therefrom and to disperse and retire peaceably forthwith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at _____ this _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-ninth.

By the President:

Secretary of State.

~~2~~

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

7
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 14, 1965
6:25 pm

41
URGENTIVE

FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Jack Valenti

Subject: Los Angeles riots

At 6:20 pm Texas time, Secretary McNamara talked to Joe Califano and strongly recommended that the President send C-130's or comparable aircraft to transport California National Guardsmen from northern California to LA. This, in response to a request made by General Hill, commander of the California National Guard. This request was also concurred in by General Abrams, Vice Chief of the Army. Request, on receipt of recommendation of McNamara, was given approval.

Secretary McNamara also recommends that someone from Justice and Defense should be on the spot to assess, first-hand, the situation -- to stay close to Brown and give advice. Most of all to be the President's eyes and ears on the ground. McNamara thinks Ramsey Clark plus someone from Defense should be sent there.

LS/20012...
FG...
ND13

gub

1/12/55

8/14/65 3:05 pm

To: Mr. Califano
From Deke DeLoach

Pentagon has approximately same figures :

	Killed	Injured
LA police	1	38
Firemen	1	9
Military	0	2
Civilians	14	308

Law enforcement strength:	914
Deputies	250
Highway Patrol	65
Reserves	300

2/11

CONFIDENTIAL
11/15/515

Latest situation report:

Time: 5:00 p.m. August 14, 1965

1. No additional casualty figures, however, information is fragmentary and there may be additional casualties.

2. Army has added by way of support:

- 12 one-quarter trucks
- 2 radio ~~Vans~~ and a generator on it
- 10,000 C rations
- 15,000 A rations
- XX

3. Riots are picking up in tempo. No information on specific incidents such as seige of the police station and Napalm factory

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...TIVE
114 2/575

7:45 Aug 14

Mr Leinbaugh said it has been reported but not verified that there is looting at the Bank of America located at the corner of Washington and Vermont.

Also report b; police that they are unable to guarantee anyone's safety in area of 45 sq mi surrounding Watts area.

EXECUTIVE

HUR/TS
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1002
Harold. O'NEAL

Coleman 8/16/65

Only in America

THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS

Harry Golden

All of us concerned with the struggle for Negro civil rights will feel a compulsion to discuss the riots in Los Angeles.

Many authorities have already expressed the theory that the rioting and the pillaging are in a direct way influenced by the Civil Rights and Voting Bills passed by the Johnson administration.

These laws have filled Negroes with more hope, - and because they have more hope they see their daily lives as that much more futile.

And in truth history tells us that insurrections start only where the dispossessed and the marginal people find their lives made a little easier, - when they have a little more comfort and therefore that much more desire. We have at least twenty brands of toothpaste in this affluent society; a man living in a slum ghetto comprehends this and one day that affluence which he does not share, arouses his wrath and he explodes.

more



2.

This is offered not as an excuse but as an explanation for the riots.

Oscar Handlin, in an interview with the Times, said the summer outbreaks in the Los Angeles ghetto should not legitimately be called race riots since whites are not seeking retaliation. This is true in the main, but the whites in Los Angeles are buying guns today. Why the police or the governor did not close down the gun stores is beyond me. California is a tinderbox of prejudice. Depriving the community of its constitutional right to bear arms for a few days is well worth the price. Down here in Monroe, North Carolina, they showed greater wisdom. When Robert Williams was expelled from the NAACP because he said, "...the time has come to use guns," the Monroe authorities shut down the gun stores.

In effect the Los Angeles riots constitute a blow against property. For the marginal of the world property has a symbolic value: it is property, they believe, which holds them in bondage. While the form of the riots is new, its purpose is not.

The hoodlums roamed the Los Angeles Watts area, burning, sniping, and looting and out of the same compulsion that led poor Southern whites to form lynch parties. (There were over 5,000 lynchings from 1891 to 1939).

Lynching was always more than taking some poor wretch's life. Lynching was also a blow against property for after the

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Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

August 17, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

38
EXECUTIVE

I am attaching a memorandum prepared by the Bureau summarizing the Los Angeles situation.

While the memorandum does not indicate much in the way of evidence as to subversive involvement, I am going to ask the Bureau to investigate this aspect directly themselves. I don't, however, believe that the Federal Government should conduct the general investigation through the FBI of other aspects of the riot.

1. Do you approve this limited investigation?

Yes No

2. Do you wish a more extensive investigation?

Yes No

Respectfully,

Robert F. Kennedy

Attorney General

attachment



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

August 17, 1965

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

This composite summary is based on information received from a variety of sources and is not the result of an FBI investigation.

Development of the Riot, August 11, 1965

On Wednesday, August 11, 1965, at 7:10 p.m., a white California Highway Patrolman, who was attempting to arrest a Negro for drunken driving in the predominantly Negro Watts area of Los Angeles, California, called for assistance when the Negro resisted. He was joined within a few minutes by a fellow officer, also white, and the 21-year-old Negro driver, Marquette D. Frye, who failed an on-the-scene sobriety test, was placed under arrest along with his brother, Ronald, aged 22, a passenger in Marquette's automobile. As the officers were executing the arrests, the mother of the two Negroes, who lived in the immediate vicinity, attacked one of the officers. A call for further assistance made by the officers was answered by the Los Angeles Police Department and additional units of the California Highway Patrol. Within minutes, a crowd of nearly 150 Negro spectators had gathered at the scene.

Shortly after the two brothers and their mother, who was also arrested for interfering with an officer, were removed from the scene, the crowd of spectators, which had increased to between three and four thousand Negroes, became unruly. Violence which began with the throwing of bricks and bottles at the departing police cars, grew in intensity as the night progressed. The crowd stoned, looted and set fire to various buildings and beat and harassed white motorists. There were no fatalities at the end of this first night of rioting but property damage was estimated at six to seven million dollars.

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Escalation of Riot Upon Withdrawal of Police

During the night Negro leaders of the community were in contact with Los Angeles Chief of Police William H. Parker and upon their request Chief Parker agreed to pull his men from the scene of the rioting on the basis of the recommendation and assurance of the Negro leaders that this action would result in the abating of the riot. This plan backfired for instead of the rioting subsiding, it became much worse and by the end of the second day, it had escalated into an uncontrollable riot. It became completely out of hand, according to public statements made by the police.

On Friday morning, August 13, 1965, after two nights of rioting, Acting Governor Glenn Anderson, in the absence of Governor Edmund G. Brown who was vacationing in Europe, was requested by Chief Parker to call out the National Guard. At approximately 5 p.m., August 13, 1965, Anderson ordered the mobilization of the National Guard and the first units arrived on the scene shortly before midnight. It was speculated in the public press that Acting Governor Anderson would not or could not call out the Guard until he had cleared the matter with Governor Brown. When the National Guard arrived at the scene, they did not have the authority to load their weapons with live ammunition and were not authorized to do so until after they had been attacked by members of the mob.

The rioting throughout Friday night and early Saturday morning brought even greater destruction and a number of deaths. Acts of pilfering of buildings ran into the thousands and hundreds of buildings were set afire. National Guardsmen surrounded the area of approximately twenty-one square miles but were unable to enter the immediate rioting area because of the violence of the mob of roughly seven thousand people. During the looting of the buildings, the mob obtained quantities of guns and ammunition from pawnshops and other stores. The rioters were in complete control and made false reports by telephone to the police and fire departments with the view of enticing white firemen and policemen into the area where they could shoot at them and beat them or destroy their vehicles.

The lawlessness and violence overflowed into other areas of greater metropolitan Los Angeles with roving bands of looters and arsonists appearing in such outlying communities as Long Beach, Pacoima, Santa Monica, Venice and Pasadena and rumors were received that such gangs were moving toward other

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

near-by towns for the purpose of invading stores and gunshops to obtain guns. Police were attacked in several of the above-mentioned communities and there was evidence of looting, shootings and the throwing of Molotov cocktails. Although these disturbances were quickly brought under control, the local authorities anticipated further outbreaks of violence.

Riot Subsides, August 15, 1965

On Saturday, August 14, 1965, Acting Governor Anderson issued a proclamation setting an eight o'clock curfew for an area of forty square miles including, of course, the riot area. This had a salutary effect since it enabled law enforcement officers and National Guardsmen to arrest on sight anyone on the street after the curfew hour. According to National Guard officials, there are now 14,500 National Guardsmen on the scene assisting the local police. On August 15, 1965, Chief Parker stated that local law enforcement officers and the National Guardsmen were then on top of the situation and the violence had subsided, although some shooting by snipers and miscellaneous looting by small bands of roving hoodlums were continuing.

The riotous activity of the Negroes since the beginning of the violence August 11, 1965, has resulted in more than thirty deaths, including that of a Deputy Sheriff and one Los Angeles fireman. Injuries to approximately 800 persons, including a large number of police officers and city firemen and several National Guardsmen, have been reported. Property damage has been estimated as high as 175 million dollars, and the number of arrests has reached almost 3,000, including over 300 juveniles.

Causes of the Riot and Its Continuation

Community leaders are in disagreement as to the cause of the riot. Certain Negro leaders seek to explain it on the grounds of "police brutality" and "police preferential treatment" of different inhabitants of the Watts area. Others refer to evidence of a growing hatred of white people and a steadily mounting disrespect for law and order and duly constituted authority necessary to a stable community; that the riot was a means of demonstrating this fact. Still others point out the cause as being a combination of apathy relative to progress, wanton acts of criminals and a breakdown of family life. Lastly, some refer to general unsatisfactory social and economic conditions as the cause of the riot. Chief of Police Parker insists that it is

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

not a race riot but is civil disobedience caused by general disrespect for the law, and he attributes much of the problem to roving thugs and hoodlums. He has blamed much of the unrest on politicians who have told the Negro element that they are being abused and the Negro element, therefore, responded accordingly. Chief Parker has publicly criticized the Negro leaders of the community for failure to control the Negroes in the Watts area. Mayor Samuel W. Yorty described the situation as anarchy.

The Watts area of Los Angeles is 99 per cent Negro and holds approximately one sixth of the Los Angeles area Negro population of approximately 600,000 people with Negro representation participating in municipal affairs. The shops and businesses are predominantly Negro owned and operated. It is an area of the city with a 30 per cent unemployment rate. There are large numbers of school dropouts, a high percentage of broken homes, a high illegitimacy rate, and a high incidence of crime in this area.

At its inception the rioters consisted of Negro males and females of all age groups. Subsequently, it is reported that a hard-core group of approximately 300 to 400 Negro males seemed to take over as instigators of additional rioting. This group was joined by onlookers and residents of the area. According to the Los Angeles Police Department, the looting, burning and sniping activities, into which the riot developed, was the action of roving neighborhood gangs who are described as the criminal element of the community. During the height of the riot, Negroes were attacking white passers-by and motorists. Great animosity was shown for law enforcement regardless of the race of the police officers. The scene of the most intense rioting occurred in a 21-square mile area.

Delay in Police Action

Some sources have charged the escalation of the riot to the withdrawal of the police from the riot area during the first night. During that night, Wednesday, August 11, 1965, the Negro leaders of the community were in contact with Chief of Police William H. Parker and other officials of the Los Angeles Police Department. They prevailed upon him to abstain from using a "get tough" policy and requested that he pull his men from the immediate scene of the rioting on the belief that the Negroes would quit rioting. Chief Parker, on the other hand, has publicly and severely criticized the Negro leaders of the community for failure to control the situation in the Watts area and blamed those leaders for misleading him resulting in his withdrawal of the police from the riot scene.

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In contrast, when a potential riotous situation developed in San Diego, California, on August 15, 1965, police officials refused a request from civil rights leaders to ease the policing in the troubled area. The civil rights leaders were advised by the San Diego Chief of Police and his Deputy that police would maintain patrols necessary to preserve law and order. No riot developed in San Diego.

Delay in Calling the National Guard

Another factor alleged to have contributed to the development of the riot to its extremes was a delay in the use of the National Guard to assist the law enforcement agencies in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Police Department at 10:00 p.m., on the night of August 12, 1965, estimated the situation in the riot area was deteriorating and a police official speculated that the National Guard might have to be called. As previously indicated, a request for the assistance of the National Guard was not made until the morning after the second night of rioting and it was not actually called out until 5:00 p.m. that day, August 13, 1965, with the first contingent arriving on the scene shortly before midnight.

Chief Parker and Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles have severely criticized Governor Brown and Acting Governor Anderson for the delay in calling out the National Guard.

Activities of Negro Leadership

Efforts of Negro leadership, including officials of civil rights and neighborhood groups, clergymen and others proved ineffective in bringing the riot to a halt and in restoring peace to the community, according to accounts of their activities which have been made public.

Reverend Joe D. Hardwicke and Reverend H. Martford Brookins, ministers of two leading Negro churches in Los Angeles, were reported to have spearheaded a community movement effort to restore peace to the embattled area and other Negro ministers, including Reverend Bobby Newman of the 103rd Street Baptist Church and Reverend Henry W. Murph, pastor of the Grant African Methodist Episcopal Church pleaded from their pulpits for church members to make every effort to restore law and order. One of the proposals offered by Reverend Brookins to ease the situation in the riot area was for the police to remain inconspicuous and that only Negro officers remain in the area. Robert Hall, Co-Chairman of the Non-Violent Action Committee, a civil rights group, and

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

California State Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally, Los Angeles County, were also reported as having suggested that the police withdraw from the riot area. Reverend Hardwicke, who is also Director of the Westminster Neighborhood Association, Incorporated, a community action agency, was reported to have stated that his organization was trying to set up a mass meeting with the police department to build some sort of understanding and better communication between the police and the people of the community.

Another Los Angeles Negro leader, Don Smith, Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, accompanied Negro comedian Dick Gregory into the riot area where Gregory made an unsuccessful attempt to quiet the mob, being rewarded for his efforts only by a bullet wound from a gun of a Negro sniper.

Reports of Subversive Involvement

Communist Party, U. S. A.

No information has been received to date showing that the riot was instigated, controlled or dominated by the Communist Party, U. S. A. However, the Communist Party can be expected to take all measures possible to divide, confuse, inflame and capitalize upon the aftermath of the riot.

For example, a source advised that a leading member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles has been instructed to prepare articles for immediate publication in "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, with the articles to be slanted in an effort to place the blame for the riot on Los Angeles Mayor Samuel W. Yorty, Chief of Police William H. Parker, and County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, and to emphasize the "police brutality" angle. Instructions were likewise issued to Party members assembled at a meeting held on August 15, 1965, to contact as many other Communist Party and "left-wing" groups as possible in efforts to pack meetings of the Los Angeles City Council and the County Board of Supervisors scheduled to be held on August 16, 1965. Attendees were to be instructed to attempt to take the floor at both meetings to raise the issue of police brutality. Their plans were called to the attention of local authorities by this Bureau. The City Council met briefly with one communist known to have been in attendance. The meeting of the County Board of Supervisors was cancelled.

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

Members of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, a communist youth organization, and the Socialist Workers Party, cited as subversive under Executive Order 10450, participated in a minor demonstration on Saturday, August 14, 1965, at the Police Administration Building, primarily alleging police brutality. Also, on Monday, August 16, 1965, the members of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs started circulation of leaflets calling for expulsion of Chief of Police Parker and the establishment of a police review board. An emergency meeting of the Los Angeles W.E.B. DuBois Club was held on August 15, 1965, and about 50 persons were present. The area coordinator of the Club advised that the Congress of Unrepresented People is planning a demonstration concerning the riots to take place August 21, 1965, at the Police Administration Building, and DuBois Club members are to take part. The DuBois Club also made plans to canvass for food and solicit funds for the riot's victims in Southern Los Angeles. A leaflet committee was formed to prepare a leaflet for distribution concerning the situation in the Watts area.

At the meeting on August 15, 1965, the DuBois Club members also made plans to be at the City Council meeting August 17, 1965, as they were unable to get into the City Council meeting on August 16, 1965. They planned to get into the City Council meeting as representatives of the Congress of Unrepresented People. All of the above information concerning the plans and activities of the Los Angeles DuBois Club has been called to the attention of the local authorities by this Bureau.

Provisional Organizing Committee for a
Marxist-Leninist Communist Party

This Committee is steadily attacking the Government's policy in Vietnam and has cooperated with various communist groups and pro-Chinese communist splinter groups in this activity. A source reported that on August 15, 1965, a member of the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in Los Angeles, who has acted in leadership capacity, stated he was contemplating violating national Provisional Organizing Committee orders not to attempt to exploit the Los Angeles riot. This individual stated he believed members of the Los Angeles Provisional Organizing Committee, as Marxists, should give physical leadership to rioters, specifically

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

stating that members of the Los Angeles Provisional Organizing Committee should provide inspired scientific leadership in sniping, looting and setting of fires. This individual called a conference of other Provisional Organizing Committee members to discuss his proposal. This information was furnished to local authorities by this Bureau.

Nation of Islam
(Black Muslims)

A source of this Bureau advised that at a meeting of the Nation of Islam on August 13, 1965, those present were instructed not to become involved in the riot.

It has been rumored that at a meeting of the Nation of Islam on August 15, 1965, members were claiming credit for the riot in Los Angeles and stated, in effect, that this was the best planned war effort they have had. However, this Bureau's source, who furnished the information concerning the meeting on August 13, 1965, advised that at the meeting of the Nation of Islam on August 15, 1965, Marquette Frye, whose arrest set off the riot, was the guest speaker. The minister of the temple, John Shabazz, attempted to give the impression that the members of the Nation of Islam were involved in the riot, but did not mention any specific participation in the riot. Source advised that Frye claimed not to be a member of the Nation of Islam but planned to attend its meetings in the future. The source further advised that he was in the riot area on the night of August 12, 1965, and did not see any Nation of Islam members. Shabazz has publicly denied any Nation of Islam involvement in the riot.

This Bureau is continuing to check, through its sources and informants concerning the possible relationship of the Nation of Islam to the riot.

Absence of Organized Planning

No information has been received indicating that the riot was organized by any particular group nor has evidence been submitted tending to establish advanced planning by any group for the riot. However, as noted above, certain groups were quick in seeking to take advantage of the riot situation.

RACIAL RIOT
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In this connection, it is noted that a number of citizens reported to the Emergency Control Center in Los Angeles of seeing automobile riders with red arm bands in the riot area; however, neither National Guardsmen nor law enforcement officers reported any such information.

No Investigation by FBI

Since the outbreak of the riot the FBI has maintained close liaison with all civilian and military agencies involved in the handling of the riot situation to keep abreast of developments. Information developed by this Bureau's sources and informants has been immediately disseminated to pertinent civilian and military authorities.

The material reported herein represents a composite picture of the riot received from local, state, military, public sources and related individuals and agencies, as well as sources and confidential informants of this Bureau, but is not the result of investigation conducted by the FBI.

Handwritten scribbles and initials

EXECUTIVE

1112/STS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

LA/ Los Angeles

August 18, 1965
7:42 p. m.

D.F.
76283
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154

Mr. President:

For your information.

Should you decide that you want to have
Los Angeles designated as a disaster
area, according to Eugene Foley's memo
it can be done.

Marvin

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20416

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

August 18, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Eugene P. Foley
Administrator *Eugene P. Foley*

SUBJECT: Los Angeles Riot Area

I have not made a declaration of disaster with respect to the Los Angeles riot area for two reasons:

1. There is some question regarding our legal authority.

Ordinarily we declare only an area suffering from natural disaster. We have made a disaster declaration in circumstances where fires or explosions resulted from negligence; for instance, the Texas City disaster. We have never made a declaration where the disaster resulted from man-made origins but, under a liberal interpretation of the term "catastrophe," we could extend the disaster declaration to the Los Angeles area. By so doing we would make the owners of business places and homes eligible for 20-year loans at 3% interest.

2. The insurance companies have not made a commitment to date as to whether they intend to pay on casualty and fire policies within the riot area.

I am afraid if we make an early declaration that the insurance companies might seize this as an opportunity not to pay off on their policies. Therefore, I recommend, in any event, that we hold off until the insurance companies make a commitment.

cc: Mr. Bill Moyers
Mr. Lawrence O'Brien
Mr. Lee White

8/18/65

EXECUTIVE
HD 2/ST 5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

HA - allocated over
\$17 million

Chair - \$18 with Comm
Action, ongoing etc.

~~See the letter~~

3000 capt. & flight
46th corp jobs

concept work required

concept of under
Chair in the interim plan

ET

Dr. Ellen Winston

Comms of welfare -

just fact for her mid 74
new model with 4000 -

Not new -

Released on her request -

11/64 -
Bill has 700,000
of that money

UPI-175

(MFD)

WASHINGTON.--HOUSE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN LEADERS REFUSED TODAY TO PROMISE THEY WOULD PUSH THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S ATTEMPT TO UNSEAT THE STATE'S FIVE CONGRESSMEN, A PARTY SPOKESMAN SAID.

REV. ROBERT SPIKE, HEAD OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES RACIAL RELATIONS DIVISION, MET SEPARATELY WITH SPEAKER JOHN MCCORMACK, D-MAS., AND HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD, MICH., TO DISCUSS THE CHALLENGE, NOW BEFORE THE HOUSE ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE.

SPIKE SAID FORD WAS "EXCEEDING RECEPTIVE AND SYMPATHETIC" TO THE CHALLENGE, BUT HE "MADE NO PROMISES." HOWEVER, SPIKE SAID THE GOP LEADER SAID NO REPUBLICAN HOUSE MEMBER WOULD PUT ANY OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF THE CONTEST.

MCCORMACK ALSO REFUSED TO GIVE ANY PROMISES ABOUT WHEN THE COMMITTEE MIGHT CONSIDER THE QUESTION, SPIKE SAID.

JAMES FARMER, HEAD OF THE CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY JOINED SPIKE AT A NEWS CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS THE TALKS. FARMER SAID THE CHALLENGE WAS MORE IMPORTANT NOW THAT CONGRESS HAD APPROVED THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL BECAUSE MANY NEGROES WERE BEING REGISTERED IN THE STATE.

8/18--JD6PFD

UPI-179

(HEAD START)

WASHINGTON.--NEW EVIDENCE OF PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES AND MISUSE OF FUNDS BY PERSONNEL OF THE DISTRICT "HEAD START" PROJECT IN MISSISSIPPI HAS BEEN FOUND, IT WAS LEARNED TODAY.

AS LATE AS FOUR DAYS AGO, IT WAS LEARNED, PERSONNEL OF THE "HEAD START" PROGRAM AT MARY HOLMES JUNIOR COLLEGE IN WEST POINT, MISS., PARTICIPATED WITH CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS AND IN THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

THE ORIGINAL CHARGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY AND MISUSE OF FUNDS WAS FILED BY SEN. JOHN C. STENNIS, D-MISS. AT THAT TIME, STENNIS DEMANDED A REPLY TO HIS CHARGE FROM BARBET SHRIVER, HEAD OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.

STENNIS HAS RECEIVED A REPLY FROM SHRIVER WHICH GLOWED OVER THE CHARGES OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES, ACCORDING TO INFORMED SOURCES. STENNIS HAS DECLINED TO DISCLOSE THE CONTENTS OF THE LETTER.

IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT STENNIS, WHO INITIATED THE INVESTIGATION BY THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, IS WAITING TO BRING THE NEW EVIDENCE WHEN SHRIVER COMES BEFORE THE COMMITTEE FOR THIS FISCAL YEAR'S FUNDS.

ATTEND TO UNSEAL THE STATE'S FIVE CONGRESSMEN, A PARTY SPOKESMAN SAID.

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3/12--JD6PED

UPI-179

(HEAD START)

WASHINGTON.--NEW EVIDENCE OF PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES AND MISUSE OF FUNDS BY PERSONNEL OF THE BIGGEST "HEAD START" PROJECT IN MISSISSIPPI HAS BEEN FOUND, IT WAS LEARNED TODAY.

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SHRIVER ALSO REPLYEDLY MADE CLEAR THAT "THE PROGRAM IS BEING CONDUCTED WITHIN THE LAW AND THE OPERATIVE PROCEDURES OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY."

HE SAID "CERTAIN QUESTIONABLE FISCAL PRACTICES WERE DISCLOSED BY OUR AUDIT AND THESE HAVE BEEN CORRECTED." SHRIVER SAID "WHEN OUR AUDIT DISCLOSED THAT THE AMOUNT, AS DISTINCT FROM THE PROPERTY, OF AN EXPENDITURE WAS QUESTIONABLE, APPROPRIATE ACTION IS BEING TAKEN TO RECOVER THE AMOUNT SO EXPENDED."

3/12--JD7C4PED

UPI-183

ADD W/OT, LOS ANGELES

GOV. EDWARD G. BROWN ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT \$1.77 BILLION IN FEDERAL FUNDS WAS BEING MADE AVAILABLE TO START A CLEANUP AND REPAIR PROGRAM IN WATT'S AND VICINITY.

THE GOVERNOR SAID THE MONEY WAS BEING RELEASED ON HIS REQUEST UNDER "TITLE 5" OF THE COMMUNITY WORKS EXPERIENCE TRAINING PROGRAM WHICH WAS APPROVED EARLIER THIS YEAR FOR LOS ANGELES COUNTY.

UNDER THIS PROGRAM, ABOUT 16,000 ABLE-BODIED MEN AND WOMEN CAN BE MADE IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE FOR THE REPAIR AND CLEANUP TASK.

THE GOVERNOR INDICATED SOME PERSONS LEFT WITHOUT JOBS BECAUSE THE FIRE DAMAGE MAY BE ASSIGNED TO REPAIR WORK. PRIORITY IN SUCH CASES WILL BE GIVEN WELFARE RECIPIENTS AND LOW INCOME PERSONS OUT THE AFFECTED AREA.

THE CLEANUP PROGRAM WILL INCLUDE PUBLIC AREAS GENERALLY AND PRIVATE PROPERTIES "WHERE CONDITIONS ARE SUCH THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A MENACE TO PUBLIC HEALTH." UP TO \$500 ALSO WILL BE GRANTED OWNERS OF DAMAGED HOMES OR THE COST OF MATERIALS.

THE GOVERNOR SAID WORKERS IN THE PROGRAM CAN BE ASSIGNED AS NEEDED TO THE PACKAGING OF FOOD FOR DISTRIBUTION.

THE GOVERNOR ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE FEDERAL SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION HAD AGREED TO OPEN TWO SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CENTER OFFICES FOR LOANS TO DAMAGED BUSINESSMEN UNDER THE POVERTY PROGRAM.

THE CENTERS WILL BE CREATED UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AND CAN PROVIDE LOANS UP TO \$25,000 FOR AS LONG AS 15 YEARS AT 7 1/2 PER CENT INTEREST. COLLATERAL AND INSURANCE REQUIREMENTS WILL BE LESS STRINGENT THAN NORMAL SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION DISASTER LOANS.

THE REHABILITATION PROGRAM IS TENTATIVELY SET UP TO BE CONCLUDED BY SEPT. 30, BUT CAN BE EXTENDED IF NECESSARY IF THE CLEANUP IS NOT COMPLETED.

3/12--JD7C0PED

NEW

new story

giblin
Gov Collins

- Not here to interview
when

- Talked w/ party in phone -
- Meeting between their
people & parents, people -

[2 Negro city councilmen]

Saw Gov. Brown -
No disaster area -
Atty gen. -
State ground -
SBA programs -

After Brown -

11:30 p.m. - Helen Collins -

How far w/ her -

Talked on her TV -

Brown's people happy -

Calmed in your door -

353 - 5102 x 385
4/12

Poverty program -

Considerable merit

Long. Nelson & Roosevelt

Mayor + local organizations
City, County, organizations

Some compromise -

Rep. on Gov. Brown's
some poverty program

Message sent to the Regional Representative in San Francisco

8/18/65

In response to Mr. Maguire's telephone inquiry of August 16 of Mr. Gordon as to how the Los Angeles Title V Project might be used in emergency clean up work and repair of property damaged in the recent Los Angeles riots. Dr. Winston has authorized the California State Agency to take the following action in the area affected by the riots:

1. Suitable participants under the approved Title V Project for Los Angeles County may be assigned to emergency clean up work through September 30, 1965, provided there is no expenditure project funds other than those already approved. Such work may be performed --

- a. on Public property

- b. on Private property if necessary for public health purposes.

Participants also may be assigned to the packaging in family size quantities and the distribution of surplus commodities through September 30, 1965. Priority in assigning participants to this work would be given to residents of the area affected.

2. When suitable participants may also be assigned to repair homes owned by public assistance and general assistance recipients within the scope of the approved project budget which allows \$25,000 for material on amendment for additional or amendment for additional funds will be considered. The limit of cost of material is \$500 per home. Priority in assigning participants to repair work should be given to residents of the Watts area.

Page Two

3. If the Agency wishes to assign participants to the repair other than clean up of public building an amendment to the Project will be necessary but cost of material, supplies and equipment except necessary small amounts for hand tools cannot be approved.
4. If the Agency wishes to go beyond the approved Project for other types of work than those mentioned above, an application for a project amendment should be submitted.
5. Weekly reports on Monday will be necessary as to the number of participants assigned to clean up work. The participants are also assigned to the repair of recipient's own home. It will be necessary to keep a record of the number of persons assigned to such work, the number of damaged homes that are repaired and the dates when this work is completed.
6. The final report of experience in utilizing Title V participants will be appreciated.

This wire was sent by

Fred Steininger, Director
Bureau of Family Services

Teleconversation between Joe Califano and Dr. Ellen Winston of HEW

EXECUTIVE ³

August 19, 1965

HU 2 / ST 5
L & R / Los Angeles
HU 2-1

MEMORANDUM TO: Bill Moyers
FROM: Neal Hardy
New York City Rent and Rehabilitation Administration
SUBJECT: Reconstruction in the Watts Area

Reconstruction of damaged and destroyed buildings in the Watts Area of Los Angeles could well become a demonstration of how the Federal Government can assist Negro businessmen and Negro construction workers to participate on a fair basis in the building business.

The device for accomplishing this is very simple--make it possible for local Negro construction firms to bid on competitive terms with their white competitors.

We have learned in our experimental rehabilitation projects in New York that there are a number of Negro electrical, plumbing, carpentry, plastering, etc. firms which are experienced and competent. They are, however, typically small businesses whose limited working capital and limited bonding capacity make it difficult - if not impossible - for them to bid on jobs of any reasonable size.

If non-interest bearing working capital loans could be made to similar firms in the Los Angeles area, and business owners could be influenced to select Negro firms, the visible and immediate results in terms of business profits and increased Negro employment would be an obvious and meaningful answer to at least some of the charges as to why the Watts area exploded.

This proposal would not cost anything except loss of interest, since the loans would be repayable upon completion of construction.

I have written this note since our experience in New York has already proved that a similar approach is necessary if we are to involve the Harlem business community in direct participation in the physical upgrading of that area.

Finally, all American cities have an experienced reservoir of skilled artisans within the Negro community. They are resentful that large white firms are "squeezing them out". Why not make it possible to utilize a real resource such as this - not just in Los Angeles or New York but throughout the country?

NH
Neal Hardy

x

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LABORATORY
LEGAL COUNSEL
RECORDS MANAGEMENT
SALES AND MARKETING
STENOGRAPHIC
TRAINING
COMMUNICATIONS
UNIT
MAIL ROOM
PROPERTY
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RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS
SECTION
STENOGRAPHIC SECTION
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STENOGRAPHIC
TRAINING
COMMUNICATIONS
UNIT
MAIL ROOM
PROPERTY
RECORDS SECTION
RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS
SECTION
STENOGRAPHIC SECTION
TRAINING SECTION
UNIT

EXECUTIVE (3)

To: Ramsey Clark
from: J. Califano
you might
further
helpful

August 19, 1965

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Neal Hardy

Handwritten: [unclear]
EXECUTIVE (5)
Handwritten: 11/1/65
Handwritten: 706-3
Handwritten: 8/1 Los Angeles
Handwritten: Moyers
FBIS 10

OPEN LETTER TO JOHNSON

MOSCOW TASS INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN ENGLISH 2529Z 20 AUG 65 L

X (TEXT) MOSCOW, 21 AUGUST--UNDER THE HEADING "WE ACCUSE," PRAVDA TODAY PUBLISHES AN OPEN LETTER FROM DISTINGUISHED SOVIET SCIENTISTS AND PUBLIC FIGURES TO U.S. PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON. THE LETTER READS:

MR. PRESIDENT: THERE ARE MOMENTS WHEN ONE CANNOT KEEP SILENT. SHOCKED TO THE DEPTHS OF THE SOUL BY THE MONSTROUS MASSACRE OF THE POPULATION OF THE NEGRO GHETTO IN LOS ANGELES, WE ARE ADDRESSING THESE WORDS TO EXPRESS SENTIMENTS OF INDIGNATION, SORROW, AND PAIN.

HOW COULD THIS HAPPEN? WHAT YARDSTICK CAN ONE USE TO MEASURE THE DEPTH OF THE MORAL DEGRADATION OF A SOCIETY WHERE SUCH ACTS OF SAVAGE BRUTALITY BY THE POLICE, THE ARMY, AND THE AUTHORITIES HAVE BECOME POSSIBLE?

ALL, OR ALMOST ALL OF US, HAVE VISITED YOUR COUNTRY AT VARIOUS TIMES AND HAVE MET WITH AMERICANS BOTH IN THE UNITED STATES AND HERE IN THE SOVIET UNION. HOW CAN ONE UNDERSTAND? HOW CAN ONE SQUARE THE GLORIOUS DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO GAVE JEFFERSON, LINCOLN, EDISON, AND LONGFELLOW TO THE WORLD, WITH THE ABOMINABLE REALITY, WITH THE COLD-BLOODED SHOOTING OF CIVILIANS WHO WERE BROUGHT TO DESPAIR BY POVERTY AND LACK OF RIGHTS? OR HAVE THE FIST, THE TRUNCHEON, AND THE BURST OF MACHINEGUN FIRE BECOME THE MOST POPULAR RESPONSE IN THE UNITED STATES TO A CALL FOR HELP, TO THE JUST DEMANDS OF THE DOWN-AND-OUT AND INSULTED?

WE SAY THIS BECAUSE WE FEEL AND SEE THAT THE CARNAGE IN LOS ANGELES IS NO ISOLATED EVENT. THE DISGRACEFUL TRAIL OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE NEGRO POPULATION IS BECOMING LONGER EVERY YEAR. AND THE MAIN THING IS THAT THERE IS NO END IN SIGHT. HOW LONG WILL THIS GO ON? WHAT "GREAT SOCIETY" IS THIS WHERE PEOPLE ARE BROUGHT TO DESPAIR AND THEN, IN FULL DAYLIGHT, BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WHOLE WORLD, SHOT WITH AUTOMATIC RIFLES AND MACHINEGUNS?

WE READ AND HEAR THAT INFLUENTIAL FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES ARE INCLINED TO INTERPRET THE LOS ANGELES EVENTS IN THEIR USUAL MANNER, ACCUSING THE NEGROES OF ENCRUACHING ON ESTABLISHED CUSTOMS, HABITS, AND AUTHORITY, IN ONE WORD: ON "LAW AND ORDER." IS THIS NOT HYPOCRICY (SEVERAL WORDS INDISTINCT) AT LAW AND ORDER CAN ONE SPEAK IF THEY COVER UP (WORDS INDISTINCT) OF VIOLENCE, OPPRESSION, AND HUMILIATION. NO, HERE--AS THE SAYING HAS IT--ONE REAPS WHAT ONE SOWS. AND ONE CANNOT DISCLAIM RESPONSIBILITY AND WASH AWAY THE DISGRACE BY DECLARING, LIKE AN AMERICAN INFLUENTIAL NEWSPAPER DID, THAT THEY CANNOT BEAR FROM CENTURY TO CENTURY THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EVIL THEIR ANCESTORS HAD INFLICTED UPON THE NEGROES. THIS EVIL IS BEING DAILY AND HOURLY INFLICTED NOW AS WELL. AND IN ORDER NOT TO BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT, ONE MUST ERADICATE IT.

THE EVENTS IN LOS ANGELES CAN ONLY BE ASSOCIATED IN THE MIND OF THE PEOPLE WITH THE BARBAROUS ACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. IN THE RUMBLE OF THE BLOCKS TUMBLING DOWN IN LOS ANGELES WE HEAR THE ECHO OF THE WALLS OF THE ANCIENT TOWN OF SANTO DOMINGO BREAKING DOWN UNDER THE PRESSURE OF TANKS. THE FLAME FLAKING UP OVER THE NEGRO GHETTO RECALLS THE BURNING TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF VIETNAM. IN THE FACES OF THE MANKLED AND MUTILATED NEGROES, WE SEE THE SAME PAIN AND SUFFERING AS IN THE EYES OF THE VIETNAMESE CHILDREN BURNED BY NAPALM.

(MORE)

CCC: GRAPH ONE LINE 2 MAKE READ X X X FROM DISTINGUISHED SOVIET X X X

21 AUG 0207Z COZ/mt

FBIS 11

FIRST ADD 10 LETTER TO JOHNSON

X X X BURNED BY NAPALM.

(TEXT) MANKIND HAS THE RIGHT TO SAY AT THE TOP OF ITS VOICE TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT: LOOK AT LOS ANGELES. HERE YOU HAVE THE "FREEDOM" WHICH THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO IMPOSE UPON OTHER PEOPLES THROUGH BAYONETS AND BOMBS. HERE YOU HAVE THE "RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES ARE TALKING SO ELOQUENTLY AND MUCH ABOUT FROM THE ROSTRUM OF THE UNITED NATIONS. HERE YOU HAVE AN ENDLESS FIELD OF WORK FOR STATESMEN AND LEGISLATORS WHO ARE HYPOCRITICALLY CARING FOR THE GOOD OF "CAPTIVATED NATIONS."

THE LOS ANGELES TRAGEDY HAS BECOME IN THE EYES OF THE PEOPLE A SYMBOL OF THE OBSCURANTISM AND FOULNESS MANKIND IS STRIVING TO GET RID OF. THE THOUGHTS AND HANDS OF 20 CENTURY MAN CREATE WONDERFUL MACHINES AND REMARKABLE WORKS OF ART. WE ARE PROUD THAT IN THE LIFETIME OF OUR GENERATION MAN FOR THE FIRST TIME HAS STEPPED OUT INTO THE BOUNDLESS DEPTHS OF THE UNIVERSE. WITH EMOTION UNDERSTANDABLE TO EACH INHABITANT OF OUR PLANET, WE LOOKED AT THE PHOTOS OF NEIGHBORING HEAVENLY BODIES SENT OVER INCREDIBLE DISTANCES BY SPACE STATIONS LUNA-THREE, ZOND-THREE, AND MARINER-FOUR. AND THE WIDER THE HORIZONS CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE IS OPENING UP TO THE PEOPLE, THE MORE ACUTELY WE FEEL THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF THE FLOUTING OF ELEMENTARY HUMAN RIGHTS.

MOCKERY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY, JUSTICE, AND MORALS (MUST) BE STOPPED, NO MATTER WHERE IT HAPPENS--IN VIETNAM, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, OR LOS ANGELES.

WE, AT ONE WITH ALL SOVIET PEOPLE, RESOLUTELY DEMAND AN END TO THE OUTRAGES. THIS IS THE WHOLEHEARTED DEMAND OF ALL PEOPLES. MANKIND'S HIND, HONOR, AND CONSCIENCE CANNOT RECONCILE ITSELF TO THE DISGRACEFUL ACTIONS OF THE RACISTS AND AGGRESSORS.

(MORE)

21 AUG 0218Z CCZ /RR

12
SECOND AND LAST ADD TO (OPEN LETTER TO JOHNSON)

X X X RACISTS AND AGGRESSORS.

(TEXT) THE LETTER WAS SIGNED BY: M.V. KELDYSH, ACADEMICIAN AND PRESIDENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; N.M. BLOKHIN, PRESIDENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF MEDICAL SCIENCES; M.D. MILLIONSHCHIKOV, ACADEMICIAN AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; N.N. SEMENOV, ACADEMICIAN, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND NOBEL PRIZE WINNER; P.N. FEDOSEYEV, ACADEMICIAN AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; D.V. SKOBELTSYN, ACADEMICIAN AND CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LENIN PRIZE COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS; V.I. VESLER, ACADEMICIAN AND ACADEMIC SECRETARY OF THE NUCLEAR PHYSICS DEPARTMENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; YE. M. ZHUKOV, ACADEMICIAN AND ACADEMIC SECRETARY OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; V.A. AMBARISUMYAN, ACADEMICIAN AND PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY FOR SCIENCES OF THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC; N.I. MUSKHELISHVILI, ACADEMICIAN AND PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE GEORGIAN REPUBLIC; P.L. KAPITSA, ACADEMICIAN; L. I. SHUV, ACADEMICIAN; I. TAMM, ACADEMICIAN AND NOBEL PRIZE LAUREATE; V.A. NGELGARDI, ACADEMICIAN; V.F. KUPREVIKH, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE BELORUSSIAN REPUBLIC; B.V. PETROVSKIY FULL MEMBER OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF MEDICAL SCIENCES; A.L. NYASNIKOV, FULL MEMBER OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF MEDICAL SCIENCES; N.G. BASOV, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND NOBEL PRIZE LAUREATE; A.M. PROKHOROV, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND NOBEL PRIZE LAUREATE; P. BRUVA, WRITER; A. MERNAYCHUK, WRITER; L. LEONOV, WRITER; S. IVANOVSKIY, WRITER; N. TIKHONOV, WRITER AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE; K. PLDIN, WRITER; S. KOMENKOV, PEOPLE'S ARTIST OF THE USSR; D. SHOSTAKOVICH, COMPOSER AND PEOPLE'S ARTIST OF THE USSR; I. KALININOV, COMPOSER AND PEOPLE'S ARTIST OF THE USSR; Y. ZAVADSKIY, PEOPLE'S ARTIST OF THE USSR.

(ENDALL)

21 AUG 0229Z JOZ/HH

g. w. m.

(4)

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20416

CONFIDENTIAL
7/22/65
R. H. / ...
7/22/65
B.E. 4-4
7151

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

August 22, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Eugene P. Foley *Eugene P. Foley*
Administrator

SUBJECT: Possible Steps To Be Taken In
The Los Angeles Riot Area

Among other approaches you may wish to consider regarding the Los Angeles riot area are the new programs we have developed at the Small Business Administration. Among these possibilities are the following:

1. Creation of a Small Business Development Center (SBDC).

As you know, these centers are designed to recruit, screen and train prospective small businessmen in poverty areas as well as people already in business. Liberal loans up to \$25,000 in 15 years can be made. The proposal for a Los Angeles SBDC has been before OEO for some time and could be approved immediately if it were thought time were of the essence. Among other advantages to this is the fact that it would involve immediate action with fairly immediate results. In other words, we could start making loans at once to businessmen who either don't need management training or whom we feel could get it following the loan. We have done this before. This, of course, could apply to whites and Negroes as well as to those whose businesses were damaged and to those whose businesses were not.

Perhaps an even more valuable outcome of the creation of an SBDC would be the organization of a high level inter-racial committee that could take upon itself not only the creation of the SBDC but the responsibilities of a citizens' advisory committee for the fuller development of the riot-torn areas. In other words, when we organize an SBDC, we also institute a business advisory council to the SBDC. Members of this council are made up of highly successful businessmen, white and Negro, from the Los Angeles area. It seems to me awfully important that inter-racial contacts be established immediately and since it was a business section destroyed, this could be as good an opportunity and reason as any other.

2. Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE).

This is the program we have begun under which we utilize the talents of retired businessmen to advise small businesses on their management problems. The businessmen whose business places have been burned down or badly damaged will be in great need of some type management guidance. We presently have 106 enrolled SCORE volunteers in the Los Angeles area. They could be assigned to this project immediately.

3. Inter-Racial Committee for Business Opportunity (ICBO).

This is a non-governmental group organized by the Urban League and the American Jewish Congress and financed by the Ford Foundation to provide management counseling to Negro businessmen already in business. Rodman Rockefeller is very prominent in this group. They have been operating in New York and have been considering instituting a program in Los Angeles. Consequently, they have recruited a large number of very prominent businessmen, mostly white, some Negro, who could easily fit into the activities of either our SBDC and/or our SCORE program, or operate independently if for some reason that were considered a better approach. They prefer to operate independently but nevertheless should be kept very much in mind if any effort is made in these directions.

Looking at this type of problem longer range, I would like to offer some additional considerations. I have just completed a fairly exhaustive study of the history of the Negro businessman. It will be published later this year in Daedalus Magazine as part of an issue on the American Negro. Among other things I recommend for the longer range economic development of the Negro ghettos the items I have listed below. Not all of these are original with me, but I have had enough experience in the ghettos and have done enough study on their economic problems to propound them with confidence to a group of experts.

To quote from my paper these recommendations are as follows:

1. Lease guarantees provided by the Federal Government to attract private institutional investment into the ghettos, thus enabling Negro merchants to obtain modern, well located, and attractive stores. Recent legislation has authorized this and procedures and policies are now being developed by the Small Business Administration. In effect these guarantees would assure the developer that a long term lease would be fully paid irrespective of economical social conditions.

2. Development of high risk casualty and theft insurance policies or institutions by the major insurance companies similar to high risk automobile collision insurance policies. (Most casualty companies have not insured in Negro areas; I suspect those few who now are insuring to a limited extent will cancel altogether.)

3. The rehabilitation of Negro-owned homes through liberal Federal financing with the requirement that Negro contractors and Negro long term unemployed be given preference in performing the work.

4. Crash rehabilitation of public buildings in the ghettos; e.g., schools, libraries, fire houses, etc. again giving the ghetto dwelling contractors and long term unemployed preference.

5. Creation of new retail installment credit institutions either by private financial organizations or by the Federal Government. The problem presently lies in the fact that stores, Negro and white, in ghetto areas have difficulty getting credit from banks and other credit institutions using Negro consumer's installment purchases as security. They are thus forced into the hands of disreputable high interest installment operators.

6. Adoption of a determined and aggressive program by banks to make loans to Negro businessmen since most of them will qualify under Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act and therefore be eligible for 100% guarantees by the Federal Government.

7. Proliferation of Negro-owned and operated franchise stores and units operating under the franchise system and special encouragement by franchisors of the more successful Negro franchisees to enter non-Negro business neighborhoods. The Federal Government through the Commerce Department and the Small Business Administration has already started such a program but it is barely off the ground.

8. Creation of local and effective Negro business associations to give the Negro businessman a sense of identity, a channel of communication for success stories, an organization to represent the individual Negro merchants on rent-gouging, licensing, traffic-routing, zoning, and the many day to day problems any merchant has; and a vehicle for expressing the Negro merchant's interests in the anti-poverty program, City-Hall and Civil Rights.

gab.

10/23
Mc...
...
August 23, 1965
④

TO: Honorable LeRoy Collins
Under Secretary of Commerce
Sheraton West Hotel
Los Angeles, California

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/ST 5
6 N/ Los Angeles
7 G 11-15
7 G 155-18
WB 9

The agreement on a new community action agency for Los Angeles and Los Angeles County outlined in your telegram to me meets the requirements of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Implicit in this approval is the obligation imposed on OEO by Congress to review from time to time the adequacy of representation from the neighborhoods to be served. The provision for expansion of the new agency is considered of recognition of this principle by the Joint Powers. OEO is prepared to process pending applications as soon as we receive the necessary notifications of the transfer from YOB to the new agency (EYOA) as outlined in your telegram to me.

(signed)
Sargent Shriver
Director, OEO

Conroy - call Hamilton about this + his account -

8:20 - Mon
Aug 23, 1965

Mr. Califano:

Original plus one copy has been delivered at 8:20 a. m., Monday, Aug 23 to Jack Conway and was read to Jack Conway by John Perry last night.

Ev

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Honorable Sargent Shriver
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity

After consultation with appropriate public and private parties concerned with implementing the Anti-Poverty program in the City and County of Los Angeles, the following statement of agreement is submitted for OEO approval:

1. To assure maximum feasible participation by the poor comprising the groups and areas to be served by the Anti-Poverty program, and to resolve past conflicts and assure harmonious future progress, a new local agency to administer OEO funds, to be known as the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA), will be established, succeeding and incorporating the existing Youth Opportunities Board (YOB), which has heretofore administered such funds. Formal instruments establishing the new agency will be submitted to the Joint Powers (the City of Los Angeles; the County of Los Angeles; the Los Angeles Unified School District of Los Angeles County and the Los Angeles City Junior College District of Los Angeles County, and the County Superintendent of Schools of Los Angeles County) at the earliest possible time, and full and prompt approval is expected.

2. As agreed, the new EYOA will consist of 25 members (2 of whom will be non-voting) as follows:

-- 12 public agency members (3 from each of the 4 Joint Powers, to be selected by the respective Joint Powers agencies);

-- 7 community representatives, who shall be residents of the areas to be served by the agency and who have shown an interest in the problems of poverty and economic opportunity and who have been selected by a democratic process to be developed by the American Arbitration Association. The 7 community representatives shall include 4 persons who are residents of the City of Los Angeles and 3 persons who are residents of the County of Los Angeles but not of the City of Los Angeles.

-- 6 members, one each from the United Way, Inc.; the Los Angeles Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO); the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, and the Los Angeles County Federation of Coordinating Councils, each to be voting members, and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and the League of Cities, Los Angeles County Division, each to be non-voting members.

3. One year after the seating of the 7 community representative members who have been selected in accordance with the procedures developed by the American Arbitration Association, the board, based upon a year of operating experience, may with the approval of the Joint Powers increase its membership by adding 6 voting members from the following categories:

- One additional member from each of the 4 Joint Powers;
- 3 additional community representative members, 2 of whom shall be residents of the City of Los Angeles one of whom shall be a resident of the County of Los Angeles but not of the City of Los Angeles, and
- one additional member representing a private agency.

The selection process and the terms of service of each of the 3 categories of additional members of the Board if found to be practicable shall be the same as those for the corresponding category of members who have sat for the immediately preceding year.

4. It is recognized that the procedure prescribed for the selection of community representative members of the Board may require several months to be made fully effective and that an arrangement should be made for the earliest practicable qualification of interim members to act only until permanent members are duly selected.

It has been agreed, therefore, that to fulfill such interim period only, 4 members of said Board, residents of the City of Los Angeles, shall be appointed by the Mayor of Los Angeles subject to confirmation of the City Council from a group of 8 to be nominated as hereafter provided and 3 members of said Board, residents of the County of Los Angeles outside

the City of Los Angeles, shall be appointed by the County Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County from a group of 6 to be nominated as hereafter provided.

Nominations of 8 and 6 persons, respectively, shall be made to the Mayor and Board of Supervisors by an agreed upon committee of outstanding citizens composed of 5 Negroes, 5 Mexican Americans, 1 Anglo American and a non-voting convener of the committee.

All such nominees for interim appointment shall meet the same qualifications (except selection process) required for permanent community representatives and shall have incomes not exceeding \$4,000 a year. They shall serve with all the powers and duties of permanent members but shall not be eligible for selection or election to succeed themselves.

5. It is understood by OEC that RLB will take prompt action to transfer all of its pending applications for program funds now before OEO to the new EYOA and that all subsequent grants will be made to EYOA.

6. OEO will treat pending program proposals as having been submitted by EYOA. Particular attention is called to school programs which urgently require prompt action because of the imminence of the fall school term.

Should ratification of EYOA not yet be completed by the Joint Powers in time for funding of the school programs prior to the beginning of the school term, OEO will make such grants to EYOA but will certify the present YOB as fiscal agent and channel those funds through it until such time as the new Joint Powers agreement is ratified. It is understood, however, that such ratification will take place without undue delay.

Please advise promptly by telegraph if this agreement also meets with your approval and if OEO is prepared to implement its responsibilities thereunder.

(signed)

Leroy Collins

August 23, 1965

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A/D

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

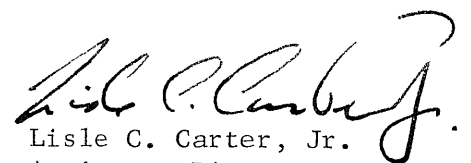
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

EX-103-1124
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August 23, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE JOSEPH A. CALIFANO, JR.
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

The attached memorandum on the Los Angeles situation is unsigned because your 9:00 a.m. deadline made it necessary to transmit it before Mr. Shriver got back into town. Its contents, however, have been discussed with Mr. Shriver, with Mr. Conway, and with people in CAP and can be considered to represent the OEO position.


Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Assistant Director

Attachment

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 23, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE JOSEPH A. CALIFANO, JR.
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

This is in response to your request for suggestions as to what OEO might do to aid the areas that were the center of the disturbances in Los Angeles.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Of the direct OEO programs, the Community Action Program appears most relevant. The Los Angeles Community has now resolved its problem of establishing a Community Action Agency that would include representatives of public and private agencies and of the areas to be served. With this resolution, OEO can move promptly to do the following:

1. Approve immediately, grants totaling \$2,579,000. These grants would include remedial education in Los Angeles County schools, a Small Business Development Center, medical examinations for Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees, and a legal aid program.
2. Review and act upon--(a) Within one week, miscellaneous proposals in Washington totaling \$3 Million which would probably be reduced by \$800,000 in review to a total grant of \$2,200,000;
(b) Within two weeks, proposals in the San Francisco Regional Office totaling \$8,200,000 for the re-funding of ongoing Community Agency projects.

Thus, based on pending proposals, grants amounting to \$12,979,000 could be made in two weeks. Only part of these funded projects would concentrate on the riot affected areas. An additional \$7,200,000 of mostly educational projects would remain pending in the regional office.

The outside figure assigned to Los Angeles for Community Action projects under 1966 budget estimates is \$25 Million. As noted above, \$8.2 Million is earmarked for the re-funding of ongoing activities. Accordingly, if the decision were made to put aside other pending projects, as much as \$17 Million could be available for priority allocation to Watts and related tension areas in Los Angeles.

PRIORITY NEEDS

Now that a Community Action Agency has been agreed to, we believe that we should allow that organization to describe the priority needs of the affected areas in Los Angeles and to make proposals to meet those needs. We would certainly press them to accomplish this as soon as possible.

The principal need that has been identified to us to date is for work programs for youths and adults. These could be supported by a reprogramming, and possible addition, of Neighborhood Youth Corps and Work-Experience funds. Where necessary or desirable, Community Action monies could be used to supplement the fund of these other programs. Such work programs could include an omnibus cleanup and reconstruction effort involving a construction and labor task force. Neighborhood Youth Corps and Work-Experience projects have been limited to public and non-profit organizations. Accordingly, if it is decided to undertake rehabilitation of the business area using area residents, Community Action money would be particularly necessary. We assume that on-the-job training funds under MDTA would also be available for this purpose.

\$800,000 to \$1 Million is needed by Los Angeles to contract for the razing of burned-out hazardous structures. A combination of Urban Renewal and CAP funds could be used to accomplish this purpose with the involvement of the residents of the area.

Another need that has been identified in the area is provision for the care of children who may be suffering from serious neglect as a result of family disruption in the wake of the riots. CAP funds could be combined with funds available under the Work-Experience program to provide emergency child-care services for both the children of those who will be working on projects and for those who for other reasons might be absent from the home.

IMPLEMENTATION

Mounting emergency efforts in Los Angeles will require the presence on the spot of a Federal interagency Task Force capable of working closely with local agencies and groups and cutting red tape and delay to an absolute minimum. The members of such Task Force should be delegated the authority to commit agency funds even where all the final details of agreed upon proposals have not been worked out.

We would like to suggest Jack Conway for such a Task Force. He has been working over the last several days with Los Angeles leadership and necessarily has developed rapport with them. He is very familiar with the programs of three of the principal agencies that would be involved; Labor, HHFA, and OEO. Finally, he would have at his disposal the program with the most flexibly available funds that could be used where necessary to fill in the gap between what other Federal agencies can provide and what the people at the local level see as their needs. Other persons who could participate for OEO in such a Federal Task Force are:

- 3 -

Richard W. Boone, Former Assoc. Director for Program, Policy of the Community Action Program, who could be brought in as a consultant.

William Downs, Acting Deputy Regional Director of OEO Chicago Regional Office.

Maurice Dawkins, Special Assistant to the Director of the VISTA Program who has also been a minister of a congregation in Los Angeles.

Ralph Guzman, who is on the Faculty at UCLA and is familiar both with OEO programs and the Los Angeles area also could be used as a consultant.

Sargent Shriver
Director

EXHIBITIVE

11/22/57

R. G. P. ...

...

Lisle C. Carter

August 23, 1965

Bob Walter

Los Angeles

This is a list of Components directed wholly or partially at the Watts area of Los Angeles, and where noted towards other riot areas.

- a) Resident Participation and Program Development, \$47,000, general benefit to all riot areas.
- b) Operation Escape String, \$132,000, Watts area is a specific target area.
- c) Operation Beacon Light, \$65,000, this is for the Avalon area.
- d) Neighborhood Participation in Service to Girls, \$198,000, for ten target areas some of which are riot areas.
- e) Willowbrook Community Center, \$59,000,
- f) Reading Programs for Juvenile Court Wards, \$134,000, general impact only.
- g) Strengthening Communication Skills, \$927,000, general impact only.
- h) City Schools Program, 50% approximately is directed at the "Curfew Area." (The request was for \$11,000,000 and we are recommending at this time \$3,500,000 in total, This means \$5,500,000 requested and \$1,750,000 recommended for this area.)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

8/23/65
See - the junk
report to
Secretary

August 23, 1965

EXECUTIVE
11/10/65
L.S. [unclear]
7 5 11/65

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to the President

Subject: Watts Area, Los Angeles

After this morning's meeting, I can see that a central need to overall effectiveness of any federal program in Watts is cooperation of the local leadership in Los Angeles. Since the businessman is probably the most powerful factor in the local community structure, I can see that mobilizing local business cooperation and support for both acceptance and implementation of the variety of programs which may be adopted may well be the first and most useful contribution of the Department of Commerce. We are more likely to be able to talk effectively to the business leaders than others less directly associated with their prime activities. We might do this by direct approaches to businessmen through the Secretary, or by working with local chambers of commerce and industrial and trade associations.

Lawrence C. McQuade

Lawrence C. McQuade
Assistant to the Secretary

*Get the businessmen and their
prestige and pressure on the
to make cooperation and the federal
government's side.*



Handwritten initials

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25, D C.

Handwritten: EXECUTIVE

Handwritten: J. A. Schnittker

Handwritten circled number 1

August 23, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Honorable Joe Califano
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: John A. Schnittker
Under Secretary of Agriculture

I am attaching the "shopping list" of programs administered by the Department of Agriculture which might be useful in helping stabilize the Los Angeles situation.

They are:

1. USDA food programs available to Los Angeles.
2. Extension education programs -- particularly home economics.
3. Forest Service programs, including regular forest work, special projects and Job Corps camps.

Attachments

Handwritten signature: John A. Schnittker



Growth Through Agricultural Progress

August 22, 1965

A USDA Food Programs Available to Los Angeles

1. National School Lunch Program, which can provide cash and food assistance for child-feeding programs in schools.
2. Special Milk Program, which provides cash subsidy to furnish milk at reduced cost in schools, summer camps, and child-care centers, and free to children in needy schools.
3. Commodity Distribution Program, which provides a variety of surplus foods free for distribution to schools, institutions, and needy families.
4. Food Stamp Program, designed to increase food-purchasing power of needy persons and to improve their nutrition.

B Uses Made of USDA Food Programs in Los Angeles

School Lunch -

1. While an extensive school food service program is in operation in the area, the city does not participate in the National School Lunch Program and thus does not share in Federal financial and food assistance.
2. Surplus foods made available by the Department are being used and constitute about 6.0 cents per meal-in value.
3. Reported current meal prices, per child, run from 30 to 35 cents. Only limited free meals are being provided.
4. National School Lunch funds are allocated to States by a formula in the law. Any participation by Los Angeles would be financed within funds now apportioned to the State. State has latitude to distribute funds within the State.

Special Milk Program -

1. All schools in Los Angeles reportedly participate.
2. Federal subsidy rate to schools averages about three cents per one-half pint of milk.
3. State has latitude to approve milk programs for needy schools providing up to full cost of milk for needy children. This has not been done.
4. Program also is in operation for children in child-care centers, summer camps, and institutions at a subsidy rate of two cents per half pint.

Commodity Distribution Program -

1. Los Angeles County and the State have excellent storage facilities for handling surplus foods and are presently making them available to schools, and to county, city, and private charitable institutions.
2. Surplus foods not currently being made available to needy families.
3. County made USDA food available to the Red Cross and to the Salvation Army for emergency use following recent riot.
4. Department has strongly encouraged State and local government to inaugurate family food distribution programs since 1961 but no local interest reflected.
5. Variety of 12 different foods now available, having a retail value of \$5.70 per person, per month.

Food Stamp Program -

1. Available to Los Angeles but city has not requested State Welfare Agency for program.

C Suggested Actions Possible Under Present Food ProgramsNational School Lunch Program

1. Funds apportioned to the State could be made available for reimbursement at an average of about 3.5 cents per meal, and thus schools would be able to serve more meals free or at reduced cost.
2. Foods bought specifically for schools in the National School Lunch Program would lower the cost and help schools serve more free meals.
3. Especially needy schools would be eligible for reimbursement of up to 15 cents per meal, thus enabling schools to serve lunches at a possible price of 20 cents to children able to pay something and free to children unable to pay.

Special Milk Program -

1. Make milk available more often during day.
2. Make milk available at no cost to needy children in designated needy schools.
3. Extend program to additional, organized child-care centers not now participating.

Establish Breakfast Program

1. Milk under the Special Milk Program and surplus commodities could be made available to provide major portion of the food required in a breakfast program for children.

Commodity Distribution to Needy Families

1. Inaugurate direct distribution of foods to needy households. Foods currently available include canned beef; peanut butter; butter; lard; nonfat dried milk; dry beans; rice; corn meal and grits; wheat flour; bulgur, and rolled wheat.
2. Local costs of program operation can partially be met through OEO programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, work experience training, or community action projects.

Food Stamp Program

1. With an expression of local interest and a request by Los Angeles city officials to the State Department of Social Welfare, arrangements for participation by Los Angeles could be readily developed. This program would be in lieu of commodity distribution to needy families.

D Additional Food Assistance, Disregarding Existing Operating Procedures, Regulations, and Agreements

1. Develop additional programs in cooperation with State and local agencies, OEO, HEW, and any other interested Federal agencies to provide group-feeding programs for after school, weekend and other non-school periods for needy children, for pre-school children, and for adult education activities.
2. If State, county, or city authorities are unable or refuse to cooperate in implementing these programs, USDA could enter into direct agreement with local private agencies (Council of Social Agencies, or individual agencies such as private family agency, Salvation Army, Red Cross, etc.) with all or part of local costs borne by the Federal government -- USDA funds supplemented, as necessary, with OEO and HEW funds.
3. USDA could, with possible assistance of OEO, HEW, and other Federal agencies, carry out all of the above programs directly to the recipients using Federal employees, facilities, and funds.
4. Make surplus foods available to other Federal agencies requiring foods in the conduct of their programs.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FEDERAL EXTENSION SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

*Cooperating with Land Grant
Colleges and Universities*

August 22, 1965

To: John A. Schnittker, Under Secretary
From: Luke M. Schruben, Assistant Administrator, FES
Subject: Extension Programs for the Watts Section of Los Angeles and Other Similar Areas

The Cooperative Extension Service is a joint undertaking by Federal, State and county government. The Federal Government provided in 1965 for payments to States \$70, 113, 600; the States and counties provide \$117, 187, 820. In addition to the above funds, the Federal Government appropriated approximately \$2, 689, 000 for the Federal Extension Service, plus other National operating costs.

The total California Cooperative Extension budget for 1965 was \$9, 517, 762, of which the Federal allocation was \$1, 894, 025 or 19.9 % of the total. Cooperative Extension work in California is organized and administered by the University of California at Berkeley with a Director of Cooperative Extension who is designated by the University and satisfactory to the Secretary responsible for day to day operation.

With respect to an intensified Extension program to help overcome some of the major problems of areas such as the Watts section of Los Angeles, for the short run, several facts should be kept in mind:

1. Extension home economists can make a contribution by conducting demonstrations and working with individual families on how to use donated foods to prepare healthful, appetizing meals.
2. The program to be most effective should be operated by the State Extension Service.
3. California has fewer home economists than most States. The total number of home economics agents in California as of December 31, 1964 was 77.

4. The Federal Extension Service does not have the resources to undertake work of the magnitude of the Watts area.
5. Financial arrangements to absorb the county share of costs would need to be made.
6. California has had experience working with low income, poorly motivated Mexican, Negro and other transient type families who had made their home in the areas where they work.
7. Securing State Land-Grant College Extension Service cooperation to the fullest extent of resources available in emergencies has never been a problem in the past.

For the short run we propose that if it is determined that the Cooperative Extension Service can contribute to the solution of some of the Watts section of Los Angeles problems, we recommend that:

1. The State Director of Extension be contacted and the problems shared with him.
2. The Director be urged to develop a plan to use home economics agents to assist families in using donated or other available foods to prepare appetizing and nutritious meals.
3. The Director be asked to suggest ways to assist the area to resolve sanitation problems by printing of understandable literature and by direct assistance to groups and individuals.
4. The Director be asked to indicate what can be done in the above areas within the framework of his present budget and staff and what he could do with additional resources.
5. Ways and means be explored to make home economists working in other States available to California to work on the Watts section problem.

For the longer run an intensive educational program can contribute greatly to the stability of the area. This program would need a separate budget and be of sufficient size to permit effective work, primarily with mothers and children. This educational work should be directed to family relationships, proper nutrition for the family, parents of pre-school children, and better use of family financial resources. The work should be designed to obtain confidence of people--stimulate their desire to want to do better themselves, and for their children in order that homemaking skills, and other essential skills can be taught. This program should be developed to run no less than 7-10 years.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

August 22, 1965

Forest Service Programs for the Los Angeles Area

1. If additional funds can be allocated to current budgets, Forest Service can employ on already planned, but unfunded projects, 1000 men in the first week; 2000 men in the second week; 3000 men in the third week; and 5000 men in the fourth and succeeding weeks. 600 of these could be accommodated as commuters by bus; the remainder would be quartered in national forest fire camps.

a. The cost is estimated as about \$700 per man month, including materials, supplies, equipment, board and room, and wages. Overhead costs would be absorbed by current appropriations.

b. Work would consist of roadside beautification, construction of fuel breaks for fire prevention, other fire prevention and protection measures, work on campgrounds and other outdoor recreation facilities.

c. The men employed would work on the Angeles, San Bernadino, Cleveland, and Los Padres National Forests.

d. The current established rate of pay is \$2.20 per hour. However, in this situation it would appear best to establish a rate of pay with room and board so that the workers would not have to be charged for their board and room, as a separate transaction.

e. The currently established employment rules require a police record check; under the circumstances, this requirement should probably be waived.

f. Arrangements will have to be made with local law enforcement officials in employment and camp areas to provide for law enforcement and discipline.

2. In addition, Forest Service runs the Job Corps Conservation Centers for OEO in the National Forests. On a proportional basis there are already "too many" of these camps in California. But if OEO wants to put some more there, Forest Service could find useful work and facilities for them.



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

August 23, 1965

Handwritten notes:
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7/2/65

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Lawrence McQuade *LC McQ*
Assistant to the Secretary

SUBJECT: Rehabilitation of Watts Area, Los Angeles

The following list of activities are those which various elements of the Department of Commerce might undertake should there be a decision to apply federal resources to the rehabilitation of the Watts District of Los Angeles. Where appropriate, I have also identified (1) private groups in Los Angeles with which we have been working and (2) some imaginative, qualified people upon whom the federal government might wish to draw in order to get things going.

Area Redevelopment Administration

Activities permissible under current authority and which could be carried forward after the New Public Works and Economic Development Act is enacted are confined chiefly to technical assistance. There is no authorization to expend funds for "brick and mortar" rebuilding. Examples:

1. Job Training Programs:

ARA staff personnel or consultants could be sent to the Watts area to organize job training programs. ARA can pay the cost for such technical assistance in the formative stages, and, if a program were developed, then ARA might be able to pay the administrative costs of staffing the program as well as the rental of appropriate facilities to house the program. The costs of equipment, faculty and the like could be financed by the Department of Labor under the MDTA.

2. Small Business Development Centers (SBDC's):

ARA alone, or in conjunction with SBA, could begin to develop immediately SBDC's to give technical assistance to businesses in the Watts area. SBA could make available loans up to \$25,000 under Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act. There must be a great need for such specialized assistance to small businesses in the wake of the rioting, and it might be possible to mount such a program without waiting for the local Youth Opportunity Board question to be settled. The job of rebuilding the ghetto could be undertaken by Negro artisans who are resident in the Watts ghetto-- through small Negro construction firms--if these firms had the technical know-how to expand their operations and the working capital to operate.

3. Public Facilities Grants:

If the President decided that a major effort should be made to assist the Watts area, one of the most dramatic ways for him to announce such a program, and to implement it, would be to sign the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and request of Congress that Title I, Public Facility Grants, be amended to include urban areas such as Watts. Rep. Farbstein (Dem. -N. Y.) had originally inserted such an amendment but it was removed in the early stages of the bill. At the present time, the bill has passed both houses and is at the White House for signature. Should such an amendment be incorporated at this time--and an appropriate amount of funds added--a large number of projects could be undertaken which would materially affect ghetto life. Examples include: child day care centers, health facilities and medical clinics, cultural centers, recreational facilities, etc. Some of these public facilities would contribute importantly to the development of community organization within the area.

Local connections. ARA has an area office in the Watts district which has been operating up to now in the field of technical assistance. The building in which it is located was not among those razed during the course of the riots although almost the

entire block around the ARA office was demolished. ARA has been working with the Los Angeles Area Redevelopment Agency for the Watts District. Its Executive Director and some, but not all, of its other directors are from the local area itself.

People. Of possible use in on-the-scene activities are: (1) Ann Gould of the ARA Washington staff - particularly knowledgeable at starting training programs, (2) Leon Sullivan, a Negro from Philadelphia who is a highly effective community organizer among alienated Negroes and a specialist in job training; (3) James Jordan, a Negro of ability in these problems who currently heads the ARA office in Pittsburgh.

Census

In Washington, the Census Bureau could make the following contributions, if it were desirable:

(1) Write a statistical profile of the area on the basis of data collected in the 1960 census. It would give detailed figures on the degree of crowding, racial constitution, age of housing, etc.

(2) Assemble a special report on the retail, wholesale and service businesses in the District by drawing together information from the 1963 business census. This could be done in about a week or 10 days from request.

In Los Angeles, the Census Bureau could do the following:

(1) Organize and conduct a special up-to-date census of the District, covering such things as education, employment, etc. By using existing forms and emergency maps, this could be organized and functioning in about one month. Its cost would vary from as low as 25¢ per head to 75¢ per head depending upon the comprehensiveness of the census, which could range from a sample survey to a full coverage. The more complete survey would

employ about one person per 1,000 population for a period of a few weeks, at most 300 to 400 jobs. The proportion of people qualified to conduct a census has historically been low in districts like Watts, but this pattern would not preclude hiring the bulk of the personnel from Watts.

(2) Conduct a special census in the area to identify the measure and location of facilities damaged beyond utilization. This sort of thing is frequently done after bombing raids or tornadoes. Experts would be sent to instruct local people in the conduct of this survey. However, its primary merit would be informational, not employment.

Local connections. Census has a regional office in Los Angeles. Its director, Leonard Isley, is an experienced hand and would be quite useful in any planning activities in the area.

Business and Defense Services Administration

This part of the Department of Commerce includes a pool of people knowledgeable about particular business and industry problems. It could play an attendant role in counseling local businesses, both in support of ARA and, if appropriate, in support of SBA or other activities. This could be done within its regular program.

State Technical Services

The State Technical Services bill is currently awaiting a rule before it moves forward in the legislative mill. We expect it to be enacted. It will create an "extension service" for use of science and technology to develop industry, similar to that which Agriculture supplies to farmers. With this authority in hand, we believe it would take us about six weeks to get underway an intelligent program for promoting industry in the area through technological assistance. Specifically, we would plan to draw on experts from Cal Tech and UCLA. The latter has a first-rate

set of experts who know how to involve local people in building small scale business and industry using a labor force of relatively low skills. The cost of such a program might be about \$3 million or \$4 million. The statute will require permission from the State authorities before these funds can be allocated to such a project.

Local connections Establishment of a local council is contemplated under the proposed set-up.

People. Of possible use in on-the-scene activities are: (1) Professor Azimow of UCLA - an extraordinarily knowledgeable person on the means of stimulating small industry; (2) John Rubel of Litton Industries - a former Assistant Secretary of Defense who has know-how in this area.

Community Relations Service

A separate memorandum will be supplied by CRS.



OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

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U S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D C. 20230

August 23, 1965

Handwritten notes:
H112/005
1/25/65

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Calvin Kytle
Acting Director

SUBJECT: Los Angeles

In response to your request, I am attaching a statement in several parts: 1) a definition of this agency's role in the federal program to assist Los Angeles in its rehabilitation efforts; 2) a projection of specific CRS activities in the Los Angeles community, developed from requests for assistance received from individuals and organizations in the crisis area; 3) a list of "imaginative" CRS staff members recommended for assignment in Los Angeles; and 4) a partial list of public-spirited private organizations whose support might be effectively mobilized.

I have tried to keep this short and to the point but I fear that in the interest of brevity I may have erred in the direction of over-simplification. In particular, I would welcome the chance to flesh out the background and working approach to the six tasks which we identify as appropriately ours. I would also be happy to give you a report on our involvement in the crisis to date.

We're ready to proceed.

Attachment

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- 1 -

AFTER THE RIOTS: What the Community Relations Service
Should and Could Do in Los Angeles

CRS's role in post-riot activities in Los Angeles is based on the following assumptions:

1. The first priority in Los Angeles is for action programs, addressed to rehabilitation and reform, which will have immediate and tangible impact. These programs are readily identifiable, focusing as they must on food, employment, education, housing, the restoration of commercial property, the preservation of law and order, and all the activities we usually lump together under "social welfare".
2. The implications of the riots touch on virtually every institution through which Americans organize to get things done -- this is, (1) agencies both public and private; (2) agencies that span the spectrum in their social, economic, religious, and political functions; (3) agencies which operate differently at local, state, and federal levels. In the job ahead, each has a legitimate role to play and a meaningful contribution to make.
3. The most serious deterrent to the launching and effective administration of needed action programs is the prevalent atmosphere of scapegoating, factionalism, and recrimination among local authorities and agencies. The Negro community -- from the most inarticulate, alienated member of the ghetto to the most sophisticated spokesman of the most respected civil-rights organization -- continues to be frustrated in its appeal for intelligent understanding of grievances. The elected leadership is defensive; the white majority is frightened, psychologically hurt, indifferent, or of a mind to punish the Negroes and be done with it. From all reports, Los Angeles -- rightly regarded for years as America's most fragmented city -- appears to have been polarized by the tragic events of the past two weeks.

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- 2 -

4. As the "higher authority," as the traditional unifier of all the people -- particularly if it can make its presence felt as a welcome, non-threatening symbol of objectivity, neutrality, and compassion -- the federal government must assume a larger-than-usual role in the community's efforts to rehabilitate and reshape itself. Of necessity, most of the substantive programs mounted to deal with the aftermath will be stimulated or financed by agencies of the federal government. Indeed, there is increasing demand for federal assistance from local Los Angeles organizations -- private, public, and quasi-public. The federal government is obliged to respond dramatically and concertedly. For it to do otherwise might seriously impair the future of Los Angeles as a viable community and raise disturbing questions of public policy with respect to federal involvement in urban affairs generally.

5. The proper role of the federal government in post-riot activities in Los Angeles is that of (1) conciliation and (2) coordination, within the context of cooperation with all the constructive forces at work in the local community.

6. As one of several federal agencies concerned with resolving the problems of Los Angeles, the Community Relations Service is uniquely suited to aid

1) In establishing or re-establishing communications between and among the disputing groups; and

2) In bringing to the total effort a consciousness of the human factors as they affect and inter-connect with the administration of specific programs at all levels of administration.

Within the limits of our present competence, we therefore submit the following ideas and recommendations:

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- 3 -

PRIORITIES FOR CRS ACTION

From an assessment of request and complaints received by the agency during the past ten days, CRS has identified six priority tasks:

1. Seek out indigenous leaders in the Watts area and in similar socio-economic areas in LA. Determine their views of the area in general, the recent disturbances, their roles in the structure of the community, and steps to be taken. Get them into a direct communications relationship with metropolitan officials and leaders, civil rights organizations, assistance groups, and so on.
2. Meet and confer with representatives of national civil rights groups, their LA area affiliates, the LA United Civil Rights Committee, and local independent civil rights groups. Learn their immediate and long-range plans, discuss and advise on their role and ours, and attempt to improve their relationships with the LA official power structure.
3. Urge the LA City Council to support and strengthen the LA County Human Relations Commission. Seek financial support and strength from the city and encourage the County officials to give the Commission broader powers of investigation, subpoena, conciliation, research and assistance. Enlist immediate support from leading white and Negro citizens.
4. Establish a means for research coordination. Encourage one of the California universities (UCLA's Urban Observatory would be a logical facility) to act as a clearing house for the great number of researchers who are in or will be coming into the area.
5. Encourage police-human relations training programs and the strengthening of existing police-community relations programs. Aid in the analysis of police-minority relations in metropolitan LA. Help evaluate the validity of claims made by local residents that police attitudes, police conduct, and police use of excessive force were underlying causes of the Watts area riots.

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- 4 -

6. Work with local representatives of the press and broadcast media in developing clearer guidelines for responsible reporting of race and minority-group relations. Help evaluate charges that reportorial and editorial techniques used during the riots tended to enlarge and intensify the disorder, as well as to increase prejudice and hostility between the races.

Through these and related activities, CRS would hope to address itself to at least three immediate general needs in Los Angeles: (1) conciliation of the current crisis in the Watts community to secure the peace and order which has been established; (2) prevention of the spread of rioting and conflict to other potential trouble spots, and (3) prevention of retaliation by individuals, mobs and/or organized hate groups.

PERSONNEL

CRS activities in Los Angeles will be conducted by an integrated three-man team of senior staff members, each of whom qualifies as both "imaginative" and experienced.

A. M. Secrest -- Field Coordinator (GS-16). In man hours, Secrest is our oldest conciliator, a veteran of Selma. He has the additional virtue of being a newspaper editor whose professional competence won him a Nieman fellowship to Harvard. He will direct the CRS team.

George Roberts -- Field Conciliator (GS-16). Roberts came to us after seven years as deputy director of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. He is among the handful in this country who have earned professional stature in inter-group relations.

Ben Holman -- Director of Media Relations (GS-17). Holman is a former reporter for the Chicago Daily News and a former editor and reporter for CBS-TV.

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- 5 -

PRIVATE ORGANIZATION RESOURCES

CRS maintains working liaison with all civil-rights organizations of any consequence. Its staff has also developed techniques for reaching the leaders of indigenous organizations in the ghettos.

In addition, CRS works with a host of private organizations not exclusively concerned with civil rights but which have programs and facilities that could be useful in resolving problems in Los Angeles. Among the more important of these are:

American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial
Organizations and Affiliates
American Federation of Teachers
American Friends Service Committee
The American Jewish Committee
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Boy Scouts of America
U. S. Chamber of Commerce and affiliates
Cooperative League of the U. S. A.
Commission on Religion and Race of the National
Council of Churches
Jewish Community Relations Council
League of Women Voters
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
National Association of Manufacturers
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Jewish Women
National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers
United Church Women
Service and Fraternal Organizations, General and Negro
Young Mens Christian Association
Young Womens Christian Association
Council of Social Agencies
Protestant Denominational Groups

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20530

② R
EXECUTIVE

HU 2/ST5
L 24/ Los Angeles
76135

August 23, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Barefoot Sanders
Assistant Deputy Attorney General

RE: Possible Post-Riot Assistance Programs
by Department of Justice for Los Angeles

SUMMARY

This Department has no financial programs available for post-riot assistance to the Watts area, and similar areas, in Los Angeles. The Attorney General's representative to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency advises that the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, the operating arm of the Committee, functioning under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has projects in operation in Watts area and may have programs available for post-riot assistance.

Property and personal crimes committed during the riot are subject to state jurisdiction. Los Angeles has a public defender system to assure legal representation of the defendants. Los Angeles has a Legal Aid Society to furnish civil (non-criminal) legal assistance to those who need it and are unable to pay for it.

We recommend against any Federal efforts at this time to assist in prosecution or representation of defendants, or emergency legal aid in non-criminal matters. We defer to HEW with respect to possible assistance from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency.

CRIMINAL CHARGES

Approximately 3000 people are charged with offenses connected with the riot. About 300 are juveniles. About 2000 are in jail. Most are charged with felonies, but about 80 per cent of these will likely be reduced to misdemeanors. Bail was set high initially and is being reduced at preliminary hearings which are being held at the rate of 200 per day. Even after reduction few defendants make bail--10 out of 200 on August 19.

Los Angeles County has the largest public defender office in the United States consisting of Public Defender Hovden and about 100 assistants. Affidavits of indigency are not required before appointment of a public defender. The public defender is assigned by the court to all who say they cannot afford a lawyer. The public defender's office appears in the Superior Court (felonies) and in the Municipal Court (preliminary hearings and misdemeanors).

In addition, the Court has a panel of attorneys who can be appointed where the public defender's office is not available. Persons appointed from this panel are paid by the county according to the bar schedule. About 200 names are on this panel.

Further, lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Langston Club (an organization of Negro attorneys), and many individual attorneys have been offering their services at preliminary hearings in the riot cases.

There are approximately 185 prosecutors available to handle these cases.

California law provides that all defendants must be tried within 60 days after they are charged or the charges dismissed. The regular criminal court judges in Los Angeles

are sitting in the morning on their regular cases, and working from noon to 9:00 p.m. each day on preliminary hearings for the persons accused as a result of the riots. Twenty additional judges, including some retired judges, have been called to help. An experienced presiding judge of the Criminal Division is in charge of this special work.

It is believed that the Court will move expeditiously and within the bounds of due process to an early hearing in the cases. There is no indication of a shortage of counsel either on the prosecution or defendants' side of the docket.

Recommendation: There is no jurisdictional basis for Federal assistance to the prosecution or to aid in the defense of those charged, and there appears to be no necessity for any indirect or subtle action by the Federal Government to assure that the cases are handled expeditiously, and that each defendant has counsel and a fair trial.

PROPERTY DAMAGE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The Los Angeles County Safety and Disaster Section estimates property loss from the riot at approximately \$46,600,000, including \$42,500,000 in private property. The Los Angeles County Tax Assessor estimates property loss at \$45,000,000, including \$25,000,000 in buildings destroyed and the balance in trade fixtures, personal property and inventories.

We have no indication that free non-criminal legal assistance is urgently needed. The likelihood is that business owners will be able to afford their own attorneys. Doubtless some private individuals who suffered damage to automobiles, fire damage to residences and personal property, and personal injuries will be seeking free legal assistance. Others, because of unemployment resulting from the distraction of business by the riot, will be applying for unemployment benefits and will have difficulties with overdue bills.

Los Angeles has a Legal Aid Society with a paid staff available to furnish free legal assistance on civil matters to persons in need of such advice and unable to pay for it. The Society determines whether the person requesting aid is in fact unable to pay. The members of the Langston Club (mentioned above) are also making an effort to be available for civil legal assistance. No "crash" program is under way and it is not possible to say at this time if one is needed. Our information is that there are presently no complaints of lack of necessary legal services.

Recommendation: Of course, the Federal Government has no jurisdiction to provide free legal assistance to those having civil legal problems resulting from the riot. Any Federal efforts would have to be very indirect and would be of dubious wisdom and propriety. We do not believe that such efforts are warranted. We understand that CIO has programs under way for legal aid on a pilot basis in several localities throughout the country. We feel that it would be unwise to push these ahead of schedule in order to subsidize the opening of a legal aid office in the Watts area because such a move would be subject to the interpretation that the Federal Government is assisting rioters and rewarding such activity, and there appears to be no necessity for such effort at this point.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH OFFENSES

The program of this Committee is funded by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency at HHS, the Acting Director of which is Mr. Jack Eric. The President's Committee is composed of the Attorney General, the Secretary of Labor, and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The Attorney General's representative to the Committee is Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

The Federal Juvenile Delinquency Program in the Los Angeles area is under the auspices of the Youth Opportunities Board, the operational authority of which has been phased from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency into OEO. The Office of Juvenile Delinquency has a research project under way at the Youth Study Center at the University of Southern California, and the personnel connected with that project might be of assistance in any Federal efforts directed at the Watts area and similar areas. The Center has demonstration projects in operation in the Watts area.

Detailed information on the programs in effect and the potential available, both in terms of personnel and finances, can be provided by HEW and OEO.

Recommendation: This Department has neither funds nor personnel available for action in the riot areas through the Juvenile Delinquency program. However, the Attorney General's representative, Mr. Synington, is ready and anxious to help in any way.



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20315

IN REPLY REFER TO
ENGCW

23 August 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
The White House

SUBJECT: White House Meeting on Los Angeles Situation

1. Reference the subject meeting held 21 August, the emergency roles authorized the Corps of Engineers in connection with natural disasters fall under one of two laws. P.L. 99, a "flood-fighting" statute which authorizes the Corps to protect life and property and restore flood structures, is clearly not applicable in this case. P.L. 875, the statute under which the Corps has frequently supported the Office of Emergency Planning in restoration of facilities following disasters, cannot be invoked in the absence of a Federal disaster area declaration.

2. Even if authority existed, it would be difficult at this stage, several days after the disturbances, to pin-point an appropriate role for the Corps of Engineers in restoration of facilities, because of progress already made by state and local authorities. Our representatives last checked the Watts area on Saturday 21 August, and report all utilities functioning and streets and sidewalks clear. Pedestrian traffic is normal, vehicular traffic heavy due to sight-seers. Police and National Guard activity is unobtrusive. While scattered over a considerable area, the burned out stores, filling stations, and other buildings add to the equivalent of about 4 blocks of complete destruction.

3. For about 30 years, the Corps of Engineers has been engaged in a Congressionally-authorized \$400 million flood control program on the Los Angeles River and tributaries. It consists of reservoirs, debris basins, and hundreds of miles of lined channel. The program is now about 90 percent complete and will be completed in FY 1968. The FY 1966 requirement is about \$15 million. Two contracts totaling \$7,215,300 are now under way, on the San Gabriel River and Coyote Creek, about 10 to 15 miles east southeast of the Watts area. They are behind schedule due to a recent strike and are already being

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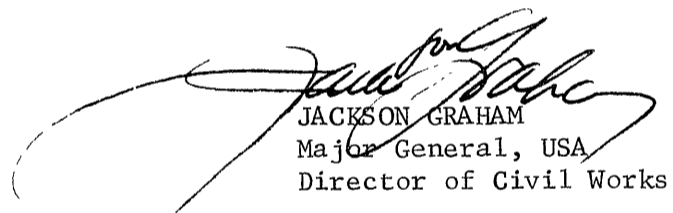
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23 August 1965

SUBJECT: White House Meeting on Los Angeles Situation

expedited to insure that the work is completed this working season. Their relationship to the recent disturbances is minimal and no further action is indicated.

FOR THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS:


JACKSON GRAHAM
Major General, USA
Director of Civil Works

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF EMERGENCY PLANNING
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

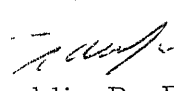
August 23, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO JOE CALIFANO

SUBJECT: Federal Aid Through OEP for
Los Angeles.

As the Governor has explained to the President, OEP is without authority to expend any funds in Los Angeles without a disaster declaration being issued. Last week we held our Regional Director, George Grace, in Los Angeles in the event a declaration was made and during this time he was in communication with the various Federal and State agencies in purely an advisory and unofficial capacity.

Attached is a brief resume of the Federal Disaster Assistance possible under PL81-875 when declared and a list of the types of assistance which can be furnished by other Federal agencies without a National Disaster Declaration by the President, which I hope will be helpful to you.


Franklin B. Dryden
Deputy Director

Mr. Franklin B. Dryden
Deputy Director

AUG 16 1965

Robert Y. Phillips, Director
Government Readiness Office

Los Angeles, California, Riot of August 11, 1965

Federal Disaster Assistance Possible under PL 81-875 "Major Disaster" Declaration

If it is determined that the situation in Los Angeles qualifies as a "major disaster" under the provisions of PL 81-875, the following types of Federal assistance could be made available to State and local governments:

Protective work when necessary to preserve life and property. This would enable the Federal Government to reimburse local agencies for the cost of shoring up buildings whose collapse would jeopardize life or property.

The cost of clearing debris and wreckage from streets and other essential public property. Debris may also be removed from private property upon the certification by competent local, State and Federal health and safety agencies that the presence of such debris constitutes a threat to public health or safety.

If essential public facilities such as streets and bridges, water and sewer systems, and public buildings have been damaged, emergency repair or temporary replacement would be eligible under PL 81-875.

Temporary housing or emergency shelter could be provided for a limited period if a housing shortage develops as a result of the riot.

If a "major disaster" is declared, the Small Business Administration could make economic injury loans available to small businesses suffering as a result of the disaster.

Procedures established by the Office of Emergency Planning provide for the reimbursement of the cost of having additional civilian personnel or overtime paid to regular employees. These procedures do not provide for reimbursement of salaries or overtime of the National Guard or fire and police personnel as such forces are expected to be available at all times for any type of emergency assignment. However, the Director of OEP has the authority to make an exception in favor of reimbursement for expenses of the National Guard and public safety forces.

Types of Assistance Which Can Be Furnished Without a Major Disaster Declaration by the President:

Surplus foods can be furnished by the Department of Agriculture.

The Small Business Administration can declare a disaster area under its own statutory authority. This will permit disaster loan service because of physical damage to homes and businesses.

The Housing and Home Finance Agency can provide temporary housing for needy victims in such defaulted FHA - insured housing now owned by the Commissioner and may be available in the area.

The Public Housing Administration may give permission to local authorities operating low-rent public housing to waive income and other eligibility requirements and permit temporary occupancy by persons needing housing.

The Public Health Service can assist states and local health authorities with regard to health or sanitation problems.

The military can and has provided assistance under Army Regulation 500, the details of which we are not familiar with.

Robert Y. Phillips

ET

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1965

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano and Lee White *gwp.*

SUBJECT: Possible Los Angeles Emergency Program

We have worked with appropriate agency people on a restoration and job program for the Watts area, on the assumption that there will be no request for a disaster declaration (Governor Collins says this assumption is correct). We recommend the program outlined below. It could be announced at your press conference tomorrow. You have condemned the rioters. We think it appropriate that you help the victims and do what we can to remove some of the causes. This should be done in such a way as to avoid the appearance of rewarding the rioters and as to distinguish Los Angeles from other cities such as Chicago and Springfield.

Our recommendations focus on existing programs that can be speeded up without additional funds, but with some reprogramming.

I. Send a Federal Team to Los Angeles -- A high level coordinator, together with a small team of specialists should tie the program together. We recommend Jack Conway, who is familiar with the Los Angeles situation, holds a high level position and knows how to handle people. He should have at least one representative from HEW, Housing, Agriculture, Labor, perhaps SBA and Commerce.

II. Program Content -- The following have been selected from 20 to 30 agency proposals. Any or all of them could comprise the package.

A. OEO --

1. Grants of \$2.5 million are immediately available for approval for the entire Los Angeles area for:

Remedial Education
Small Business Development Center
Medical Examinations for Neighborhood Youth
Corps Enrollees
Legal Aid Program

2. Within 10 days, OEO could (with the cooperation of the new Community Board) approve an additional \$2.2 million for similar proposals.

3. Within 2 weeks, an additional \$8.2 million for refinancing on-going projects could be committed.

4. Programs that could be financed with OEO money include the razing of burned out or hazardous structures, work programs for youths and adults, including clean-up and reconstruction efforts, and child care, especially for those families disrupted by the riots.

B. Labor --

1. Neighborhood Youth Groups -- Los Angeles has 1500 existing vacancies and a special team could go into Watts to put the young people (both in and out of school) to work immediately on restoration work. In addition, existing projects scheduled to end on September 30 could be extended.

2. On The Job Training -- Up to a thousand unemployed could be fitted into training programs under existing contracts with the Urban League and the Poverty's Youth Opportunities Board within the next two or three weeks.

3. Tomato Harvest -- The harvest begins on September 1. Ordinarily 400 would have been recruited from the Watts area; this can be boosted to about a thousand. U. S. Employment Service Agencies in the area need only a word from Secretary Wirtz to accomplish this.

C. HEW --

1. Single Stop Service -- Working with local, state and private organizations, HEW could provide money to finance "one stop" operations where individuals could come and be exposed to all Federal, state and local programs. This would not require a continuing Federal contribution, once in being, state and local financing can support it.

2. Surplus Federal Property -- HEW could cut red tape and make this property available for schools and medical clinics. (In Eastern Kentucky in the winter of 1963-64, mobile buildings, building materials, vehicles, medical equipment, clothing, food service equipment, furniture and construction equipment were made available.)

3. Health and Medical Service for Children -- Such service could be provided under the 1965 Social Security amendments. Funds are expected to be appropriated in about 3 weeks and \$1 million could be channelled to the Watts area during the first year.

4. Child Care Centers -- A pilot program could be established in Watts to serve as a training facility and provide care for children; thus freeing mothers for training and employment opportunities.

5. Back to School Program -- HEW can run a vigorous back to school campaign.

D. Housing and Home Finance Agency -- These programs, require city government initiative. Although not fast-starting they would provide encouragement and hope.

1. 500 Public Housing Units -- The city housing authority has already made application; they can be stepped up and the units located to benefit the Watts area.

2. Low Income Housing -- Private builders could be encouraged immediately to start low-income housing with the understanding that it would be leased by the local housing authority thus ensuring housing for additional residents of the Watts area.

3. Rent Supplements -- Although regulations are not yet issued, FHA can begin to negotiate immediately with potential sponsors, especially home builders who could begin building at once.

4. Neighborhood Facilities -- Although long range, these 2/3 Federal grants for community centers, health centers and other small public facilities could enter the planning stage thereby giving hope to the community that there is a brighter future.

E. Agriculture --

1. Surplus Food -- Much surplus food has already gone into Watts, but this can be increased further. A food stamp program is also available to Los Angeles if we can inspire the City to participate. More milk and food could be made available for school lunch (and breakfast) programs. Such programs could be extended to organized child care centers not now participating. We could initiate direct distribution of foods to needy families, including corned beef, peanut butter, butter, lard, non-fat dry milk, dried beans, rice, corn meal and grits, wheat flour, bulgur and rolled wheat.

2. National Forest Employment -- Up to 5,000 young men could be put to work in 4 weeks in the national forests in the area, where people could be picked up in the morning and brought home at night.

We recommend that you dispatch a Federal team under Jack Conway to Los Angeles to work with state and local officials and to put the program outlined above into effect. You could announce the program at your news conference tomorrow. Governor Collins can return from Los Angeles shortly after Conway arrives.

Approved _____

Disapproved _____

TO HELP THE CITIZENS OF THE WATTS AREA TO HELP THEMSELVES
AND WITH THE FULL COOPERATION OF LOCAL CITY AND STATE
OFFICIALS THE FOLLOWING NINE POINT FEDERAL PROGRAM IS
UNDER CONSIDERATION:

- ✓ 1. Food -- Expand direct distribution of surplus food to needy families and increase the school breakfast and lunch programs.
- ✓ 2. Supplies and Shelter -- Expedite the distribution of surplus property such as mobile buildings, clothing, vehicles and medical equipment.
- ✓ 3. Health & Medical Services -- A program for children under HEW auspices; a long range plan for construction of health centers; and medical examinations for neighborhood youth.
- ✓ 4. Training, Employment and Rebuilding -- Up to 4,000 can be put to work in national forests in the area; 1,000 can be used in the tomato harvest; scores of others can start on restoration work thru Neighborhood Youth Groups; up to 1,000 can go into Urban League and Youth Opportunity Board programs.
5. Back to School -- a vigorous program to be undertaken; remedial education will be emphasized.
6. Child Care -- Pilot program to be established to care for needy children, freeing their mothers for training and employment opportunities.
- ✓ 7. Restoring Business -- Establishing Small Business Development Centers.
8. Neighborhood Facilities -- Accelerate the planning of community centers health facilities and small public buildings through Federal grants.
9. Housing: -- Over 500 new public housing units to be located in the Watts area; private builders will be encouraged to start additional low-income units; a program of rent supplements will be stepped up.

THE WATTS AREA

- minimum family income is less than \$5,000
- seventy-five percent or more of the population is Negro
- it is an area of maximum population density of 10,000 or more persons per square mile
- it is a maximum school drop-out area
- it is a maximum crime rate area (25 or more per 1,000 total population.

D
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1965

TO JOE CALIFANO

FROM: Bill Moyers

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

EXECUTIVE (2)

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8/24/65

August 21, 1965

To Joe Califano

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bill D. Moyers
The White House

FROM: Lisle C. Carter
Assistant Director for Interagency Relations

SUBJECT: OEO Community Action Applications from Los Angeles

For the past few months, OEO has delayed funding grants to the Youth Opportunities Board, the original Los Angeles community action agency, until an agreed-on new agency could be created. We have, however, funded a number of projects (such as Head Start) by making grants to independent agencies.

Attached is a list of the projects we have already funded in Los Angeles and a description of the principal efforts made to develop an acceptable community action agency. Grants made to Los Angeles to date total \$6.7 million.

Also attached is a listing of the Los Angeles applications pending in OEO Headquarters and in the OEO San Francisco Regional Office. These are for Community Action Program aid, under Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act.

The first group of applications -- pending in Washington -- could be processed within the next week. These would include about \$4.8 million in grants.

The second group -- pending in the Region -- could be processed just as fast, since it is largely a re-funding of projects already under way. The amount of grant involved is another \$8.2 million.

The third item attached was prepared by a task force set up by Governor Brown to develop possible projects that might be funded by OEO to attach Los Angeles problems in the riot-torn areas on an emergency basis. The estimated total cost of these proposals that might be eligible for funding by OEO under the Community Action Program is \$9.8 million. Emergency action could be taken by OEO to fund these proposals within two weeks.

A summary of applications pending and proposed by Governor Brown's task force is:

\$4.8 million now pending in Washington
8.2 million in re-funding of existing projects now
pending in San Francisco Regional Office
9.8 million in proposals suggested by the Governor's
task force
\$22.8 million total that might be funded within the
next few weeks. (Many, but by no means all,
of these projects are concentrated in the
riot-torn areas of Los Angeles.)

Based on the Administration's request to Congress for OEO funds during Fiscal Year 1966, this figure is within the total of \$25 million that the Los Angeles area might anticipate receiving from OEO this year.

In our discussion with Los Angeles we are taking the position that the total funds to be made available will be consistent with the amount that would ordinarily be available to Los Angeles through OEO and will not be increased significantly because of the riot.

Enclosures (3)

1. Memo to Jack Conway listing approved projects and applications pending in Washington, plus a chronology of events in Los Angeles
2. Memo to Sargent Shriver listing all Los Angeles applications now pending, both in Washington and in the OEO Regional Office
3. Material prepared by Governor Brown's task force, proposing additional emergency projects for OEO to fund

Jack T. Conway
THROUGH: David A. Grossman

August 16, 1965

Robert C. Walter

Los Angeles

Grants Approved:

*Flow through YOB Apr. 21 for
Newmyer Foundation (\$207) to
attain parents in Venice - Ocean Park Area*

- 1) We gave to YOB on November 23, 1964, a federal grant of \$2,729,683. The major portion of this grant was for the Neighborhood Adult Participation Program (NAPP). In addition, there was approximately one million dollars for the L.A. City Schools and L.A. County Schools. Finally, the remainder of the program included legal aid, YOB administration and some community development projects.
- 2) On June 9, 1965 a grant of \$1,576,506 was given to the Los Angeles City Schools. This was for their summer school program.
- 3) YOB received a \$24,726 grant on June 30, for the VISTA volunteers in L.A.
- 4) Finally, on July 23, a grant of \$801,131 was given to The Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. This was the Summer Teen Program.
- 5) Eleven Head Start grants, totalling \$1,079,058, have been made to school and other agencies in the Los Angeles area (but none of these was made to YOB.)

Pending in Washington:

- a) \$1,900,000 - L.A. County Schools the forthcoming school year.
- b) \$269,000 - SBDE
- c) \$77,000 - medical exams for JLC
- d) \$393,000 - legal aid component (signed but not announced.)
- e) \$1,800,000 - miscellaneous projects including several projects for migrants and major community developments for areas surrounding L. A.

- 4) \$1,200,000 - miscellaneous projects including some education programs for private agencies and neighborhood center money.

Highlights in Organizational Problems:

In November of last year CIP designated YOB as the community action agency in Los Angeles. YOB was also the body sent up to handle the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. The understanding in November was that YOB would expand in order to meet the representation requirements of CIO (which had not yet been issued at the time of approval of the initial grant.)

Subsequently, another rival community action organization was established in Los Angeles. This group, the Economic Opportunity Federation, was composed in large part of private social welfare agencies in the Los Angeles area. Discussions were initiated leading toward a merger of YOB and the new Federation.

In May, before these negotiations were completed, CIO issued Community Action Plans No. 1. This Plan required all community action agencies to include representatives of "target areas" -- the neighborhoods being served by the program -- on the governing body or policy-making committee of each agency.

Mayor Merty, in late May proposed a nine man ^{board} ~~board~~ to be made up of two representatives from each of the joint powers except the state, which would keep a single representative. This move by the Mayor was apparently the impetus to the subsequent problems in Los Angeles. Representatives of a number of neighborhood groups and local organizations concerned with poverty began to insist that whatever structure was to be chosen should include neighborhood representation. From June to the present time a vigorous debate on what should be the structure of the community action agency has gone on. One leading proposal has been for an expansion of the YOB board to 19 members, including members to represent "target areas", but there has been much local disagreement over the process for selecting representatives.

There have been several alternative organizational structures proposed. The major alternative to the 19 member board would have a board of 32 members. The make-up of this 32 man board was to be 15 from the joint power agencies and the remainder from community organizations and representatives of the target areas.

The most recent relevant incident to be noted is the withdrawal of the Governor from the existing joint powers agreement because of a possible "uncomfortable" position later, i.e., a right to veto a project one of his representatives had approved.

CEO's position has been that the basic decision on what the community action agency structure should be was a matter for the local community to decide, provided that the structure met basic CBO requirements. Either the 19 man board or the 32 man board could be acceptable, as long as there was an acceptable means of selecting neighborhood representatives. To date, the joint powers agencies (the city, county, city and county schools, and -- until recently -- the state) and the other interested local parties have been unable to agree on such a structure.

While local debate has been taking place, CEO has been unwilling to fund additional projects through CBO. However, additional urgent anti-poverty projects, including a large Head Start program, have been funded by making grants direct to the specific agency that is to carry out the project. We expect to continue in this pattern until the local groups have been able to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement.

OD - Sargent Shriver

August 20, 1965

CAP/FO- Robert G. Walter

Los Angeles

Pending in Washington

A.	\$1,900,000	L.A. County Schools (to begin in September)
B.	209,000	SBDC
C.	77,000	Medical Exams for MIG
D.	333,000	Legal Aid (Signed by Conway but not announced)
E.	1,800,000	Miscellaneous projects including several migrant programs and major community development plans for outlying city areas and for regions outside Los Angeles. This package will probably be reduced by \$600,000 during review in Washington.
F.	1,200,000	Miscellaneous projects including educational programs of private agencies and neighborhood center money. There will be some reduction during review, approximately \$200,000
G.	Total pending in Washington	\$5,579,000
	Total probable Reduction	800,000
	Probable grant amount	4,779,000

Pending in San Francisco Regional Office

A.	\$3,500,000	L.A. City Schools. This was mailed to Washington on August 19, and in the result of an \$10,700,000 request. The reason for the reduction: the grant as recommended will allow for the continuance of ongoing programs. The reduction came as a result of eliminating requested expansions. The feeling is that the new community action agency (when formed) should have the chance to pass on any new programs in this area.
B.	\$3,500,000	This represents the continuation of on-going programs funded last November. No significant reduction is expected.
C.	\$1,200,000	The continued administration of the program in Los Angeles is the content of this package.
D.	Total pending in region	\$8,200,000
	Total Reduction to date	7,200,000
	Total requested in region	15,400,000

Summary of Proposed Housing (Washington and Region)

A. Probable Funding Amounts	\$12,979,000
B. Requested Amounts	\$9,579,000

General Remarks

- A. We are moving through the review of these requests with an eye on priorities.
- B. The bulk of the pending applications from Los Angeles came into the committee June 23. It has taken time to process this large group and try to work out the organizational problems in Los Angeles.
- C. All of these programs, except a very small component were to start in the fall, or at least were now critically in need of securing this money.
- D. Approximately \$8,700,000 of the probable total amount is to finance existing programs. Los Angeles still has \$1,800,000 in their account to keep operating.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 21, 1965

PROPOSALS BY GOVERNOR BROWN'S TASK FORCE

I \$400,000 Resident Jobs 35

A centralized integrated recovery "Command Post" providing one stop emergency services.

III \$1,950,000 Resident Jobs 2500

An omnibus clean-up and reconstruction program utilizing monies from several agencies and requiring OEO Funding as well. It includes a housing reconstruction and planning task force, which will among other functions, implements the establishment of six neighborhood based multi-service centers. OEO funds will be provided for a construction and labor task force, to identify and develop a community based contracting and construction capability and a generalized job market.

IV \$1,000,000 Resident Jobs 132

Emergency money for legal services for hardship cases.

VI \$95,000 Resident Jobs 35

An intensive inter-community relations program

VII \$243,500 Resident Jobs 35

Intensive community directed welfare services utilizing an OEO funded ad hoc emergency structure.

VIII \$5,090,000 Resident Jobs 5,100

A massive child care program involving a crash care program immediately and the development of a meaningful long term program.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1965

Mr. President:

Thought you might enjoy reading the
report from Louis Martin on his
trip to Los Angeles.

Marvin

EXECUTIVE

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1730 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C 20006

HU 2/ST 5

Martin, Louis

Democratic Natl Committee

August 23, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 3-9750

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. John Bailey
Mr. Cliff Carter

From: Louis Martin

Subject: Los Angeles Riot

This memorandum is divided into three parts: tour of the riot area, meetings with public officials, and finally, general observations.

I. Tour of the Area

Immediately upon arrival on Tuesday noon, August 17, we were escorted through the riot area. Chuck Roche went with me.

We were surprised by the extent of the damage and the size of the area covered. The damage was confined to shops and consumer-type businesses, principally food and liquor stores. One branch bank on 103rd Street, the principal Watts business artery, stood untouched in a sea of debris. Six Safeway stores were reported hit and we saw the ruins of several still smoking.

A few shops with scrawled signs indicating Negro ownership, "A Blood Brother" etc., were spared by the rioters.

No residences were hit and only a few automobiles were destroyed.

Food centers had been opened that morning and we saw long lines of obviously dejected men and women waiting patiently and quietly for their turn. National guardsmen were standing watch. Indeed, the guardsmen were well deployed all over the Watts area, some manning barriers, directing traffic at intersections where the traffic lights were dead and others patrolling the business streets in jeeps.

We saw two incidents involving Negroes and police. A patrol car stopped a couple of Negroes in an auto, ordered them out with drawn guns, frisked them and finding nothing, ordered them to the sidewalk while they searched the car. Nothing was found and after a little discussion with the Negroes who began to smile, the police let them go. Guardsmen in a jeep had stopped to watch the incident.

A little later we saw a similar situation where police were questioning Negroes who had been ordered out of their car. In both cases the police seemed to have been doing their job efficiently but they obviously were taking no chances.

We were struck by the neatness of the residential area, well tended little lawns separating hundreds of small one-story houses which were painted in bright attractive colors. Only a few multiple dwellings are in the area and these were run down in the slum tradition.

II. Meetings with Officials

At 5 o'clock that afternoon the elected Negro public officials whom we had called arrived for a four-hour meeting in our room at the Statler Hilton. They were: Rep. Augustus Hawkins and his aide Bill Williams, State Rep. F. D. Ferrell, State Rep. Merwyn Dymally and his aide, Miss Louise Ridgle, City Councilman Gilbert Lindsay, City Councilman Billy Mills, and Maurice Weiner, deputy for Councilman Thomas Bradley, who is in Europe. In addition to these Los Angeles officials there were present three Compton officials, Councilman Lionel Code and Douglas Dollarhide and city clerk Doris A. Davis. Nonpolitical persons present part of the time were: John A. Boggs, of the County Human Relations Board, Charles Knox of the Youth Board and William T. White, Jr. of the HHFA Region.

A general discussion of the causes of the riot and plans for the future took place. Here are a few points:

1. Most agreed that Police Chief Parker and the police force constituted a provocative force in the general unrest which erupted into a riot. Councilman Billy Mills seemed not to share the general feeling about Parker and refused to agree to suggestions that all join in asking for Parker's removal. All, however, agreed that more Negroes in the police force were greatly needed.

2. All agreed that unemployment, particularly among young Negro males, was a major factor in the riot. They felt economic problems were the basic causes of unrest. They saw no quick solution to this. Several reported that unfulfilled promises of help from anti-poverty funds and other sources had proved a serious blunder leading to great frustration. Most blamed lack of anti-poverty funds on the political conflicts among public officials with some accusing Mayor Yorty of major blame.

3. The most interesting revelation at the meeting was the fact that State Rep. Ferrell who lives in Watts was threatened by the rioters. He reported phone threats and one attempt by rioters to get into his backyard. He and his sons stood an armed watch around the clock. Rep. Ferrell won the district on a racist appeal just four years ago. Up until that time the Watts area was represented by a veteran white assemblyman. Earlier the press carried the fact that Councilman Billy Mills had been threatened by the rioters. The rioters had no love for "upper class" Negroes.

4. Those present said this was the first such meeting of Negro officials and that there was great need for more coordination of their work and more cooperation among them. Rep. Hawkins agreed to call everyone together again on his next trip back from Washington. His leadership was generally acknowledged by the other officials. Hawkins asked each one to come up with some constructive proposals that seemed politically practical and upon which all could agree.

5. On Wednesday morning, August 18, we had breakfast with Fred Burns, representing Jesse Unruh, who had gone to Sacramento. Burns was very critical of Governor Brown and deplored the fact that the Governor was proposing a commission to investigate the riots. He said Brown would not run for Governor. He felt that Yorty would. According to Burns almost anyone could beat Brown and he cited several polls to support his view.

6. At noon Wednesday, August 18, we met with Governor Brown in his hotel suite. He was very enthusiastic about the commission he proposed to study the riot situation. He said he had just ended a conference with Police Chief Parker who apparently wanted the governor to defend him against the criticism of police brutality. The Governor said he did not believe Parker was a real bigot but that he was hypersensitive about his police department. The Governor asked for all the details of the meeting of Negro office holders and he seemed pleased that we had tried to bring some unity among them.

When the question of Jesse Unruh came up, the Governor charged that Jesse was still fighting him and that his boys were spreading the rumor that he was not going to run for re-election. When it was suggested by Roche that the Governor let Jesse give him some candidates for membership on the riot commission the Governor acted promptly. This was to be an act of good faith and the Governor asked an aide to get Jesse on the phone. Jesse could not be reached while we were there. The Governor said that he would try to be cooperative but he was not going to let anybody run over him. He did not think Mayor Yorty would run for governor. He did not reveal his plans either. The Governor seemed to be in full control of the riot situation and rather eager to announce his commission and the crash program for the area.

7. We had a late lunch with Joe Cerrell of Gene Wyman's staff and later visited Carmen Warshaw in the hospital. They both repeated much of what we had heard before. Mrs. Warshaw criticized the Negro

politicians and indicated that had they exercised real leadership in the community the riots could have been averted.

III. General Observations

1. Police Chief Parker seems to be adored like Edgar Hoover by the whites in power but hated by many Negroes. His public statements are insulting to Negroes and at times almost incendiary. Suggestions for a police review board and an increase in Negroes on the police force seem worthwhile. It was reported that on a force of 5,000 there are about 200 Negroes. Parker, however, does not seem open to suggestions.

2. Mayor Yorty is not supported by white liberals nor the majority of Negroes. He won with conservative support and although he once campaigned against Chief Parker, he is now squarely on his corner. Conservatives seem on the rise in Los Angeles, including the Birch crowd who helped Goldwater beat Rockefeller. Yorty was blamed by Negroes for the failure of the city to get anti-poverty help from Washington. There is no city-operated human relations commission. The Negro councilmen may try to get this with Yorty's support.

3. There seems to be a serious weakness also in the religious leadership of Los Angeles. The head of the powerful Catholic Church group is ultra-conservative. The Cardinal had little to say about the riot and he is known for his opposition to civil rights activities. None of the church groups seem to be giving strong civic leadership in Los Angeles.

4. The prospects of the state and local Democratic Party are not encouraging. Mayor Yorty is a maverick who knows how to divide and rule the various groups and communities that make up Los Angeles.

Most Democrats are caught up in the fierce rivalry for power between the camps of Jesse Unruh and Governor Brown. This rivalry is probably more intense among the lieutenants than between the principals.

Negro politicians are tied, like most citizens, to various strong personalities rather than to the Democratic Party. As long as the white wheels are divided it will be difficult to get any unity among the Negro Democratic leaders.

5. I believe that the chaotic state of Democratic Party affairs in California require the serious and immediate attention of the national party leadership. Republicans are bound to gain from the divided Democratic leadership which appears to be on a suicidal course.

The Watts riot in Los Angeles seems to be just another rock upon which the leaders are determined to dash their heads. Perhaps an outside force can shake them up and finally start building a good political team.

John

14

①

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/STS
LH/los Angeles
PR 5-2/C*

Wednesday
August 25, 1965
6:00 p. m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOE CALIFANO

Peroy

Governor Collins is returning from Los Angeles tonight and will be in to see me tomorrow. Do you want to see him?

Yes _____ No

If yes, do you want it on the record with a possible picture? I would recommend against On the Record because the poverty agreement is a tenuous one and the political situation is so explosive out there that it could fall apart.

Yes _____ No

If no, do you want to send Collins a note no ? Telephone him no ?

MEMORANDUM

11
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Wednesday

August 25, 1965 8:30 p. m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOE CALIFANO

Attached is a draft statement on the Los Angeles riots for issuance in your name tomorrow. I have marked the section which can be deleted if you would like to shorten it. If we delete the section, I will include it in my oral briefing of the Press at 11 a. m. tomorrow morning.

I met this evening with representatives from all interested Federal agencies and made clear to them that Ramsey Clark was your representative, that all activities in the area would have to be coordinated with him on the scene and that he was the only voice of the Federal Government in Los Angeles in discussions with the Mayor, the Governor and the press.

Recommend your approval of the attached statement.

Approved ✓ Disapproved _____

*Approved (copy)
11 AM
Aug 26
BJ*

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL
STATEMENT ON LOS ANGELES
(RAMSEY CLONIC TEAM)

DRAFT - 8/25/65

We have all felt a deep sense of shock and dismay at the riots last week in Los Angeles. I have expressed my conviction that there is no greater wrong in our democracy than violent or willful disregard of law.

At the same time, we cannot let the actions of three or four thousand rioters stay our compassion for the hundreds of thousands of people in the City of Los Angeles -- of every race and color -- who neither participated in nor condoned the riots. Many suffered at the hands of the rioters. Many are in need of help.

We must eliminate the deep seated causes of riots such as those we witnessed. Recent studies paint a stark picture. The Watts district is in the center of an area in Los Angeles marked by:

- the largest number of school drop-outs.
- the highest crime rate.
- the highest population density.
- the lowest median family income.

There are complex problems and the solutions are neither quick nor easy. Long-term answers must and will be found. The White House ~~Conf.~~ ^{ON CIVIL RIGHTS THIS FALL} Conference in November should help us. The work of Governor Brown's Special Commission should help us.

But now is a time for immediate action.

There are men and women without work.

There are children without homes.

There are hundreds upon hundreds of school drop-outs.

There are citizens whose businesses have been destroyed and must be rebuilt.

I am today sending a team of Federal officials under the leadership of Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General, to Los Angeles to develop with Governor Brown, Mayor Yorty and other officials a combined program to restore and rehabilitate the damaged areas of Los Angeles. This program will be aimed at helping those citizens affected by the riots to help themselves. In short, the team's charter is to make available the best programs now known to the Federal Government to wipe out the causes of such violent outbursts.

Among the matters to be discussed with Governor Brown and Mayor Yorty are:

7. An expanded surplus food distribution program.
8. An expedited program for placing surplus property such as clothing, medical equipment and mobile buildings in these stricken areas.
5. Increased health and medical service -- emphasizing the children.
6. A vigorous back to school program.

4. Establishment of a Small Business Development Center to aid business in the area.

5. A special employment program with emphasis on work in the devastated areas.

6. Stepped up Youth Training Programs.

7. ~~The~~ Establishment of pilot Child Care Centers, to provide care for parentless children and to give needy mothers training and employment opportunities.

8. Setting up more neighborhood facilities.

9. Accelerating planning and construction of ^{LOW INCOME HOUSING} ~~public housing units~~ for low income families.

Mr. Clark will be accompanied by Jack Conway, Deputy Director of the War Against Poverty and Andrew Brimmer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Other Federal Agencies, including the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Small Business Administration, will be represented on the team.

DRAFT - Aug 24, 1965

We have all felt a deep sense of shock and dismay at the riots last week in Los Angeles. I have expressed my conviction that there is no greater wrong in our democracy than violent or willful disregard of law.

At the same time, we cannot let the actions of three or four thousand rioters stem our compassion for the hundreds of thousands of people in the City of Los Angeles -- of every race and color -- who neither participated in nor condoned the riots. Many suffered at the hands of the rioters. Many are in need of help.

There are men and women without work.

There are children without homes.

There are hundreds upon hundreds of school dropouts.

There are citizens whose businesses have been destroyed and must be rebuilt.

I am, therefore, today sending an action team of Federal officials under the leadership of Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General, to Los Angeles to develop with Governor Brown, Mayor FORTY and other officials a combined program to restore and rehabilitate the damaged areas of Los Angeles and to make available, at an accelerated rate, the best programs now known to the Federal

government to eradicate the causes of such violent outbursts.

Mr. Clark will be accompanied by Jack Conway, Deputy Director of the War Against Poverty and Andrew Brimmer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Other Federal Agencies, including the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Small Business Administration, will be represented on the team.

Robert G. Lewis
August 25, 1965

A Proposal for "Opportunity Homesteads"

The tragedy that occurred in the slums of Los Angeles this month began as depression on the farm. Fundamentally it was not a "race riot"--but rather an explosion growing out of the poverty and despair of rural people lost in an urban slum existence that had eroded away whatever social capability and discipline they had at the start. It was infused with the complicating and aggravating tensions of racial conflict only by the coincidence that these poor are segregated and concentrated on the basis of their race.

This has been noted by a number of perceptive reporters on the scene. The Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post have spotlighted this fact with particular clarity.

Chalmers M. Roberts, writing in the Washington Post of August 18, describes the origins and the anatomy of the Los Angeles riots, as follows:

"The story of the Los Angeles riots is the story of the American Negro's revolution of rising expectations--not of its successes, however, but of its failures.

"It is the story of expectations frustrated, of hopes denied, denied specifically to the rural and small-town Southern Negro caught in an urban world he does not understand and whose fruits he cannot share.

"And it is the story of men, women and children who feel hemmed in by a city police force they see as no different from the white man's exercise of authority they knew back home where they came from in the South.

"It is most emphatically not the story of all Negroes here in Los Angeles, certainly not of these many thousands who have achieved, who have made it. Rather it is the story of the other Negro community, here as elsewhere in the big cities; the community, as Theodore H. White has described it, 'that is threatened with collapse of all human values, all dignity, all functions.' . . .

"First, take a look at the area which exploded. The urban ghetto known as Watts (it was a small town annexed to the city in 1926) has long been considered 'the port of entry' for Negroes coming to Southern California. Unlike the big Northern industrial cities, Los Angeles did not attract the Negro before World War II. Only during the wartime labor shortage did this golden horizon first beckon. The Urban League estimates the influx now is about 1000 a month to the city.

"Today a sixth of the county's Negroes live in Watts and adjacent downtown and near-downtown areas have become, in words of a University of Southern California study, 'a convenient dumping ground for the problems which the community has failed to solve and which the comfortable suburbanites would rather ignore.'

"In Watts 65 per cent came from the South, the rural and small-town South. Today Mississippi and Alabama natives represent the most numerous arrivals, whereas earlier it was Texas and Louisiana.

"Here the newly arrived Negro family lives in crowded quarters and pays high rents, if it can pay at all. . . .

"In the UCLA study of Los Angeles' poverty problem, just over 13 per cent of the 341,000 studied were rated as functional illiterates; that is, they had less than five years of education.

"The disparity in schooling is most marked among those Negroes who came here from the Deep South.

"These, then, are the people ill-prepared to find a livelihood here in Los Angeles. The city's Negro unemployment rate is now 9.6 per cent and probably double that in Watts. Negro Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins from Los Angeles says that 48 per cent of the area's youth are out of jobs.

"The unskilled predominate, of course, in an industrial society calling for more and more skills. Yet so cut off from the mainstream are these people that the U.C.L.A. study found half the unemployed saying they had never heard of any of the Federal-state retraining programs.

"Furthermore, industrial decentralization away from the central city here makes job hunting more and more difficult.

"Given all these counts against them, it is no wonder that Dr. Harold W. Jones, a Negro psychiatrist who heads a mental health clinic in the

riot area, stresses the disappointment of those who come here from the Deep South, seeing their great expectations die for reasons often beyond their control. . . .

". . . the breakdown of the Negro family structure is a principal reason for a lack of respect for authority.

"The psychiatrists point out that the typical Negro father in low-income areas is a nonentity with few work opportunities who is degraded in the eyes of his youngsters, by the women in his family, by the law and by white men in general.

"It's far easier for the Negro woman to get a job as a domestic than it is for a Negro man to get a job,' they say. 'When the children go to school, they see fathers depicted in books as men who wear white shirts and a tie and drive a car, and they know this isn't their father.

"Then they see him sitting around the kitchen drinking beer with his buddies while the mother is out working. Too often he has little to show the family that he is in charge.

"This absence of a figure whose function it is to set limits and establish controls leaves the children lacking in an essential part of upbringing -- respect for loving authority -- that will enable them to take on a meaningful role in society when they grow up.

"They grow up fighting authority, which usually for them is in the form of a police officer."

The central fact that stands out in this account is that this migration does not conform either to the economic interests or the humanitarian goals of our society. Most of these rural poor are not needed, nor as things now stand, are they even usable in the economy of the cities. They benefit neither society nor themselves by their migration.

As a corollary to this fact, the argument emerges with convincing force: It is a positive dis-service both to themselves, and to society generally, for them to have moved from their rural origins.

If it were possible to appraise and deal with this massive problem and the choices open to us on a cost-effectiveness basis, there is little doubt that the national decision would conform to the judgment of the leading editorial in the Washington Post of August 22:

". . . The plain fact is that the cities have been getting more untrained rural labor than they can absorb. And the larger fact is that millions of these people could be provided jobs and homes in rural areas with less economic and social strain than they can be furnished a decent life in the crowded cities. Our urban society now is finding that the rural labor surplus is the most formidable of all farm surpluses. It might have been cheaper if we had dealt with rural poverty in the countryside instead of moving it into the cities and transforming it into urban poverty. It might be easier to attack rural misery where it is rather than just to move it to town. We need now, tardily, to undertake a vast program of rural betterment for the economic and the social health of the whole country."

The purpose of this paper is to propose that it is not only possible, but altogether necessary, "to undertake a vast program of rural betterment for the economic and the social health of the whole country."

Moreover, through the proposals set forth here:

1. The truly stupendous prospective money costs to the Nation's taxpayers for "relief" outlays over a generation or more could be greatly reduced;
2. A staggering cost in human misery, property destruction, and social disruption can be in large part avoided;
3. The lives of millions of people whose futures now are pointed toward burdening society can be transformed into careers of usefulness to society, personal growth, family stability, and

progress toward participation as self-supporting citizens in the mainstream of American life.

In short, it is, indeed, "cheaper (to deal) with rural poverty in the countryside instead of moving it into the cities and transforming it into urban poverty."

This proposal calls for doing just that -- to stop the senseless, desperate migration of the rural poor, both Negro and White, from their familiar rural environment, where they still possess some degree of potentially useful social capability even after being stripped of even minimal economic opportunity, into a strange, hostile, and destructive slum environment that quickly destroys their very humanity. It would provide a respite to the burgeoning cities while they struggle to catch up and to assimilate those already there. And it might well afford an opportunity for some already lost in the city slums to return to the countryside, there to prepare themselves and their children for useful lives wherever real opportunity someday might lead them.

The "Homestead" Precedent

There is important meaning for finding a solution to this problem in the aphorism, "Heroes are made, not born."

The quality and character of a people is very much a product of the institutional setting into which they are born and reared and live their lives. The principal explanation for the differences that occur between the levels of performance of different population groups often lies in the differences between their institutions. Differing sets of institutions stamp widely varying character traits upon the people whose lives they mould. It is the differing

effects of differing sets of institutions that account primarily for differences between one group of people and another in such characteristics as work habits, motivations and goals, readiness to work with others for mutual interests, capability to look ahead, and the capability and will to provide for the future.

When we survey the institutions that dominated American life in the past and played a paramount role in the formation of the American character, the fact stands out that they were predominantly rural. In fact, it was a rural frontier setting. It was marked by three principal and, for that time, substantially unique features:

First, cheap and abundant land was available almost for anyone, and especially after passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, it was free for many. This provided an impressive measure of economic opportunity that was most unusual in the world at that time or any other, even though it was an opportunity that could be seized only with great effort and sacrifice.

Secondly, local self-government was the right and the obligation of all citizens. This fact afforded to the frontier settlers the exceptional right to levy taxes upon themselves in order to provide essential public services, principally schools, roads, and bridges. This was fully as important as the right to private property in forming the basis for the exceptional enterprise of the American society.

Thirdly, the American settlers enjoyed an unprecedented right to associate voluntarily together, for an almost infinite variety of private purposes. This fundamental principle of the American institutional setting may have developed in large part as a consequence of the great diversity in religious beliefs among

the population, combined with an exceptional freedom of religious practice. A multiplicity of voluntary religious associations were launched, and they waxed or waned with little official governmental interference or attention.

In much the same way, voluntary private associations were formed to provide mutual benefits to their members in a multitude of different ways and for endlessly varied purposes, including economic, social, cultural, political, vocational, trade, hobby interests, and, of course, business. As a result, the American people are the "most organized" in the world. The true significance of this characteristic is that Americans respond quickly to almost any kind of need or interest that they share with almost any number, whether large or small, of their fellow citizens, by "starting an organization" to pursue shared goals by common agreement and mutual effort. The widespread exercise of this freedom also contributed greatly to American enterprise and progress.

In constructing a program to prepare the poor to take their place in American society, a workable model is provided by the principal features of the institutional setting that so importantly influenced the formation of our American character.

Such a program can be designed; and it can be carried out at a cost that is comparable to that of the present "relief" and "welfare" programs whose failure has become apparent. It can be done, in short, by using resources that are now being expended merely to sustain the poor in perpetual poverty, to provide a "homestead" for poor families to enable them to help themselves, and thereby to achieve a stake in the life, the hopes, and the future of their country.

"Opportunity Homesteads"

The elements of the proposed program are as follows:

A chance to secure an "Opportunity Homestead" should be offered to any American family that undertakes to satisfy specified requirements for improvement of the property, subsistence farming to support the family, and participation by all adult members of the family in vocational, home management, and general educational training programs.

The homestead should be offered through a combination of a long-term loan on liberal terms, and a conditional grant related in amount to the size of the family. The loan and grant together would cover the full value of the property.

Equity in the grant component would be transferred to the homesteading family in periodic increments, but only if the prescribed improvements in the property were made and the prescribed training and educational courses were completed satisfactorily. If the family failed in any period to satisfy all requirements, the regular transfer for such a period would not be made, but the total period for transfer of equities might be extended accordingly so as to allow "a second chance." Full transfer of the grant equity would be extended over a period of about ten years. Some provision for earlier full transfer might be made on the condition that prescribed requirements were completed ahead of schedule. The period before the first grant equity transfer is made should be about two years, so as to discourage excessive "in and out" movement.

Once transferred in whole or in part, these equities, as well as equities represented by repayments on the loan, would become irrevocably the property of

the homesteader, subject only to a prior claim for satisfaction of the unpaid balance of the loan and the remainder of the grant equity reserved by the Government. The homesteader could sell the property at any time subject to satisfying those claims. This would reinforce the homesteader's sense of property rights and values, and also allow flexibility and mobility in the family's economic planning. For example, if a better job opportunity should arise, the homesteader could take it and move, without sacrificing the equity he had earned.

The opportunity for a homestead should be offered, nominally at least, to "any citizen," in order to accord maximum dignity to prospective applicants. Restrictions that apply any degree of an overt "means test" should be severely minimized. The requirements for "proving up" a homestead would be such that persons who enjoy adequate other opportunities would not have an incentive to "stake out" a homestead -- just as was the case in the homestead program a century ago.

Families possessing some assets would not be barred from participating, and in fact could "homestead" on their present farms. Very careful attention should be given to the design of the eligibility aspects of the program, so as to exclude individuals who are not genuinely needy, yet encourage participation without sacrifice of self-respect by anyone who (a) faces a life prospect of poverty unless he receives special assistance, and (b) has reasonable prospects of succeeding in the program.

The scale of homesteads would be such as to provide subsistence for the family, while allowing sufficient labor time during the "proving up" period for

completion of the prescribed property improvements and the training courses. Homesteaders would be eligible for the subsistence payments provided under regular training programs. In addition, to the extent necessary, provision would be made under the long-term mortgage loan on the property for financing work performed by the homesteader to improve the property, thus providing income for current living expenses.

The prescribed schedule of training should stress, in sequence, (a) farm and home management and basic general literacy training; (b) general work skills, and (c) specialized skills conforming to the individual's aptitudes and prospective employment opportunities.

Regularized training programs would be supplemented with intensive home and farm and general vocational counseling and guidance.

The size of the homesteads would usually contemplate a part-time farming operation, with the family's needs for shelter and most of its food provided on the farm, to be supplemented by earnings from off-farm employment. Generally, the earlier stages of the "proving up" period would be devoted principally to improving the property, getting the farming operations started, and training in home management and farming skills. Later, when suitable nonfarming skills had been learned, off-farm jobs could be performed along with the part-time and subsistence farming activities.

But the homesteader would be free to enlarge his farming operation to full commercial scale after completing the specified requirements, if he wished and had the capability to do so. Or, he could develop suitable intensive farming enterprises, thus providing full employment on the original farm.

The program would require the development of extensive additional off-farm employment opportunities in the rural community, probably including work in public conservation, forestry, and beautification programs, in addition to publicly-encouraged development of employment opportunities in private business. This would require substantial Governmental outlays, but unlike expenditures for "relief", there would be investments with real and lasting public value, instead of one-shot spending to forestall immediate starvation and social disintegration. In any event, these outlays over a moderate period of time could be kept well below the alternative costs of maintaining people on relief.

Auxiliary Program Components

A bold, adequately-supported, and effective public program to stimulate economic development and creation of employment opportunities in rural communities is needed as an accompaniment to the "Opportunity Homesteads" program. Sufficient jobs cannot be provided in our modern agriculture even for all of the people now living on farms, without measures which would sacrifice efficiency at a serious cost to the national interest. But there is no need for the artificial creation of unneeded jobs in agriculture. There is plenty of work to do that would serve the real public interest, and it would be a serious mistake to waste unneeded labor in agriculture instead of directing it to useful tasks.

Many new jobs can be created in the private sector of the economy in rural areas through vigorous promotional efforts and incentives, without sacrificing true economic and social efficiency.

But the total supply of rural labor having only a low level of skills, and not having a high potential for development of sophisticated skills, probably is substantially greater than the private sector can absorb in the near future. Useful work needs to be found to utilize this labor supply. There is an enormous

backlog of needed work requiring relatively low levels of skill in the public sector, including soil, water, and wildlife conservation, forestry, outdoor recreation development, and beautification of the countryside and highways. There is a backlog of needed work in the national forests alone valued at \$9 billion, and requiring 1,200,000 man-years of labor. A massive program of public works should be developed to fully absorb the available supply of labor that lacks opportunities for private employment. Idleness of this labor is a dead loss to the national economy. Most of the useful work that can be performed by the rural unemployed and underemployed is adjacent to rural communities, and could readily be carried out in conjunction with "Opportunity Homestead" subsistence farming operations.

A greatly expanded effort to provide training and development of skills for off-farm work is needed in rural areas for rural people who cannot find full employment in agriculture.

Massive efforts to improve the quality of public education and health care in rural communities are needed also, to insure that the children who live there will enjoy "parity of opportunity" with others of their generation, and to protect the public interest against the loss or impairment of the productive and social potential which this important segment of the future adult population represents.

A disproportionate share of the nation's older citizens live in rural areas, particularly on farms. Special concerted measures are needed in order to provide comfort and decency to these elder citizens.

The needed level of increased public expenditures for all of these rural development purposes would, in themselves, create a substantial increase in employment opportunities, particularly in construction, service trades, and in local business.

Many farm families who possess fully adequate skills and managerial capability for efficient, full-time commercial farming, are subjected to serious economic hardship and risk of economic failure. Their most serious handicap is usually the lack of adequate capital resources to establish efficient farming operations on terms that allow for adequate levels for family living. More concerted and comprehensive help needs to be furnished to these farmers. Measures are needed particularly to relieve agriculture of the obligation, unique among our major industries, to refinance itself every generation.

Advantages of the Rural Environment for Human Resource Development

The rural environment has many advantages for the development and improvement of human capabilities, particularly of rural people.

The principal advantage is that the rural scene is familiar to the rural people. Disadvantaged rural people can start their efforts to advance themselves with considerably better prospects in the familiar rural environment than they can in the alien and hostile city slums. Goals are visible and understandable, and the way to achieve success in the rural situation is at least partially understood. There are usually "success models" close at hand in the rural community, within the view and ken of the poor. In contrast, the city slum for many of the poor from rural origins furnishes no "success models" that are close enough to their understanding to seem understandable or realizable.

Even the poor in rural communities almost always have some contact with and some functioning place in the rural community. This provides an important base on which to build self respect, social loyalties and discipline, and the motivation to strive constructively for recognition, status, and reward.

The rural institutional setting can assimilate the poor more readily than the city into full participation in community life as they advance. Frequently

they already fit into the picture, until driven out of the rural community altogether by economic failure as farmers, miners, timber workers, and other vocations in which opportunities are declining through no fault of the working people concerned.

Furthermore, the rural environment readily accommodates the fairly simple group activities through which capable citizenship can be learned. These include mutual-help cooperatives, community social organizations, 4-H clubs, and Future Farmers of America and other youth activities, and local governments, all of which should be encouraged and promoted in the interest of helping rural people to overcome their disadvantages and to improve their capabilities.

Of great importance in the stability and security of family life, and in the development of psychological and moral strength among growing children, is the fact that rural life, particularly farm life, allows a visibly strong and respect-earning role for the father. This overcomes one of the most destructive ^{features} of the slum existence.

These advantages of the rural environment cannot overcome the pervasive blight engendered by economic deprivation. But they do afford a substantial base upon which can be added a modest effort to provide economic opportunities, and thus provide good prospects for success in helping disadvantaged people to help themselves and to advance toward self-supporting and useful citizenship.

The "Homestead" and Motivation

The "Opportunity Homestead" proposal would take full advantages of the rural environment and add to it the element of economic opportunity and motivation which it now fails to provide for millions.

It would set up, in immediate view and within the comprehension and reach of disadvantaged people, the goal of property ownership.

The requirements for attaining the goal of property ownership would be self-rewarding, providing built in incentives along the way to success. They would furnish readily recognized rewards in the form of improved living conditions, the development of personal and vocational skills, and a growing sense of personal worth.

The principal thrust of the program would be liberal. It would not offer "something for nothing;" the requirements for qualifying for a "proved up" homestead should be enforced fairly strictly. But the participant would risk nothing but his own time and effort, which he would otherwise waste in idleness and despair, and he would have before him an appealing reward to gain. Thus the program would provide incentives, rewards and gratification, and prospects for continuing advance and enlarging security, which could be expected to furnish the sustained motivational drive that is essential to success and happiness in any career.

Impact on Agricultural Adjustment

The "Opportunity Homesteads" program could be successful without importantly affecting overall national agricultural adjustment policy and goals.

The land devoted to opportunity homesteads, for the most part, would be otherwise used for agricultural production by other owners. The gross output for market of the present large number of small farms represents a very small proportion of the total. Because of the emphasis on producing for family subsistence, the output for the market of the land used for "Opportunity Homesteads" probably would be less than if it were operated as part of a full scale commercial farming operation.

During the "proving up" period of five to 10 years, requirements could be maintained to prevent impairment of national farm policy goals. It would probably be unwise to provide "special" allotments for surplus crops, but crop allotments already attached to the particular land acquired for a homestead could remain in force. In some circumstances, it might be advantageous to provide an extra "bonus" to the homesteader for diverting cropland from surplus crops to producing food for family subsistence.

Most "Opportunity Homesteads" would not be able to produce most commodities for the market competitively with commercial farms, except for certain products requiring a high intensity of labor input. For the most part, the economic justification for such an operation would be that it provides an outlet for otherwise unmarketable labor, for the purposes not alone of producing food raw materials, but also for the processing, storing, and "marketing" of the finished food products for use by the family.

The Alternative Cost of "Relief" and "Welfare"

It is hard to size up the cost of public and private welfare efforts because they are so fragmented, diverse, and uncoordinated. For the same reasons, it is difficult also to establish order, consistency, and overall efficiency and effectiveness in these efforts.

Writing in the August 1965 Fortune, Charles E. Silberman asserts that:

"Government welfare expenditures have risen to perhaps 30 billion dollars a year, but scarcely anyone believes today that these vast sums do much to reduce poverty."

Silberman's estimate does not count the outlays of private charities for "relief" and welfare purposes, which amount to additional billions.

Some 33 million people in the U. S., according to the new Government measures which relate income to size of family and place of residence, are "poor" today. This means that the annual cash outlay by the rest of the population to support the poor through conventional welfare efforts averages at least \$1,000 per person.

This does not take account of the contributions of poverty to the negative costs of crime, general hazards to the health and safety of the general population, "lost" production resulting from unemployment and lack of skills, and expenditures for schools, training programs, and other services that are wasted because people under poverty conditions cannot absorb their benefits efficiently. Public policy makers should appraise these costs and take them into account; but it is not possible to attempt to do so here. Suffice it to say that the present "social budget" for poverty amounts to substantially more than the \$1,000--plus per person per year minimum direct cash outlay--probably several times as much.

This furnishes a very rough approximation of the minimum resources we should be able to count as "available" for more efficient and effective measures for coping with poverty and its consequences.

But it is an extremely conservative approximation of what the nation could afford for a truly effective "cure" for poverty. The present programs have merely maintained the poor population; they have not cured their poverty, and the poor continue to breed new generations even less able to escape from the poverty circle than their parents. An effective break in the poverty circle would be worth incalculably more than measures which merely sustain the poor and perpetuate their kind.

And a substantial portion of the immediate outlay needed for this proposal could be made in the form of loans, eventually to be repaid.

In view of the immeasurably greater cost of failing to cure poverty, the opportunity to achieve a permanent cure for a large number of families should not be jeopardized by an overly-penurious restriction on the resources made available for the task.

The late Senator Robert Kerr's parable comes to mind of the stingy life-guard who threw only 25 feet of rope to the drowning man 30 feet from shore.

But there are limitations that must be respected on the amount of resources that can be made available currently, whatever the prospect for long-run gains. And of course public expenditures for any purpose should never be greater than necessary to accomplish it.

Measured against that standard, it seems safe to say that this proposal could be carried out successfully at an annual outlay per person or per family which, if averaged over a five or ten year period, would not exceed and might be less than the alternative cash cost of merely sustaining the family under the present pattern of welfare, with little or no progress toward an escape from the poverty circle. It seems almost certain that this proposal would cost far less than any other measures that might be undertaken to achieve an effective "cure" for poverty after the rural poor have migrated into the city slums.

After the initial five or ten years, the cost of public outlays for families on "Opportunity Homesteads" might well decline to the vanishing point for many participating families.

And in contrast to what their prospects would be in the present slum environment, a high proportion of the rural poor children who might thus be spared from migrating to the urban slums would have good prospects of entering upon adulthood as productive, self-supporting citizens.

RURAL LIFE

The Setting

The average rural resident has a greater chance of being poor than the average urban resident. Rural people have a greater chance of living in poor communities or areas than urban people. In a special way rural poverty is self-generating. The key reason is the continued relative decline in employment opportunities in rural areas, particularly in farming.

As younger rural adults leave in search of employment, children and senior citizens become an increasingly higher proportion of the local population. The need for special services for them becomes more urgent but they are precisely the ones least able to provide the financial support for the needed services. Rural communities and entire rural areas experience stagnation and then decay.

Many mature rural citizens are boxed into poverty -- they are too old to retrain, yet too young to retire. They have too few assets to finance a new residence or to establish a new business. They lack the resources to escape from poverty. Without special attention to increase the dignity of their lives, their children are particularly prone to perpetuate their way of life.

The Gaps

The dynamic force of change have created serious gaps between rural and urban people and between rural and urban areas. The rural human and

area problems created as a product of the growth process have been in the making for decades. The major gaps are in:

- Education and training
- Income and jobs
- Housing and health
- Community and area development

The Programs

Education and Training

The new Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the recent Vocational Education, National Defense Education, Manpower Development and Training and Economic Opportunity Acts are making available an impressive quantity of funds to rural America for education and training. Our limited experience under these programs indicates:

1. The funds available to rural America are not being obtained in the amount needed to close the education and training gap. Actually, there are indications the gap may actually widen instead of close unless rural people are given assistance in requesting and formulating plans for the effective use of funds now available. Special funding for USDA to work with the Office of Education to help rural people make full use of the resources available should be provided.
2. The funds available to rural children and youth for basic, vocational and college education are far more adequate relative to need than are funds for occupational training. Not more than 10 percent of those in rural America who could benefit from training are being reached. Additional funds are needed.

Income and Jobs

Present programs will do relatively little to close the income and job gap of rural families who are boxed-in. The number of jobs being created in rural America under programs authorized by Economic Opportunity, Public Works and Economic Development, and Appalachia Acts together with those administered by USDA agencies is insignificant relative to the needs of nearly 3,000,000 low-income families headed by a person 45 years of age or over. Including the unemployed equivalent of economic underemployment, about 1.5 million rural adults 45-64 years of age are unemployed.

But there is work these people can do in their home area to make rural America more prosperous and attractive. There is a reservoir of productive work projects on National Forests alone equivalent to 1,200,000 man-years. Reforestation, timber stand improvement, construction of outdoor recreation facilities, watershed protection, wildlife and fish habitat improvement, forest roads and trails, and similar improvements can provide diversified training opportunities while building the resource base for economic expansion. Recommendations are:

1. Additional funds should be appropriated to give boxed-in people the opportunity to work on these projects.
2. Present legislation should be amended so all boxed-in rural people can obtain work under these programs even though they are not technically unemployed.
3. New legislative authority, amendments or administrative actions are needed to enable boxed-in rural families to obtain loans or grants for expanding small farm or nonfarm enterprises.

Housing and Health

Federal financial assistance for housing through the Housing and Home Finance Agency and to a smaller extent the Farmers Home Administration has been substantial. The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 contains new approaches, including the rent subsidy program, and additional funds available to both agencies to meet the Nation's housing needs. But the rural housing gap -- 4,000,000 units in need of replacement or major repair in 1960 -- is too large to be closed unless concerted efforts are made to insure a much greater proportion of the available assistance reaches into rural America.

The relative lack of medical services and facilities in rural America continues even though a significant flow of funds are available to expand services and construct facilities under the Hill-Burton and other programs.

Recommendations are:

1. The rent subsidy concept should be modified as necessary to assist capital improvements of homes which are owned and dispersed as in rural areas.
2. Further administrative efforts and possible amendments to current legislation are needed to enable HHFA's sizeable insured loan resources to make a larger contribution in rural America.
3. Additional outreach efforts, an increase in appropriations and legislative changes likely are necessary to close the health gap.

Community and Area Development

The human and economic development programs administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Urban Renewal Administration, Community Facilities Administration, various USDA agencies and the new Economic Development Administration will provide the opportunity for many rural communities, areas, districts, and regions to plan and achieve orderly growth. At present, rural communities are not getting their share of the available funds. For the future, additional funds will be required to close existing gaps. Recommendations are:

1. Further administrative efforts are needed to coordinate the programs from the various sources, particularly at the local level.
2. The possibility of set-asides of authorized funds for rural communities should be given serious consideration.

Areas of Exploration for 1966 Legislative Proposals on Rural Life

1. School District Consolidation

Although the number of school districts has decreased substantially during the past 10 years (from 55,000 to 25,000), continuing progress in this direction will require some form of financial incentives for States and local districts. The concentration of a large number of such districts is mostly in the Mid-Western States; the extreme is Nebraska with 2,335.

2. Facilitating Relocation of Selected Rural Workers Completing Approved Training

The expansion of training activities through Vocational Education and MDTA programs into rural areas will sharpen the problem of mobility of workers and their families, since job opportunities will often be available in other communities or States. To facilitate his migration and to minimize the risks for the worker and his family of moving to a strange community, two kinds of incentives would need to be provided. First, a moving and maintenance allowance should be furnished for a limited period of time (e.g., one month). Second, the waiver of residence requirements by the public assistance agency if he becomes unemployed during the first year in the new community with 100 percent Federal matching.

3. Extension of Child Welfare Services to Rural Areas

Although the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 call for the provision of Child Welfare services in every county by July 1975, this objective could be achieved earlier if greater incentives were provided. At present, there are an estimated 600 rural counties (as contrasted with 100 urban counties) which have no full time public child welfare workers. Therefore, any new legislation which would encourage more rapid expansion would tend to reach a substantial number of rural counties.

4. Increasing Health Services in Rural Areas

Various studies, including that done under Rural Development Committee auspice, show that the rural population need more health services. A legislative proposal which extends beyond the provision in the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 should be considered. Such proposal would recommend (1) expanded demonstration activities not only to assist in the costs of facilities (centers and hospitals) and services, but also to provide, if necessary, the manpower for their operation with Federal and local personnel; (2) finance programs to attract physicians and other health personnel to work in rural areas through such steps as subsidizing offices and clinics, training of local people, and the promotion of group practice.

MEMORANDUM

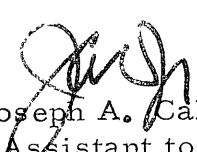
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 25, 1965

FOR THE RECORD:

I spoke at 11 a. m. to Mayor Yorty for approximately five minutes. I informed him that we had planned to make a more formal announcement tomorrow on the dispatch of Ramsey Clark to Los Angeles, and to consult with him and Governor Brown in advance of the announcement. However, a question came up at the Press Conference and the President naturally had to answer. Mayor Yorty said that he was interested in a Disaster Declaration by the President and he believed that was the help they needed -- that they needed such a Declaration to clean up the City and the damage that had been done. I told him I thought we could be of help to him and to Governor Brown without a Disaster Declaration, advised that there might be legal problems with a Disaster Declaration in this type of situation and said Ramsey Clark would consult with him to get the job done out there. He reminded me that Los Angeles was "his City" and Governor Brown was in Sacramento. I told him that Ramsey Clark was under instructions to consult with him as soon as he arrives in Los Angeles as well as with Governor Brown.

He thanked me for the phone call.


Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

REC. STICK
J. J. / ST
J. M. / ST
OS
7/10/65 / L.A. / L.A.
to J. M. / ST
6/2/65

1/1/65

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

Executive Office of the President
OFFICE OF EMERGENCY PLANNING
Washington 25, D.C.

August 25, 1965
12:10 p. m.

(4)
EX-100-113
11A-1/575
L.R./for review
A.P.
-11-6

Mr. Dryden:

George ^XGrace called with the following information.

"Late yesterday afternoon I was informed by the Los Angeles County Administrator's office that they had been advised by the California Disaster Office that the Governor was not formally requesting 875 disaster assistance. The Governor further advised that the President's office did not see PL 875 as being applicable. The Governor suggested that the county and city contact Governor Collins for further assistance with their problem. The County Administrator's office then advised me that they immediately called Governor Collins and talked to him for 20 minutes. As a result, a county meeting was set up with Governor Collins and the County Supervisor for 9:30 this morning. The county further requested action by way of court orders to instruct private owners to abate those nuisances resulting from the riots. These orders will be effective in approximately 48 hours. This, however, affects only the damaged areas that are unincorporated county territory. It is believed to be a minor portion of the entire area affected by the riots. The proportion in number of blocks is being checked and we will so advise."

Mr. Grace is on vacation and can be contacted through his office or at home.

Glenda Temple

9/1/65

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/575

76 11-6

Internal Security - Communist Party - 1965

August 26, 1965

TO: HONORABLE RAMSEY CLARK
FROM: JOE CALIFANO

Attached is the latest information from George Grace^x
of the OEP Office in California. It came to me last evening.

Enclosure

from the desk of . . .

Buford Ellington

8/25/65

Joe:

Here is the latest information
from our George Grace in
California.

101-4

PP 267

Buford

DL 1517/01 2361922

ZNR UUUUU

P 241900Z

F: OEP REG SEVEN SR

TO OEP WASH DC

OEP

BT

UNCLAS IN REPLY REFER TO 241900Z AUG65. SOJ REG DIR WPM7.

THE FOLLOWING ESTIMATES OF COSTS AND DAMAGES CAUSED BY THE
RECENT RIOTS IN LOS ANGELES ARE HAVE BEEN GATHERED FROM THE
CALIFORNIA DISASTER OFFICE, THE COUNTY AND CITY OF LOS ANGELES.
REGION 7, OEP, CONSIDERS THESE TO BE WITHIN 20 PERCENT OF BEING
ACCURATE.

CATEGORY A (DEBRIS CLEARANCE) 2700,000.00

THE ORIGINAL ESTIMATE WAS \$1,500,000. MOST OF THE PUBLIC
AREAS HAVE BEEN CLEARED. REMAINING DEBRIS ON PRIVATE PROPERTY CONSISTS
OF BURNED BUILDINGS WITH FREE STANDING WALLS, CAVED IN ROOFS

PAGE 2 1517701 UNCLAS

AND WALLS AND CONTAINING UNKNOWN QUANTITIES OF FOOD STUFFS, COMBUSTIBLE MATERIALS AND POSSIBLY EVEN HUMAN BODIES. THIS AREA HAS BEEN DECLARED BY COUNTY AND CITY OFFICIALS AS A HEALTH AND SAFETY MENACE TO THE PUBLIC. INSURANCE MAY OR MAY NOT ASSIST, BUT WOULD DEPEND ON INDIVIDUAL POLICY AND BUILDING. REMOVAL OF DEBRIS WOULD NECESSITATE SOME EXPERIENCED WRECKERS.

CATEGORY B (PROTECTIVE, HEALTH & SANITATION) \$486,123.00

THE COST OF POLICE IS THE MAJOR ITEM AND INCLUDES EQUIPMENT LOST, DESTROYED, OR DAMAGED; CIVILIAN OVERTIME, AMMUNITION, FLARES, GASOLINE, EMERGENCY FEEDING, ETC.. DOES NOT INCLUDE POLICE PERSONNEL. ORIGINAL ESTIMATE WAS \$347,000.00 AND REDUCED TO \$220,000.00. OTHER COSTS INCLUDE FIRE DEPARTMENT, \$65,000.00, (DOES NOT INCLUDE FIRE PERSONNEL). OTHER COUNTY AND CITY OVERTIME; EQUIPMENT USE, LOST, DAMAGED OR DESTROYED; SOME FOOD PURCHASED FOR GUARDS; CLEAN UP OF SCHOOLS USED AS BILLETTS FOR IMPROVED NATIONAL GUARD. THIS CATEGORY DOES NOT INCLUDE \$727,362.00, EXPENSE OF THE CALIFORNIA NATIONAL GUARD, UP TO AUGUST 17, 1965; \$50,000 ESTIMATED EXPENSE OF THE CALIFORNIA HIGHWAY PATROL; OR \$76,000 EXPENSE TO OTHER CITIES UNDER MUTUAL AID AGREEMENTS.

CATEGORY C (STREETS, ROADS AND BRIDGES) \$9,000.00

PAGE 3 1517/01 UNCLAS

THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF ANY DAMAGE TO STREETS. PATCHING MAY BE NECESSARY IN SOME AREAS, BUT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS HEAVY MAINTENANCE.

CATEGORY D (DIKES, LEVEES AND DRAINAGE FACILITIES) \$15,000.00

THIS IS FOR POSSIBLE CLEANING OF STOP SEWERS THAT MAY BE FILLED WITH DEBRIS FROM FIRE FIGHTING. THIS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY CDP AS HEAVY MAINTENANCE UNLESS EXTRA ORDINARY DAMAGE IS FOUND.

CATEGORY E (PUBLIC BUILDINGS) \$50,000.00

FEW PUBLIC BUILDINGS RECEIVED DAMAGES IN EXCEPT OF BROKEN WINDOWS EXCEPT ONE LIBRARY BUILDING 50 PERCENT BURNED AND FILING CONTENTS BURNED OR WATER SOAKED.

CATEGORY F (PUBLIC UTILITIES) \$29,000.00

THIS IS MOSTLY EXPENSES OF AND DAMAGES TO THE LOS ANGELES LIGHT AND POWER, A PUBLIC SERVICE, AND COVERS MATERIAL, POLES, PIPE HARDWARE, TRANSFORMERS, OVERTIME. THIS INCLUDES \$21,000.00 OF REGULAR TIME OF REGULAR EMPLOYEES, WHICH IS NOT ALLOWED UNDER PL 875.

TOTAL DAMAGE ESTIMATE \$1,215,123.00

DAMAGE TO PRIVATE PROPERTY AS ESTIMATED BY THE CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE, LOS ANGELES COUNTY TAX ASSESSOR, LOS

PAGE 4 1517/01 UNCLAS

ANGELES CITY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS, AND LOS ANGELES CITY FIRE
DEPARTMENT IS:

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT 525,000,000.00

STOCKS, SUPPLIES, ETC.

DESTROYED OR LOOTED 17,500,000.00

TOTAL

542,500,000.00

THIS IS FAR BELOW THE ORIGINAL ESTIMATES OF \$100,000,000.00 TO
\$175,000,000.00.

GEORGE M GRACE/REG DIR/DEPT 7

BT

Handwritten initials/signature

EXECUTIVE

④

Handwritten notes:
HM 2/5/5
8/20/65
Clayton

44020 PD

LOSANGELES CALIF AUG 30 635P

JOSEPH CALIFANO

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE FOLLOWING IS BACKGROUND FOR THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVE AUGUSTUS HAWKINS TOMORROW. SHOULD BE CONSIDERED SUPPLEMENTAL TO MEMORANDUM ON THIS SUBJECT TO LARRY O'BRIEN FROM GILLIS LONG, DATED AUG 30TH 1965
THEODORE BERRY, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, OF OEO ARRIVED HERE

MID-AUGUST TO ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT. BERRY HAD MADE SOME PROGRESS WHEN COLLINS ARRIVED. COLLINS UNDERTOOK LEADERSHIP IN NEGOTIATIONS WORKING PRIMARILY WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT. DURING COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS COLLINS TALKED GENERALLY TO REV. H. H. BROOKINS, PRES OF COMMUNITY ANTI POVERTY COMMITTEE WHICH HAWKINS SUPPORTS.

C.A.P.C. HAD GIVEN BROOKINS AUTHORITY TO DEAL WITH FEDERAL NEGOTIATORS BROOKINS AGREED GENERALLY THAT ARRANGEMENT PROVIDING ASSURANCES OF POVERTY COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION THROUGH DEMOCRATIC SELECTION PROCESSES WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. JACK CONWAY ALSO TALKED IN GENERAL TERMS TO BROOKINS PRIOR TO CONSUMMATION OF AGREEMENT

AND BROOKINS MADE SIMILAR RESPONSE. AFTER COLLINS COMPLETED NEGOTIATIONS WITH CITY AND COUNTY IN WHICH CONCESSIONS EXTRACTED FROM CITY, AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED. NO DETAILS GIVEN TO BROOKINS OR HIS GROUP PRIOR TO ANNOUNCEMENT.

ON LEARNING OF AGREEMENT BROOKINS ISSUED STATEMENT GENERALLY APPROVING IT AS BEST POSSIBLE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES.

WHEN BROOKINS REPORTED TO HIS GROUP, THEY WERE FURIOUS. THEY WERE UNHAPPY WITH AGREEMENT, UNHAPPY WITH THEIR LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IN DETAILS OF NEGOTIATIONS, UNHAPPY THAT LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES INVOLVED IN PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

OF AGREEMENT WITHOUT THEIR PARTICIPATION AND UNHAPPY WITH BROOKINS STATEMENT AND WEAK NEGOTIATING ROLL.

HAWKINS ALARMED FOR THE FOREGOING REASONS AND BECAUSE HE HAD DEVELOPED ALTERNATE PLANS AND HAD INTENDED TO PRESENT IT TO SHRIVER LATER IN THE DAY WHEN AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED HERE.

COLLINS UNAWARE OF THIS AT THE TIME. HAWKINS BLASTED AGREEMENT ON GROUNDS THAT DEAL WAS MADE IN BACK ROOMS.

AFTER AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED, COLLINS MET WITH C.A.P.C. REPRS. (BROOKINS GROUP) AND HEARD SEVERE CRITICISM OF AGREEMENT, PRIMARILY BASED ON C.A.P.C.'S LIMITED INVOLVEMENT IN

NEGOTIATIONS. GROUP WAS VERY SULLEN AND ANGRY.

CONWAY HAS MET WITH GROUP SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AGREEMENT AND HAS URGED THEM TO LOOK FORWARD TO ORGANIZING AS A PRIVATE NON-PROFIT CORPORATION SO THAT THEY CAN PARTICIPATE INDEPENDENTLY IN THE POVERTY PROGRAM. THEY APPEAR TO BE MOVING IN THAT DIRECTION.

COLLINS MET WITH HAWKINS LAST WEEK. HAWKINS VERY PLEASANT AND SAID THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT BROOKINS GROUP COULD WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY UNDER THE AGREEMENT ALONG LINES CONWAY HAD SUGGESTED AND THAT HE WOULD URGE THEM TO DO SO.

BRIMMER CONWAY AND I MET WITH C.A.P.C. REPRESENTATIVES TO

SOLICIT THEIR VIEWS ON PROBLEMS IN WATTS AND SOUTH CENTRAL AREA LAST SATURDAY. MEETING WAS GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE, WAS MUCH LESS HEATED, MUCH LESS EMOTIONAL AND MUCH LESS CRITICAL THAN COLLINS MEETING LAST TUESDAY WITH SAME GROUP.

HAWKINS ALSO INTERESTED IN TRAINING THE YOUTH AND THE UNEMPLOYED OF THE AREA THROUGH A PRIVATE CORPORATION CALLED WEST COAST TRADE SCHOOLS. THIS PROPOSAL UNDER CONSIDERATION BY TASK FORCE. HAWKINS ALSO INTERESTED IN A SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CENTER PROPOSAL WHICH IS NOW READY FOR OEO APPROVAL

RAMSEY CLARK.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Larry O'Brien

DATE: August 30, 1965

FROM : Gillis Long *G.L.*

SUBJECT: Background material for the President's meeting with Congressman Hawkins

1. BACKGROUND ON PROBLEMS IN LOS ANGELES

OEO made its first grant November 23, 1964, to a ten-member Youth Opportunities Board, with two representatives from the state, the city, the county and the city and county schools. The Board was set up to administer the program to combat juvenile delinquency, and did not have the broad representation required to meet subsequently issued OEO requirements.

A coalition of Negroes and Mexican American groups known as the Los Angeles Community Anti-Poverty Committee supported by Congressmen Hawkins and Roosevelt was formed. OEO asked Y.O.B. to broaden its membership to include representation of private agencies, minority groups and the poverty neighborhoods.

The city under Mayor Yorty has insisted that to participate, the Community Action Agency must reflect the "Joint Powers Concept" of control by public agencies. Since spring, there has been a power struggle, centered around the issue of representation and the means of allowing protesting groups to have a part in agency policy-making. This matter had not been resolved when the riots took place.

Shortly before the date of the riots, Governor Brown withdrew from participating in compromise proposals on the grounds he did not wish to be part of setting up an agency whose applications he might later be asked to veto.

2. THE SETTLEMENT

Agreement on a structure for the Los Angeles Community Action Agency was announced by Governor Collins August 23. All four local public agencies (city, county, and city and county school systems) have agreed to the proposal. It has been accepted by Sargent Shriver.

This solution involved a 25 member board of directors:

12 from the four public agencies (3 each)

7 from community areas, interim members to be drawn from a list of 14 selected by a panel of leading citizens. Full term community representatives will be selected according to a method to be devised by the American Arbitration Association.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8/30

9-30 AM

Joe:

THIS TELEGRAM
FROM RAMSEY CLARK
IS BACKGROUND FOR
YOUR MEETING WITH
HAWKINS THIS AFTERNOON

G.L.

(2)

Larry O'Brien

4 from private groups, such as organized labor and private welfare agencies

2 non-voting members from Chamber of Commerce and League of Municipalities.

—
25 Total

The compromise solution provides for the possible expansion of the board after one year to add:

4 -- one additional member from each of four joint powers

3 -- additional community representatives

1 -- additional member representing a private agency

Some groups continued to express dissatisfaction on representation.

The settlement may not be all that would be desired but it was apparently thought to be imperative by Governor Collins and others that the issue of the Community Action Agency be resolved if there was to be movement in dealing with the overall problems in Los Angeles. This was the best solution that could be got at the time if the city was to be included.

Copies of Governor Collins proposal and of Mr. Shriver's acceptance are attached.

3. CONGRESSMAN HAWKINS'S POSITION

The Congressman has been a leader in the fight to obtain greater representation for Negroes and Mexican American groups on the Board of Directors. This has brought him into a direct confrontation with Mayor Yorty, whose position on this issue is even more rigid than those of the County Executive or of the two school systems. All public agencies, however, have refused to accept any structure which does not give them a clear majority of the board.

Congressman Hawkins met with CAP Director Theodore M. Berry following the announcement of the compromise solution.

The Congressman was disturbed by the announcement and protested failure of OEO to ignore the "Public body" concept of a Community Action Program (CAP) and to direct the substitution of a private non-profit agency dividing control among three equal groups: public (1/3),

(3)

Larry O'Brien

private and minority groups (1/3) and representation from target areas (1/3). A copy of the Congressman's proposal "Los Angeles Program for Maximum Mobilization" is attached. This was presented for the first time after the compromise announcement.

He felt a public agency controlled by governmental powers, and which did not have adequate representation from private agencies and all of the target areas to be served by the program, was inadequate and did not meet the requirements of the law.

4. THE PRESENT SITUATION

- A. The situation in Los Angeles with respect to opposition to the settlement seems to be easing. Jack Conway indicates that supporters of Congressman Hawkins appear to be moving in the direction of setting up a non-profit corporation that would develop programs within Los Angeles County for most of the curfew area within the city and adjacent county areas (Compton, Willow Brook and Enterprise). This new organization would presumably seek funding first through the overall Community Action Agency and only appeal directly to Washington if approaches to the Los Angeles Community Action Agency were unsuccessful. There is still a lot of bitterness, but most of it is directed at Yorty.
- B. OEO is giving highest priority to Los Angeles proposals. Some are in Washington under intensive review, others are nearing completion in our regional offices. A list of these pending projects, as well as previous approvals, is attached. OEO will act on these proposals in accordance with the guidance of the Task Force led by Ramsey Clark.

If you have any questions, feel free to call Lisle Carter, Code 128, Extension 6631.

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W P MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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RBB002 621A EDT AUG 23 65 SSB011 (05)PA034 LA039
L LLG173 NL COLLECT LOS ANGELES CALIF 22
R SARGENT SHRIVER, DIRECTOR OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY BROWN
BLDG 19 & M ST N W WASHDC

AFTER CONSULTATION WITH APPROPRIATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PARTIES CONCERNED WITH IMPLEMENTING THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, THE FOLLOWING ATATEMENT OF AGREEMENT IS SUBMITTED FOR OEO APPROVAL:

1. TO ASSURE MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION BY THE POOR COMPRISING THE GROUPS AND AREAS TO BE SERVED BY THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM, AND TO REVOLVE PAST CONFLICTS AND ASSURE HARMONIOUS FUTURE PROGRESS, A NEW LOCAL AGENCY TO ADMINISTER OEO FUNDS, TO BE KNOWN AS THE ECONOMIC AND YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES AGENCY (EYOS), WILL BE ESTABLISHED, SUCCEEDING AND INCORPORATING THE EXISTING YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES BOARD (YOB), WHICH HAS HERETOFORE ADMINISTERED SUCH FUNDS. FORMAL INSTRUMENTS ESTABLISHING THE

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

TELEGRAM

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

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NEW AGENCY WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE JOINT POWERS (THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES; THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES; THE LOS ANGELES UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY AND THE LOS ANGELES CITY JUNIOR COLLEGE DISTRICT OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY, AND THE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY) AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME, AND FULL AND PROMPT APPROVAL IS EXPECTED.

2. AS AGREED, THE NEW EYOA WILL CONSIST OF 25 MEMBERS (TWO OF WHOM WILL BE NON-VOTING) AS FOLLOWS:

-- TWELVE PUBLIC AGENCY MEMBERS (THREE FROM EACH OF THE FOUR JOINT POWERS, TO BE SELECTED BY THE RESPECTIVE JOINT POWERS AGENCIES);

-- SEVEN COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES, WHO SHALL BE RESIDENTS OF THE AREAS TO BE SERVED BY THE AGENCY AND WHO HAVE SHOWN

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AN INTEREST IN THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND WHO HAVE BEEN SELECTED BY A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS TO BE DEVELOPED BY THE AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION. THE SEVEN COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES SHALL INCLUDE FOUR PERSONS WHO ARE RESIDENTS OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES AND THREE PERSONS WHO ARE RESIDENTS OF THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES BUT NOT OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES.

-- SIX MEMBERS, ONE EACH FROM THE UNITED WAY, INC.; THE LOS ANGELES FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL-CIO); THE WELFARE PLANNING COUNCIL, LOS ANGELES REGION, AND THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY FEDERATION OF COORDINATING COUNCILS, EACH TO BE VOTING MEMBERS, AND THE LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE LEAGUE OF CITIES, THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY DIVISION, EACH TO BE NON-VOTING MEMBERS.

\$. ONE YEAR AFTER THE SEATING OF THE SEVEN COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN SELECTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROCEDURES

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DEVELOPED BY THE AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION, THE BOARD,
BASED UPON A YEAR OF OPERATING EXPERIENCE, MAY WITH THE APPROVAL
OF THE JOINT POWERS INCREASE ITS MEMBERSHIP BY ADDING EIGHT
VOTING MEMBERS FROM THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES:

- ONE ADDITIONAL MEMBER FROM EACH OF THE FOUR JOINT POWERS;
- THREE ADDITIONAL COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE MEMBERS, TWO
OF WHOM SHALL BE RESIDENTS OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES AND ONE
OF WHOM SHALL BE A RESIDENT OF THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES BUT
NOT OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES, AND
- ONE ADDITIONAL MEMBER REPRESENTING A PRIVATE AGENCY.

THE SELECTION PROCESS AND THE TERMS OF SERVICE OF EACH OF
THE THREE CATEGORIES OF ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THE BOARD IF
FOUND TO BE PRACTICABLE SHALL BE THE SAME AS THOSE FOR THE
CORRESPONDING CATEGORY OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE SAT FOR THE IMMEDIATELY

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PRECEDING YEAR.

4. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE PROCEDURE PRESCRIBED FOR THE SELECTION OF COMMUNITY-REPRESENTATIVE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD MAY REQUIRE SEVERAL MONTHS TO BE MADE FULLY AFFECTIVE AND THAT AN ARRANGEMENT OF INTERIM MEMBERS TO ACT ONLY UNTIL PERMANENT MEMBERS ARE DULY SELECTED.

IT HAS BEEN AGREED, THEREFORE, THAT TO FILL SUCH INTERIM PERIOD ONLY, FOUR MEMBERS OF SAID BOARD, RESIDENTS OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES, SHALL BE APPOINTED BY THE MAYOR OF LOS ANGELES SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION OF THE CITY COUNCIL FROM A GROUP OF EIGHT TO BE NOMINATED AS HEREAFTER PROVIDED AND THREE MEMBERS OF SAID BOARD, RESIDENTS OF THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES OUTSIDE THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES, SHALL BE APPOINTED BY THE COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY FROM A GROUP OF (

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SIX TO BE NOMINATED AS HEREAFTER PROVIDED.

NOMINATIONS OF EIGHT AND SIX PERSONS, RESPECTIVELY, SHALL BE MADE TO THE MAYOR AND BOARD OF SUPERVISORS BY AN AGREED-UPON COMMITTEE OF OUTSTANDING CITIZENS COMPOSED OF FIVE NEGROES, FIVE MEXICAN-AMERICANS, ONE ANGLO-AMERICAN AND A NON-VOTING CONVENER OF THE COMMITTEE.

ALL SUCH NOMINEES FOR INTERIM APPOINTMENT SHALL MEET THE SAME QUALIFICATIONS (EXCEPT SELECTION PROCESS) REQUIRED FOR PERMANENT COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES AND SHALL HAVE INCOMES NOT EXCEEDING \$4,000 A YEAR. THEY SHALL SERVE WITH ALL THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF PERMANENT MEMBERS BUT SHALL NOT BE ELIGIBLE FOR SELECTION OR ELECTION TO SUCCEED THEMSELVES.

5. IT IS UNDERSTOOD BY OEO AND YOB WILL TAKE PROMPT ACTION TO TRANSFER ALL OF ITS PENDING APPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM FUNDS

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W. P. MARSHALL
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NOW BEFORE OEO TO THE NEW EYOA AND THAT ALL SUBSEQUENT GRANTS WILL BE MADE BY EYOA.

6. OEO WILL TREAT PENDING PROGRAM PROPOSALS AS HAVING BEEN SUBMITTED BY EYOA. PARTICULAR ATTENTION IS CALLED TO SCHOOL PROGRAMS WHICH URGENTLY REQUIRE PROMPT ACTION BECAUSE OF THE IMMINENCE OF THE FALL SCHOOL TERM.

SHOULD RATIFICATION OF EYOA NOT YET BE COMPLETED BY THE JOINT POWERS IN TIME FOR FUNDING OF THE SCHOOL PROGRAMS PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SCHOOL TERM, OEO WILL MAKE SUCH GRANTS TO EYOA BUT WILL CERTIFY THE PRESENT YOB AS FISCAL AGENT AND CHANNEL THOSE FUNDS THROUGH IT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE NEW JOINT POWERS AGREEMENT IS RATIFIED. IT IS UNDERSTOOD, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH RATIFICATION WILL TAKE PLACE WITHOUT UNDUE DELAY.

PLEASE ADVISE PROMPTLY BY TELEGRAPH IF THIS AGREEMENT ALSO

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MEETS WITH YOUR APPROVAL AND IF OEO IS PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES THEREUNDER
LEROY COLLINS.

FROM AGENCY OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY	PRECEDENCE	SECURITY CLASSIFICATION STANDARD FORM 14 - REV. MARCH 15, 1957 GSA REGULATION 2-IX-301 (b) 14-304
ACCOUNTING CLASSIFICATION	ACTION INFO TYPE OF MESSAGE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SINGLE <input type="checkbox"/> BOOK <input type="checkbox"/> MULTI ADDRESS	
THIS BLOCK FOR USE OF COMMUNICATIONS UNIT		TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGE OFFICIAL BUSINESS U. S. GOVERNMENT
MESSAGE TO BE TRANSMITTED (Use double spacing and all capital letters)		THIS COL. FOR AGENCY USE

For Ms. Leloy Collins
Under Secretary of Commerce
Sheraton West Hotel
Los Angeles, California

THE AGREEMENT ON A NEW COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY FOR LOS ANGELES AND LOS ANGELES COUNTY OUTLINED IN YOUR TELEGRAM TO ME MEETS THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. IMPLICIT IN THIS APPROVAL IS THE OBLIGATION IMPOSED ON CEO BY CONGRESS TO REVIEW FROM TIME TO TIME THE ADEQUACY OF REPRESENTATION FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS TO BE SERVED. THE PROVISION FOR EXPANSION OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BOARD OF THE NEW AGENCY IS CONSIDERED A RECOGNITION OF THIS PRINCIPLE BY THE JOINT POWERS. CEO IS PREPARED TO PROCESS PENDING APPLICATIONS AS SOON AS WE RECEIVE THE NECESSARY NOTIFICATIONS OF TRANSFER FROM YOU TO THE NEW AGENCY (EYOA) AS OBTAINED IN YOUR TELEGRAM TO ME.

GORDON SHRIVER
DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

NAME AND TITLE OF ORIGINATOR (Type) Jack T. Conway, Deputy Director, OEO	ORIGINATOR'S TEL NO 382-6085	DATE AND TIME PREPARED 8/23/65 - 10:00 a.m.
I certify that this message is official business, is not personal, and is in the interest of the Government		SECURITY CLASSIFICATION
_____ (Signature)		PAGE NO 1
		NO OF PAGES 1

STATUS OF GRANTS TO THE
GREATER LOS ANGELES AREA

Previously Funded

Commencing November 23, 1964, the Office of Economic Opportunity has made six grants for the Los Angeles area:

1. November 23, 1964 - to Youth Opportunity Board (Y.O.B.) for Neighborhood Adult Participation Program (NAPP), city and county schools and miscellaneous projects.	\$2,729,683
2. April 21, 1965 - to Y.O.B. Neumeyer Foundation	103,262
3. June 9, 1965 - to Los Angeles City Schools	1,976,506
4. June 30, 1965 - to Y.O.B. for VISTA Volunteers	24,726
5. July 28, 1965 - to Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers (Summer Teen Program)	801,161
6. Head Start Grants	<u>1,079,058</u>
TOTAL PREVIOUSLY FUNDED.....	\$6,714,396

Pending in Washington 8/30/65

Under Active Review

Los Angeles City Schools	\$4,241,000
Los Angeles County Schools	1,750,000
Legal Aid	333,000
Small Business Development Center	260,000
Medical Exams for N.Y.C. Youths	77,000
State of California Department of Youth Authority	286,000
On the job training program for 182 aides and trainees	
Miscellaneous Projects outlying city regions	1,800,000*
Miscellaneous projects	<u>1,200,000</u>
Sub-total under active review	10,006,000
Probable reduction in review	<u>-1,000,000</u>
Probable grant amount	9,006,000

Projects Under Preliminary Review

Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency Demonstration Job Shop Small Business Complex	\$274,000
West Coast Trade Schools, Inc. Job Oriented Vocational Training Center	no dollar amount
Refunding O.M.A.T. Education and Demonstration Program -- two employment centers, located in E. Los Angeles and in south central Los Angeles, plus a supporting skill center	2,500,000
San Fernando State College Training program for Sub-Professionals	196,000
University of California-Social Welfare Extensions Training on 600 sub-professionals and leaders	98,000

Pending in Region

Refunding for Y.O.B. headquarters Administrative Expense	\$1,138,298
Refunding Y.O.B. miscellaneous programs including program to combat juvenile delinquency	2,985,819
Compton-Willowbrook-Enterprise	24,194

*Includes Program Development requests for Long Beach (\$24,600)
and Pasadena (\$40,000).

LOS ANGELES PROGRAM FOR MAXIMUM MOBILIZATION

1. A Community Action Program: August 23, 1965

The community action board will be composed of 15 members from the public sector, 15 members representing private agencies, and 15 members selected by residents of the area and members of the groups served:

I. Public Agencies

1. State (2)
2. County (2)
3. Los Angeles (2)
Pasadena
Long Beach
Compton
4. School Districts
Los Angeles Unified
Los Angeles County Board
Compton High School District (Willowbrook
and Enterprise)
5. League of California Cities
6. Los Angeles County Coordinating Councils
(quasi public)
- 7.

II. Private Agencies

1. Welfare Planning Council
2. United Way
3. AFL-CIO (Central Labor Council)
4. Chamber of Commerce
5. Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers
6. Economic Development Agency
7. Community Service Organizations
8. Urban League
9. Labor Action Committee
10. a Mexican-American organization (Federation type)
11. a Negro organization (Federation type)
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.

III. Poverty Areas (Resident Representatives)

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Avalon | 9. May Vista |
| 2. Boyle Heights | 10. Pacoima |
| 3. Compton-Willowbrook | 11. Pasadena |
| 4. East Los Angeles | 12. Watts |
| 5. Exposition | 13. Wilmington-San Pedro |
| 6. Florence-Graham | 14. At Large |
| 7. Long Beach | 15. At Large |
| 8. Los Angeles Central | |

2. Should the members from any of the above sectors not wish to participate, an opportunity will be left open for them to do so at a later date, however, the operation of the program will not be delayed from their not participating in accordance with the statement of policy of the Office of Economic Opportunity on this matter (May 12, 1965, also restated in the Committee's report)...

the reluctance of public agencies to participate in a broadly based program or their withdrawal from participation in any on-going program will not make it impossible for private agencies and groups to be funded.

3. Provision will be made for a 15-member executive committee, five members of which will be selected from each of the foregoing sectors.
4. The procedure for the election of members by the residents of the area and members of the groups served shall be as follows:

The youth board acting as the urban community action agency has developed machinery for representation from the poverty areas through district conventions. These representatives will be selected from the 15 poverty areas, and two representatives at large chosen from all poverty areas until an even more democratic process can be evolved, utilizing the same election machinery as that for the election of public officials.

5. Single purpose agencies (including the existing Youth Opportunities Board) should not be excluded from Title II-A funding on account of the operation of this program.

September 1, 1965
3:10 p. m.

EXECUTIVE

Mr. Califano:

Mr. Friesen called from Los Angeles with the following statement. He would like you to look at it and then call them back today sometime. Their recommendation is that it be released from the White House and it would need for their purposes to be released by tomorrow morning at the regular session with the press. This is because it involves some things that would need to be started right away.

Text follows:

The President's task force studying the Los Angeles rioting has expedited _____ projects and the projects grants totaling _____ dollars for the greater Los Angeles war on poverty. The projects represent existing Federal programs which will help meet the immediate needs of the area.

The projects are sponsored by and coordinated through state, county and city governments, school districts and private community action groups. They are broadly based to involve all elements of public and private interest and responsibility.

LABOR

EMPLOYMENT

1. Employment Service Office in Watts District.

On August 27, 1965, the California Department of Employment opened a special employment office at 10223 South Central Avenue to provide a more convenient point of service for job development and placement for residents of the South Central area of Los Angeles. A staff of 12 placement interviewers was assigned to this office by transferring personnel from other offices in Los Angeles. It is anticipated that the staffing of this office will be doubled within the next several weeks at an additional cost of \$150,000 which will be paid through a grant from the United States Department of Labor.

EXPANDED MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING PROGRAM

2.

2. Currently there are 78 manpower development training classes operating in Los Angeles for a total of 1,568 trainees at a cost of approximately \$2,054,000 for training allowances and instructional costs. An additional nine projects for 1,337 trainees ~~have been~~ ^{will be} approved by mid-September for an estimated cost of \$2,630,000.

3. YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTERS

On August 26, 1965, the Department of Labor made an advance grant of \$2,475,000 to the California Department of Employment for the purpose of accelerating the opening of Youth Opportunity Centers in Los Angeles. These Centers are designed to provide intensive job counseling and placement assistance as well as screening and referral to Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Manpower training for unemployed youth. These Centers are planned for south-central Los Angeles with a total staff of 97 counselors, placement interviewers and youth advisors. The target date for opening is October 2, 1965.

4. ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Youths and adults lacking skills being sought by employers suffer high levels of unemployment. There exists the need to match available manpower resources with available jobs and to utilize training to bring about the match. To achieve this objective for disadvantaged youth and adults of the Los Angeles area, the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor has contracted with the Los Angeles Urban League to carry on a job development and placement activity designed to uncover unfilled jobs, recruit trainees and work out on-the-job training arrangements with employers to develop the needed skills of the new employees. Through a staff employed for this purpose the Los Angeles Urban League in conjunction with additional staff supplied on a reimbursable basis by the California Division of Apprenticeship Standards a total of 600 trainees will be placed at an estimated contract cost of \$365,826.

4 projects

A 4.3 million

2.6
2.4
5.0
3
1

54

* Ernest Friesen, Assistant Deputy Attorney General, Department of Justice, Los Angeles, Calif.

Roger Wilkins - Los Angeles

Projects to Alleviate Education Needs in Poverty Areas - Los Angeles County

1. The Los Angeles School System will hire 305 additional teachers and will provide some 2440 substitute teacher days to eliminate elementary double sessions, establish ~~on~~ ^{remedial} 135 reading classes, and open 80 new kindergarten classes. This will substantially improve the academic achievement of pupils in all sections of the poverty areas of Los Angeles County. The cost of these activities will be \$2,400,000.
2. The Los Angeles School System will hire 15 elementary school counselors and 15 indigenous aides to service the pupils in disadvantaged areas and thereby double the present counseling services. Improved attendance and performance will result. This project will cost \$200,000.
3. The Los Angeles School System will recall to duty secondary school counselors in disadvantaged areas to initiate contacts of potential student drop out and to encourage their return to school on opening day. This project will cost \$60,000.
4. The Los Angeles School System will hire 1100 teacher aides to relieve teachers of non-professional duties. Persons selected will be non-certified personnel recruited from project areas thus providing local employment to adults who have children in the schools. This will permit teachers to concentrate on learning problems and on efforts to increase student achievement. This activity will cost \$3,300,000.

5. The Los Angeles School System will hire 32 additional community coordinators and 32 new neighborhood aides to initiate a joint project of school-community cooperation to determine both school and home related problems of poor pupil attendance and performance. Coordinators will be certificated personnel. Neighborhood aides will be adults from local neighborhoods. This project will cost \$560,000.
6. The Los Angeles School System will expand one existing child care center and will open four new centers now and eight new centers later in the year to accommodate a total of 1500 additional children of pre-school and primary age and will hire some 150 new aides to man the centers. This will enable some 1000 parents to hold full or part-time jobs and will provide pre-school learning experience to deprived children whose early formal education will not be substantially advanced and improved. This project will cost \$2,000,000.
7. The Los Angeles School System will hire 38 child welfare and attendance supervisors and 38 indigenous aides to work with volunteers and other community agencies in "Changing Neighborhoods" to alert schools and agencies to pending and emerging problems and to produce solutions in terms of school-community cooperation. The cost of this activity is \$519.00
8. The Los Angeles School System will establish an in-service training program in cooperation with local universities to orient teachers in problems of racial understanding and to enrich their knowledge and their preparation for teaching about minority cultures and histories. This will facilitate the incorporation of new textual materials in the school curriculum of poverty areas. This project will cost \$100,000.

9. The Los Angeles School System will hire 55 nurses, 55 nurses aides, and 23 doctors to conduct regular and special health examinations of children in deprived areas. This will enable the schools to detect medical and health needs and to provide a basis for early correction of defects. It should also provide a basis for improved pupil performance. This project will cost \$870,000.
10. The Los Angeles School System will sponsor a one-day (Sept. 8th.) orientation seminar for 7,000 school teachers in deprived areas to acquaint them with facts and scientific information about racial problems and tensions. This project will ~~also~~ facilitate the normal resumption of school programs on Sept. 13th. ^{The} Programs will be conducted by the local ETV Channel and will be transmitted to selected school auditoriums. Teachers will be encouraged to attend at stipend rates of \$15. The cost of this project is \$150,000.
11. The Los Angeles School System will construct some 80 new kindergarten class rooms and some 80 new secondary class rooms in order to initiate new programs of instruction in poverty areas, thereby adding to the educational ^{at} opportunities of educationally deprived children. This ~~activity~~ ^{activity} will cost \$4,800,000.
12. The Los Angeles School System will initiate a variety of adult education projects involving the extension of higher education programs into poverty areas for both evening and day classes. This project will also enable the system to initiate or expand some 10 skills training and counseling centers which will improve job capabilities of unemployed adults. The centers will conduct employment surveys to create feed-back for educational preparation for secondary and adult students.

12.(Cont.) These ~~add~~ activities will cost \$1.3 million dollars.

13. The Los Angeles School System will augment existing arrangements for college work-study programs and will expand opportunity for off-campus employment to permit college attendance by some 200 or more students from poverty areas who need such employment to permit ~~college/~~ ~~attendance~~ // them¹ to attend college. Seven Junior Colleges will participate. This project will cost \$200,000.

13 PROJECTS - \$15,940,519

total of 1 million to total
 total number of projects

-- a year for
 heart edmont & seum for
 1500 elements done

HEW = $\frac{\$16 \text{ million}}{13 \text{ projects}}$

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LAB 4 MAJOR PROJECTS =
 85.5 Mill

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 —
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DEO \$7.7 million - 29 pro
 $\frac{17}{46}$

—
 —
 —

46 projects = 29 mill

150,000
 2,630,000
 2,780,000
 2,475,000
 365
 20

2.6	150
2.5	<u>365</u>
<u>5</u>	5,15
6	

LABOR

4 projects - cost \$ 5.6 million

HOW

13 projects - cost \$ 16 million

DEB

29 projects (cost) \$ 7.7 million

46 projects → \$ 29.3 million

5.6
16.
<u>7.7</u>
29.3

29
<u>13</u>
46

1
1

EXECUTIVE

[Handwritten notes and initials]

September 8, 1965

TO: HONORABLE HENRY RANSLEY CLARK
The Deputy Attorney General

FROM: JOSEPH F. CALIFANO, JR.
Special Assistant to the President

I thought you might be interested in including some of the information in the attached memorandum in your report to the President on Los Angeles.

Enclosure

Nothing else sent to
C. J. Files as of 10/1/65



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

August 25, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
The White House

From: Orville L. Freeman *Orville L. Freeman*
Secretary of Agriculture

Subject: Report on USDA Food Donations in Los Angeles Riot

1. A total of 231,000 pounds of USDA-donated food was distributed in Los Angeles to aid victims during the recent rioting there. After the Watts district was declared a disaster area, I immediately made foods available to local authorities from stocks already on hand in the Los Angeles area. Twelve thousand family-sized parcels of food were distributed through six distribution centers on Tuesday and Wednesday, August 17 and 18. Parcels were sized for families of five, providing for approximately 60,000 people in the 46-square-mile area who were without food because many stores had been burned, looted, or closed.
2. The U. S. Department of Agriculture food assistance was made available to disaster officials. The Salvation Army and other church and volunteer groups assisted in distribution, working all night Monday, August 16, to package foods into the family-sized portions. Foods distributed were canned beef and chopped meat, dry milk, margarine, lard, corn meal, flour, rice, dry beans, dry peas, peanut butter, and fresh plums.
3. The food was available in the Los Angeles area through the food distribution program in which USDA's Consumer and Marketing Service cooperates with State agencies. Such donated foods -- regardless of the distribution for which they were specifically intended -- are immediately released for assistance in the event of floods, hurricanes, and other disasters.
4. Distribution in Los Angeles ended after the "disaster" declaration was lifted, but Agriculture Department officials are now working with local authorities to see that all assistance possible through Government consumer food programs is made available to help to deal with the situation there.

Summary Shows 231,000 lbs. USDA-Donated Foods Helped Victims of Los Angeles Riot:

President Lyndon B. Johnson said today that 231,000 pounds of donated food was distributed in Los Angeles during the recent rioting from stocks supplied by the Department of Agriculture.

He said a report from Secretary Freeman shows 12,000 family-sized parcels of food were distributed through six distribution centers over a two day period, Aug. 17 and 18. The parcels, designed for families of five, provided food for approximately 60,000 people in the 46-square-mile area where food stores were burned, looted, or closed.

The Salvation Army and other church and volunteer groups assisted State disaster officials in the distribution and worked a whole night to package foods into the family-sized portions. Foods distributed were canned beef and chopped meat, dry milk, margarine, lard, corn meal, flour, rice, dry beans, dry peas, peanut butter, and fresh plums.

The food was made available in the Los Angeles area through an emergency food distribution program in which USDA food stocks -- regardless of the distribution for which they were specifically intended -- are immediately released for assistance in the event of floods, hurricanes, and other disasters.

Distribution in Los Angeles ended after the "disaster" declaration was lifted, but USDA officials are now working with local authorities to insure that all assistance possible through Government consumer food programs is made available in the current situation.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

11/12/57

10:35 a.m., Saturday
September 11, 1965

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

The attached memorandum from Governor Collins reports on his 6 day Presidential mission to Los Angeles in the wake of the riots there. Its highlights follow:

Collins averted a request from Governor Brown for a Presidential declaration of Los Angeles as a disaster area.

. The problem here was Yorty, whose insistence on a disaster declaration kept Brown under constant pressure. Yorty fired off a number of telegrams to you both during and after the riot demanding a disaster proclamation. Brown, with Collins' help, held firm, with the net result that a disaster request from the Governor never came in.

Collins made some progress bringing the local warring factors together so that Los Angeles could begin to take actions to blot out the causes of the riots.

. Collins' biggest step forward was the resolution of the anti-poverty community action program squabble. The issue holding up the flow of federal funds for 6 months prior to Collins' arrival was whether and how the poor would be represented on the local community board set up to administer the program.

. Collins conceived of a "special citizens committee" to designate representatives for the poor. This turned out to be acceptable to the local groups, and freed the funds. Whether it will really work in practice remains to be seen.

. Again Yorty was the stumbling block. It took all of Collins' skill and finally discussions with Jesse Unruh (Yorty's man behind the scene) to bring the parties together.

. Collins admits that he should have gone immediately to the Watts area rather than wait until the eve of his departure. That 11th hour appearance resulted in a furious outburst against the white man in general. If this steam had been released earlier in the week, more progress might have been made.

Collins feels the outlook for the future is cloudy.

. Collins has an "uneasy feeling" that things are far from settled in Los Angeles. The Negro community still feels alienated and "out of it". It may continue to risk riots until it achieves a sense of participation in things.

. The city is politically fragmented. Until there is political settlement, there is little possibility of a cessation of unrest.

. The major problem is how can Federal local programs be effectively implemented when the community government is unwilling or unable to participate? This points up the larger problem of the need for a coordinated Federal approach to the cities.

I recommend that the report be filed and closely held because of its candid comments about the personalities and problems in Los Angeles.



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Joe -
This is my report to the
President on the Los Angeles
mission - I am sorry it is
this late -

There are some rather personal
disclosures affecting California
politicians so I do not think
this should have distribution
beyond you, The President, and
any of his other associates, he
may expressly permit, and
Secretary Connor - Two copies are
enclosed.

Thanks -
Roy -



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Attached is a report on the mission you assigned to me in Los Angeles. I am sharing this report only with Secretary Connor.

I want you to know that I appreciated this opportunity to try to be of service to you and the country.

And I cannot express too strongly my gratitude for the splendid support given me by your staff. Mr. Califano participated with remarkable dedication and competence.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "LeRoy Collins". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

LeRoy Collins

Attachment



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: LeRoy Collins
Subject: Report on Los Angeles Mission

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday afternoon, August 17, you assigned to me a special mission to Los Angeles with two objectives:

1. An immediate assignment to try to avert a request from the Governor of California for a Presidential declaration of a "major disaster" in Los Angeles under Public Law 875 (the Federal Disaster Act), and
2. An overall assignment to be of any assistance I could, on behalf of the Federal government, in resolving the difficulties arising from the recent rioting in Los Angeles.

The assignment was supported by a request from Governor Brown in which Mayor Yorty concurred.

I was assisted in my work in Los Angeles by my own Deputy, John L. Perry, and Roger Wilkins, Head of the Community Action Division of the Community Relations Service.

As of my return to Washington on August 24, after six days of negotiation, the first assignment had been accomplished and some considerable progress made toward accomplishing the second.

In addition to averting a formal request from the Governor for a Presidential disaster declaration, the major achievement toward quieting the post-riot difficulties consisted of a resolution of the long-standing disagreement over how the Federal anti-poverty program is to be administered in Los Angeles.

Following is a narration of steps taken on this mission, along with some conclusions drawn from it.

II. NARRATION OF MISSION

After receiving the assignment the afternoon of August 17, the next morning I conferred with Mr. Joe Califano and Mr. Lee White in the White House. There the nature of the mission was established.

Two major reasons were given by the White House staff for wanting to avoid a disaster declaration:

First, nothing in the law makes it clear that a disaster includes a man-made disaster like the Los Angeles rioting. It was hoped that the flexibility of the President's discretionary powers under the law could be kept intact by avoiding the necessity of the President having either to turn down or comply with such a request.

Second, because of potential riot situations in other major cities, the White House wanted to avoid establishing precedent that disaster relief could be expected on the heels of rioting.

Before leaving, I also conferred with Governor Buford Ellington on the provisions of the Federal Disaster Act, so as to be better informed when I encountered Governor Brown, who had been under heavy pressure from Mayor Yorty to request a declaration.

Mr. Califano made it clear that I had authority to coordinate the various Federal activities in Los Angeles, in part for the purpose of being able to assure city and state officials that a disaster proclamation would not be needed since the Federal government would be making a concerted effort to assist in the riot area through its regularly available programs.

From the outset I took the position, both publicly and privately, that my role was not one of intervention on behalf of the Federal government but one of support of those public and private parties in California seeking to resolve difficulties. In line with this, I telephoned ahead to Governor Brown and to the office of Mayor Yorty

(who was unavailable) to tell them I was making no public announcements of my arrival time or plans, leaving this up to them to handle in the manner they considered most appropriate.

I also had a long telephone conversation with Senator Kuchel the night before leaving in which I volunteered little and sought much in the way of information and counsel. I tried to reach Senator Murphy, whom I was unable to locate until later when I had lunch with him in Los Angeles.

I had no preliminary discussions with Congressmen Hawkins or Roosevelt because I feared that their positions vis a vis local leaders was so fixed I might be handicapped rather than helped by their advice in advance.

When I landed in Los Angeles shortly after noon on Wednesday, August 18, the air was more filled with tension than smog. Everyone was criticising and blaming everyone else. Even reporters at the airport were abrasive in their questioning. No one had a good word to say for anyone -- except about you, for having "done something" about what was obviously a worsening situation in which no cohesive leadership in Los Angeles was emerging.

My comments to the press consisted of, essentially, "I'm here because President Johnson, on behalf of the Americans everywhere, is deeply concerned and wants to be of help," and "I'm not here to rake through yesterday's ashes and rehash old quarrels but to look ahead to tomorrow and what we can all do, working together, to get this city living and breathing once again".

This seemed to be a rather effective tonic; at least, it was something different to be hearing in Los Angeles.

At Governor Brown's suggestion, I set up headquarters in the Sheraton West Hotel, where he also was staying. After checking in with Mr. Joe Califano, I conferred with the Governor.

He was down on Mayor Yorty, saying his intransigence had held up the anti-poverty program for months and probably contributed to the resentment which fed the riots, coupled with the massive resentment among Negroes against the Los Angeles police as epitomized by Chief Parker, who had made some very ill-advised comments (about "monkeys in the zoo," for example).

I took this opportunity to obtain the Governor's promise that he would not honor the request from the Mayor for a disaster declaration, without checking this out with me. (The Mayor, contrary to procedures in the law, had been firing off telegrams to Washington urging a Presidential declaration.) The Governor then and there in fact instructed his Attorney General, present in the room, to have ready, just in case, a legal opinion saying there was no legal basis upon which the Governor could request such a declaration since the law clearly contemplated a natural rather than man-made disaster.

There was no doubt in my mind that the Governor would stand by his position, but I nonetheless promised him I would do what I could with the Mayor to keep additional pressures from building up for an official city request to the Governor to ask for a Presidential declaration.

The press, which had live television cameras set up in the hotel, was clamoring for some kind of conference. I had tried to get the Mayor and the Governor to appear with me on a joint conference, but they get along like the gingham dog and calico cat. So, finally, when the Mayor kept being tied up, I went on the air with the Governor limiting my statements to the general line I had taken upon arriving in Los Angeles.

(What I said must have been sufficiently generalized, for among the flood of telephone calls after the conference was one from a little old lady -- no doubt in tennis shoes -- who told me she agreed completely with everything I said and then proceeded to unwind a line of Goldwater philosophy which would have unnerved Goldwater, himself.)

Although, in his conversations with me over the phone, Mayor Yorty could not have been more cooperative, he was issuing statements to the press that it was Governor Brown and not he who had asked for my presence in California, that I was good only for civil rights and he doubted what purpose I would be able to serve there (a doubt I was to entertain more than once myself before leaving his city.)

By the end of that first day, two things were clear: (1) We had averted the immediate possibility of the Governor requesting a Presidential disaster declaration, and (2) No general progress could be made toward restoring calm in that city until the anti-poverty squabble was resolved.

Mayor Yorty and Sargent Shriver continued to swap transcontinental insults; the Governor was giggling the Mayor about being a dog in the manger regarding the anti-poverty program; the two Congressmen were prodding Shriver to get tougher on the Mayor, and a militant group of Negroes in the Watts area was lambasting Negro Councilman Billy Mills for "selling out" to the Mayor.

We concentrated our whole attention to the problem of bringing the warring factions in agreement on a county-wide board to oversee and administer those anti-poverty programs in which the local governments would participate. Numerous of these programs were being held up to the communities disgust.

Central in the dispute was representation of the poor as contemplated by regulation and national policy.

And this is where I made a mistake. I should have gone straight out to the Watts area and listened and let the people know that someone (in this instance, their President) wanted to know what was hurting them and cared about them.

I did do this -- the night before I left -- but by then it was a little late. For nearly two hours I met with a large number of those people in the Watts area while they tore my hide off, pouring out all the fury of their resentment against the white man and his officials. They were not mad at you, nor were they mad at me personally. They were just letting me know how they felt -- mostly about the Mayor and the Chief of Police and some of the Negro politicians who work with the city officials.

If I had endured this experience early in the mission, I would have been better equipped to answer some of the local officials' adamant contentions that they alone are properly able to represent the poor.

I will not bother you with all the who-struck-John of the four days of negotiation which took place. But I contacted every source I felt appropriate. (See list of names attached.)

Among these persons contacted was the publisher of the Los Angeles Times and his key staff members. As you doubtless know, the Times is undergoing a major transformation and my guess is that it is on its way to becoming

a paper of major national influence. Certainly, its new crew, headed by the young Chandler, is genuinely concerned about exercising leadership to straighten out the sorry state of affairs politically in which Los Angeles finds itself.

Let me give you a brief picture of the negotiations framework in which we were working:

The decision had been made by OEO -- and I recall hearing Vice President Humphrey and Sarge Shriver underscore this point at a conference of mayors -- to run most of the anti-poverty community action programs through the local governments. This meant, unless the local officials were otherwise willing, that the majority control of the board would have to be in the hands of the public bodies.

For nearly six months no agreement had been reached on how the representatives of the poor were to be selected for membership on the board. Thanks to some earlier negotiating by Mr. Theodore Berry, head of OEO's community action division, we were able to get the city and county officials to agree with Rev. Brookins' militant group that the American Arbitration Association could determine the methods by which these representatives would be "democratically selected."

But this procedure will take several months to complete. Obviously, we could not allow the anti-poverty program to be delayed that much longer. So, we sought an acceptable arrangement for selecting representatives of the poor during this interim period.

Because Rev. Brookins' anti-poverty committee was the largest political reality of its kind in the picture, I tried -- to no avail -- to get it worked into this interim selection process.

Failing that, I proposed a committee of respected citizens, agreeable to both sides, who would select the interim representatives of the poor. We hung up on this, too.

Then it was that it became overwhelmingly apparent that some force was blocking any settlement. Like a mouse in a maze, every avenue we ran down was a dead-end. One by one these dead-ends led us to the probability of Jesse Unruh.

Mayor Yorty had delegated his negotiation responsibilities to a Negro city councilman, Billy Mills. We discovered that Mills' deputy, Willard Murray, had been placed as Mills' campaign manager by Unruh and that Mills was taking his cue from Murray, who in turn was taking his from Unruh. It was upon Murray that every possibility of compromise seemed to hang up.

So, I turned to one of Unruh's friends, Mrs. Carman Warschaw, the Democratic national chairman from Southern California and a very helpful person in our CRS work as a member of your nationwide Citizens Committee. Actually, it was she who contacted me. I found her in the hospital, in traction with a back ailment, but no other noticeable handicap.

I let her know I was on the point of packing up and leaving, which seemed to alarm her. (I do not think the Unruh plan was ever to scuttle this mission). I mentioned my idea of a special citizens' committee, and she came up with a list of names (a few of which we used).

Later, she sent word that Unruh happened to be in town and would like to pay his respects. I told her I would be happy to see him and would appreciate any help she could provide.

I met with Unruh, and we had a pleasant discussion, in which I outlined our frustrations and our hopes for resolving them. He made no promises and neither did I.

Within an hour after our conversation, Mills was ready to accept our plan and so was the Mayor. From then on it was just a matter of ironing out minor details, like agreeing on this name or that.

I would not assume that Mayor Yorty is in Unruh's hand. It just happens that political circumstances bring them into temporary and perhaps uneasy alliance. Once Councilman Mills was turned around, Mayor Yorty had no reason -- or excuse -- to remain adamant. He would have been recognized, and condemned, by all as a dog in the manger.

Contributing to -- but not controlling -- the stalemate had been the left-over hostilities from the Roosevelt-Yorty mayoralty campaign.

Enclosed are copies of the names of the citizens' committee we worked out and the exchange of telegrams between Mr. Shriver and myself in which the general settlement is outlined. It is a good settlement I feel and will afford a framework of authority and sponsorship which will expedite the poverty program.

I was guided, so far as the anti-poverty program was concerned, by Mr. Jack Conway, Mr. Shriver's deputy; by the expressions I had received from Shriver and the Vice President at the conference of mayors, and by my frequent phone conversations with Califano.

I hope there are no hard feelings in OEO over the fact that Ted Berry was replaced on the scene by Jack Conway. Berry was highly informative and provided considerable help to us. But, as I tried to explain to him, there are times when a negotiator reaches the end of his usefulness and a fresh face is necessary. He had reached the point where, as he volunteered, he was physically exhausted. While I would have liked to keep Berry's knowledge around, as it turned out Conway was just what the doctor ordered. (One of the breaks we got was when Jack observed to the city officials that if it had to the Federal government could fund directly to private organizations -- a suggestion they had been hoping they would not hear.) So, in Berry's departure from Los Angeles no one should read any affront to OEO or any effort to move it off the scene.

Our settlement provided for the maximum feasible participation by the poor if the term "feasibility" takes into account the political realities of the environment involved.

After the settlement was reached, I took a call from Congressman Hawkins, who, as you know, was unhappy. I told him, as I told Rev. Brookins, upon whom the Congressman was relying, that I believed we had the best attainable plan and that it would work if they gave it a chance.

Rev. Brookins told the press the plan was acceptable to him, which got him into all kinds of hot water with his people in the Watts area. At the time I went into the

area to meet with him and his people he was on the verge of resigning his position of leadership because the heat was so great. Later, I learned, things began to turn the other way and he intends to stay.

When I got back from Los Angeles, I had a long personal talk with Congressman Hawkins and his reaction was surprisingly cooperative. He said he would not carry on any battle against the new board. Perhaps the Times editorial (copy attached) had some influence on his disposition change.

Pressures from the Mayor for a disaster declaration persisted the whole time, but we were able to keep them from breaking out into embarrassing demands upon Governor Brown by continually reassuring Mayor Yorty's people that the Federal government would do its best under existing programs to meet the needs in the Watts area. I endeavored not to be specific about which programs or about dollar figures. Unfortunately, but understandably, the local officials felt impelled to elaborate on this in their statements to the press.

Like so many others, I found the Mayor a most difficult man. Perhaps it is because he accurately reflects the confusing condition of Los Angeles and its people. In any event, he is harder to work with than a tomato seed on a wet plate.

Governor Brown and his people could not have been more cooperative and reasonable.

And, despite all I heard to the contrary about him from the Mayor and his friends, I found Rev. Brookins to be a calm and reliable voice of reason. I would hate to see him ground under.

I have an uneasy feeling that things are far from settled in Los Angeles.

While we reached an agreement which made it possible to get the anti-poverty program off the ground, the struggle over who is to represent the poor in that program will, in my opinion, continue.

The day may come when we will have to consider dealing with the county only, in the administration of the anti-poverty program, if the city cannot come to a lasting accommodation with the grass-roots spokesmen for the poor.

It even may be necessary to fund the program through a single area-wide private agency -- as we do here in the National Capital area -- or through a number of private agencies servicing smaller segments of the sprawling Los Angeles complex. I would prefer to see us work through the local officials, but not if the price is the blocking of adequate direct participation by the poor or the continuation of hassling over control of the program.

Although the rioting has ended, the underlying causes remain. The poverty program will help get at these causes. So will some of the Federal "task force" programs. But the biggest and most dangerous ingredient is a feeling on the part of the Negro community in Los Angeles that they are "out of it." They will continue to risk riots, in my opinion, until some means are found for giving those people a genuine sense of participation in the affairs of the community at large.

And, what is even more sobering, this problem to one degree or another is multiplied in every city in this country.

Finally, I see little possibility of a cessation of unrest in the Los Angeles area until it finds itself politically. Until there is a decisive political settlement there -- and one which lasts for a while -- every lesser component right down to the last neighborhood will continue to reflect this up-in-the-air mentality.

It was this fragmented divisiveness which made possible -- indeed, which welcomed -- successful intervention by the national government.

I can appreciate your concern, so far as the country as a whole may feel, about appearing to overplay the Federal hand in any city. For this reason, you might want to give some thought to making a quiet but effective inquiry as to how Federal local programs can be developed with maximum feasible coordination with, and cooperation of, local governments but with direct action with the people themselves when their community government is unwilling or unable adequately to participate.

I think it is true also that a coordinating group from the Federal level could serve well nationwide in assisting communities to take full advantage of available Federal assistance.

This could have two advantages:

-- It would tend to lessen the criticism that Los Angeles rioters are being rewarded, and

-- It would help to get more effectively at the root causes of racial strife in the urban centers before such strife breaks out.

We already have the beginnings of such an effort in the form of the Task Force on Urban Problems of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, although this has been a low-visibility, summer-oriented project.

Actually, a coordinated Federal approach to the cities is little more than what the urban residents should have any way. It is terribly difficult for local citizens, even local officials, to pick their way through the catalog of Federal programs and to know how to employ them most effectively in relation to each other.

These programs are going on any how. I know you would like to see the country get the most mileage out of them, in terms of the benefits they produce for the people.

ATTACHMENT A

PERSONS WITH WHOM DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD
REGARDING LOS ANGELES

Governor Edmund G. Brown

State Attorney General Tom Lynch

Hale Champion, Director of the Department of Finance,
State of California

Winslow Christian, Executive Secretary to Governor Brown

Charles Rickershauser, Jr., Commissioner, Department of
Corporations, State of California

U. S. Senator Thomas Kuchel

U. S. Senator George Murphy

Mayor Samuel W. Yorty

Robert Goe, Executive Assistant to Mayor Yorty

Raymond G. Parker, Executive Assistant to Mayor Yorty

Police Chief William Parker

Police Inspector Edward Walker

Jack Brown, Assistant to Mayor Yorty

City Councilman Gilbert W. Lindsay

City Councilman Billy G. Mills

Willard H. Murray, Deputy to Councilman Mills

County Supervisor Ernest E. Debbs

Sam Hamerman, Chairman, Youth Opportunities Board

ATTACHMENT A - 2

Jesse M. Unruh, Speaker, California State Assembly

Donald D. Weddle, Administrative Assistant to Speaker Unruh

Congressman Gus Hawkins

Rev. H. H. Brookins, Chairman of the United Civil Rights
Committee

Rev. Casper I. Glenn, Pastor, Bell-Vue Community Church

Spencer Wiley w/ Brookins

R. Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic
Opportunity

Jack Conway, Deputy Director, Office of Economic
Opportunity

Theodore Berry, Assistant Director for Community Action,
Office of Economic Opportunity

Governor Buford Ellington, Director, Office of Emergency
Planning

Joseph Califano, Special Assistant to the President

Lee White, Special Counsel to the President

George Grace, Regional Director, Office of Emergency
Planning

Alvin Meyers, Regional Director, Small Business Administration

Col. John A. B. Dillard, District Engineer, U. S. Army
Corps of Engineers

Dr. Stanley Crook, Director, Los Angeles Field Office,
U. S. Department of Commerce

Mrs. Carmen Warschaw, National Democratic Committeewoman
from Southern California

ATTACHMENT A - 3

Dick Gregory, Author and entertainer

Otis Chandler, Publisher, Los Angeles Times

Edwin A. Weegar, Jr., Assistant Managing Editor,
Los Angeles Times

Edwin O. Guthman, National Editor, Los Angeles Times

William Thomas, City Editor, Los Angeles Times

ATTACHMENT B

The following is a copy of a telegram sent by Under Secretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins to R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, on Sunday, August 22, 1965:

Hon. R. Sargent Shriver
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

"After consultation with appropriate public and private parties concerned with implementing the anti-poverty program in the City and County of Los Angeles, the following statement of agreement is submitted for OEO approval:

"1. To assure maximum feasible participation by the poor comprising the groups and areas to be served by the anti-poverty program, and to resolve past conflicts and assure harmonious future progress, a new local agency to administer OEO funds, to be known as the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA), will be established, succeeding and incorporating the existing Youth Opportunities Board (YOB), which has heretofore administered such funds. Formal instruments establishing the new agency will be submitted to the Joint Powers (the City of

Copy of Collins telegram to Shriver - 2

Los Angeles; the County of Los Angeles; the Los Angeles Unified School District of Los Angeles County and the Los Angeles City Junior College District of Los Angeles County, and the County Superintendent of Schools of Los Angeles County) at the earliest possible time, and full and prompt approval is expected.

"2. As agreed, the new EYOA will consist of 25 members (two of whom will be non-voting) as follows:

-- Twelve public agency members (three from each of the four Joint Powers, to be selected by the respective Joint Powers agencies).

-- Seven community representatives, who shall be residents of the areas to be served by the agency and who have shown an interest in the problems of poverty and economic opportunity and who have been selected by a democratic process to be developed by the American Arbitration Association. The seven community representatives shall include four persons who are residents of the City of Los Angeles and three persons who are residents of the County of Los Angeles but not of the City of Los Angeles.

Copy of Collins telegram to Shriver - 3

-- Six members, one each from the United Way, Inc.; the Los Angeles Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO); the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, and the Los Angeles County Federation of Coordinating Councils, each to be voting members, and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and the League of Cities, Los Angeles County Division, each to be non-voting members.

"3. One year after the seating of the seven community representative members who have been selected in accordance with the procedures developed by the American Arbitration Association, the board, based upon a year of operating experience, may with the approval of the Joint Powers increase its membership by adding eight voting members from the following categories:

"-- One additional member from each of the four Joint Powers;

-- Three additional community representative members, two of whom shall be residents of the City of Los Angeles and one of whom shall be a resident of the County of Los Angeles but not of the City of Los Angeles, and

-- One additional member representing a private agency.

Copy of Collins Telegram to Shriver - 4

"The selection process and the terms of service of each of the three categories of additional members of the board, if found to be practicable, shall be the same as those for the corresponding category of members who have sat for the immediately preceding year.

"4. It is recognized that the procedure prescribed for the selection of community-representative members of the board may require several months to be made fully effective and that an arrangement should be made for the earliest practicable qualification of interim members to act only until permanent members are duly selected.

"It has been agreed, therefore, that to fill such interim period only, four members of said board, residents of the City of Los Angeles, shall be appointed by the Mayor of Los Angeles, subject to confirmation of the City Council, from a group of eight to be nominated as hereafter provided and three members of said board, residents of the County of Los Angeles outside the City of Los Angeles, shall be appointed by the County Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County from a group of six to be nominated as hereafter provided.

Copy of Collins Telegram to Shriver - 5

"Nominations of eight and six persons, respectively, shall be made to the Mayor and Board of Supervisors by an agreed-upon committee of outstanding citizens composed of five Negroes, five Mexican-Americans, one Anglo-American and a non-voting convener of the committee.

"All such nominees for interim appointment shall meet the same qualifications (except selection process) required for permanent community representatives and shall have incomes not exceeding \$4,000 a year. They shall serve with all the powers and duties of permanent members but shall not be eligible for selection or election to succeed themselves.

"5. It is understood by OEO that YOB will take prompt action to transfer all of its pending applications for program funds now before OEO to the new EYOA and that all subsequent grants will be made to EYOA.

"6. OEO will treat pending program proposals as having been submitted by EYOA. Particular attention is called to school programs which urgently require prompt action because of the imminence of the fall school term.

Copy of Collins Telegram to Shriver

"Should ratification of EYOA not yet be completed by the Joint Powers in time for funding of the school programs prior to the beginning of the school term, OEO will make such grants to EYOA but will certify the present YOB as fiscal agent and channel those funds through it until such time as the new Joint Powers agreement is ratified. It is understood, however, that such ratification will take place without undue delay.

"Please advise promptly by telegraph if this agreement also meets with your approval and if OEO is prepared to implement its responsibilities thereunder."

LeRoy Collins

ATTACHMENT C

Copy of Shriver Telegram to Collins

August 23, 1965

Honorable LeRoy Collins
Under Secretary of Commerce
Sheraton-West Hotel
Los Angeles, California

The agreement on a new Community Action Agency for Los Angeles and Los Angeles County outlined in your telegram to me meets the requirements of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Implicit in this approval is the obligation imposed on OEO by Congress to review from time to time the adequacy of representation from the neighborhoods to be served. The provision for expansion of the membership of the Board of the new agency is considered a recognition of this principle by the joint powers.

OEO is prepared to process pending applications as soon as we receive the necessary notifications of transfer from YOB to the new agency (EYOA) as outlined in your telegram to me.

Sargent Shriver, Director
Office of Economic Opportunity

ATTACHMENT D

COMMITTEE TO SELECT NOMINEES FOR INTERIM
BOARD MEMBERS FROM POVERTY AREAS

- John A. Buggs -- Executive Director, Los Angeles County
Human Relations Commission (to serve as
non-voting convener of the committee)
- R. J. Carreon, Jr., M.D.
- Norman O. Houston -- President, Golden State Mutual Life
Insurance Company
- H. Claude Hudson, D.D.S. -- Member, National Board of the
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
- Mrs. Thelma Thomas Mahoney -- Member, Los Angeles County
Civil Service Commission,
and Coordinator of the
Committee on Political
Education, Los Angeles
County Federation of Labor
(AFL-CIO)
- Philip Montez -- Staff member, San Fernando Valley State
College
- Rev. A. A. Peters -- Pastor, Victory Baptist Church
- Arthur Rendon -- Architect
- Richard Rubio -- Vice Chairman, Los Angeles County Human
Relations Commission
- Carlos Teran -- Judge, Superior Court
- Mrs. Helen Thomas -- Chairman, Women's Advisory Council,
California State Fair Employment
Practices Commission
- Rev. L. L. White -- President, Los Angeles Council of
Churches and Pastor, Holman Methodist
Church

[Handwritten signature]

Los Angeles
File

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EXECUTIVE

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LA/Los Angeles

76 600 / Task Force

to Investigate
LA Riots

September 14, 1965

STATEMENT FOR THE PRESIDENT
ON LOS ANGELES FEDERAL TASK FORCE REPORT

The recent riot in the city of Los Angeles was both a tragedy and a source of bewilderment to many Americans. Why would a minor traffic incident trigger such a violent outbreak? Why the high cost in lives, property? How could such an explosion occur in one of our most rapidly growing cities in one of our most prosperous states?

I think that we have really felt in our hearts that the answer to these questions lies beyond the immediate reactions to a single arrest. I think we sensed the estrangement of many Negroes from society. But I also think that we have exaggerated the real progress being made by many of our Negro citizens, and we have concluded too readily that the gains are being widely shared. We have failed to see that a substantial proportion of the Negro community is living in another nation -- deprived of learning, skills, jobs, goals, and hope.

And while we were asking "Why?", the members of this alienated minority might well have been

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asking "Why not?"

What we have known in our hearts, however, we can now know in our minds. The Special Presidential Task Force I sent to Los Angeles -- Deputy Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Andrew F. Brimmer, and Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity Jack T. Conway -- has now submitted to me an exceptional report, filled with grim facts, humane insights, and over 80 general and specific recommendations for action by the American people.

Those of us who are comfortable -- in ambitions just as much as in lack of hunger -- recognize that where there is no order, there is no society. This report is partially a story of people who have almost no stake in society and thus little stake in preserving order. But it is also a story of a still hopeful group questing for a chance to participate fully in the mainstream of society.

What does it mean to have no stake in society? This Task Force report answers with clarity -- but also with compassion. Through the course of life, for a resident of the riot area it means:

Faded, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

- ✓ -- That 40 percent more of the babies born along with you are likely to die as an infant than anywhere else in the city;
- ✓ -- That as you grow up, you are twice and even three times as likely to contract rheumatic fever, whooping cough, food poisoning, or a long list of other diseases;
- ✓ -- That the school you attend, so vital when so much is missing in a home that is typically broken, is so overcrowded that split sessions are necessary and that dropout rates are among the highest in the city;
- ✓ -- That, most important and most urgent, if you are a male, you face extreme difficulty in finding work. In sections of Watts, it is seven times harder to find work than the average;
- ✓ -- That even if you find work, it is likely to demand little skill. And the simple act of getting to and from your job becomes a struggle. Without a car, public transportation could easily require four hours and nearly \$2 a day;
- That jobs are thus easier to get for women, while able-bodied male heads stay home to mind the children. As one Negro resident said,

"The fathers of our families need the first jobs. Family life is breaking down because the father is not the bread winner;"

-- That you are far more likely to become the victim of crime; four times as much in police funds must be spent per square mile in your area than in the rest of the city;

-- That, in a land famed for sunshine and leisure, you live in a world of trash-strewn ugliness. In the words of the report, "The sun, sand, surf and the view from the hills make up no part of life in Watts."

-- And finally, it means that, having endured through a life of hardship, the death rate in your neighborhood is 22 percent higher than elsewhere in the city.

We cannot as Americans -- as civilized men -- permit our fellow men, our neighbors, to be broken on the wheel of despair. As the most productive society in the history of man, we have the power to bring happiness and hope to their lives.

We know that the city of Los Angeles did not make this problem. The problem involves greater

involve the poor in full participation in
the life of the community

better every man's treatment of his fellow man.

The task ahead is a great and difficult one. I
will bend all my resolve and power to its achievement.
But the task is not one for the governments alone,^(J)
federal, state, or local. It is a task to which
each citizen must devote his life. [For "Justice
in the life and conduct of the state is possible only
as first it resides in the hearts and souls of the
citizens." So I ask each of you to look into your
heart and soul to see for yourself whether you do
treat your fellow man justly, as a man, and as you
would have him treat you.



THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

September 15, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOSEPH CALIFANO
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

Enclosed is a summary illustrating the types of projects which are still being expedited as a result of the Task Force's efforts. Ramsey Clark feels that we should avoid giving a detailed listing of the projects at this time because several important ones are still under discussion. The most critical of these is the proposal by the Department of Agriculture relating to forestry work. This proposal could result in a significant number of jobs, and this would require a large amount of money (perhaps as much as \$15 - \$20 million). However, a number of critical policy issues remain to be resolved.

The extension of school lunches to needy children in Los Angeles County is a project the Task Force would like to see expedited. About 30,000 very needy children attending 126 City schools and schools in 18 County districts are involved. In 44 of the 126 schools in the Los Angeles school district and in several schools in the County district, there are no facilities to handle a school lunch program. Thus, it would be necessary to undertake a significant amount of new construction. It is estimated that during the first two years, the cost of constructing facilities and acquiring kitchen equipment would amount to about \$2 million. The annual cost of the free meals for the 30,000 children would be about \$1 million. Thus, the program would involve an annual outlay of about \$3 million.

The State of California and the Los Angeles County and City governments have stated that they have no funds to meet any part of the \$3 million which would be required. On the basis of the formula contained in the National School Lunch Act, the State of California got an apportionment of over \$6 million of school lunch program funds for 1964-65. They feel that no portion of this amount could be allocated to Los Angeles County.

Thus, we believe that the forestry program and the school lunch program are two projects which could be of considerable assistance to poor families in the Los Angeles area.

- 2 -

We suggest that the President cite the projects illustrated in the attached memorandum and indicate that these and other proposals will be released in the normal course of program development.

afb
Andrew F. Brimmer

Enclosure

cc: Honorable Ramsey Clark
Mr. Jack Conway

ADDITIONAL PROJECTS RECOMMENDED BY
PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS
September 15, 1965

More than 20 projects are being recommended by the Task Force in addition to the 49 projects approved by the President on September 2, 1965. The total amount of money involved in the projects is still being estimated, and the detailed descriptions are still being worked out. The following are illustrative of the types of projects involved:

1) Food Stamp Program. The launching of a food stamp program is under active discussion by the Department of Agriculture and Los Angeles County officials, and there is good reason to expect that a program will be inaugurated in the County. It is estimated that such a program would provide substantial food purchasing assistance to over 100,000 needy persons and would provide them with an annual Federal food subsidy of about \$8 million. A decision on this program should be forthcoming within the next few weeks.

2) Health Care for Low Income Families. Comprehensive health services for pre-school children and school-age youths from low income families and health care for mothers from low income families will be provided. These projects will promote better health and reduce infant mortality among poor people in the City and County of Los Angeles. The annual cost will be about \$2 million.

3) Social Security District Offices. A new Social Security District Office will be opened in the Watts area within three weeks. This unit will make the expanded services of Social Security available to thousands of beneficiaries who live in the area. Another new office will be established to serve the East Los Angeles area. The necessary personnel and operating funds will be provided.

4) Vocational Rehabilitation. The living standard of several thousand families in the Los Angeles area will be improved by the vocational rehabilitation of disabled people. An intensive program, using community aides from the poverty area for neighborhood work will enroll approximately 5,000 persons in the new program, which is designed to serve both the mentally and physically disabled.

5) Multi-Service Center for New Urban Residents. A multi-service center will be established in central Los Angeles to provide information and counseling in employment, housing, educational opportunities, health services, and family problems. The center will concentrate on serving families which are new to urban living, and it will emphasize the development of indigenous leadership in community organizations.

6) Training of Professionals in Community Organization. A grant will be made to a private foundation and to a State College to train professionals in community organization. In addition, over 1500 people in the Los Angeles area will be trained for sub-professional positions, especially in service activities.

7) Day-Care Facilities in Pasadena. To enlarge day-care facilities in Pasadena and to develop other programs in that area, two projects will be approved.

8) Assistance for East Los Angeles. To assist the residents of East Los Angeles, projects such as family counseling and community development will be undertaken. Three community centers and a child development center will also be established.

EXECUTIVE

9:00 p. m. , Monday
September 27, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

One of the things mentioned by civil rights leaders when we called them on the civil rights reorganization, in addition to the White House conference, was the issuance of Ramsey Clark's report on Los Angeles. In your statement of September 2, 1965, you said that a "comprehensive report is expected from the Task Force shortly."

I believe the Ramsey Clark report is now in shape to be issued and I have a technique to insulate you from any problem that might arise while still getting the full benefit of the report. It is bound to be a very popular document with the civil rights leaders. Abe Fortas considers it an outstanding and penetrating story. I recommend the following procedure:

1. That Ramsey Clark issue the report from his place at Justice.
2. That you issue the attached statement at the same time that Ramsey issues his report. In the statement, you approve the recommendations:
 - a. A Bureau of Census analytical study be made on Los Angeles in coordination with Governor Brown's Commission (Governor Brown, John McCone, et al want this very badly);
 - b. That the Justice Department prepare a first-rate riot control training course for metropolitan police; and
 - c. That the ideas and suggestions discussed under various topics in the report be referred to the Brown Commission and the appropriate Federal agencies (this is a compromise I worked out with McCone). Your statement refers to Charlie Schultze for study by his Task Force on Inter-Governmental Relations (an outside group of experts that Charlie has convened that has been meeting for several weeks) the recommendation that a principal Federal officer be appointed in the Los Angeles area. This gives you further consideration by experts of your proposal and the option to decide later --

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of _____

after we have had some reaction from people like Brown and Yorty -- whether to send a principal Federal officer into the Los Angeles area. It also gives us time to find the right person to send into the area. Thus, if within a couple of weeks, Brown and Yorty urge you to adopt this proposal (McCone believes you should adopt the proposal), we will be able to find the right guy who can act on it. On the other hand, there is no need for you to make any decision until and unless we present this to you as part of next year's program.

Bill Moyers concurs in this method of handling the report. If you approve Ramsey will go with the report tomorrow afternoon and we will release your statement at the 4:00 p. m. briefing. I recommend approval.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT FOR RELEASE WITH THE FINAL
REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS

The final report of the Presidential Task Force on the Los Angeles riots is both constructive and comprehensive. Filled with grim facts and human insights, it is the story of today's despair but of tomorrow's hope.

As I said before, and want to stress again, the riots in the Watts area flowed from a shattering breach of deep-seated American principles. There is no greater wrong in our democracy than violent, willful disregard of law.

But to decry disorder is not enough. We must strike at the unjust conditions from which the disorder largely flows, lest our body politic be poisoned and our democracy endangered.

And let us also remember that the actions of the three thousand rioters must not stay our compassion for the tens of thousands of needy citizens in the riot area -- of every race and color -- who neither participated in nor condoned the riots.

The Task Force I sent to Los Angeles -- led by Ramsey Clark, with Andrew Brimmer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and Jack Conway, Deputy Director of the War on Poverty -- was instructed to develop with the help of Governor Brown, Mayor Yorty and other state and local officials the best programs known to wipe out the causes of such violent outbursts.

The Task Force has now admirably discharged these responsibilities. Many of the programs it has recommended are already underway.

We must await the work of Governor Brown's Commission for the full account of the riots and their causes. But the Task Force report is an important first step forward. It points the way for Federal, state and local governments to proceed jointly to launch their attack now not only on the immediate tensions which triggered the riots, but also on the deeper underlying problems. It also will be a valuable document for the leaders and citizens of our other major cities.

As a result of the Task Force's recommendations, I am taking the following actions:

First, I am approving a number of additional self-help programs -- more than 30 at a cost of over \$20 million -- to complement the 49 projects totalling \$29 million and approved on September 2, 1965. These projects, tailored to local needs, will increase job opportunities, provide better health care for the young and improve the quality of education. But they will do more. They will give to those of our underprivileged citizens an equal chance to share in the benefits of our society. As before, the projects fall within already authorized programs and funding levels.

Second, I have asked the Census Bureau immediately to undertake a detailed analysis of southern Los Angeles to collect economic and sociological data, in coordination with Governor Brown's Commission.

Such a study will provide decision makers with an intelligent and rational basis for shaping the most effective, long-range community action programs.

Third, I have directed the Justice Department to prepare a series of first-rate riot control training programs for metropolitan police.

Fourth, I am sending to Governor Brown's Commission and all interested Federal agencies for consideration the wide range of suggestions for further programs and progress in the Task Force report.

Fifth, I am asking the Director of the Budget to refer to the Task Force on Inter-Governmental Relations the matter of appointing on an experimental basis, a principal Federal officer for Los Angeles who would coordinate and expedite all Federal programs in the area.

Finally, we are going to intensify our efforts to find new and imaginative ways to come to grips with the problems of our cities so that the tragic events in Los Angeles will never be repeated.

The task ahead is difficult. I believe we will meet and overcome these challenges. But the task is not one for the Federal government alone or the state and local governments alone. It is a task to which each citizen must devote his efforts.

For "justice in life and the conduct of the state is possible only as it resides in the hearts and souls of the citizens". So, I ask each of you to look into your heart and soul to see for yourselves whether you treat your fellow man justly and as you would have him treat you.

We all owe a debt of gratitude to Ramsey Clark, to Jack Conway and Andrew Brimmer, and to Governor Brown and Mayor Yorty, to Senator Kuchel, Congressmen Hawkins and Roosevelt, as well as to the many Federal, state and local officials, community groups and clergymen who gave their unstinting support to the work of the Presidential Task Force.

MASTER

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE
ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS,
AUGUST 11 - 15, 1965

September 17, 1965

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INTRODUCTION

The Los Angeles riots shocked a disbelieving American public. Again, we were forced to recognize calamitous conditions existing in our urban slums peopled primarily by Negroes. This time it became clear that national action is necessary. In a statement on August 26, 1965, President Johnson said:

We have all felt a deep sense of shock and dismay at the riots last week in Los Angeles. I have expressed my conviction that there is no greater wrong in our democracy than violent or willful disregard of the law.

The President emphasized the urgency of a comprehensive and effective attack upon the problems of urban America. He emphasized that as far as the rioting in Los Angeles is concerned:

...we cannot let the actions of three or four thousand rioters stay our compassion for the hundreds of thousands of people in the City of Los Angeles -- of every race and color -- who neither participated in, nor condoned the riots. Many suffered at the hands of the rioters, many are in need of help.

To assist in providing this help, the President sent a team of federal officials to Los Angeles. This Task Force arrived in California on August 26, 1965, and remained until September 3rd. The assignment given by the President was,

...to develop with Governor Brown, Mayor Yorty and other officials, a combined program to restore and rehabilitate the damaged areas of Los Angeles.

The President further stated:

This program will be aimed at helping these citizens affected by the riot to help themselves. In short, the

team's charter is to make available the best programs now known to wipe out the causes of such violent outbursts.

The assignment called for action, not study and research. The main objective was to assist State and local officials in their efforts to improve conditions in the City and County of Los Angeles and to coordinate and expedite federal programs to support this objective. To this end, the Task Force acquainted itself as fully as possible with the economic and social environment within which the riot occurred.

Starting with Governor Brown, other State officials, and the Governor's Commission to investigate the causes of the riot, the Task Force closely coordinated its efforts with County and City government, affected school districts, State and local agencies, elective officials and representatives of private community service units.

~~The body of this report, after examining the riot environment, some of the riot effects, and the community attitudes, will discuss several specific problems and set forth suggestions for their alleviation.~~ ^{Highlighted by the riots and some from suggestions for their alleviation} ~~will discuss several specific problems and set forth suggestions for their alleviation.~~ ^{HERE RECOMMEND THAT THESE SUGGESTIONS BE STUDIED, ON AN EXPEDITIOUS BASIS, BY ALL THE APPROPRIATE FEDERAL AGENCIES AND BY GOVERNOR BROWN'S COMMISSION AS TO THE MERITS AND FEASIBILITY}

Briefly, the preservation of law and order must be assured at all times. Utilization of every known technique of riot prevention and the ready availability of an adequate police force to control any riot situation are essential.

The underlying causes of the riot are numerous, complex, and profound. Just as there is no sole cause, there is no sole solution. Steps must be taken in virtually every

aspect of our national life, for the problems are not those of one city alone.

From our experience, four points emerge clearly:

- The needs of the poor in the city are immense;
- The needs are urgent;
- The needs can be filled only by the all-out effort of every component of government--local, State and Federal; of every element of nongovernmental group action; and of the individual citizens, particularly those involved;
- The most that can be done is to help the disadvantaged to help himself.

RECOMMENDATIONS

SEPARATE PAGE

On September 2, 1965, the President approved an interim report recommending 49 programs and project grants tailored to provide immediate assistance to all sections of Los Angeles in need of help. The Task Force has since worked on developing some 35 additional projects and project grants. This report sets forth its further recommendations.

The major recommendations for immediate action are as follows:

1. The appointment on an experimental basis of a principal federal officer for the Los Angeles area and an inter-agency technical task force. The principal federal officer would be charged with the responsibility of coordinating and expediting federal services in the area, and he would coordinate these services with the state and local governments to assure them full federal support in performance of their responsibilities, the primary governmental responsibilities of the area. The inter-agency technical task force would operate under his supervision to expedite the implementation of all federal programs and project grants in the

Los Angeles area directed at urban problems and poverty, commencing with the 49 projects authorized by the President on September 2, 1965.

2. Preparation and refinement by the Department of Justice of riot control training programs, inter-jurisdictional police coordination techniques, and military liaison systems for metropolitan police departments. Stimulation of the development and production of riot control equipment for police utilization with training as needed. As indicated, a national conference or series of conferences among police officials for riot prevention and control training.
3. A detailed Bureau of the Census statistical analysis of the recent curfew area of Los Angeles designed to elicit and correlate all relevant demographic, economic, and sociological data, supported by scientific attitude sampling and coordinated with Governor Brown's Commission.

A proper balance among diligent efforts of all of our governments is essential--not only to get the job done, but to prevent that distortion of the Federal system which will undermine government. This requires the initiative, the determination and the coordination of all government leadership. Strong inter-governmental support for the work of Governor Brown's Commission can serve as a model.

Ultimately, the problems which exploded into violence in Los Angeles are problems of how human beings treat one another, not only through the institutions of their society, but individually. Hope for the future rests on the good will and hard work of all our people.

I

THE RIOT ENVIRONMENT

The focal point of the riot was the South Los Angeles area, which is heavily populated by Negroes. South Los Angeles is not homogeneous. Some of the worst slums in the city are located in its eastern portion, most of which could be classified as a poverty area, while a substantial part of Los Angeles' Negro middle class residential area is located in sections of the western portion.

Most of the rioting, arson and looting occurred on streets parallel to the Harbor Freeway, which runs north and south and divides South Los Angeles roughly in half. Considerably more of the damage occurred in that portion of the area east of the Freeway. It was ultimately necessary to impose a curfew in an area of about 46 square miles, 34.4 square miles in the City and 11.6 square miles in the County of Los Angeles outside the City. (See attached map.)

Exact demographic data are not available on each of the sections of the curfew area. However, some information is available on the curfew area as a whole, and on Watts in particular, which should be helpful in giving a broad-brush profile of the area. It should be noted that while Watts is popularly identified as the area in

which the rioting occurred, it is actually only a very small part (2.1 square miles) of the eastern portion of the curfew area.

The curfew area is heavily populated by Negroes. As shown in Table 1, the total population in the curfew area is roughly 576,000, of which 317,000 (or 55 per cent) are Negroes. In the curfew area within the City limits, Negroes make up a slightly higher proportion, with about three-fifths of the Negroes in the City of Los Angeles living within the curfew boundaries. In the Watts district, the total population is about 35,000, with 30,000 (or 85 per cent) Negroes.

The curfew area is also among the most densely populated in the City. In the City as a whole, there are about 5,900 persons per square mile, and outside the curfew area the density is roughly 5,300 per square mile. Within the curfew area as a whole, there are 12,500 persons per square mile, and for the City component the figure is 13,000 per square mile. In Watts, the density jumps to 16,400, a ratio almost one-quarter above that for the curfew area as a whole and nearly three times that for the entire city.

The great land area of the City and the sparse settlement in some sectors make density comparisons difficult. Yet in Watts

the over-crowding indicated by the density figures is confirmed by the figures on residents per house, especially when it is realized that the houses in the area are quite small. As shown in Table 2, in the ten census tracts constituting that district, population per household ranged between 3.59 and 5.44 in 1960. This range was well above that for even the rest of the curfew area and substantially higher than for the rest of the City.

The housing conditions in the South Los Angeles area vary greatly. Renting seems to have dominated in 1960, yet there was a high degree of home-ownership, although the ratio of owners to renters was considerably smaller than in the rest of the City. Since 1960, the trend has probably been toward owner-occupancy. This trend is evident even in Watts, despite the heavy concentration of renters in large public housing projects.

In 1960, about half of the homes in five census tracts were owner-occupied. In two other tracts, public housing projects dominated, and over 90 per cent of the dwelling units were rented.

The homes tend to be among the oldest in the City, but there has been a considerable amount of new construction. Over three-quarters of the housing in the curfew area was built before 1939; about three-fifths of the housing in Watts was in this category. This lower age partly reflects the building of new public housing projects in Watts since World War II. But the continued building of new, single-family homes in the area is also evident.

The physical appearance of the Watts residential area is extremely uneven. There are neat rows of lawn-fringed, well-kept houses bordered by streets lined with palm trees. There are clean streets, and the varied color schemes of many houses--in keeping with the Southern California tradition--do impart something of an atmosphere of light and vigor.

However, many of the tree-lined streets end in dirt roads and junk yards. Garbage trucks are sometimes parked in residential areas. Isolated patches of minor industries are back-to-back with homes, schools, and playgrounds.

Underlying this uneven physical appearance are the social and economic characteristics of a disadvantaged community--ignorance, unemployment, poverty.

In 1960, the Watts population 25 years of age and over had completed about 9.5 years of schooling. This is higher than the national average for Negroes but below that for the remainder of the curfew area. Moreover, about two-thirds had less than a high school education, and about one in eight was illiterate. In 1960, the unemployment rate among Negro men in Los Angeles was nine per cent. But in Watts, the lowest rate was 9.8 per cent in one census tract, and it was ten per cent or more in all other census tracts. In a census tract where the median family income was \$2,404, the unemployment rate among men was 29.0 per cent.

In 1960, the median family income of Negroes in Los Angeles was the highest for any major city in the nation at \$5,163. In one Watts census tract, where the median years of school completed were 10.7, the median family income was \$5,400. But most residents of Watts were far less well off. In a census tract where the median years of school completed were 10.1, the median family income was \$2,404. In seven of the ten census tracts in Watts, the median family income was \$4,500 or less. Finally, in a city in which the cost of living is among the highest in the nation, about half the families have incomes below \$4,000 per year. Coupling these low family incomes with the fact that families in Watts tend to be larger than the average for the City as a whole, it is evident that the general condition in Watts is that of poverty.

In Watts, social disorganization is visible in a number of

ways:

The divorce rate is about one-and-one-half times that for the City as a whole.

The number of households headed by a female is also well above the average for the City.

About one-quarter of the families in Watts receive public assistance.

In 1960, over half the children under 18 years of age lived in broken homes with only one parent present.

The ugliness of social disorder shows in many other ways:

Delinquency and school drop-out rates are among the highest in the City.

Watts is a haven for narcotics pushers, addicts, and alcoholics.

It is a red-light district where prostitution is open.

Gambling is commonplace.

Crime rates among Negroes in Los Angeles are particularly high in relation to the total population, of which they constitute 16 per cent. In 1964, Negroes were suspects

in nearly 60 per cent of the murder cases;

in over half the cases of forcible rape;

in two-thirds of the robberies; and

in over half of the cases of aggravated assaults.

And a significant proportion of the crimes committed in South Los Angeles are committed against other Negroes. In 1964, of the nearly 10,000 cases of violent crimes committed by Negroes in Los Angeles, over three-fifths were committed against other Negroes.

Of 88 Negroes murdered, 85 were killed by Negroes.

More than 90 per cent of the Negro victims of felonious assault were attacked by other Negroes.

Three-fourths of the Negro women forcibly raped were raped by Negroes.

Over 90 per cent of the Negroes robbed were robbed by Negroes.

This high incidence of crimes has led to a heavy concentration of police in South Los Angeles. For example, during the fiscal year 1964-65, annual police cost per capita in the curfew area was about \$28, compared with \$19 in the rest of the City. Per square mile, such cost in each area was \$401,552 and \$99,451, respectively. Translated into manpower, these budget figures clearly imply a far greater presence of policemen in South Los Angeles than in the rest of the City. They also imply that frequent contact between police and residents of the community is a continuing feature of the environment.

The above demographic characteristics of South Los Angeles are unmistakable indices of poverty, social disorganization, and dependency. The economy of the area is equally dependent. In the entire curfew area, there is only one major industrial plant. All other sources of employment in the area, with the exception of some small machine shops and needle trades establishments, are in retail trade and to a lesser extent in services. There are few industrial opportunities for the unskilled or semi-skilled worker in this part of the City.

The real industrial growth of the last seven years has centered primarily east of South Los Angeles, in the City of Industry,

City of Commerce, and Orange County. If a resident of South Los Angeles is to pursue such industrial opportunities, assuming that he has or can obtain the skills to compete for the available jobs, he must travel a considerable distance to work--perhaps as much as 15 to 20 miles each way. Yet, in April, 1965, only about one-quarter of the households in the curfew zone possessed at least one automobile, and only nine per cent possessed two cars.

Consequently, the residents of the South Los Angeles area must rely primarily on public transportation, and here they face a particularly difficult situation. The Metropolitan Transit Authority provides service in the central area of the City at a basic rate. It also provides service in several zones beyond the central area, but each new zone entails an increment in fare. In much of the area south of the City--in which a great deal of the area's industry is concentrated--three separate bus lines are in operation, and there is no system of free transfers. Another separate line operates to the east of the central area.

Moreover, the heavy traffic movement is the round-trip from the suburbs to the central city and return, and the bus schedules are designed to facilitate it. The service from South Los Angeles

to both the central city and the suburbs is less adequate, partly because of the smaller volume of traffic. And because of inadequate public transportation, there is greater reliance on private automobiles, which further lessens the effective demand for public transportation.

This pattern is a striking illustration of how a part of the population can be excluded from an economic system by being too poor to pay their way into it. And the pattern holds a number of important implications for the residents of South Los Angeles who must rely on public transportation: it means a long journey to work, in many cases as much as two hours each way. It also means an expensive journey; even within the central area, a round-trip may cost as much as \$1.78. These distances and cost factors weigh particularly heavily on the most disadvantaged residents of the City--the unemployed seeking work, the aged seeking guidance, and public welfare recipients seeking assistance.

II

THE RIOT AFTERMATH

A detailed description of the events which led to and constituted the Los Angeles riot will have to await the work of Governor Brown's Commission, as will detailed information on the people involved in and affected by the riot. It was not the purpose of the Task Force to describe the riot itself, but rather to help State and local officials alleviate the suffering caused by it. Suffice it to say that between August 11 and August 15, South Central Los Angeles was swept by lawless and bloody rioting such as has not been seen in this country in recent years--a national tragedy.

The extent of the riot can be gleaned from some of the bare statistics--34 persons reported dead, 895 injured, and about 4,000 arrested. In addition to this dreadful toll in human lives and suffering, there was a staggering amount of property damage. Two-hundred-nine buildings were destroyed, 536 damaged and about 150 looted.

The immediate consequences of the riot in terms of hunger and housing were minimized by the response of public and private welfare assistance. There appears to be no general increase in the need for food and the housing in the area was virtually undamaged.

Surveys of the area report that there is no substantial health hazard from the riot debris. Specialists have likewise reported no imminent danger to persons from potential collapse of damaged structures. The burned-out premises are a grim reminder of the violence which was unleashed but offer no immediate hazard to the people living in the area.

It is still too early to provide an estimate of the full cost of the riot to the City of Los Angeles. However, the preliminary estimate places property damage in the neighborhood of \$45 million--about \$25 million in damage to structures and about \$20 million in damage to fixtures and inventories.

Within the immediate riot area, the most severe impact was on local retail trade. Of the 200-odd buildings destroyed, 42 were food markets, 23 were liquor stores, and 19 were furniture outlets. A substantial majority of the commercial buildings destroyed were owned by absentee landlords. While most of the buildings were insured, a fairly large percentage of the operations carried no insurance on their fixtures and inventories.

III

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

The Negro Community remains tense. There is widespread anger and bitterness. But there is also considerable hope and dedication to the future of the community. A full evaluation of the extent and depth of these feelings has not been possible. However, several clear themes are evident in the mosaic of attitudes in the Negro Community. These have been expressed with emotion, urgency and eloquence--but in many instances, with simple harshness.

The best way to convey a sense of the Negro Community's feelings is to set them forth as the people themselves expressed them. The quotations set forth on the following pages reflect attitudes which--whether justified or not--do much to explain behavior in the community.

There is obviously great hostility toward the "white power structure":

"The white power structure wants us to stay in our place, to be kept in poverty, in ghettos, uneducated, on relief."

"We're tired of the lies, false promises, and shenanigans of the power structure."

"Everything is handed down to us by the power structure. We are never permitted to participate in planning or in action."

"Welfare relief is rammed down our throats."

A companion theme is the deep resentment of outsiders who are viewed by the people as exploiting the community:

"Everything in the slums is absentee: We have absentee teachers, absentee business, absentee landlords, absentee politicians, and we even have absentee preachers."

"This is colonialism in America; the Negro ghetto is just a colony."

"All money and success go out of the area and leave misery behind."

The people of Watts compiled a catalogue of complaints describing the burdens borne by those who live outside the circle of today's prosperity, outside looking in. Typical among the grievances:

"Watts is Los Angeles' dumping ground. We carry the burden of poverty, crime, vice, the immigration of poor and disadvantaged for the entire city."

"We pay higher prices for poorer food. When food spoils in whitey's store, it's brought to Watts and the prices are raised. We pay 31¢ for a loaf of day old bread that they didn't sell in Hollywood yesterday for 27¢."

"We can't borrow money, buy homes, obtain insurance."

They feel that their children are getting inferior educations.

'Ghetto education is a sham. Our kids learn nothing. The teachers are afraid and don't try to help. Our children are promoted to get rid of them whether they've learned anything or not!"

"We get fewer certified teachers than the rest of the city."

"They don't teach our kids the things they need to know to get jobs. They don't do enough for kids from bad homes to make up for what they don't get in the home, like an interest in books."

"Our schools don't get enough supplies."

"They don't do anything to teach our kids that Negroes are part of American history."

There is considerable bitterness toward public assistance.

A fairly large number of people looked on such assistance as an excuse to avoid coming to grips with the fundamental problem of unemployment.

"We resent crooked, twisted laws. Relief has hurt many people."

"Programs for welfare are mere shadows helping few, hurting many."

"Our fathers and husbands have been driven from our homes."

"We don't want relief. We want independence that only good jobs can give."

In virtually every conversation, strong feelings about police-community relations were registered. But there was also an undertone of desire to improve such relations:

"The police brutalize the Negro. Many young Negroes get police records which ruin their chances for employment."

"There is widespread fear and distrust: people of people, police of people, and people of police."

"Negro crime hurts Negroes far more than whites because most Negro crime is against Negroes. We have to reduce Negro crime."

"You have to obey the law to make progress. We know that."

A sense of frustration, disillusionment, alienation, depersonalization and hopelessness was expressed.

"The people here are confused and disillusioned because they came to California for a better life. They hoped for more and expected more. They were funneled into the slums as they arrived and there is no way out."

"There is so little humaneness in our lives-- how can we have self-respect?"

"We aren't treated as humans. They still call us Boy. Boy lives in the jungle with Tarzan. We've got names."

"I felt during the rioting and looting deep inside that it just doesn't make any difference."

"There is nothing to live for in the slums.
If I'm killed, there'll just be one less
bum on the streets."

These feelings have led some to make strident demands for change, sometimes coupled with dire warnings. While such themes were voiced primarily by young people, they were also expressed by some older people, including a new kind of leadership responding to the sense of frustration in the Negro community.

"This is a new day. The young Negro will demand a better deal. We will no longer turn the other cheek."

"A lot of us are beginning to feel that riots are all they understand. This is the only way to talk to downtown."

"There will be a holocaust if changes do not come fast."

The one theme that emerged in every conversation was the pressing need for jobs. Many believed jobs would solve most problems, and their overriding importance was expressed with persistence and urgency. The expansion of job opportunities for men with limited skills was advanced as the single, most vital quest of the Negro community:

"The Negro is the last hired and the first fired."

"We are discriminated against in hiring, in promotion, in all aspects of economic and social activity."

"We can get only menial jobs, common labor, maids; even our college graduates have trouble securing good jobs."

"Our problems are basically economic. This is the have nots against the haves. There is little racial hatred among Negroes."

"We need employment. Give us jobs and everything else will take care of itself. Jobs first."

"We don't want any make-work or relief work. We want real work that gives self-respect."

"The fathers of our families need the first jobs. Family life is breaking down because the father is not the bread winner."

And in the future, the people want to participate in the decision-making process and to share in shaping their own lives.

"If the people in the depressed areas can participate in the planning and execution of welfare and poverty programs, they will be doing better."

"White people always survey us and experiment on us. They get the grants. Let us experiment on ourselves."

Despite the bitterness, the frustration, and the widespread sense of hurt and disillusionment, there is hope and a commitment to get on with the vital task of community reconstruction and development. There is a desire for understanding and help.

"There are many dedicated, hard-working people in Watts who want to help it to a better life. Remember that most of the people in even the worst areas are law-abiding, self-supporting people of good will."

"We want beauty in our lives: good shopping centers, good housing, clean homes and streets."

"We must avoid haste in rebuilding and developing to be sure of good planning and that we can support and keep a decent area."

"We must help the people to help themselves. Watts should be planned out, improved by the people of Watts."

"We have got to establish communications with the City and get to work. We've argued enough about our problems and complaints. Now we've got to build."

The white community has been deeply shocked by what it has seen. It is far less sympathetic to and has greater difficulty trying to understand the needs of the poverty areas than before the riots. It is now concerned with safety and police prevention of further rioting. The riots have generated strong support for the Police Department as the representative of law and order. Between August 13 and noon of August 27, the Office of the Chief of Police received 17,864 letters and telegrams, more than 99.3 per cent of them commendatory.

The prevalent attitude in the white community is to condemn the lawlessness, the impatience, and the destruction. There is a wide feeling that the Negro community lacks gratitude for recent economic and civil rights advances and that its demands will grow. Many feel that relief and welfare should be reduced and police control tightened. Many see a close connection between peaceful demonstrations for civil rights and the rioting. They fear a breakdown in respect for the law. And many in the white community have expressed a determination not to yield to demands related to violence and feel that assistance to the riot areas rewards lawlessness.

On the other hand, strong efforts are underway or being formulated by a variety of private groups in the white community, working alone or in cooperation with Negroes, to develop and carry out programs designed to remedy the problems of poverty and to close the communications gap.

Quite clearly, the rioting has further separated the Negro and white communities in Los Angeles. The Negro community has drawn more to itself and feels a greater urgency about its plight. The white community has focused on the public safety.

If real progress is to be made, it is imperative to build bridges of understanding founded on mutual efforts to solve problems affecting the whole of the Los Angeles community.

IV

THE TASK AHEAD

The Los Angeles rioting is over. We must learn its hard lessons and take the steps necessary to see that such a tragedy never happens again. Its causes exist unchanged, and not only in Los Angeles. Some of the tensions we can relieve immediately. The forty-nine projects approved by the President on September 2, 1965, while striking at causes, should help ease tensions in Los Angeles. The real challenge to our nation, of course, lies not in relieving tension, but in eliminating causes. This is the long-range task ahead. It will require patient, determined, massive effort.

Adequate police protection must be assured to every community now. Rioting will not wait while its causes are eliminated. Wherever necessary, police power must be supplemented until law enforcement capability is clearly sufficient.

In the long run, however, we cannot solve the problems of our slums by police power. To endeavor to do so would not only be foreign to our ideals, it would betray a tragic misunderstanding of the profound problems of the slum. It is no more possible to suppress rioting where its causes are fermenting than it is to hold the lid on a boiling pot.

The task of eliminating poverty and rebuilding our slums is immense. It can be accomplished only by the balanced and diligent effort of all our governments--local, state, and federal--of labor and business, and by the involvement and concern of the people themselves.

A central factor is the concentration of unemployment in the slum areas. When we generalize about the nation's unemployment rates of four to six per cent of the labor force, we ignore the impact of its concentration in areas such as Watts, where it can reach one in three persons.

On the other hand, in considering slum areas we tend to overlook the fact that most of the families and individuals living within them are law-abiding, self-supporting people of good will who contribute constructively to the welfare of the area. That they are able to maintain hope and heart amidst the ugliness, the vice and crime, the filth and hardship that surround their daily lives is a tribute to their character and strength.

The Negro is particularly afflicted by poverty, and, despite appearances of advancement, it is quite possible that

the gap between the poor Negro and the middle-class communities, both Negro and white, is increasing. There is nothing new about the plight of impoverished Negroes. It may be worsening. As technology advances, as the need for technical skills increases, as automation replaces labor, the unskilled are more disadvantaged than ever before.

Essentially, the task is to provide for full participation in our society by the poor, the uneducated, the minority.

While in Los Angeles, the Task Force discussed these problems with State and local government leaders and representatives, with church and other private groups working in slum areas, with the people of the slums themselves. The Task Force learned much from these meetings which can guide Los Angeles and other major cities of the nation in attacking these problems. The following sections attempt to describe and categorize these problems and their possible solutions for study and action by all concerned citizens.

A. Employment

The most important and immediate task is to put people to work and to make sure that opportunities are provided for people with ability to be promoted on their merits. The high unemployment statistics and low income figures in the Watts and South Los Angeles areas tell only part of the story. They do not tell of the frustration felt by able-bodied men who have unsuccessfully sought employment time after time at employment offices, union halls, and private businesses around the city. They do not tell of the humiliation felt by men who stay at home with their children while their wives support them because they themselves cannot find work. They do not tell of the despair of men who feel themselves trapped in menial, low-paying jobs for the rest of their lives or until the jobs disappear. They do not tell of the destruction of the capability and the will to work and the slow and difficult task of rehabilitation before men can become productive. And they do not tell of the social dynamite locked inside the clusters of angry unemployed men seen on the streets of the slum, day after day and night after night. These are the raw materials of riots.

Employment must be meaningful. It cannot be make-work. It is necessarily closely related to education, to training and to apprenticeship, particularly in areas where opportunities have been limited.

Job opportunities can be expended directly in a number of ways. Some of the ways to be considered are:

1. Greater participation by industry and business in on-the-job training and development of unskilled labor from deprived areas for the permanent work force.
2. Liberalization by labor of its policies and standards for unskilled labor, on-the-job training, and apprenticeship.
3. Review and liberalization of rigid employment standards by industry and civil service which arbitrarily and permanently exclude otherwise able men because of police records, mixed employment experience, and limited formal education and training.
4. Greater efforts by business, labor, public and private employment services and others to ease and expedite bringing jobs and the unemployed together.
5. Provision of more and better adapted training programs, and grants from government, industry, foundations, and other sources to build the skills of the nation.
6. Work demonstration programs to provide work experience and make subsequent employment possible.
7. Intensification of vocational training and rehabilitation programs.
8. Establishment of training and job development centers to coordinate and provide training and placement activities.
9. Expansion of employment opportunities to meet the manpower needs of federal agencies such as the Forest Service.

10. Encouragement or requirement by the Department of Defense and other agencies that federal contractors list all job needs with the United States Employment Service.
11. Reaching first those who need employment most -- father, the family head, and others.
12. By the combined efforts of churches, private enterprises, school system and other government efforts, provision of nursery and child care centers for thousands of mothers who have no place to leave their children while they work.
13. Utilization of private trade school capacities for slum youths.

Indirectly, job opportunities can also be increased through the stimulation of new businesses and the expansion of existing firms. Among the possibilities to be considered are:

1. Location of new industry and high employment businesses in or near slum areas.
2. Provision of better loans and other aids to small businesses and homeowners in slum areas.
3. Establishment of small business development centers with the support of groups like a chamber of commerce or merchants association.
4. Provision of local Negro business opportunity and particularly that which has employment potential to tie to community interests and to keep more wealth in slum areas.
5. Provision of development loan funds for technical assistance for slum areas.
6. Small Business Administration loans to businesses in the area and for cleaning up the area.

Other basic improvements of the economic base of the slum areas would also support greater employment opportunities. Some suggestions to be considered are:

1. Study and improvement of public transportation in the slum areas to increase the range of employment opportunities and reduce transportation cost to the poor.
2. Better opportunity for reasonable, normal risk, fire and casualty insurance to permit business to compete and equitable automobile insurance to promote mobility of the labor force within the metropolitan area.

B. Education

Second in immediate importance, and with vast long-range importance, is education. It is inextricably related both to employment and to the full involvement of all of our people in all aspects of our life. If many of the problems of urban areas are to be alleviated, the exclusion of great numbers of our people from full participation in American life must end. Education is the door through which the outsider can walk in. It must be held wide open if we are not to consign many in future generations to idleness, unproductiveness, and perhaps destructiveness.

Los Angeles is still experiencing dramatic population growth; the city school system must deal with a pupil population growth of 30,000 annually. Despite rapid expansion of physical facilities, this growth has required many split sessions throughout the city, including the Watts and South Los Angeles areas.

Compounding this problem is the fact that incoming population in the Watts and South Los Angeles areas is made up largely of Negroes who have just moved from rural areas in the South. The transition from rural to urban life is very slow and is made even more difficult by poverty,

unemployment, the quality of prior education, minimal contact with the dominant culture of the city, breakdown in family life, and despair. These factors present special challenges to the city school system.

Significant efforts must be made to insure that the quality of the education meets the area needs. Citizen dissatisfaction with schools should be studied for action on just complaints. Some matters to be considered are:

1. Increasing the number of classrooms and other school facilities serving these areas.
2. Training, hiring, and assigning highly skilled, highly motivated personnel to the schools in such areas.
 - a. Expanding the existing special internship program for teacher trainees in these areas.
 - b. Developing and implementing an in-service training program for teachers and counselors in both academic matters and human relations.
 - c. Providing a system of premium pay for highly skilled, highly motivated, and effective teachers and counselors working in depressed area schools.

3. Insuring that the teaching materials and the curricula are meeting the needs of the community.
 - a. Providing English language instruction at all levels for pupils from homes where Spanish and other foreign languages are spoken.
 - b. Developing teaching materials which give Negro, Mexican American and other ethnic minority youngsters a sense of being a part of the past, present and future of America.
 - c. Equipping and designing vocational training courses to meet the needs of depressed communities.
 - d. Developing special cultural enrichment activities and curricula to fill needs which are not met within many of the homes of the area.
 - e. Placing remedial programs under scrutiny to ensure that they are achieving the ends for which they were designed.
4. Developing closer ties to the community.
 - a. Regular meetings of the school board and the top administrators of the

system with parents and involved members of these communities in order to learn more about their perceptions of the school system and to explain school programs to them. Teachers and counselors should become more deeply involved in the life of the communities their schools serve.

- b. Placing greater emphasis on drawing parents and active community leaders into school activities, and drawing school aides from the community more and more frequently.
 - c. Developing close ties between counselors and employers, both within and outside the areas in which such schools are located.
 - d. Considering utilization of depressed area schools as community centers after school hours so that a number of additional community needs can be met.
- 5. Increasing the number and scope of pre-school programs to minimize learning handicaps of the underprivileged.
 - 6. Full implementation of Operation Head Start on a year-round basis.
 - 7. Utilizing recreational activities to increase the school-orientation of pupils in depressed areas.

8. Developing special back-to-school programs and making efforts to reduce the number of dropouts using, where possible, local people who have excelled in their professions.
9. Using high school vocational facilities at night for imparting needed skills to unemployed adults.
10. Increase of programs by which the poor can work while obtaining advanced education.

C. Health

The incidence of ill health among the population of the South Los Angeles area is the highest in the city. This holds true whether one looks at minor childhood diseases, major debilitating illnesses of adulthood, or at death rate statistics. In 1960, what is roughly the curfew area had about 18 per cent of the city's total population, but the reported incidence of some of the serious diseases was as follows:

<u>Disease</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Disease</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Measles	26	Encephalitis	22
Mumps	26	Hepatitis Infections	25
Rheumatic Fever	43	Streptococcal Infections	27
Meningitis	23	Tuberculosis	28
Whooping Cough	45	Venereal Infections	46
Food Poisoning	42		

In 1961 in the South Los Angeles area, the overall death rate was about 22 per cent higher than that for the

remainder of the city. Death rates among infants in the area were about 40 per cent higher, fetal deaths 49 per cent higher, and neo-natal deaths 37 per cent higher than for the rest of the city. Since low income and limited access to medical facilities restrict contact with physicians and other medical personnel in poverty areas, the real incidence of diseases may well be greater than that reported in the statistics.

But the statistics on diseases and death rates do not tell the entire story of the adverse impact of ill health on the city's population living in poor areas. Ill health has a particularly adverse effect on pre-school and school-aged children. It retards the development of strong bodies, and it also poses serious obstacles to effective learning. Among adults, lingering illnesses reduce the ability to compete for steady jobs, and they greatly restrict efficiency.

A vigorous campaign is necessary to improve the health of the population living in the poverty areas of South Los Angeles. Some of the suggestions to be considered are:

1. New programs in maternal health, childhood health, tuberculosis control, venereal disease control, and chronic disease control.
2. Psychiatric out-patient clinics and resident patient centers.
3. Well-rounded school lunch and milk programs to improve nutrition among school children.
4. Improvement of methods of surplus food distribution and food budget supplementation such as by a food stamp plan.
5. Expansion of school medical facilities, both to improve general health and to treat health problems which cause educational problems. For example, a larger number of physicians and nurses would permit examination of more students as an adjunct to remedial reading classes.
6. Clinics in strategic locations in the area to facilitate dissemination of information to assist low-income parents who ask for help in planning the size of their families.
7. Establishment of treatment facilities for alcoholics and narcotics addicts.

From most locations in the area, residents must travel a considerable distance (perhaps as much as ten miles) to the nearest hospital. The construction of a large modern hospital in the area may well be considered. Medical clinics are needed throughout. Moreover, the operation of such institutions would greatly expand job opportunities for semi-skilled adults.

D. Physical Environment

The physical condition of any community has a significant impact on the minds and spirits of the people who live there and on their images of themselves. This is as true in the Watts and South Central areas as it is on Park Avenue. Much has been made of the fact that Watts does not look like Harlem and the congested Negro areas of other large cities. This is certainly true. It is also true, however, that there are few other places in this country where the contrast between the appearance of the areas inhabited by the "haves" and those inhabited by the "have nots" is as dramatic as it is in Southern California. Nor is the leisure time of the "haves" as widely publicized any other place as it is in Southern California. The sun, sand, surf, and the view from the hills make up no part of life in Watts.

The dominant impression one carries away from a visit to South Los Angeles is that it is primarily a community of small single homes with small lawns, many of them

attractive. But, many of the dwellings in Watts and South Central Los Angeles are dilapidated and deteriorating. Many of the buildings in the commercial areas are poorly constructed and badly maintained. Many are dirty and badly tended. Some streets are littered and the pavement is broken. The area contains many people who have just left rural areas of the South and are unaccustomed to urban life. Despite these factors, however, there is also clear physical evidence that the area contains many people who want to live in dignity and in an attractive community.

The task is to make of the area a place where people want to live. Some of the steps to be considered are:

1. Facilitating low cost loans for home purchases and improvements.
2. Providing additional low cost housing to decrease the population density in the area, and distributing such housing to areas which are not now predominately Negro or Mexican American.

3. Developing attractive commercial, social service, and recreation centers.
4. Encouraging the formation of merchants' associations which, in addition to promoting fair commercial practices, would also promote better maintenance of commercial properties.
5. Developing, by both public and private agencies, programs to help newcomers from rural areas make the transition to urban life.
6. Encouraging greater neighborhood involvement by landlords who do not live in the area.
7. Assuring fair enforcement of health codes and zoning and building ordinances in slum areas.
8. Providing incentives for landlords to maintain their premises, to make rentals competitive, and to eliminate oppressive collection techniques.
9. Developing urban renewal techniques which encourage balanced distribution of the rich, middle class and poor, and of the whites and minority races.
10. Mobilization of the youth for neighborhood clean-up, fix-up, paint-up campaigns.
11. Provision of funds for major cleaning and beautification projects.
12. Rent supplement programs.

E. Community Participation
and Communication

To a very considerable degree, the people of the poverty areas are non-participants and voiceless in community affairs. Property owners, business operators, and persons working in the better-paying jobs in the area tend to live beyond its boundaries. Public assistance and welfare programs are administered from outside. Community development is deterred by lack of involvement of residents, and understanding of community problems is burdened by inadequate communication between the segregated societies.

Even before the riot, the Negro and white communities in Los Angeles were drifting apart, and the riot has accelerated the pace. The riot itself was in large part an expression of a deep feeling of alienation. The property destroyed or damaged by the rioters belonged for the most part to absentee owners or proprietors from the other community.

The reasons for the increasing separation of the two communities are numerous and complex. De facto residential segregation over the years has had much to do with it. Middle

class business and professional Negroes have had, and continue to have, day-to-day contact with their white counterparts. However, there has been virtually no communication between Negroes in the low-income category and white people--aside from the purely official encounter, and the latter in many cases did little to enhance mutual respect.

With the passage of the major pieces of civil rights legislation, some feel that Negroes have achieved the primary goals for which they were struggling and that the time has come to shift the expenditure of energies in other directions. On the other hand, it appears that for most Negroes in Los Angeles the traditional goals of the civil rights movement have not been particularly germane--public accommodations have been open to them, they have had the right to vote, and state laws did not require segregated schools. Yet they feel they have real grievances--grievances about restricted job opportunities, discrimination in employment, and inferior educational and social services. And a deep frustration seems to come from the belief that they are not included in the making of decisions which affect their own future.

There is a critical need for greater understanding on the part of both Negroes and white people of the major trends reshaping the conditions under which they are both living. There has been communication between white leaders and Negro leaders in the past. Such communication is continuing. But it is vital that the white community realize that a new type of leadership has emerged in the Negro community, a leadership which is new, untested, and relatively unknown. These are the people who have been thrown up by the new departures in the drive for full participation in the main stream of society. These are no longer the middle class and professional leaders who have grown up with the established churches and the traditional civil rights organizations. Instead, they are people who are emerging increasingly from the ghettos themselves. While they may not be well trained or particularly skilled in the techniques of communication and the management of social change, they do seem to enjoy the trust and confidence of the masses in whose name they speak. It is a matter of the greatest importance that these new leaders be understood,

because increasingly it is through them that the restive minorities in our major cities will be reached.

The importance of participation in community affairs and of effective communication with government and civic leadership can scarcely be underestimated. Among the matters to be considered are:

1. Strong community action programs, structuring the people of the slums into effective action organizations.
2. Strong area Chambers of Commerce, Better Business Bureaus, and merchant associations, communicating with the people.
3. Advisory groups of local residents to government agencies dealing extensively in poverty areas.
4. Newspaper and communications media coverage of attitudes, needs, and activities in poverty areas.
5. Recognition and consideration of leadership and people in poverty areas by public and private interests involved in the area.
6. Greater church and social organization activity in slums.
7. Utilization of local groups at grass-root levels for grants for community development.

8. Education of people in the slums on how to qualify for and receive benefits from social security, public welfare and assistance, and related government programs to assure their participation and exercise of rights.
9. Expansion of the channels of communication between the white and Negro communities with increased effort to understand emerging new leaders and their opinions.
10. Development of programs for training youth in leadership in community affairs.

F. Crime and Delinquency

Crime and delinquency are major problems in the Negro community. They have a corrosive effect on the whole community, and in Los Angeles, as elsewhere, the toll for the Negro slum is particularly high. The statistics on Negro crime show dramatically that Negroes themselves suffer severely from crimes committed by other Negroes. They suffer as the victims of crime, they suffer from fear of crime, and their children suffer in a wide variety of ways from the insidious effects of growing up in an atmosphere where crime is prevalent.

There are many reasons for the high crime rate among Negroes. Clearly the strong feeling of alienation from society held by many of the minority poor, and the feeling that society's rules, laws, and customs are designed to oppress them do little to encourage respect for law or for property. Certainly joblessness and idleness among adult and juvenile males are significant contributing factors. Need, hopelessness and the failure to feel a sense of human dignity are also contributing factors.

But understanding the causes of Negro crime does not explain it away or lessen the urgency of attacking it. Implementing the suggestions contained in other sections of this report will go a long way toward alleviating this problem -- for crime has as many sources as there are sociological and psychological ills in the slum.

An exhaustive study of this subject is being made by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. At this time, we only note some of the more apparent needs observed by the Task Force in south central Los Angeles.

A. Among suggestions to be considered are:

1. Vigorous, but humane and understanding, enforcement of the law in low income areas with a substantial deployment of uniformed Negro officers to this task.
2. The creation of more neighborhood centers and settlement houses in Negro areas, and vigorous total community financial and volunteer support for such enterprises.
3. Extension and intensification of youth activities--boys clubs, scouting, police athletic league programs in core city areas.

4. Additional constructive Neighborhood Youth Corps projects for deprived minority youth.
5. Community action programs within the slums by indigenous leaders, by churches and by other groups within the area to develop work projects, recreational programs, and other activities which can challenge and engage the youth.
6. Improved correction systems with better supervision on probation.
7. Tighter control of traffic in guns.

G. Riot Prevention

We cannot tolerate riots. While eliminating their causes, we must protect society from their occurrence. But riots will occur when conditions conducive to rioting exist.

The arrests of August 11 were only the spark that ignited a highly combustible environment. In one part of a city, a murderer can stab a woman to death while 30 people observe and no one calls the police. In another, a riot starts over what may be a quite commonplace arrest. Had the same incident occurred in Beverly Hills, a riot would not have been possible.

Among the matters to be considered in riot control are:

1. Thorough riot control training throughout the police force and auxiliaries.
2. Planning and coordination between all local law enforcement officials and state police.
3. Planning and coordination with National Guard units.
4. Liaison with the United States Department of Defense.
5. Development of better techniques of gathering information in riot-potential areas and groups.

6. Development of the best riot control equipment and trained personnel.
7. Intensive human relations counselling and discipline in all police personnel.
8. Cultivation of programs designed to provide broad and frequent social contact between citizens and individual policemen, such as speaking assignments, school activity participation, and civic and social organization activity by the police.

H. Public Administration

One of the major impediments to the effectiveness of public programs to assist the poor is the excessive fragmentation of responsibility for their administration. City government administers urban renewal plans, county government welfare programs, state government employment services, and the Federal Government social security. A city-wide governing body separate from the city government operates the schools. Medical services are divided between several governmental units. Programs for the disadvantaged cut across all of these and involve scores of agencies at all levels of government.

The ordinary channels of political action do not provide sufficient sustained impetus for serving the impoverished. They are a minority whose voice is relatively small. The lack of organization and effective leadership keeps the small voice which might be raised from being heard.

The stratified structure of civil service offers another impediment to effective programs. There are many advantages in a strong civil service structure, but responsiveness to the needs of the poor is not necessarily one of them. The remoteness of the decision-makers from the daily operation of programs can lead to an insensitive and often uninformed decision-making process. Control by regulation with narrow areas of discretion is a normal bureaucratic method of operation. In addition, promotion policy of a service can tend to accentuate rigidity in the system. Where entry at the lowest level of a particular service is the rule and lateral entry into the hierarchy is very unusual, diligent attention to regulations handed down through the system becomes the guarantee to advancement.

The net result of high strata decision-making and rigid promotions from within is an administrative structure remote from the day-to-day needs of the people. Administrative housekeeping rules will then displace substantive goals as the primary motivation for agency action.

The absence of government service facilities within the ghetto area of Los Angeles is a matter of concern. The employment service, which is almost completely funded by federal monies, did not, prior to the riots, have any counselors in the poverty-stricken areas. Public welfare had no offices or workers in the affected area. There is no federal Social Security office in the area.

The tasks to be performed to improve the administration of programs for the impoverished areas are neither elusive nor impossible. Among the matters to be considered are:

1. Establishment of a central clearing house, including all branches of government, for services to the poor. This group should review on a regular basis the goals of various programs and the degree to which they are being achieved.
2. Establishment of offices within easy reach of the people to be served, including experimentation with local "supermarkets" of government service.
3. Emphasis at all levels of administration of the attitude that programs are to serve the people and not to provide employment for government workers.

4. Wherever possible, recruiting of administrative personnel from among the poor neighborhoods served.
5. Creation and nurture of devices to insure a constant flow of information from the people to the decision makers on a first-hand basis.
6. Institution of experiments in satisfying the basic needs of the people which shortcut the government hierarchy and provide direct aid through local administration. Though fiscal safeguards must be maintained, they should be designed with sufficient flexibility to permit an imaginative approach to the needs of the people.
7. Training of administrative officials and all others who deal with the public in the fundamentals of human relations, and emphasis in performance evaluation on the manner of dealing with the public.

I. Human Relations

In Los Angeles, as in most other major urban areas, the improvement of human relations is a matter of considerable urgency.

The general American understanding of and involvement in the problems of poor people--particularly poor Negroes--is very limited. The problems of the slums and of the minority groups are not yet considered, generally, as real issues for all the people. The task of thinking of the minority poor as a vital and important part of the national scene and treating them with the dignity and decency they deserve as people--American people--must be mastered if we are to succeed in dealing with the problems. This effort must be undertaken by all segments of American society--by individuals; by private business and by the whole range of private organizations, churches, labor unions, fraternal organization; and by all levels of government. And it is critical that those governmental organizations which touch the poor most often and most significantly--the school system, the welfare administrations, the anti-poverty agencies and particularly the police departments--make great efforts in this regard.

One need not be in Los Angeles very long to detect widespread criticism of the Police Department by Negroes at every economic and social level. Without trying to judge whether this criticism is justified or unjustified, the criticism exists. For all who are interested in the long-run stability of human relations in the City of Los Angeles, it is vital that the nature and sources of this criticism be understood. The Police Department is the dominant representative of government in the slum areas. The police station is the most visible office of government there. It is imperative that there be a mutual respect between the police and the people of the slums. Now there seems to be reciprocal distrust and fear.

In the Negro community the police are widely accused of looking upon Negro areas as hostile territory to be kept in check by a continuous show of force. It is reported that contacts with the police are frequent and are believed by many to be unnecessarily brusque. The charge of police "brutality" is a dominant theme of conversation and editorial comment in the Negro community. Still other observers say that even if physical

mistreatment is not involved, the police are unnecessarily impolite and even insulting in their dealings with Negro citizens.

Again, while it is difficult to characterize the attitude of police, it appears that a great many policemen, at all levels of leadership in the department, feel that they are being unjustly criticized because of their persistent effort to surpress the high crime rates in the Negro community. Apparently, many of them also feel that such criticism serves mainly to increase disrespect for law and order and thus makes the job of the police even more difficult.

Whatever the merit of these conflicting points of view, it is obvious that the police and the Negro community for some time have been on a collision course.

The problem faced by the Los Angeles Police Department is not unique. In fact, police departments in most major cities face the same set of dilemmas, and intensive training in human relations is a necessary part of every police program. Skills in this difficult field need refining.

The need for comprehensive human relations training is by no means limited to the police. As with the police, there are

many dedicated government workers, employment counselors, welfare workers, teachers and school administrators, and others who understand and treat the poor and members of minority groups with compassion. But the overall impression is to the contrary. The long-term and persistent image of a typical government employee is that of a narrow and secure civil servant who has no empathy with the poor, no understanding of their search for a place in society, and no desire to aid them in their quest. There is resentment and hostility toward government representatives in slums. It seems to stem in large measure from the inaccessibility and the negative attitude of too many public servants.

The development of understanding and compassion which will make public employees in the ghetto a part of the life of the people rather than intruders is a long-term task. The time which it will take makes more urgent the commencement of the effort.

The following tasks should be considered:

1. Greater efforts by civic organizations, churches, social groups, police departments and individual policemen should be considered to provide police:
 - a. Frequent contact with minority groups and young people in situations other than that of investigation or arrest.

- b. Knowledge and history of ethnic groups and their present problem in urban communities.
- c. Knowledge of how a department establishes contact and communications systematically and harmoniously with minority groups.

While such training cannot guarantee a reduction in the conflict between police and all segments of the Negro community, experience shows that it can make a contribution to the lessening of tensions and increased respect and support for police.

- 2. Elimination of demeaning treatment, whether by language or action, toward the poor and the minorities by representatives of authority--whether police or administrators.
- 3. Extension of human relations awareness to business, labor, private groups, education, all levels of government and the public, and particularly those who come into daily contact with the poor and citizens of minority groups.
- 4. Encouraging recognition of the poor for their human worth, their actual and potential contribution to the good of the overall community, even though they may be temporarily unemployed or the recipients of public assistance.
- 5. Simple courtesy by all our people, with a good starting point being recognition that every man feels that to remain always nameless is to lose human identity.

CONCLUSION

Riots such as the one experienced in Los Angeles are manifestations of defects in our development as a democratic society. The very real, immediate, and immense problems of urbanization, discrimination and poverty must be faced and resolved by the nation. The complexities of urban growth and poverty are a compound of critical national problems. There is no easy solution. The problems will not go away.

Your task force, reflecting a broad variety of background, training and experience, talked with virtually every element of public and private interest and responsibility in the Los Angeles area. We do not purport to have all the answers. Necessarily, our study has been exploratory and our conclusions are tentative.

We would say first America faces a challenge it will not be able to meet unless it has the understanding, concern, initiative and action of all our governments, of all our public and private organizations, and of all our people.

~~We urge a careful survey and coordination of police capabilities in the major metropolitan areas of the nation to assure riot prevention and riot control competence.~~

We urge an intensification of the war on poverty and a careful tailoring of its proven capabilities to meet urgent urban needs.

We urge a redoubling of the efforts presently under way to prepare a major program to attack the problems of urban America. New and bold and expeditious remedies are needed.

We urge ^(1/1/66) study by all federal agencies involved of the suggestions in Section IV of this report, for adoption if feasible and stimulation by these agencies of all interests with whom they deal to full participation in and support for their efforts.

We urge the refinement of governmental and private techniques of improving the economic vitality of the nation, of providing incentive and motivation to the poor to help themselves, of developing and utilizing all of the human and natural resources of America.

We urge full cooperation and support by all agencies for the work of Governor Brown's Commission to assure its success.

There are presently under active development and consideration some thirty-five projects and project grants in addition to the forty-nine approved by the President on September 2, 1965. These cover the entire spectrum of needs outlined. They are designed to assist all sections of

Los Angeles in need of help. They are in line with projects and grants available to other cities under existing federal programs and will not exceed an equitable share of all projects and funds available for the nation. We recommend that development of the projects continue on an expedited basis and that they be acted upon by the agencies involved as they become ready.

The recommendations set forth in the introduction to this report - the appointment of a principal federal officer with a supporting inter-agency task force, the development of riot prevention programs, and the detailed analysis of the riot area - are steps designed to facilitate comprehensive long-range attack on the problems revealed by the Los Angeles riots.

In closing, we express our deep gratitude to the many public officials of State and local government in California, to the hundreds of citizens who gave of their time, and to the representatives of the federal government who worked tirelessly to make this report possible.

Ramsey Clark

Andrew F. Brimmer

Jack T. Conway

Task Force Agencies:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Forest Service
Marketing and Consumer Services

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Corps of Engineers

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Bureau of Census
Community Relations Service
Economic Development Administration

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

United States Children's Bureau
Welfare Administration
Public Health Service
Office of Education
Social Security Administration
Vocational Rehabilitation Administration

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Attorney, Los Angeles

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Manpower Administration
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training
Neighborhood Youth Corps

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

APPENDIX

PROJECTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Attached are descriptions of 49 projects recommended by the Task Force and approved by the President on September 2.

Illustrative of the projects included are:

1. To increase employment opportunities and training, the Manpower Development Training Program will be expanded, on-the-job-training programs will be increased, and the opening of a number of Youth Opportunity Centers will be accelerated.
2. To give economically distressed adults the chance to help themselves, the Los Angeles School System will open 6 vocational centers for nearly four thousand people.
3. To improve the job capabilities of unemployed adults, a variety of adult education projects involving the extension of higher adult education programs into poverty areas for both evening and day classes will be initiated.
4. To provide general services to the area, two Small Business Development Centers will be established and a legal aid program will be expanded to serve 15,000 people.
5. To improve the quality and content of education in poverty-stricken areas, the Los Angeles School System will hire more teachers, establish more remedial reading classes and construct new kindergarten and secondary classrooms.
6. To assist needy children and their mothers, the Los Angeles School System will expand its child care center operations.
7. To provide greater health services for deprived children, additional nurses, medical technicians and doctors will be hired to conduct regular and special examinations.
8. To support the basic educational efforts and to give dimension to the lives of slum children, the Los Angeles school system will offer a wide range of intensive remedial, cultural, vocational and health projects to benefit more than 20,000 students, from preschool through high school age.

1. Expanded Manpower Development Training Program \$2,630,000

There are 78 manpower development training classes now operating in Los Angeles with a total of 1,568 trainees at a cost of approximately \$2,054,000 for training allowances and instructional cost. An additional nine projects for 1,337 trainees will be approved by mid-September at an estimated cost of \$2,630,000.

2. Youth Opportunity Centers \$1,105,935

On August 26, 1965, the Department of Labor made an advance grant of \$2,475,000 to the California Department of Employment for the purpose of accelerating the opening of Youth Opportunity Centers in Los Angeles. These Centers are designed to provide intensive job counseling and placement assistance and will include screening and referral to Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and manpower training for unemployed youth. Three Centers are planned for South Central Los Angeles, with a total staff of 97 counselors, placement interviewers and youth advisors at a cost of approximately \$1,105,935 for the balance of the fiscal year. Target date for opening is October 2, 1965.

3. Employment Service Office in Watts District \$ 150,000

On August 27, 1965, the California Department of Employment opened a special employment office at 10223 South Central Avenue to provide a more convenient point of service for job development and placement to unemployed residents of South Central Los Angeles. A staff of 12 placement interviewers were transferred from other offices in Los Angeles. It is anticipated that the staffing of this office will be doubled within the next several weeks and that the cost of the additional staff will be paid through a grant from the United States Department of Labor of \$150,000 to cover the balance of the fiscal year.

4. On-The-Job Training \$ 365,826
- Youth and adults, lacking skills being sought by employers, suffer high levels of unemployment. There exists the need to match available manpower resources with available jobs and to utilize training to bring about the match. To achieve this objective for the disadvantaged youth and adults of the Los Angeles area, the Manpower Administration of the United States Department of Labor has contracted with the Los Angeles Urban League to carry on a job development and placement activity designed to uncover unfilled jobs, recruit trainees, and work out on-the-job training arrangements with employers so that needed skills can be developed in new employees. The Los Angeles Urban League, working with additional staff from the California Division of Apprenticeship Standards, will place a total of 600 trainees at an estimated contract cost of \$365,826. The monies for the additional staff to be reimbursed to the State will be made available by a grant from the United States Department of Labor.
5. Assistance to Needy Mobile Migrants \$ 202,976
- This will be operated by Travelers Aid Society and will provide 24-hour service through use of a mobile unit on the major entry highways of the city.
6. Multi-Service Centers - Northeast Valley \$ 133,783
- This involves two multi-service centers for San Fernando and Pacoima. They will provide standard multi-service center services. The participating agency is the Joint Venture of Northeast Valley.
7. Pacoima Kindergarten Enrichment Program \$ 32,054
- A supplemental kindergarten program of two classes involving a high adult-child ratio, run in proximity to the Pacoima Elementary School. Participating agency is the Valley Child Observation Group.
8. Three Centers Pre-School Project \$ 101,685
- A pre-school program to provide enrichment in educational experiences for children ages three to five and their families in two centers and one ongoing center in Pasadena's deprived area. Participating agency is the Pacific Oaks College.

9. Extra-Curricular Program in Reading and Language Skills \$ 104,591
- A reading program to provide remedial and enrichment activities in reading and language arts in six centrally located Catholic high schools in deprived areas of Greater Los Angeles outside regular school hours open for all in the areas whether in public or parochial schools. Participating agency is Los Angeles Catholic Archdiocese.
10. Day-Care Project for Youth on Probation \$ 176,399
- A day-care demonstration project for boys and girls on probation to be conducted in four separate centers combining teachers of remedial education with intensive counseling and control environment. Participating agency is the Los Angeles County Probation Department.
11. Consumer Education \$ 57,465
- This program will train a corps of low income consumers who will instruct other citizens in the areas of consumer counseling cooperative and credit unions and to establish an information counseling service center in the East Los Angeles area to help residents better utilize their income and increase purchasing power. Participating agency is the Los Angeles Consumer Education Project.
12. Small Business Development Center Complex \$ 257,163
- Two SBDC's will be established, one in South Central and another in East Los Angeles, each staffed with five business advisers, a supervisor and three secretaries. The advisers will solicit, help prepare and process loan applications, advising on developing business proposals, make background survey on applicants, make referrals to available management training programs, and provide any necessary follow-up management counseling to successful applicants. The participating agency is the Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency.
13. Medical Examinations for Neighborhood Youth Corps Participants \$ 77,520
- This will provide medical examinations for 5,168 out-of-school trainees for the neighborhood youth corps.

14. Community Action Program Office \$ 197,136
 A component to provide staff for coordination and administration of the community action program at the elementary, secondary, and adult-education level in the Los Angeles City schools.
15. Pre-School Program \$ 730,220
 Thirty pre-school classes in poverty areas in the city for children ages three to four. Each class will be staffed by one specially trained teacher, one parent-education helper from a neighborhood adult participation project, and five volunteer adult aides.
16. Extended Day Program \$ 550,803
 After school classes held in 70 city elementary schools in poverty areas to provide remedial and enrichment experiences in reading, arithmetic, language arts and library use.
17. Saturday School Project \$ 368,596
 The Los Angeles City Schools will maintain 45 Saturday schools to supply instruction through 84 teachers. Teaching aid stresses individual assistance in remedial reading, arithmetic improvement, language arts, and use of library. Playgrounds at the Saturday school are also maintained.
18. Reception Room Program \$ 470,754
 Classes designed to provide an orientation vehicle for enrolling children in the Los Angeles City schools in low income areas when information about students is missing or inadequate.
19. Counseling Program to Prevent Drop-Outs in the Los Angeles City Schools \$ 387,657
 A group counseling project in the Los Angeles City schools located in five junior high and five senior high schools in poverty areas designed to assist potential drop-outs in achieving success in academic areas and making social adjustments.

20. Student Achievement Center \$ 651,638
Program emphasizes "reading centered" approach to help students in four junior high and three senior high schools in poverty areas in the city of Los Angeles get help needed to achieve school success.
21. School Opportunity Centers \$ 330,345
Classes in four junior and three senior high schools in poverty areas to provide enrichment in educational, vocational and cultural areas conducted outside regular school hours in the Los Angeles City schools. Interest areas will include classes in reading and study skills, library use, and business and industry.
22. Gerontology Program \$ 88,132
Twenty-five classes designed to assist senior citizens requiring greater personal understanding, economic improvement and social adjustments. Twenty-five community aides will be employed and teachers experienced in group work and working with senior adults will conduct the classes.
23. Home Management Program \$ 157,357
Twenty-five home-management classes in apartment settings for homemakers in low socio-economic areas, to develop skills and techniques in housekeeping activities, improving buying power and advancing standards of health and appearance; twenty-five child-care helpers and 25 indigenous aides will be employed.
24. Pre-School Child and Parent Education \$ 174,890
A program to provide adult education classes with both the pre-school child and mother to develop attitudes and behavioral patterns with the mother, so the child will undergo positive experiences in home and school. Ten parent-education helpers will be employed from residents of the communities to be served.
25. Adult Counseling and Guidance \$ 213,957
Ten adult counseling centers in the adult school program located in poverty neighborhoods to increase the productive ability of individuals through specific counseling techniques which emphasize vocational awareness and choices.

26. Parent School Coordination Program \$ 65,553
 Twenty-five classes for parents of students enrolled in schools in poverty areas in Los Angeles to acquaint them with efforts expended for their children and ways they can help their children.
27. English Classes for Foreign-Speaking Adults \$ 59,827
 Four classes for non-English speaking adults who because of their lack of English must seek employment in low income jobs although trained for professional or semi-professional jobs. Special emphasis will be placed on the vocabulary needed by the skilled professional.
28. Office of County Superintendent of Schools \$ 95,202
 A coordinating body for economic opportunity programs in Los Angeles County. The primary role will be to provide leadership, consultive and supportive services for the approximately 35 individual school districts with economic opportunity programs.
29. School Enrichment Program \$ 123,161
 Two pre-school classes, four continuation of "head start" classes and special enrichment classes will be offered in poverty pockets in East Los Angeles (Los Nietos).
30. Reading Program for Juvenile Court Wards \$ 134,469
 Small corrective reading classes for 13 different juvenile camps in Los Angeles area with a low teacher-pupil ratio. The program is designed to help improve social behavior gained through improvement and success in academic achievement. Individual educational counseling with students, follow-up of students returned to community schools and development of instructional materials is included in the program.
31. Community Program for Education \$ 428,086
 Three projects in poverty areas of the Compton School District - a project to improve reading skills; a social adjustment project; and a tutoring study center will be located in five junior high schools and senior high schools with high indices of poverty. The tutorial program will utilize 125 students as tutor aides in the study halls.

32. Strengthening Communication Skills Project \$ 926,523

A three-phase program to strengthen communication skills of children from kindergarten through sixth grade, to correct and enrich reading skills of children grades three to six and to develop better communication techniques between school, home, community and related agencies in nine school districts with widespread poverty.

33. Developing Community Relations Through Outdoor Science and Conservation \$ 43,397

A program designed to improve relations in low income areas where conflict between children of different racial groups and within racial groups exists through an outdoor education program. Outdoor experiences will focus on field trips, a resident outdoor school for 20 classes of 35 children each, and a summer enrichment program. In-service courses for teachers to learn to use the out of doors as a training resource is included. Trainees in the neighborhood youth corps will be utilized as library helpers and as student assistants.

34. The Los Angeles Neighborhood Legal Services, Inc. \$ 333,129

This will provide legal offices in East Los Angeles-Montebello, Watts-Willowbrook-Compton, and Venice-Ocean Park. In each of the first two areas, the staff will include four attorneys and supporting staff. In the last area there will be one full-time attorney and three part-time attorneys including retired attorneys and female attorneys who are presently inactive. In addition to keeping the offices open during evenings and weekends, emergency 24-hour service will be offered. Close liaison will be maintained with the Public Defender lawyers stationed in the areas. Civil and criminal cases not handled by the Public Defenders will be handled, as well as administrative proceedings. Area law schools will be involved in providing educational programs to local lawyers, as well as to neighborhood groups. Law students will also assist in the offices.

35. Training Program of State Department of Youth Authority \$ 286,179

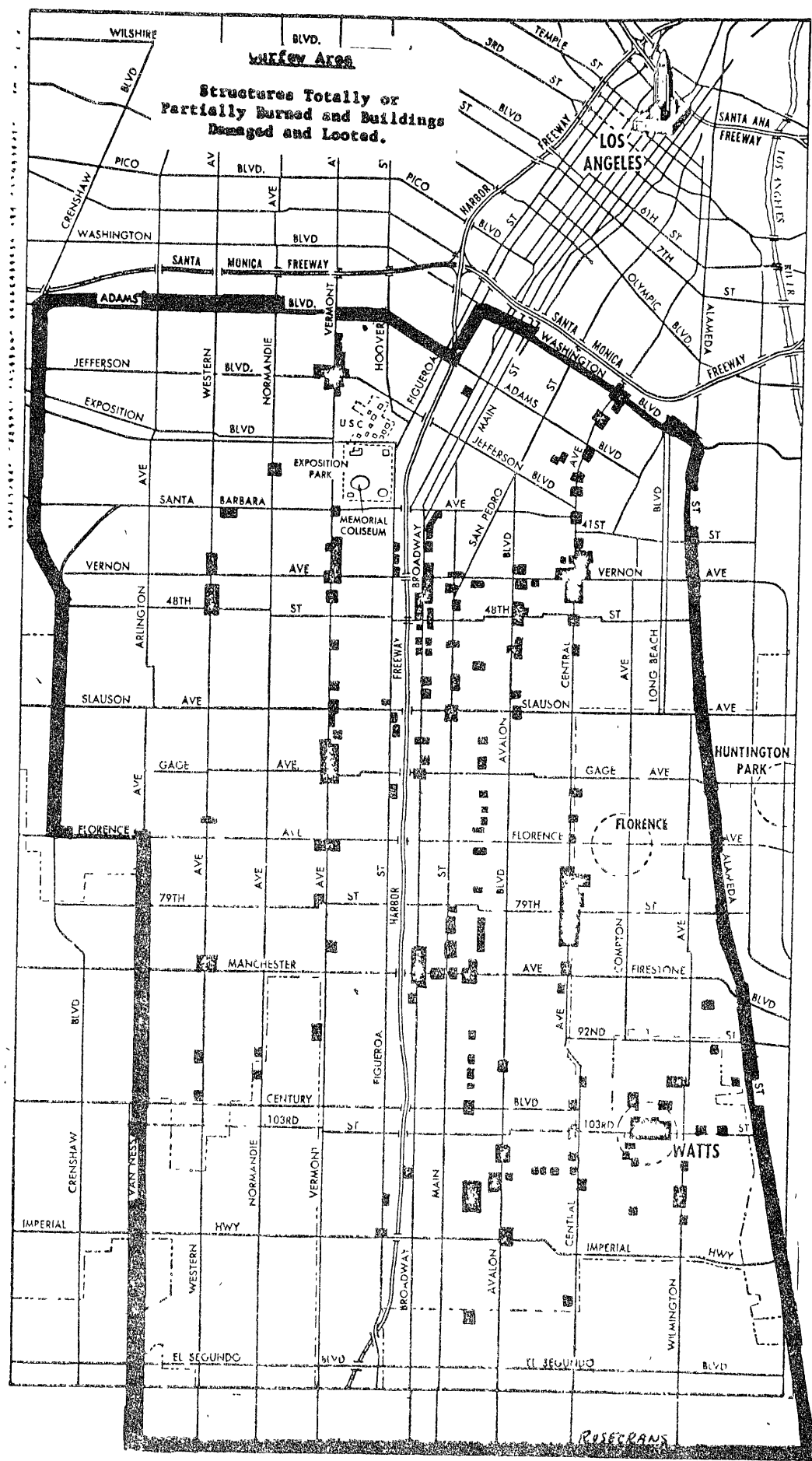
This is a program to train 182 young people selected from economically and culturally handicapped areas of

41. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 32 additional community coordinators and 32 new neighborhood aides to initiate a joint project of school-community cooperation to determine both school and home-related problems of poor pupil attendance and performance. Coordinators will be certificated personnel; neighborhood aides will be adults from local neighborhoods. \$ 660,000
42. The Los Angeles City school system will expand one existing child-care center and open four new centers now and eight new centers later in the year to accommodate a total of 1,500 additional children of pre-school and primary age and will hire some 150 new aides to man the centers. This will enable some 1,000 parents to hold full or part-time jobs and will provide pre-school learning experience to deprived children whose early formal education will thus be substantially advanced and improved. \$2,000,000
43. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 38 child welfare and attendance supervisors and 38 indigenous aides to work with volunteer and other community agencies in "changing neighborhoods" to alert schools and agencies to pending and emergent problems and produce solutions in terms of school-community cooperation. \$ 519,000
44. The Los Angeles City school system will establish an in-service training program in cooperation with local universities to orient teachers in problems of racial understanding and to enrich their knowledge and preparation for teaching about minority cultures and history. This will facilitate the incorporation of new textual materials in the school curriculum of poverty areas. \$ 100,000
45. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 55 nurses, 55 nurse's aides, and 23 doctors to conduct regular and special health examinations of children in deprived areas, thus detecting medical and health needs and providing a basis for early correction of defects, and for improved school performance of children. \$ 870,000
46. The Los Angeles City school system will sponsor a one-day (September 8th) orientation seminar for 7,000 school teachers in deprived areas to acquaint them with facts and scientific information about racial problems and tensions. This project will facilitate the normal resumption of school programs \$ 150,000

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on September 13th. Program will be conducted by ETV channel to selected school auditoriums and teachers will be encouraged to attend at stipend rates of \$15.

47. The Los Angeles City school system will construct some 80 new kindergarten classrooms and some 80 new secondary classrooms to initiate new programs of instruction in poverty areas, thereby adding to educational opportunity of educationally deprived children. \$4,800,000
48. The Los Angeles City school system will initiate a variety of adult education projects involving the extension of higher education programs into poverty areas for both evening and day classes and to initiate or expand some 10 skills training and counseling centers to improve job capabilities of unemployed adults and to conduct employment surveys to create feedback for educational preparation of secondary and adult students. \$1.3 million
49. The Los Angeles City school system will augment existing arrangements for college work study programs and expand opportunity for off-campus employment to permit college attendance by some 200 or more students from poverty areas who need such employment to permit college attendance. Seven junior colleges will participate. \$ 200,000



Size and Population of the Curfew Area Compared with Total City of Los Angeles, 1965 Table 1

Area	Total	Population Caucasian (Non-Latin)	Negro	Other (Including Latin)	Square Miles	Population Density
Total City	2,713,200	1,882,153	434,114	396,933	458.8	5,914
Curfew Area	575,873	236,811	316,535	22,527	46.0	12,519
City	449,644	164,115	264,736	20,793	34.4	13,071
Watts	34,600	4,287	30,101	212	2.1	16,476
County	126,229	72,696	51,799	1,734	11.6	10,882
Remainder of City Outside Curfew Area	2,263,556	1,718,038	169,378	376,140	424.4	5,333

Source: Los Angeles City Planning Commission
Population projected from 1960 Census

Characteristics of the Population of the Watts Area of Los Angeles by
Census Tracts, 1960

Table 2

Census Tract	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Population per HH	Population Under 18 yrs. Total	Population Under 18 yrs. Liv with par.	25 yrs. over, Med. yrs. of school comp.	Median Income Families & unrel. indiv.	Male:percent of civ. labor for. unemp.	
2421	3,720	3,651	5.44	2,511	1,213	9.9	2,597	2,577	18.3
2422	4,388	3,508	3.83	1,693	1,203	8.9	4,146	3,514	17.2
2423	3,277	2,793	3.59	1,260	873	9.7	4,526	3,637	13.4
2424	1,549	1,543	4.35	717	428	10.7	5,400	5,235	12.1
2425	2,087	2,009	3.60	931	521	9.3	3,254	2,438	16.4
2426	5,863	5,775	4.63	3,767	1,736	10.1	2,404	2,327	29.0
2427	4,049	3,352	3.82	1,499	991	8.9	4,071	3,337	13.1
2428	2,097	1,416	4.10	611	350	8.8	4,600	3,741	13.5
2429	2,565	1,571	4.50	866	510	9.3	4,433	4,247	16.6
2431	4,406	3,962	4.44	2,404	1,182	9.8	3,133	2,968	9.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1965

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J.R. [unclear]

Joe:

Ernie Freizen who works for Ramsey Clark sent in the attached status report for the 49 Los Angeles projects.

My understanding was that Ramsey was obligated to report to Hawkins on these projects and that we have already fulfilled our part of the arrangements by your talking to Hawkins on other related matters.

Should Ramsey report directly to Hawkins?

Yes No

Called Ramsey
No further report
10/4/65



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D C

MEMORANDUM TO: Lawrence E. Levinson
The White House

FROM: *Ernest C. Friesen, Jr.*
Ernest C. Friesen, Jr.
Assistant Deputy Attorney General

Per your request with regard to the projects approved by the President to be released September 2 are the following:

1. The Employment Service has established a functioning office as a part of the joint State agency operation. Because of space limitations, it is currently staffed with 13 employment service personnel providing intake, counseling, testing, selection, and referral activity for jobs, MDTA training, NYC work experience, etc. A new 40-man office is now planned to service the South Central area.
2. A grant of \$1,105,935.00 was made to the California Department of Employment to establish 3 youth opportunity centers in South-Central Los Angeles. The first center opened October 1 with 52 staff members at 1011 West Pico Boulevard. The Avalon district branch will open at 3916 South Broadway on November 1. The Florance-Graham branch has been delayed pending location of suitable facilities.
3. Thirteen Manpower Development Training Act institutional projects providing for the training of 887 individuals have been approved at a cost of \$1,226,039.00. Starting dates for these classes range between September 6 and November 8. Recruitment of trainees for these classes, serving the entire Los Angeles area, is centered in the Watts area.

4. The contract with the Los Angeles Urban League for job development and working out arrangements for on-the-job training has been initiated. Seven job developers are now working in the Watts area matching available men to available jobs and on-the-job training. The expended program will provide 600 job slots with training. The basic contract and the training sub-contracts are funded to \$365,826.00. The contract proposal for 720 on-the-job trainees with the Los Angeles Joint Custodial Maintenance Council is now in final processing in the BAT regional office in San Francisco.

5. EYOA/YOB Action has been taken to extend the OMAT contract for the South-Central Los Angeles project to October 31, 1965. The contract extension is funded at \$97,915.00. Negotiations continue with OEO for their take-over on November 1.

6. Westminster Neighborhood Association -- The proposal for a demonstration project to serve 1,000 youth in the Watts area is under development jointly by the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor and Community Action Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Labor Department is ready to fund; OEO has indicated its interest but has not reached funding agreement at this point in time. We are exerting full pressure for completion. When completed, it should be funded at a level of \$1,100,000.00.

7. Recruitment for Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, subcontracts of the EYOA/YOB prime NYC contract, has resulted in an increased intake from the Watts area, from a level of 140 per week to 250 per week.

8. The Assistance to Needy Mobile Migrants has selected staff and facilities.

9. Joint Venture of Northeast Valley do not have funds and therefore are not operational.

10. Pacoima Kindergarten Enrichment Project has selected staff and facilities.

11. Day Care Project for Youth on Probation will be operational on November 1.

12. Extra Curriculum Program in Reading and Language Skills is not in operation for they are in planning stages for implementation into the school system.

13. The consumer Education Project has selected personnel and facilities.

14. The Medical Exams are being given.

15. Three Centers Project has one center in operation and two centers being formulated.

16. The Small Business Development Center has been hiring staff and will begin operation shortly.

17. The training proposals to the California Youth Authority and to UCLA (Berkeley) are in the process of hiring staff and will be operational shortly.

18. The remainder of the programs are school programs and are in operation.

The funds on all projects except numbers 1 through 8 have not been released at this time because the grantee, The Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency, have not met all the requirements of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Examples of these requirements are the assurance that previous effort will be maintained, that all participating agencies have filed civil rights assurance forms, and that personnel standards set forth by OEO will be followed.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

October 8, 1965

HONORABLE Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20501

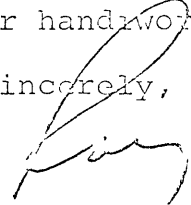
Dear Joe:

The attached editorial was published in the Los Angeles Times yesterday (October 7) and is self-explanatory. Mr. John McCone, who is heading up the Governor's investigation, gave this to me today and said that as he understood the facts the criticism against our OEO people is valid.

This seriously undermines much of the effort we made in Los Angeles. We left the people hopeful that the new board arrangements that we worked out would bring an end to the bickering over the sponsorship of local programs.

Is there anything specific we should do from this end to show good faith support of our handiwork?

Sincerely,


LeRoy Collins

Enclosure



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 26, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Lawrence E. Levinson
The White House
FROM: Ernest C. Friesen, Jr.
Assistant Deputy Attorney General
RE: Los Angeles, 49 Projects Released
September 2, 1965.

TO: [unclear]
FROM: [unclear]
SUBJECT: [unclear]
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The \$29,000,000 announced as expedited for the Los Angeles area by the President on September 2, 1965, was made up of 49 specific projects to be funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity (\$8,118,963), Health, Education and Welfare (\$16,559,000) and Labor (\$4,251,761).

At this date the status of these monies is as follows:

H.E.W. -- Letters of Credit to the California Department of Education	\$11,559,000	50
O.E.O. -- Vouchers for Payment to Various Agencies in the Los Angeles Area	7,401,339	50
LABOR -- Grants to the California Department of Labor and to the Urban League	2,481,935	50
TOTAL	\$21,442,274	177

Handwritten notes and arrows pointing to the LABOR row in the table.

Of the remaining projects approved on September 2, seven were not in operation on October 23, 1965.

Handwritten notes and a list of seven items, likely the projects not in operation, with some numbers and names.

EXECUTIVE

11/2/65

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November 2, 1965

Joe has seen

JOE:

re: The California Proposal to reduce hard core unemployment

This is a quick summary of the attached proposal developed by Governor Brown's Resource Agency Administrator to cope with the unemployment problem in California.

1. The problem in California -- and in the rest of the Nation -- despite all the welfare and poverty programs is the relatively large number of unskilled adult males who still can't find jobs.

2. The solution is not more welfare programs but augmenting these programs by directly providing jobs to these people. This would be done by singling out the 12 most poverty stricken areas of California and putting 50,000 people to work in jobs financed by the Federal Government. The cost would be \$250 million for California. (If applied nationally, the cost would be \$2.5 billion)

3. As part of the package, the state would (a) develop a public job inventory through special task forces, (b) establish one stop centers in the 12 areas to fill the jobs and provide other social services and (c) create the post of coordinator for the program who would report directly to the Governor.

4. The jobs would not be make-work, but productive and meaningful and with built-in opportunities for training. The jobs would be in the land management and conservation fields, and at the subprofessional level in mental hospitals, schools, child care aides, recreation, social work, and probation.

5. The funds would come in part from existing Federal programs like OEO but substantial new funds would be needed. Note that 50,000 jobs at \$4,000 each amounts to \$200 million plus an additional \$50 million for supervision and administration, giving you the \$250 million annual figure.

6. Copies of the proposal have been sent to Shriver and Wirtz for comment by Irv Sprague.

Larry

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

1725 K ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.



October 26, 1965

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Mr. Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Following the Watts riots the Governor set up a task force to create a new approach to job development in the State. The results are now in and I have asked Willard Wirtz and Sargent Shriver to analyze the proposal and evaluate its merits.

Enclosed is a copy of the memorandum.

Sincerely,

Irvine H. Sprague
Deputy Director

Enclosure

The Governor no doubt will be calling you to ask what you think. He will be in town about Nov 16 and will want to talk to you wirtz and Shriver

October 22, 1965

The Honorable Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr.
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Shriver:

Enclosed is a copy of the Poverty and Job Development proposal that Governor Brown discussed with you. He asked me to deliver the copy to you.

May I suggest the best procedure would be for your people to analyze the proposal and then we could meet to discuss it in a week or ten days. We have also given a copy to Labor Secretary Wirtz.

Hugo Fisher, Administrator, Resources Agency, State of California, is prepared to come to Washington to discuss the proposal in detail at your convenience.

Best Wishes.

Sincerely,

Irvine H. Sprague
Deputy Director

cc: Hugo Fisher
Winslow Christian
Joe Califano

October 22, 1965

Mr. John Leslie
Special Assistant to the Secretary
Department of Labor
14th & Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Enclosed is a copy of the Poverty and Job Development memorandum that we discussed yesterday. Governor Brown has already talked to Secretary Wirtz about it.

Suggest the most useful procedure would be for your people to analyze the proposal then we can set up a meeting to discuss it in detail in about a week or ten days. Hugo Fisher, Administrator, Resources Agency, for the State of California, who headed the task force that prepared the proposal, will come to Washington to discuss it with Secretary Wirtz and whoever you feel is appropriate.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Irvine H. Sprague

cc: Hugo Fisher
Winslow Christian
Joe Califano

Enclosure

Memorandum

To : Honorable Edmund G. Brown
Governor of California
State Capitol
Sacramento, California

Date : October 18, 1965

File No.:

Subject: Poverty and Job
Development

From : Office of the Administrator

In keeping with your charge, I have completed a general review of poverty programs in California and their relationship to the rapidly developing social crisis facing our State.^{1/}

C
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Existing support, service, and training programs have maintained minimal living standards and qualified thousands for skilled work. Existing nationwide economic measures have resulted in the longest peacetime expansion in history and have created millions of jobs. Yet, these programs, although beneficial, have had little effect on the heart of the problem -- concentrations of large numbers of unskilled adult males who still cannot find jobs.

For the unemployed in Watts and similarly depressed areas, five years of prosperity and "wars on poverty" have only meant the frustration and despair of seeing the gap between themselves and their more prosperous countrymen widen.

I find that these people want work -- full time productive work which pays enough to live decently and assure self-respect for the head of the household. I am convinced that the only solution lies in augmenting existing programs by directly providing jobs.

Specifically, I recommend that the Federal government finance 50,000 socially useful jobs for the unskilled in the 12 most poverty-stricken areas of California^{2/} as part of a nationwide program to provide work for the chronically unemployed. A program to provide these jobs would cost \$250,000,000 in California. The State should develop a public job inventory and should establish

^{1/} A resumé of poverty programs is attached in Appendix A.

^{2/} An inter-agency committee has designated the 12 areas in the State with the highest indicators of unemployment and poverty. They estimated that 50,000 unskilled unemployed in these areas could participate in the program. See Appendix B.

multi-purpose centers in each of these areas to fill these jobs and provide other social services.

I believe that offering a job to all those who want to work would substantially break the cycle of poverty in these locations. These jobs would not only offer income now but also elements of training leading to work in the regular job market; they would open up new career opportunities for the unskilled.

I wish to emphasize that these jobs must not consist of make-work. Ironically, while substantial number of unskilled persons seek employment, unskilled workers could perform many long-term socially useful tasks that remain undone due to lack of funds. For example, in the field of land management and conservation, federal-state-local cooperation has identified projects that would employ 30,000 unskilled persons now (Appendix C). These projects would be undertaken in future years anyway if funds become available. The jobs would last for a period of five years and for the most part, would be within commuting distance of the most critical poverty areas. In other fields, estimates show that state, local, and nonprofit agencies in California could productively use scores of thousands of unskilled aides in the fields of mental hygiene, education, probation, recreation, public health, and social welfare. This labor would enable existing agencies to markedly improve their service.

No state, on its own, possesses the resources to finance a significant amount of work for the unskilled unemployed. California

has already strained her resources to the breaking point in providing schools and services to a rapidly growing population and taking care of other social problems of the poor.

Moreover, this failure of an expanding national economy to substantially reduce large pockets of unemployment in California emanates from such nationwide causes as the revolution in automation and technology, the vagaries of defense spending, and the huge migration of the unskilled and uneducated to California.

For example, the unemployment rate in California hovers around 6 percent, which is 33 percent higher than the national average. Furthermore, a very high proportion of the unemployed in our state were born elsewhere. In one area of Los Angeles about 80 percent of the unemployed Negro and Mexican American men were born outside the state.^{1/}

Over 39 percent of the residents in East Los Angeles and over 26 percent of the residents of South Central Los Angeles who are 25 years old or over have not completed the eighth grade. California is paying the price of the paucity of education facilities in other areas.

Since we have inherited national problems, we must seek national remedies.

Eight arguments support our efforts to convince the federal government of the merit of this proposal.

1. The problem of providing jobs for the unskilled is one of the gravest facing the nation and rates top priority in the Administration's program.

^{1/} Hard-Core Unemployment and Poverty in Los Angeles. U. S. Department of Commerce, August 1965. Pg. 162

I do not think we need document the harm to the individual, his family, and society which stems from an inability to find work. The employment of the adult male is the key to maintaining the basic family unit in these areas. Nor need we document the dangerously high level of frustration of these unable to participate in our growing prosperity. These conditions place this problem at the head of any list of outstanding problems facing our country. Thus, we should address our main arguments to the fiscal and monetary issues involved and to the most efficient method of providing these jobs.

2. Although this program will cost \$2.5 billion a year nationwide, Federal revenues will be available.

We need not shrink from figures of this magnitude. The Council of Economic Advisors estimates that federal government revenue at current taxation rates will increase about \$7 billion each year. By 1970, the federal revenues will be \$35 billion higher.

The President must make some disposition of that revenue merely to maintain the balance between how much is taken out of the economy and how much is returned. Reducing the national debt will not be economically feasible because of the deflationary effect of placing money in the hands of those with a low propensity to spend. Thus, the President must either increase expenditures, return the funds to the

states, or cut taxes.

To cut taxes and give the employed more income at a time when a significant number of persons are not receiving any income would be manifestly unfair. If the money must be spent, it should be expended on alleviating this critical unemployment while also securing the beneficial effects of their labor for society.

The President could adopt a small variation of the "Heller Plan" of returning some of these increased revenues to the states by tying the money to jobs for the unskilled and then allowing the state to use this subsidized labor to solve their other most pressing state and local problems. Alternatively, each state could present to a federal agency for approval a state plan listing the most useful unskilled jobs and the most critical locations.

Of course, the ultimate cost would be less than the initial expenditure. Some reduction in welfare and unemployment costs will occur. These reductions, however, will not be as large as one might expect. In California, only about one-half the unemployed receive unemployment insurance. However, this percentage drops drastically among the unskilled in the pockets of poverty. Discrimination and low skills create a less stable employment pattern in these areas. Many youths have never had a job. A higher number of persons can find only sporadic work. A higher

percentage of low skilled jobs are not covered by employment insurance. The policy of last hired and first fired has resulted in much more long term unemployment.

Few able bodied males receive welfare payments. About 13,000 able bodied males receive an average payment of \$210 a month under the AFDC-U Program. Providing jobs for half these recipients would cost \$32.5 million but would save \$16 million in welfare expenditures, which comes to an offset of about half the cost of providing the job.

Finally, there would be savings from the reduction in crime and other individual and social destruction. Although most experts refuse to reduce the relationship of crime and unemployment to a simple one with predictive value, they do concede a positive correlation whereby giving a man a regular job certainly makes him less crime prone.

For California, keeping individuals from a life of crime is indeed an effort to consider for we know that the crime career of each adult felon arrested will cost the public agencies an average of \$4,000. There is an average cost to the State of \$2200 a year for each one sent to prison. Juveniles are even more expensive and represent an annual incarceration cost of about \$4,000 a year.

3. If funds are not available for a full scale national program, a small number of areas in California with dangerously high unemployment should immediately participate in an initial demonstration project.

Strong arguments support California as the site for this demonstration:

- a. We will have done the preliminary work of compiling an inventory of socially useful jobs and solving personnel and administrative problems.
- b. The very fact that California offers such widespread governmental services means that we possess the medium to use the labor more productively than any other state. Any program in California would be less likely to end up as a "make work" project.
- c. California suffers more than any other state from unemployment. As evidence of California's special problems during the past record peacetime economic boom, the national unemployment rate dropped from over 6 percent to 4.4 percent. California's rate has remained about 6 percent. In the twelve most poverty-stricken areas the rate has remained above 10 percent. In the past five years, we have created 180,000 jobs a year, but have 195,000 new people each year looking for work. As of September there were 353,000 identified unemployed. Of the unemployed who were insured, 44 percent were unskilled or semi-skilled workers.
- d. The tremendous migration to California adds to the

problem of unskilled labor. We receive 350,000 migrants a year. Admittedly, most of the migrants possess enough skills to qualify for the existing job market. But, a substantial number are unskilled workers from the poorer parts of our country where education and government service are limited. These people move into a reception center area like Watts; because the existing job market does not require any more unskilled labor, unemployment rates reach figures as high as 30 percent.

4. Deficiencies of existing measures:

Existing measures to combat poverty fall into two broad classifications.

The first consists of those monetary and fiscal measures, such as the income and excise tax cuts taken to stimulate the economy by increasing aggregate demand, thereby increasing production and providing more jobs in the private sector. These measures have been an unqualified success.

We are now entering our 56th month of expansion, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. Since the beginning of this period, the gross national product has grown approximately 25 percent over 5 percent a year, which is well above our long term rate. From an average utilization of capacity in our factories of approximately 80 percent, we are now utilizing over 90 percent. Since 1961, this

expanding economy has created over 6,000,000 jobs. From July 1964 to July 1965 alone, we added 2,400,000 jobs. The nation has reversed, at least temporarily, a decline in manufacturing employment, and as a result, large numbers of unskilled jobs have been created. But, after this unbelievable record of growth, we are still left with a 4.4 percent unemployment rate nationally, and according to the Council of Economic Advisors, there is little hope of lowering the rate below 4 percent in the near future.

More importantly, unemployment falls unevenly. Among certain groups such as youths and minorities, and in certain communities, the unemployment rate is two to four times the national rate. In August 1965, for example, national unemployment rates for non-whites were 7.9 percent, more than double the 3.7 percent rate for whites. Regrettably, California's overall unemployment rate has remained about 6 percent, and rates for youth and minorities are undoubtedly higher than national rates. A disproportionate share of this unemployment occurs in the designated twelve areas.

Thus, although the measures to stimulate the economy worked as well as anyone dared expect, it seems our economy can operate at near-full capacity without utilizing large numbers of unskilled persons. To bring them into productive use in the near future, we must search for a more direct approach.

The second set of governmental measures to combat poverty include all the traditional and recent specific poverty programs. These programs either provide limited amounts of income, public services, or work at upgrading the skills of the individuals.

There is no question that these programs contribute to a better economy and society; they are simply not designed, however, to directly create additional jobs for the unskilled.

- a. Training Programs. No matter how efficiently operated or beneficial in individual cases, these programs standing alone affect but a small percentage of the unskilled in these areas. Many of the unskilled in these pocket areas cannot profit by classroom training.
- b. Unemployment insurance and welfare, when applicable, merely sustain income at fairly low levels, but do not provide the higher income and feelings of self-sufficiency associated with work. Additionally, coverage is limited.
- c. Engineering and Public Works Projects. In comparison with 30 years ago, these projects have become a fairly inefficient means of creating jobs, especially for the unskilled. A substantial percentage of the expenditures for heavy construction and building do not go for labor. Furthermore, only a small percentage of that

labor is unskilled. On the Oroville Dam project, only one job was created for every \$26,000 of expenditure. Of the average 646 persons working on this project last year, 172 were classified as unskilled. At Oroville, it cost \$100,000 to create one unskilled job; our proposal costs only \$5,000 per unskilled job.

5. Government can profitably use unskilled labor.

Pilot projects in our state and in other parts of the country demonstrate that unskilled persons can appreciably raise the quality of service offered by government.^{1/}

In the land management and conservation field, this proposition is readily demonstrable. Unskilled labor offers the opportunity to clear and maintain more areas of public lands -- work which would not otherwise be funded. Our state and county resources agencies and an informal President's Committee on Emergency Work Programs, organized by Dr. George Mehren, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, which included Charles Connaughton and William Dresser of the United States Forestry Service, and myself, have developed over 30,000 unskilled job possibilities in California in land management and conservation alone (Appendix C). Most of these jobs could be ready to go within 60-90 days after approval, and are within commuting distance of the worker.

^{1/} See Pearl and Reisman, *New Careers for the Poor*, Freedom House (1965).

In addition, opportunities to use hundreds of thousands of unskilled men and women in permanent long term jobs exist in state and local social services;

- a. As subprofessionals to relieve professional and semi-professionals of routine duties and free their time for higher quality services; and
- b. assisting professionals in communicating with their clientele and vice versa.

Actually, the scarcity of professionals caused by the State's provision of human services to a growing population forces a more rational use of existing professional time. Professionals should not perform tasks that persons with lesser skills could accomplish just as easily. The sub-professional worker performs these easier tasks and allows each professional to spend his time more productively. Moreover, the on-the-job training received by the sub-professional will allow him to qualify for the next skill level in the particular field. Thus, the use of sub-professionals opens up new careers for the poor.

In a demonstration project for our State Office of Economic Opportunity, the New Careers Development Project has documented the productive use of the unskilled in:

- a. Mental hospitals -- at Stockton 40 psychiatric technicians trainee aides have had remarkable success in

improving care at the hospital;

- b. Schools -- teachers' aides allow the teacher more time to concentrate on teaching; large scale use was successful in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Also, many school districts in our own state have used aides.
- c. Child care and pre-school aides -- successfully used in Project Head Start.
- d. Rehabilitation work -- assisted the vocational rehabilitation professionals.
- e. Homemaker services -- this worker provides information about maintaining a home and available community services; assists the social worker.

Other areas in which unskilled persons were beneficial include: corrections and probation, recreation, and social work.

Unskilled persons from the community can also assist the professional in communicating with those persons he serves who sometimes distrust government or have difficulty communicating across class lines. In one project, a public health aide who spoke Spanish explained the purposes of TB examinations to the community, and convinced over 90% of the people to undergo X-rays. Previously, the unit had not been able to check 10 percent of the community. Similar positions have helped in employment, policy-community relations work, and in social work.

The Office of Economic Opportunity project has also compiled a dictionary of over 400 job categories in state and local government. They have attempted to pinpoint and solve some of the administrative and supervisory problems associated with creating classes for these types of jobs. Members of the Personnel Board are currently working on this problem. I feel within a short time, using the techniques developed by this project, we could compile a substantial number of specific requests from state, local and non-profit agencies.

The following list illustrates the potential magnitude of the use of unskilled labor. This list is based on estimates in only certain categories; there are many others which could be developed:

A. Initial Response from State Agencies on the Use of Unskilled Labor

Conservation -- Federal-State-Local (State Conservation)	30,695 (9,768)
Agriculture -- County fair maintenance; noxious weed control.	6,800
Mental Hygiene -- Aides in state mental hospitals.	500
Youth Authority -- Aides for ward rehabilitation.	1,000+
Corrections -- Parole and probation aides and aides for rehabilitative work in prison.	1,000+
Employment -- Youth employment adviser aides.	100
Rehabilitation -- Two aides per counsellor.	<u>400</u>
Sub-total:	<u>40,495</u>

B. Local Estimates Based on Demonstration Project

Teacher Aides -- One aide in 20% of the classrooms.	25,000
Social Welfare -- Homemaker - One homemaker serves five families; one-third of recipients estimated to need this help.	25,000
Welfare -- Caseworker Aides - for social welfare workers. There are 6,300 workers each with a minimum caseload of 60. A team of one social worker and two non-professional aides has improved service.	12,600
Public Health -- Aides in county health departments.	1,000
Child Care and Pre-School Aides -- An estimated 80,000 poor children could benefit from pre- school. One aide for each four children to work with the pre-school teacher.	20,000
Law Enforcement Aides -- Police - community relations.	1,000
Recreation -- City and county playgrounds, leagues and camps.	<u>1,000+</u>
Sub-total:	85,600
GRAND TOTAL:	<u>126,095</u>

6. If further expansionary methods are necessary, directly hiring the unemployed provides the most efficient method of bringing both unused men and facilities into productive use.

Expansionary fiscal measures such as the tax cut are designed to bring unused men and plant capacity into productive use by the indirect method of placing more money in consumers' hands. The consumers will then spend a part of that money for goods and services. The effort to meet this increased demand will use additional plant capacity and labor.

If the objective is to reduce unemployment, why use this inefficient roundabout method? Why not concentrate any expenditure on directly hiring the unemployed? This method results in a triple benefit. In contrast to a tax cut of which none of the initial expenditure is used to hire the unemployed, under this proposal 80 percent of the original expenditure supplies wages for the unskilled. Secondly, our proposal is a more efficient way of stimulating the private sector to hire the unemployed. The unemployed have a much higher propensity to consume than the beneficiaries of a tax cut. Thus, placing money in the hands of the unemployed will result in a much higher percentage of the initial expenditure actually being translated into increased demands for goods and services. Finally, unlike a tax cut which is given for nothing, this proposal results in society receiving socially useful labor in return.

7. Similarly, directly hiring the unskilled is a more efficient method of creating unskilled jobs than increasing expenditures for specific government programs, such as education, housing, and Medicare. Only a small percentage of these latter expenditures end up as wages for the unemployed, unskilled who are congregated in the poverty pockets.

As demonstrated earlier, little of the expenditures for construction projects ends up in the hands of the unskilled. Likewise, most of the over \$1 billion in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act will be used to provide jobs for professionals (although some of the money will go for hiring teachers' aides).

We are dealing, of course, with two competing considerations: To the extent that the highest priority problem is unemployment among the unskilled in certain poverty areas, directly hiring these people is obviously the most meritorious program; to the extent that increasing specific services such as education, health, and housing, rates top priority, obviously directly providing money for those services is the best approach. Our contention is that the inability of the unemployed to participate in society presents the top priority problem.

Furthermore, in attaining the goal of raising the quality of social services, the difference between directly providing the services and hiring the unskilled to help provide the services is slight; whereas, in attaining the goal of employing the unskilled, the difference between directly hiring them and providing money for governmental services is considerable.

8. The on-the-job experience of this program offers the best method of qualifying the hard core unskilled in the skills and attitudes necessary for the existing job market.

This point has been discussed earlier. Individualized classroom training can only benefit a small percentage of the unskilled in the poverty areas. The work habits, motivational changes, and skills learned from actually working at a productive job offer the best method for training these individuals. To capture the full benefits from this type of training -- to ensure that these jobs are a conduit rather than a cul-de-sac -- we intend to build into the program an intensive system of follow-up whereby individual workers are placed in the regular job market as soon as possible.

It must be stressed that these jobs will be treated like all other public jobs. The employee will be expected to be punctual, to show up for work regularly, and perform up to standards. Those who do not will be replaced by others more willing to work.

The following are my recommendations as to the action you should take to put this proposal into effect:

I. Designate the 12 most critical pockets of poverty in which this program will be applied.

I recommend that, as a first step, you designate the following areas:

South Central Los Angeles; East Los Angeles; West Oakland; San Francisco Western Addition; Central Long Beach; Downtown and South San Diego; Central and South Bakersfield; San Bernardino - Riverside; Venice - La Playa; Central Pasadena; East Oakland; South and East Stockton.

These areas were identified by an interagency committee representing the Departments of Employment, Social Welfare, FEPC, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Their attached memo (Appendix B) contains statistical data and criteria for monitoring changing conditions in these areas.

II. Seek federal funds to finance 50,000 socially useful jobs in these locations which can be performed by unskilled labor.

This program will be tremendously expensive and depend primarily on federal financing. It will be necessary to influence disposition of the limited existing appropriations as well as make a strong case for new federal funds. To provide 50,000 jobs in California annually will cost \$250,000,000, or \$5,000 a job. Wage costs at \$4,000 a year would amount to \$200,000,000 based on the Federal Wage Board Laborer rate of \$2.00 an hour. Supervision and administration would amount to at least another 25 percent or \$50,000,000. This would amount to a \$2.5 billion program nationwide for 500,000 jobs.

Several sources of federal funds could be used to finance a number of these jobs immediately.

- a. A recent amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act authorizes conservation jobs for unemployed adults. The State of California could act as a community for the 12 areas and the 10 percent matching would be in kind supervision by the employing agency. As yet, regulations have not been drawn, nor have wages been established. We should request that \$15,000,000 from Title II

be allocated to provide jobs for 3,000 men.

- b. The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 offers \$500,000,000 nationally for making grants for public construction and development facilities in depressed areas. A state or local entity must match to the extent of 20 percent to 50 percent of the cost. In some instances they can obtain loans for their shares.

We should attempt to finance some public service jobs with these funds although there are several large obstacles to overcome. In the first place, the act would not even apply to Los Angeles and San Francisco under traditional application. Since the Secretary of Labor has some discretion we must move fast to get the poverty pockets of Los Angeles and San Francisco included. Secondly, the act mainly envisions the heavy construction and engineering type of public works projects such as ports, industrial parks, sewers, and other public facilities. Construction of that sort does not require large numbers of unskilled workers, nor does it insure that they come from the poverty areas.

Existing sources of revenues, however, cannot finance a program of this magnitude. New federal funds must be budgeted.

III. Appoint a coordinator of poverty programs reporting directly to the Governor.

This position would be responsible for statewide coordination of all programs to reduce unemployment and poverty. He would supervise the directors of the state service centers, and insure cooperation, assistance, and coordination among all state agencies administering programs relative to poverty. He would also be in a high enough position to work closely and effectively with key federal and local representatives in a joint effort to pull together the myriad of programs which are now going their separate ways throughout the state. The two main purposes of this effort would be to simplify the system so that its intended recipients can reasonably make use of it, and, to eliminate unnecessary overlap and duplication of programs through provision of such services as joint communication systems, common housing, and so forth.

The coordinator of poverty programs would also be responsible for the job development program of creating

public jobs as outlined in this proposal. In addition, he would coordinate existing retraining and job development programs aimed at private employment.

IV. Establish a job development task force to inventory and rate potential new job categories and to recommend allocation of funds among the designated areas.

This should be an ex-officio group headed by the coordinator of poverty programs, and including the State Planning Office, Director of Finance, Executive Officer of the State Personnel Board, Employment Relations Administrator, and the Health and Welfare Administrator. Staff work could be provided as needed by existing employees of the state agencies concerned.

Starting immediately, the task force would develop a public job inventory by working with federal, state, local, and non-profit agencies to determine unskilled jobs which need to be performed but have been put off for lack of funds. The task force would also provide technical assistance to agencies and organizations in this effort to develop jobs.

Undoubtedly, job requests will add up to more than the total number of positions that can be funded. The task force would determine priorities by weighing each type of job requested, using the following criteria:

Which jobs are the most socially useful;

Which jobs have the highest proportion of money going into wages vs. administration, supervision, and capital outlay;

Which jobs best provide skills leading to employment in the regular labor force.

This group would also be responsible for continuous monitoring of employment conditions throughout the State in order to keep current the list of areas designated for special attention.

The product of this work would be the establishment of priority recommendations to the federal government as to how and where federal job development funds should be spent within the state.

- V. Establish service centers which are in easy access to people living in each of the designated areas of poverty. These centers will facilitate the

channeling of newly created jobs, assist in the development of jobs appropriate to community needs and resources, and provide a wide range of social services.

Full range services should be provided in the 12 designated areas by a service center containing units from federal, state, and local service departments (Small Business Administration, Employment, Social Welfare, Public Health, Housing and Community Development, Community Action Programs, etc.) with assistance from members of the communities in which the centers are located.

Personnel working in the centers should include experts in techniques of interviewing, counseling, assisting, and referring job applicants, and people who have a thorough working knowledge of governmental processes.

The staff of the centers should be able to aggressively stimulate and encourage community acceptance and use of the centers, develop cooperation and coordination with local industry, labor unions, and unemployed members of the community.

Precise components to be included in each center should be established on the bases of the particular needs of each community. Some of the basic considerations and guidelines to be used are outlined in Appendix D.

In conclusion, I would like to state that it seems absurd to me to allow the social deterioration caused by hard core unemployment while we have work that needs to be done and resources to pay for it.

The most cherished beliefs of our democratic system express concern for the freedom, dignity, and well-being of the individual. The test of these beliefs is whether our failure of will or lack of interest shall consign a significant portion of our society to poverty, degradation, and dependency, while the rest of us reach new peaks of prosperity.

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EXISTING SERVICE AND TRAINING PROGRAMS
AS THEY RELATE TO PROBLEMS OF
HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT
(FISCAL YEAR 1965)

1. Unemployment insurance is designed to sustain income for a limited period of time. It does not help those who have never been employed or employed only sporadically. It is of limited duration and provides limited income.
2. Welfare -- This program is available to only a few of the unemployed. Only a tiny percentage of those on welfare are able-bodied and can work. The level of monthly income is low.
3. Economic Development Act -- These measures aim at encouraging private industry to enter specific depressed areas. As our recent experience demonstrates, increases in production do not necessarily result in significantly draining the unskilled labor pool among specific groups.
4. Employment -- Job-finding activity and placement services help fill jobs that are available but cannot fill jobs that do not exist.
5. Training Programs --
 - A. Apprenticeship programs need complete overhaul to have an appreciable effect on the group that needs help the most.
 - B. Manpower Development and Training Act
 - (1) Institutional -- \$26,800,000 for classroom "training stations". In terms of the hard-core unemployed, entrance requirements for this program skim the cream from the unemployed, leaving a residue of those most poorly equipped to find jobs for themselves.

(2) On-the-Job Training -- \$3,400,000 for 6,400 positions.

This program provides one of the best sources of help for the unskilled; even though many cannot learn in a classroom setting, they can learn by paid, on-the-job experience.

(a) for a limited state expenditure, we might add two development consultants in the Division of Appren. Standards

(b) some lessening of the Federal Administration is desirable; we should recommend this to the Federal government

C. SB 20 -- Training for the Unemployed -- \$11,900,000 for 3,600 individuals. Same comments as for MDTA - Institutional.

D. Welfare Training -- two training programs in Welfare -- AB 59, which spends \$15,000,000 and enrolls 8,600 trainees, and Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, which spends \$7,500,000 and enrolls 3,000 -- are short-term programs which offer training but not income.

Economic Opportunity Act --

A. Title I.A. -- Job Corps -- Short term basic education and training for youths. Not applicable to heads of households.

B. Neighborhood Youth Corps -- Title I.B. -- Spends \$19,100,000 to provide short-term work experience for about 10,000 in-school youths and 5,000 out-of-school youths in socially useful jobs. While this program comes closest to actually paying for work, it is youth and training oriented; in-school programs are limited to 15 hours a week; out-of-school to 32 (Los Angeles County limits these to 20 hours a week).

APPENDIX B

MEMORANDUM

TO: Hugo Fisher
September 25, 1965

FROM: Roche, Howden, Keffer, Locher, Parker, Watts

SUBJECT: Critical Pockets of Poverty

We have reviewed the available statistics which bear on the identification and definition of the principal pockets of urban poverty in California, and measure their criticalness. We recommend the following list, in the order listed, as in most urgent need of attention:

<u>Identification</u>	<u>Approx. Pop. (1960)</u>	<u>Proportion of families with under \$3,000 income</u>	<u>Present tension level</u>
1. South Central Los Angeles	545,000	25%	2
2. East Los Angeles	228,000	23	1
3. West Oakland	77,000	34	1
4. San Francisco Western Addition	61,000	27	1
5. Central Long Beach	79,000	30	1
6. Downtown and South San Diego	98,000	28	2
7. Central and South Bakersfield	51,000	31	1
8. San Bernardino - Riverside	107,000	26	1
9. Venice - La Playa	37,000	24	1
10. Central Pasadena	31,000	23	1
11. East Oakland	38,000	25	2
12. South and East Stockton	74,000	31	2

We considered a number of different statistics, but believe that those given above are most appropriate for the present purpose. The rankings and the entries under Tension Level are necessarily a composite of judgments which reflect the best information available to, and the opinions of the agencies represented on the Task Force. A notation of "1" indicates a serious level of tension; "2" indicates the presence of tensions.

A description, and a profile of the salient characteristics of the population in each area will be supplied in the next few days.

These are not the only pockets of poverty in the State, but the others do not appear to warrant inclusion in the list you requested. It is our belief, however, that East Palo Alto (6,000 pop.), Richmond (21,000 pop.), and Hunter's Point (22,000 pop.) have a nearly equal need for services.

George S. Roche

MEMORANDUM

TO: Hugo Fisher

September 24, 1965

FROM: Roche, Howden, Keffer, Locher, Parker, Watts

SUBJECT: Critical Pockets of Poverty: Supplemental Memorandum on Routine Monitoring of Conditions.

We have reviewed the available information with respect to the most critical pockets of poverty identified in our memorandum of this same date, and the flow of routinely gathered information which could be made available to measure changing conditions in these areas over time.

- I. It would be possible, at relatively little expense, to derive some pertinent information about conditions in these areas from routine administrative reports about the activities of state and local government agencies serving people in them. At the present time, however, no agency gathers information specifically related to any one of these areas.

We recommend that arrangements be made to gather the following information on the critical areas:

1. Unemployment Insurance Claims. It is possible for the Department of Employment to use the zip codes of claimants to identify claims filed by, and payments made to residents of areas which approximate the critical areas. This information can be made available on a monthly basis.
2. Aid to Families with Dependent Children Case Load. These data can be gathered by the Department of Social Welfare, although special arrangements will have to be made with each County Welfare agency serving a critical area. Again, the zip codes of the beneficiaries could be assigned and used for this purpose. Alameda County has its beneficiaries identified by Census Tract of Residence, and this would be a more exact identification.
3. Selected Law Enforcement Statistics. The Department of Justice has a routine crime statistics reporting program from which it would be possible to derive a few statistics reflecting the temper and morale of the community. Again, special arrangements would be required to get these statistics on the basis of areas smaller than a county or city jurisdiction. Local authorities appear to have data identified for such areas at present.
4. Disciplinary Action Involving Public School Students. Each school keeps daily records about disciplinary action of the principal during school hours. These can be useful to measure the level of community tension. It would be necessary to identify the schools which serve critical areas, and to make

arrangements to gather and interpret these statistics in a central place.

The above administrative statistics, while relatively easy and cheap to gather routinely, are all indirect measures of poverty or tension. They can be affected by administrative factors, so that it is essential that someone familiar with these factors evaluate the data prior to use. The principal advantage of collecting them is that they are routinely available and, consequently, can provide a measure of changes in the situation over time.

II. It is our opinion that formal statistics are inadequate to measure tensions.

We recommend that channels of communications be opened up within all agencies providing service to and in contact with these areas, to make sure that information about tensions, apparently available to everybody in close contact with tension-prone areas, is forwarded at intervals to a central place for evaluation and action. Agencies frequently in contact with these areas (such as Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Employment, etc.) should systematically review and evaluate what is known about them at least once a month, but every agency should understand that it has a responsibility to forward any intimation that tensions are changing in severity to a central place which has been assigned continuing responsibility for securing and evaluating this informal information relating to tensions.

Appropriate personnel in the Departments which are in a position to detect and provide such information should be adequately instructed and sensitized to this end.

III. It would be possible, but quite expensive, to conduct sample household surveys directly measuring the conditions of poverty. No such data are available for most areas since 1960, although we believe that the 1960 data (except for East Oakland, and for Logan Heights in San Diego) give reasonably sound enough measures of present conditions to make program decisions. It would also be possible, by repeated surveys, to measure changes in conditions as the poverty program is carried out. The sampling variability attached to any survey would make it necessary to use quite large samples to get information firm enough to measure with certainty any changes which might occur, or any failure of the poverty programs to accomplish expected changes in the conditions of poverty.

We recommend that adequate sample household surveys be undertaken to measure the conditions of poverty in at least several of the largest areas identified.

- IV. A number of State agencies, from time to time, make sample surveys for transportation, public health, and other purposes, and it might be possible to take advantage of these occasional surveys to secure a limited amount of information pertinent to the poverty program. The Department of Public Health is willing to make available the data from its recent statewide public immunization survey if these can be brought to bear on the problem of measuring poverty. The Bay Area Rapid Transit Study now under way is another possible current source of basic information. Lack of coordination of the State's statistical operations may make it difficult to find out about future surveys in time to derive any benefits from them for measuring poverty, but steps could be taken to minimize the risk. Under any circumstances, the results of these surveys will be inadequate for poverty program purposes, even though informative.

SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES

Description of Area: In general, the area lying between Olympic on the North, and Artesia on the South, Alameda on the East, and on the West, Van Ness, Manchester, Vermont, 121st, and Figueroa (see map).

Item	South Central Los Angeles		Los Angeles County	State of California
	Number	Percent		
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	542,200		6,042,400	15,720,900
Negro	333,600	61.5%	7.6%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	62,500	11.5	9.5	9.1
Inmigrants since 1955	100,700	21.2	21.3	16.5
Inmigrants from South	33,200	7.0	3.2	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25..	80,400	26.4	13.2	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years.	71,800	13.2	12.4	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	383,300		4,375,600	11,185,100
In Labor Force	223,900	58.4	58.3	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	22,600	10.1	5.7	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	181,200		2,099,300	5,526,000
In Labor Force	138,500	76.4	80.3	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	14,500	10.5	5.7	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	202,100		2,276,300	5,659,100
In Labor Force	85,500	42.3	38.1	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	8,000	9.4	5.9	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$4,000 Income	47,600	36.0	19.1	21.4
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units ...	198,900		2,142,100	
Number not "Sound"	30,500	15.7	7.8	
Number Occupied	187,000	93.6	93.9	
Number with Over One Occupant Per Room	25,700	13.8	8.3	

EAST LOS ANGELES

Definition of Area: In general the area lying between San Bernardino Freeway, Mission Valley Road, and Pomona Blvd. on the North, Olympic Blvd. on the South, Alameda Street on the West and Garfield Avenue on the East (See map).

Item	East Los Angeles		Los Angeles County	State of California
	Number	Percent		
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Population	227,900		6,042,400	15,720,900
White	9,200	4.0%	7.6%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	144,000	63.5	9.5	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	35,500	15.6	21.3	16.5
Immigrants from South	5,500	2.8	3.2	3.6
Below High School Grade				
Population aged and over Age 25.	46,400	39.4	13.2	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years.	31,300	13.9	12.4	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over,				
in Labor Force	153,400		4,375,600	11,185,100
Unemployed (percent of in Labor Force)	80,000	52.7	56.3	57.5
Population Aged 14 and Over,				
in Labor Force	74,200		2,099,300	5,526,000
Unemployed (percent of in Labor Force)	53,300	71.9	80.3	79.5
Population Aged 14 and Over,				
in Labor Force	79,200		2,276,300	5,659,100
Unemployed (percent of in Labor Force)	27,400	34.6	38.1	36.1
Population Aged 14 and Over,				
in Labor Force	2,000	7.3	5.9	6.6
Population with Under \$4,000				
Income	17,100	34.0	19.1	21.4
Number of Building Units ...	60,500		2,142,100	
Number not "Rental"	16,300	27.4	7.8	
Number Occupied	57,300	94.6	93.9	
Number of One Occupant				
Per Room	14,000	24.5	8.3	

State of California
 Department of Employment
 Report 400F #300

Research and Statistics
 October 5, 1965

WEST OAKLAND

Description of Area: In general the area lying between Berkeley City Limit, 52nd Street, 59th Street, and 40th Street on the North, Oakland Estuary on the South, San Francisco Bay on the West and Alice Street and Broadway on the East.

<u>Item</u>	<u>West Oakland</u>		<u>Alameda County</u>	<u>State of California</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	77,100		908,200	15,720,900
Negro	48,300	62.6	12.3%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	4,000	5.2	7.5	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	11,500	16.9	16.0	16.5
Immigrants from South	3,300	4.8	3.1	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25	15,300	33.3	15.0	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years ...	8,800	11.4	13.6	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	55,500		657,200	11,185,100
In Labor Force	30,100	54.2	57.6	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	4,500	15.0	6.1	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	27,600		318,000	5,526,000
In Labor Force	19,600	70.9	79.2	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	3,100	15.7	5.6	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	27,800		339,200	5,659,100
In Labor Force	10,500	37.6	37.3	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,400	13.8	7.0	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$3,000 Income	6,100	34.4	13.6	14.1
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units	31,500		310,300	
Number not "Sound"	8,800	28.0	9.9	
Number Occupied	28,700	91.0	95.2	
Number with Over One Occupant Per Room	4,300	14.8	8.3	

WESTERN ADDITION - SAN FRANCISCO

Description of Area: In general, the area lying between Oak Street, California Street, and O'Farrell Street on the North, Weller Street, Buena Vista Terrace, Duboce Avenue and Market Street on the South, Baker and Stanyan Streets on the West and Van Ness Avenue on the East.

<u>Item</u>	<u>San Francisco-West Addition</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>San Francisco</u> <u>County</u>	<u>State of</u> <u>California</u>
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	61,300		740,300	15,720,900
Negro	26,500	43.3	10.0%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	2,400	3.9	7.0	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	13,300	24.4	12.7	16.5
Immigrants from South	2,600	4.9	2.4	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25	8,400	20.7	16.7	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years ...	7,300	11.9	12.3	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	48,400		591,200	11,185,100
In Labor Force	31,600	65.4	62.2	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	3,600	11.5	5.9	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	23,800		287,700	5,526,000
In Labor Force	18,800	78.9	78.6	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	2,300	12.1	6.2	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	24,600		303,500	5,659,100
In Labor Force	12,900	52.3	46.7	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,400	10.7	5.3	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$3,000 Income	3,800	26.8	13.5	14.1
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units	28,600		310,600	
Number not "Sound"	6,200	21.8	9.9	
Number Occupied	26,800	93.4	94.0	
Number with Over One Occupant Per Room	2,600	9.6	6.1	

SOUTH CENTRAL LONG BEACH

Description of Area: In general, the area lying between Arlington and Willow on the North, Long Beach shore line on South and Los Angeles River and Cherry Street on East and Santa Fe St. and Los Angeles River on West.

<u>Item</u>	<u>South Central Long Beach</u>		<u>Los Angeles County</u>	<u>State of California</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	78,800		6,042,400	15,720,900
Negro	8,500	10.7	7.6%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	3,000	3.8	9.5	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	22,400	32.0	21.3	16.5
Immigrants from South	5,000	7.2	3.2	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25....	8,400	17.1	13.2	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years..	10,600	13.4	12.4	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	60,600		4,375,600	11,185,100
In Labor Force	28,400	46.9	58.3	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	2,300	8.2	5.7	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	27,500		2,099,300	5,526,000
In Labor Force	17,300	62.9	80.3	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force).....	1,400	8.3	5.7	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	33,100		2,276,300	5,659,100
In Labor Force	11,100	33.6	38.1	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force).....	900	8.0	5.9	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$4,000 Income	8,800	43.0	19.1	21.4
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units..	38,100		2,142,100	
Number not "Sound"	5,300	13.9	7.8	
Number Occupied	34,100	89.5	93.9	
Number with Over One Occu- pant Per Room	3,100	9.2	8.3	

DOWNTOWN AND SOUTH SAN DIEGO

Description of Area: In general the area lying between Upos, Juniper, Market, and Euclid on the North, San Diego Bay on the South, Laurel on the West, and Sweetwater River, and National Avenue on the East.

Note: San Diego data heavily affected by naval personnel stationed in area. Most data probably no longer valid for Downtown and South Area.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Downtown & South San Diego</u>		<u>San Diego County</u>	<u>State of California</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	98,200		1,033,000	15,720,900
Negro	24,400	24.9	3.8%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	16,300	16.6	6.3	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	29,300	34.9	33.4	16.5
Immigrants from South	7,500	9.0	8.0	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25	12,700	24.2	11.0	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years	15,300	15.6	18.0	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	69,000		735,700	11,185,100
In Labor Force	37,500	54.4	60.0	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	4,200	11.2	6.5	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	34,400		390,900	5,526,000
In Labor Force	25,800	75.0	83.9	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	2,700	10.3	6.2	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	34,600		344,800	5,659,100
In Labor Force	11,700	33.8	32.5	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,500	13.0	7.0	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$3,000 Income	6,700	28.0	15.1	14.1
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units	39,700		339,400	
Number not "Sound"	8,600	21.6	9.2	
Number Occupied	35,600	89.7	89.9	
Number with Over One Occupant Per Room	5,300	14.8	10.6	

CENTRAL AND SOUTH BAKERSFIELD

Description of Area: In general, the area lying between Golden State Highway, Alta Vista Drive and Columbus on the North, and Brundage Lane, Planz Road, Buena Vista Blvd and Mountain View on the South, and Union Avenue, Chester Avenue, A, C, E and F Streets on the West and Fairfax Road, State Highway 143, Sunset Road and Mount Vernon on the East.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Central & South Bakersfield</u>		<u>Kern</u>	<u>State of</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>California</u>
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	51,100		292,000	15,720,900
Negro	11,600	22.8%	5.7%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	11,800	23.1	10.0	9.1
Innigrants since 1955	8,000	17.9	21.6	16.5
Innigrants from South	1,400	3.1	4.8	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25	8,300	32.3	21.1	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years	7,300	14.3	13.8	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	34,000		195,900	11,185,100
In Labor Force	17,600	51.6	56.1	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,800	10.4	7.2	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	16,600		98,800	5,526,000
In Labor Force	11,900	71.3	78.9	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,200	10.4	6.6	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	17,400		97,100	5,659,100
In Labor Force	5,700	32.8	32.8	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	600	10.4	8.8	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$3,000 Income	3,700	31.0	18.6	14.1
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units	16,800		97,600	
Number not "Sound"	4,900	29.4	22.0	
Number Occupied	15,300	91.4	87.7	
Number with Over One Occupant Per Room	2,900	18.9	15.2	

State of California
 Department of Employment
 Report 400F #300

Research and Statistics
 October 5, 1965

SAN BERNARDINO-RIVERSIDE

Description of Area: Parts of Riverside City, San Bernardino City, and areas around Norco and Fontana.

<u>Item</u>	<u>San Bernardino-Riverside</u>		<u>San Bernardino</u>	<u>State of</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Riverside</u> <u>SMSA</u>	<u>California</u>
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	107,200		809,800	15,720,900
Negro	8,500	7.9	3.7%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	26,200	24.4	11.9	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	23,300	24.9	26.6	16.5
Immigrants from South	4,000	4.2	4.5	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25	14,600	25.2	15.5	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years	15,800	14.7	13.6	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	75,200		563,400	11,185,100
In Labor Force	38,700	51.5	54.8	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	4,000	10.2	6.6	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	36,500		281,500	5,526,000
In Labor Force	26,600	72.9	76.6	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	2,700	10.3	6.1	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	38,700		281,800	5,659,100
In Labor Force	12,100	31.3	33.0	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,200	10.2	7.5	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$3,000 Income	7,000	26.1	18.5	14.1
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units	39,700		309,100	
Number not "Sound"	7,900	19.8	12.8	
Number Occupied	35,500	89.4	79.3	
Number with Over One Occupant per Room	4,777	12.0	11.9	

VENICE-LA PLAYS

Area: In general the area lying between Lincoln on the North and East, and the Pacific Ocean on the South and West.

Type	Venice-LA Plays		Los Angeles County	State of California
	Number	Percent		
Population	36,600		6,042,400	15,720,900
Population under 18 years	5,700	15.1	7.6%	5.6%
Population 18 and over	4,100	12.0	9.5	9.1
Population since 1955	9,600	29.8	21.3	16.5
Population from South	1,800	5.4	3.2	3.6
Population under 18 years	5,400	2.3	13.2	14.7
Population aged 15-24 years	4,600	12.6	12.4	13.3
Population aged 24 and over	27,200		4,375,600	11,185,100
Population for Force	15,700	57.3	58.3	57.5
Population (percent of in force)	1,700	10.8	5.7	5.8
Population aged 24 and over	13,300		2,099,300	5,526,000
Population for Force	10,000	75.0	80.3	79.5
Population (percent of in force)	1,100	11.0	5.7	5.5
Population aged 24 and over	13,900		2,276,300	5,659,100
Population for Force	5,700	41.2	38.1	36.1
Population (percent of in force)	600	10.5	5.9	6.6
Population Under 10,000	3,100	33.0	19.1	21.4
Population in Military Units	16,000		2,142,100	
Population in	5,500	34.4	7.8	
Population in	14,600	90.9	93.9	
Population in One Occupant	1,800	22.4	8.3	

California
 Bureau of Employment
 LABOR #500

Research and Statistics
 October 5, 1965

CENTRAL PASADENA

Definition of Area: In general, the area lying between Angeles National Forest on the North, California Street on the South, Flood Control Channel on the West, and Fair Oaks and Los Robles on the East.

<u>Area</u>	<u>Central Pasadena Number</u>	<u>Central Pasadena Percent</u>	<u>Los Angeles County</u>	<u>State of California</u>
<u>Total Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	31,400		6,042,400	15,720,900
Spanish Surnames	14,500	46.1	7.6%	5.6%
Immigrants since 1955	2,600	8.3	9.5	9.1
Immigrants from South	6,900	21.9	21.3	16.5
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25 .	200	5.4	3.2	3.6
Population Aged 15-24 Years.	3,200	17.9	13.2	14.7
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	4,100	13.0	12.4	13.3
In Labor Force	22,600		4,375,600	11,185,100
Unemployed (percent of in Labor Force)	13,400	59.5	58.3	57.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	600	5.9	5.7	5.8
In Labor Force	10,500		2,099,300	5,526,000
Unemployed (percent of in Labor Force)	8,100	77.1	80.3	79.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	500	6.4	5.7	5.5
In Labor Force	12,100		2,276,300	5,659,100
Unemployed (percent of in Labor Force)	5,400	44.3	38.1	36.1
Number of Families	300	5.1	5.9	6.6
Families with Under \$4,000 Per Year	2,500	33.0	19.1	21.4
Number of Dwelling Units ...	10,700		2,142,100	
Not "Sound"	1,800	17.0	7.8	
Number Occupied	10,000	93.6	93.9	
Number with Over One Occupant Per Room	1,000	10.1	8.3	

EAST OAKLAND

Description of Area: In general, the area lying between Alice Street and Fifth Avenue on the North, 94th Avenue on the South, Alameda City limits on the West and East 14th Street on the East.

<u>Item</u>	<u>East Oakland</u>		<u>Alameda County</u>	<u>State of California</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	37,600		908,200	15,720,900
Negro	9,000	23.9%	12.3%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	6,300	16.9	7.5	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	6,800	20.7	16.0	16.5
Immigrants from South	1,200	3.8	3.1	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25	6,100	29.5	15.0	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years	4,800	12.8	13.6	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	26,100		657,200	11,185,100
In Labor Force	14,700	56.3	57.6	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,700	6.4	6.1	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	12,700		318,000	5,526,000
In Labor Force	9,600	75.8	79.2	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,100	8.5	5.6	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	13,400		339,200	5,659,100
In Labor Force	5,100	37.7	37.3	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	600	4.4	7.0	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$3,000 Income..	2,300	24.6	13.6	14.1
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units	13,100		310,300	
Number not "Sound"	2,800	21.3	9.9	
Number Occupied	12,300	93.9	95.2	
Number with Over One Occupant per Room	2,000	16.1	8.3	

State of California
 Department of Employment
 Report 400F #300

Research and Statistics
 October 6, 1965

SOUTH AND EAST STOCKTON

Description of Area: In general the area lying between the Stockton Channels, Park Street and Cherokee Lane on the North, Bowman Road, French Camp Road and Weber Road on the South, the Stockton River on the West and Jack Tone Road on the East.

Item	South and East Stockton		San Joaquin County	State of California
	Number	Percent		
<u>Population and Labor Force</u>				
Total Population	73,000		250,000	15,720,900
Negro	10,500	14.2	4.7%	5.6%
Spanish Surname	14,000	18.9	12.2	9.1
Immigrants since 1955	12,300	19.0	22.3	16.5
Immigrants from South	1,300	2.0	1.7	3.6
Less than 8th Grade Education and over Age 25 ...	15,300	38.3	26.1	14.7
Population Aged 15-24 Years ..	9,500	12.9	13.5	13.3
Population Aged 14 and Over, Total	50,600		96,700	11,185,100
In Labor Force	26,600	52.5	54.4	57.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	3,400	12.7	8.0	5.8
Population Aged 14 and Over, Male	26,900		69,000	5,526,000
In Labor Force	19,000	70.7	74.6	79.5
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	2,400	12.6	7.4	5.5
Population Aged 14 and Over, Female	23,700		27,700	5,659,100
In Labor Force	7,600	31.8	32.5	36.1
Unemployed (percent of in labor force)	1,000	13.0	9.7	6.6
<u>Poverty Level</u>				
Families with Under \$3,000 Income	5,200	31.0	18.8	14.1
<u>Housing</u>				
Number of Dwelling Units	25,800		80,697	
Number not "Sound"	8,400	32.5	19.4	
Number Occupied	23,400	90.5	92.5	
Number with Over One Occu- pant Per Room	4,200	18.1	11.8	

State of California

The Resources Agency

Memorandum

APPENDIX C

To : Mr. Hugo Fisher
Administrator, The Resources Agency
1416 Ninth Street
Sacramento, California

Date : October 11, 1965

File No.: AA-10-11

From : Department of Conservation--Division of Forestry

Subject: STATE OFFICES
Governor's Office
Anti-Poverty Program
Employment for Conservation of
Natural Resources

In response to your request the Departments in the Resources Agency have developed a proposed work program for the employment of disadvantaged citizens and for the conservation and development of natural resources. The total proposal by the Resources Agency for all of California would employ a peak of 9,768 men at a cost of \$1,935,000 for five years. The Regional Forester of the U. S. Forest Service is assembling the statewide program for all agencies. The State of California has worked in close cooperation with the federal government in this employment proposal.

At the present time the figures have not been received from the Bureau of Land Management. Also in Northern California the Counties have not been contacted. With these exceptions the total proposal for California is a peak employment of 30,695 men at a five-year cost of \$1,973,822,042.

The cost proposed by the U. S. Forest Service was considerably higher per man employed than that of other agencies. I believe this is due to the fact that they considered more outlying camps with the accompanying cost increases for construction and operation. Also the Forest Service included the construction of many Ranger stations and other structures. In the Resources Agency about two-thirds of the proposed total cost goes toward the hiring of disadvantaged citizens. The attached table gives a breakdown by agency of peak employment and total five-year cost.

The work proposed falls into a variety of categories. Typical work is listed as follows:

1. Fish and game habitat improvement.
2. Labor for the operation and maintenance of fish hatcheries.
3. Debris clearance to allow fish to proceed upstream to spawn.

Mr. Hugo Fisher

-2-

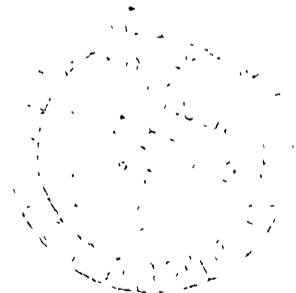
October 11, 1965

4. Park campground construction and maintenance.
5. Construction and maintenance of park trails.
6. Restoration of historic buildings.
7. Tree planting around reservoirs.
8. Maintenance of grounds at field stations.
9. Construction and maintenance of firebreaks.
10. Construction and maintenance of fire access roads.
11. Reforestation of burned areas.
12. Timber stand improvement.
13. Blister rust control work.
14. Control of forest insect epidemics.
15. Reserve crews for forest fire suppression.

Most of the work proposed is possible under a commuting system; i.e., the workers can live at home and commute to the job and back each day. However, in some of the remote forested areas it will be necessary to construct camps since commuting would be out of the question. A limited number of such camps have been proposed.

Lewis A. Moran
Lewis A. Moran
Chief Deputy State Forester

	<u>Peak Employment</u>	<u>5-Year Costs</u>
State of California	9,768	\$ 317,935,000
Los Angeles County	7,375	476,914,000
San Bernardino County	320	12,647,000
Riverside County	660	34,905,000
Bureau of Reclamation	—	—
National Park Service	518	36,872,000
Bureau of Indian Affairs	218	21,039
Bureau of Reclamation	1,000	16,003
Bureau of Commercial Fisheries	30	702,000
U. S. Forest Service	10,776	1,090,810,000
Soil Conservation Service	30	3,000,000
	<u>30,695</u>	<u>\$ 1,973,822,042</u>



S E R V I C E C E N T E R S

MISSION:

Service Centers, established in each of the 12 designated areas of poverty, will be responsible for:

1. Establishing a working cooperative liaison with the local community to foster acceptance and use of the center.
2. Maintaining a "service-oriented" attitude.
3. Promoting, developing, and assisting, where possible, comprehensive programs aimed at reducing poverty which include, but are not limited to, services in the following areas:
 - a. Employment
 - b. Social Welfare
 - c. Vocational Rehabilitation
 - d. Housing - location, financing, and improvement
 - e. Public Health
4. Providing counselling in:
 - a. Small Business Administration regulations and procedures
 - b. Business and personal licensing
 - c. Consumer education
 - d. Money handling
 - e. Personal credit
 - f. Legal matters
5. Stimulating private industry's participation in creating jobs.
6. Matching manpower resources to industry's needs.
7. Managing the Job Development Program.
8. Establishing an on-going review and evaluation of the community's needs and the center's ability to meet and solve these needs.
9. Conducting an effective follow-up of the center's efforts through interviewing applicants counselled, surveying training needs of the community labor force, and determining the impact the center has had on the community in terms of reduced poverty, better skills, reduced unemployment, reduced welfare rolls, and a markedly lower incidence in crime and arrest rates.

STRUCTURE:

To carry out these responsibilities, each center should be organized as follows:

Director

Responsible for the overall administration of the center's activities.

He reports to the Coordinator of Poverty Programs, and has sufficient delegated authority from each participating parent department to ensure effective teamwork and coordination among the service units manning the center. He should be an independent agent, responsible only to the Coordinator of Poverty Programs.

Service Units

Service agencies of federal, state, and local origin should assign units to the service centers which are fully capable of providing the range of service available in a regular office of the parent department. These units would be administratively responsible to the parent department, but functionally responsible to the director of the center. Service units from such departments as Employment, Social Welfare, Public Health, Consumer Council, Housing and Community Development, Community Action Groups, etc., should man the centers.

Personnel of these units should be expert in techniques of interviewing, counselling, assisting, and referring applicants.

Aides

Community residents should be utilized wherever possible as paid aides by participating units of the centers. These residents can be used to perform clerical tasks, arrange meetings, act as sources of information and feed back, and promote community acceptance and usage of the centers. They would also be instrumental in breaking the barrier of "authority" that mitigates against effective rapport between the people and the government.

EF/R

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/ST5
ST5
LG/Los Angeles
FG105

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10:45 pm. Tuesday
March 15, 1966 JL 3

MR. PRESIDENT:

Here is the latest report on the Watts situation,
as of 10:10 pm. our time.

Ramsey Clark reports that the disturbance is
confined to a relatively small area near the
Jordan Junior High School where the trouble
began this afternoon. The police have closed
the area. The situation appears to be
under control for the moment -- so much so
that the police did not sweep the streets.

Edmund G.
Governor Brown is due in Los Angeles at
8:00 their time tonight.

Larry Levinson

"IT IS NOT A RIOT, BUT IT IS A MAJOR DISTURBANCE," SGT. BO
BAUNANN OF 77TH STREET DIVISION REPORTS.
MORE GS557PPS

2364
WATTS 3/15 MC
URGENT
1ST ADD 1ST LD WATTS LOS ANGELES KKA REPORTED.
POLICE, PATROLLING THE STREET WITH AUTOMATIC RIFLES, DISPERSED
THE LARGEST CROWD BUT AT LEAST TWO BLACK LADY GROUPS--ONE OF 50 AND
ANOTHER OF 150-200 CONGREGATED.
SOME LOOTING WAS REPORTED. OTHER WITNESSES SAID DRIVERS WERE
DRAGGED FROM CARS AND A FEW BEATEN.
POLICE SAID THE INCIDENTS DECLINED IN NUMBER BY 2:30 P.M. PST
(6:30 P.M. EST). BUT THEY WOULD NOT SPECULATE WHETHER THE RIOT WAS
OVER YET.
THE NEIGHBORHOOD WAS THE ONE WHERE HUNDREDS OF BUILDINGS WERE
GUTTED BY FIRE IN THE RIOTS WHICH STARTED AUG. 11, 1965.
NATIONAL GUARD UNITS HAD TO BE CALLED OUT TO QUELL THOSE RIOTS.
THIRTY-FOUR PERSONS WERE KILLED AND MORE THAN 1,000 INJURED, WITH
PROPERTY DAMAGE FROM FIRE AND LOOTING ESTIMATED AT \$40 MILLION.
GOV. EDMUND G. BROWN, BY COINCIDENCE, WAS OUT OF THE CITY AGAIN
TUESDAY AS HE HAD BEEN IN AUGUST. LI. GOV. GLENN M.
ANDERSON, CRITICIZED FOR SLOW CALLUP OF THE NATIONAL GUARD, WAS
AGAIN ACTING GOVERNOR.
MORE GS602PPS..

RECEIVED
MAR 16 1966
CENTRAL FILES

9/24/65

③

EXECUTIVE

HA 2/275

PA 1/M*

December 18, 1965

Honorable John A. ^{x*} McCone
612 South Flower Street
Los Angeles 17, California

Dear John:

The President asked me to thank you for your letter of December 7 and the report of the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots. As you know, his schedule is very pressing at this time in preparations for the forthcoming session of Congress and with the stream of international visitors. He regrets, therefore, that he will be unable to sit down with you and discuss it but he does very much appreciate your sending it to him.

The President asked me to send you his warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

Report filed to management 1/10/66

185

Yellow department 3/20/66

Dear John:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of December 7, 1965 and the copy of the Brown Commission report on the Los Angeles riots which you enclosed.

I know that developing the report has consumed most of your time for the past several months; but once again you have responded to a public calling ~~h~~ and have served your State and Country.

The report is a constructive and provocative document whose recommendations and implications deserve careful study by Federal, State and local officials and others concerned with the causes of ~~the~~ last summer's tragic violence and the remedies to prevent such outbursts.

The President fully appreciates your efforts and your sentiments for his speedy return to full strength.

If you plan ~~to~~ to be in Washington in the near future, please let me know so that we can arrange to get together to discuss the report and other matters of mutual interest.

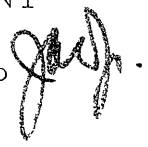
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

12:45 p.m., Friday
December 17, 1965

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano 

Attached is a letter from John McCone with a copy of the report of his Commission on the Los Angeles riots. The report recommends a host of programs, some of which are very expensive, involving Federal, state and local money. We are reviewing those now.

McCone would like to see you about the Watts report and report to you directly. In line with your general policy of staying out of this situation, I would recommend that you not see him. McCone will understand because I had lunch with him Saturday about Watts and he realizes how busy and pressed you are. If you agree, I will acknowledge receipt of his letter on your behalf, tell him we are having the Director of the Budget look into the proposals in the Watts report and that your schedule between now and the opening of Congress is such that it will not be possible for you to get together with him.

He has also asked that we send someone like Ramsey Clark to meet with him and Governor Brown and him and Mayor Yorty (two meetings -- Brown and Yorty will not meet together). I propose to tell him that we think they should handle their state and local problems and that I do not think the Federal government should get involved. McCone will understand.

Agree ✓

Disagree

Attachment

8/17

JOHN ALEX McCONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 17

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/573

*Jack Brown
do something
L. B. Rabe*

December 7, 1965

Dear Mr. President:

Attached is a copy of the report of the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, which I chaired for only one reason and that is because you persuaded me that it was the thing to do. I did not realize when we discussed the matter last August that you were committing me to 100 days and nights of work -- but it turned out that way.

The report makes specific and important recommendations in fields of employment, education and police-community relations. We also make recommendations which we consider of lesser importance in areas of health, housing, transportation and welfare.

I am convinced that the implementation of these recommendations, costly as they will be, will go a long way to solving the crisis in our city and this same crisis exists in every city in the United States. The accomplishment of these programs demands sacrifice and unselfish work on the part of all segments of society -- state, county and local governments, business, labor, social and philanthropic organizations, educators, and most indispensably, the Negroes themselves. With respect to the latter, it was the Commission's view that all we recommend will be for naught unless the Negro is resolved to do his share.

I should like to discuss with you several observations which I developed during our study and investigation, and I hope that your busy schedule will permit me to call on you in the not too distant future.

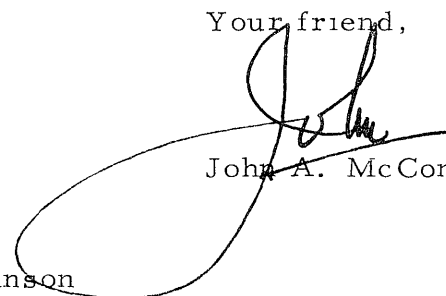
Page 2

December 7, 1965

Turning now to another subject, I have followed your recent illness, first with deep concern and now with both relief and happiness. I am delighted it all turned out so successfully. From my own experience, I know it takes a longer time to recuperate than one is inclined to admit. I only hope that you are pacing yourself with this in mind and are passing on to others some of the burdens that will retard the full restoration of your strength if you attempt to do them all yourself.

With warm personal regards and best wishes to you and Lady Bird, in which Theiline joins me.

Your friend,



John A. McCone

President Lyndon B. Johnson
White House
Washington, D. C.

bb

McCONE, John A ITEM COPY
Chairman BKS. (1) PRES
Governor's Commission "Violence in the City --
on the Los Angeles An End or a Beginning?"
Riots A report by the Governor's
P.O. Box 54708 Commission on the Los
Los Angeles, Calif. Angeles Riots
90054 Dec. 2, 1965
Mailed from:
Joshua Hendy Corp, . 612 South Flower St. L.A. Calif.
REC'D: 12-9-65 BY: Air Mail ACK'D:
Ltr.
DISPOSITION: Mr. William J. Hopkins DATE: 12-9-65

10/6/65

10/8/65

JAC:

Mr. Valenti sent this in to you saying "perhaps you will want to regret this" --

Toi

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1965
Monday - 3:00 p.m.

MR. PRESIDENT:

Governor Brown has suggested to John McCone that McCone report to you at an early date on the progress of his Commission for the Investigation of the Los Angeles Riots.

Mr. McCone will be in Washington Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, October 8, 9 and 10.

Do you want to see him?

Yes _____ No _____

Shall I ask Joe Califano to see him?

Yes _____ No _____

Jack Valenti

Oct. 4

Mr. Valenti:

John McCone would like
to see the Pres. when in
town Oct. 8 to 10.

He says he has also written
you and Joe Califano so
perhaps it is already set up.

H. C.

JOHN ALEX McCONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 17

October 1, 1965

My dear Mr. President

A few days ago I received from your office some excellent photographs and a very warm and friendly letter addressed to Theiline and me. The photographs were taken on the occasion of the very generous and hospitable reception that you gave to Theiline and me the evening before our departures from Washington. I cannot tell you how much we both appreciated the letter, your expression of friendship, and the photographs which we place among our most highly prized possessions.

All of this brought back in vivid perspective Washington with its pleasures and its problems, but most particularly the feeling of closeness and friendship which both Ty and I hold for you and your lovely Lady Bird. We have always been deeply appreciative of your friendship, your consideration and your warm hospitality extended so frequently both at the White House and at your home in Johnson City.

I have been spending my time... day and night... on a penetrating investigation of the Los Angeles Riots and I feel that our Commission may come up with some conclusions and recommendations which quite possibly will be helpful to the local situation here and perhaps to other cities in the United States. Governor Brown has suggested that you might be interested in a review of what we have found out so far.


With this in mind, I have written to both Jack Valenti and Joe Califano, advising them of my plan to be in Washington this coming week end, October 8 to 10, for the purpose of attending Bob McNamara's Supersonic Transport Committee Meeting the morning of Saturday, October 9. It would be a great pleasure to see you, as it always is, and to tell you of

2.

our findings (although we are far from a concensus or conclusions or recommendations) and also to discuss other matters of mutual interest.

With warm and affectionate regards to you and Lady Bird, in which Theiline joins me.

Sincerely


John A. McCone

President Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

bh

11.25/11
11.25/11

JOHN ALEX McCONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 17

October 1, 1965

Dear Joe

Just a note to tell you I will be in Washington the latter part of next week. I will arrive either Thursday night or Friday about noon and will be remaining until Sunday. The purpose of the trip is Bob McNamara's Supersonic Transport Committee Meeting scheduled for Saturday morning. However, there are other matters I have on my mind, some of which I am sure will be of interest to you, and therefore hope to see you.

Governor Brown feels I should talk to the President concerning our Los Angeles riot study and I have written Joe Valenti as per the attached letter. The Governor told me he talked with you on the telephone. I would like to see the President about this and other matters if his time permits. However, I know he is very busy and I am loathe to impose upon him and, furthermore, he may be down at his home in Johnson City. However, if he is around and does have a little time, I would like to talk with him and hope you will pass the word on to him.

This, however, should be "off-the-record" as a call at this time might create some speculation...however far fetched...that the President might in some way be influencing our investigation and our report. Also, it is easy for me to see the President "off-the-record" as I have done it now for a number of years. Let me know by telephone: residence #MU 1-7220; office #629-3631...or drop me a line.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely

John A. McCone

Mr. Joseph A. Califano
The White House
Washington, D. C.

enclosure
bh

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1965
CENTRAL FILES

JOHN ALEX McCONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 17

September 30, 1965

Dear Jack

Yesterday morning I reported to Governor Brown of the progress we have made to date with the Commission for the Investigation of the Los Angeles Riots. He suggested that I give the President a report at an early date. This I agreed to do, although I hesitate to impose upon the President's time, knowing how extremely busy he is. It happens, however, that I will be in Washington on October 8, 9 and 10. I am coming back to attend some meetings of Bob McNamara's Commission on the Supersonic Transport, and these meetings are scheduled for Saturday, October 9.

You might mention the Governor's suggestion to the President and if he would like to spend a few minutes discussing our progress and any other subjects, I, of course, would be delighted to call on him at his convenience. Would you be good enough to let me know by letter or a telephone call at Area Code 213, MADison 9-3631

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

John A. McCone

The Honorable Jack Valenti
Assistant to the President
White House
Washington 25, D. C.

bb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 17, 1965

JAC:

John McCone called from California while you were in the Budget meetings. He left the following message and asked that someone phone him back if you had any suggestions:

On December 23rd I have a scheduled meeting with Warren Christopher and one or two members of the Commission with Governor Brown for the purpose of making a report on the situation out here. Probably on the same day there will be a meeting with Mayor Yorty also -- but the Governor and the Mayor will not be meeting with each other -- they met several weeks ago.

I think somebody from the Federal Government ought to sit in to listen to our problems and to know what is being considered and the extent to which Federal programs are involved. The Federal Government programs are centered in several departments and I would propose that someone sit in on these meetings independent of the operating Departments -- maybe Ramsey Clark who was out here before or someone else.

As an example, the city and county and state are willing to do a lot of things but they need to be worked into existing measures --

The morning papers carry a statement that the City of Beverley Hills turned down an offer from the Poverty organization for \$78,000 which was to go to educate the disadvantaged children in Beverley Hills. The School Board of Beverley Hills by a vote of 5 to nothing voted it down. They said there were only about a half dozen children in Beverley Hills in this category and they could easily take care of them and turned it down. There is a very serious question, community-wise, on how this money is to be directed and secondly, it is the feeling in the disadvantaged areas that the money is not being used where it is really needed and if someone from the Federal Government could be here, possibly we could work something out in a coordinated fashion.

Having served in Washington Mr. McCone knows what a busy time it is here and he doesn't want to impinge on your time but asks if you could have someone call him as to your reaction to the above as well as with any suggestions you may have.

TOI

NDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11:10 pm. Tuesday
March 15, 1966

MR. PRESIDENT:

Watts

Hale ^XChampion, Pat ^XBrown's man in Sacramento confirmed Ramsey
Clark's report that the situation in Watts now looks "fairly encouraging."

The troublemakers are confined to a 3-6 block area and are quieting
down.

Alvin, Texas

Attached is a UPI ticker item summing up the situation. This is
substantially in accord with the information that I have gathered
throughout the evening.

Larry Levinson

Attach.

PLANT 3/15 DA
ALVIN, TEX. (UPI)--AN EXPLOSION TOUCHED OFF BY GASOLINE LEAKING
OUT OF A PIPE ROCKED THE MONSANTO CHEMICAL PLANT IN THIS SMALL
SOUTHEASTERN TEXAS TOWN TUESDAY NIGHT, BUT OFFICIALS SAID THE BLAST
WAS OF "MINOR" PROPORTIONS.

369A

BLAST 3/15 DA
ALVIN, TEX. (UPI)--AN EXPLOSION TOUCHED OFF BY GASOLINE LEAKING
OUT OF A PIPE ROCKED THE MONSANTO CHEMICAL PLANT IN THIS SMALL
SOUTHEASTERN TEXAS TOWN TUESDAY NIGHT, BUT OFFICIALS SAID THE BLAST
WAS OF "MINOR" PROPORTIONS.

W.F. ZIMMERMAN, MANAGER OF ALVIN'S CHOCOLATE BAYOU PLANT, SAID
EIGHT CONSTRUCTION WORKERS WERE SLIGHTLY BURNED IN THE EXPLOSION
AND RESULTING SMALL FIRE. THE INJURED WERE TAKEN TO HOSPITALS IN ALVIN
AND NEARBY LAMARQUE, TEX.

ZIMMERMAN SAID THE GAS LINES IN ONE SECTION OF THE PLANT WERE
UNDERGOING MAINTENANCE, WHEN THE GAS BEGAN TO LEAK OUT.

THE EXPLOSION TOUCHED OFF A SMALL FIRE, WHICH WAS EXTINGUISHED
WITHIN MINUTES BY PLANT FIREMEN.

DAMAGE WAS CONFINED TO A SMALL AREA AROUND THE LEAKING PIPES.
INITIAL REPORTS OF THE BLAST INDICATED IT WAS MORE THAN ROUTINE.
EMERGENCY RESCUE CREWS WERE CALLED TO THE SCENE, AND ALL AVAILABLE
FIRE FIGHTING CREWS WERE CALLED IN.

BUT SOON AFTERWARDS, ANOTHER CALL WENT OUT SAYING THE FIRE WAS
UNDER CONTROL.

DOCTORS AT GALVESTON COUNTY HOSPITAL IN LAMARQUE SAID ONE PERSON
HAD BEEN ADMITTED WITH ONLY MINOR BURNS, AND THAT THREE MORE WERE
EXPECTED TO ARRIVE.

A HOSPITAL SPOKESMAN INDICATED NO EMERGENCY PRECAUTIONS WERE BEING
TAKEN AND THAT MOST OF THE BURN VICTIMS WERE THOUGHT TO BE IN SERIOUS
CONDITION.

BK949PCS3/15..

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9:25 pm. Tuesday
March 15, 1966

MR. PRESIDENT:

Ramsey Clark has been in close touch with the FBI on the Watts situation.

His report is that 250-350 Junior High School students in the Watts area gathered this afternoon, shouted, and threw stones at some passing automobiles.

The crowd grew to about 500.

In the process a truck driver was pulled from his vehicle and stabbed.

Control has not been established over the crowd.

Ramsey has set up a "command post" at Justice and is watching the situation.

Frank Dryden is also getting reports from his Regional Director. One report from Los Angeles police inspector is that a white man has been shot through the head and another one injured

Joe Califano talked to Hale Champion who is the Director of Finance and Brown's number one man. Champion said that he would get in touch with us immediately if the situation began to worsen.

Joe Califano is at Cy Vance's house for dinner. There is a White House phone there. He can be back here in about ten minutes.


Larry Levinson

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

H. J. / STS
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
*PRR 11/11**
LAG 432
Rec 2, 4/1

Wednesday, March 16, 1966
4:15 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bill Moyers

Mr. President:

I am told that Roger Wilkins prevented another and more serious riot in Watts yesterday by intervening in a case in which a Negro was fired on the picket line and the company had refused to bargain. It was getting close to exploding when Wilkins stepped in and got people to talking with each other.

Maybe you should have Wilkins over, give him a little mandate to keep his eye on Watts and to report back to Califano. The picture would be good, the interest in Watts desirable, and it might even help renew the effort to move Community Relations to Justice.

Would you like Wilkins to come see you?

YES

NO

March 17, 1966

TO: MARVIN WATSON

FROM: Bill Moyers

I have asked Joe Califano to follow through on this.

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of _____

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1966
CENTRAL FILES

EXCLUSIVE

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PRINCIPAL FEDERAL OFFICER

The principal Federal officer will have the following responsibilities in the Los Angeles area:

1. To work with state and local government officials, who have the primary Government responsibilities, to assure them full Federal support in performance of their responsibilities.
2. To coordinate and expedite Federal services and programs, beginning with the 49 self help projects authorized by the President on September 2, 1965, and additional projects approved by the President or under development as a result of the Task Force report of September 17, 1965.
3. To make certain that the Federal services are conveniently available to all the individuals and state and city organizations that need them.
4. To simplify and streamline Federal operations in the area.
5. To work and consult with the Governor, the Mayor and other state and local officials.

6/7

EXHIBIT 3) -
11/2/57
Los Angeles
ST 5
P. J. (David (2))

I want to announce today that I have decided to appoint a seven member commission of distinguished Californians to make an objective and dispassionate study of what has happened in Los Angeles these last five days.

I will put no limits on the scope of the Commission's inquiries. I will ask only that it probe both underlying and immediate causes and recommend means to prevent reoccurrence. It is essential that all of us try to learn whatever can be learned from these tragic events here in Los Angeles and the lesser incidents in other California communities. The immediate struggle is between the forces of law and order and criminal elements of the Negro community, but that struggle is taking place in a far more complicated context. These occurrences have greatly changed the efforts of all men of good will to build a strong web of community relationships between the large and growing Negro populations of our city and the other residents of those cities and within minority groups themselves. We must understand as precisely as possible every aspect of what has taken place, and we will grope ~~as far into the future~~ our way into the future, fearful and uncertain because of ignorance and confusion about the past and present. The Commission will constitute not only a panel of distinguished leaders, but a paid staff of the greatest competency and integrity. I have been assured that the Commission can draw on the talents, experience and knowledge of experts in the national government to supplement our own very substantial state and local

2

capabilities for the difficult task ahead. The Commission and its staff will need every available asset in making their assessment and in conveying them to the public. I do not intend to bind the Commission members in advance in anyway. They themselves must determine what is relevant and what is not without regard to demands made upon them by any public or private individual group or agency.

There have been discussions of legislative inquiries and of demands for this or that kind of investimation in every ~~leave~~ level of government. There have been premature and unproved statements of every kind, including criticisms and efforts to fix individual and collective blame for what has happened. It is my strong conviction that only the most dispassionate and impartial evaluation possible made entirely out of the political arena and apart from any of the persons involved

~~involved~~ will gain public confidence and give us a ^{firm} ~~fine~~ basis for future action. I intend to proceed carefully and swiftly in the selection of the members of the Commission and will announce their names quickly as possible. I have one other announcement in order to facilitate the re-establishment of lines of communication and cooperation in this community. I intend to ask Leroy Collins, the former Governor of Florida, who has established an eminent record in this field to meet and ~~adv~~ advise me and Mayor Yorty here as soon as we are satisfied law and order have been adequately restored. President Johnson assured me Governor Collins will be available for such a meeting.

called
Hawkins
9/30, 10/10

30

LOS ANGELES PROJECTS

EXECUTIVE
11/2 - 11/3
11/4 - 11/5
11/6 - 11/7

1. Small Business Development Centers

. OEO administers the program. The President mentioned SBDC's in his September 2 announcement as one of the approved projects.

. Funds have been committed, but Sarge Shriver has not yet issued the check (called a "letter of credit"). He is still waiting for EYOA (the Los Angeles community action group which will handle the program) to submit certain compliance certificates (e. g. covenants not to discriminate in use of facilities, etc.) required by law.

2. Small Business Training Programs

. OEO administers this one also. Funds have not been committed yet because OEO is still trying to determine what kind of courses and how much.

. OEO hopes to get the program in shape at the end of next month. There will be a training program.

3. Compton Area

. The EYOA has been recognized by OEO as the single community agency to handle all of the poverty programs for Los Angeles. Collins trip finally established EYOA as the agency.

. The Compton group (headed by Reverend Williams and supported by Hawkins) has not been recognized as a separate entity by OEO because:

(1) There is a policy of having only one community agency per community, and Compton is basically part of Los Angeles.

(2) This "one agency" policy is designed to make administration easier, cheaper, and better and gives to one agency the visibility and power needed to bring off poverty programs.

. OEO, however, has been working with the Compton Group to get their proposals into shape for submission to EYOA (and then to the OEO Regional Director and finally to Shriver for approval). These proposals should be ready "in the near future".

. Shriver has written to Hawkins about Compton, taking the position outlined above.

. Aside from the "one agency per area only" the Compton Group doesn't qualify now as a recognizable entity because it is not broadly based (consists only of Reverend Williams and 11 housewives).

4. Broadway Manchester Business Club

. The complaint is that insurance premiums for businesses in Watts and other affected areas are getting unconscionably high and that some policies are being cancelled. This was set out in a telegram to the President dated September 17, 1965.

. Ramsey has this, but has not acted.

5. Youth Employment Programs

. Labor runs these on an experimental basis, and then turns them over to OEO once they are on-going.

. The program for South Central Los Angeles (Watts) runs to October 31 as does the Eastside Los Angeles (Mexican-American District) program.

. OEO and Labor are now in process of negotiating an OEO takeover. This should be accomplished before the end of October. If not, Labor will extend the programs until an agreement is reached.

1. Neighborhood Adult Participation Project

Proposal to sponsor project under Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers

*Poverty to
relieve*

2. Youth Employment Programs -- (South Central) and Eastside

Office of Manpower Training *WATTS* will this be received?

*main operating
not expected 31
Other here
Oct 31 update
date of update*

3. Coordination of Manpower Development programs under various Acts and Titles and simplification of procedures

4. Los Angeles Economic Development Agency (SEDC and Title IV loans)

10/27/71

- a. Funding of SEDC
- b. Funding of 2 training programs (managerial skills, business advisors)
- c. subcontracting from SYCA

*Will this be funded?
Lump sum - o.k. -
Skills - ? need answer
Need to know of funding*

5. Small Business Administration
Liquor stores ineligible for loans under SBA policy, as they would be in a disaster area.

*computer
input to
policy
+ L.A. County
- Share
Area in City*

6. Policy of SBA that funding of single purpose agencies and recognition of other Community Action Agencies in Los Angeles County is "a matter for local determination." Does this policy contradict the Act? Is this policy wise for Los Angeles area?

7. Insurance for businesses and residential properties

Broadway Manchester Business Club reports cancellation of policies or increase in premiums for businesses in the area in a letter to the President (September 17, 1970)

*the L.A. Co
to President
Secretary
The W.M.C.*

*Bank in
re: L.A.*

8. Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO raised issue of policy of the Building Trades Council as to "relaxation in NLRB restrictions relative to hiring hall procedures which would enable the employment of as many as possible of the unemployed residents in the affected area at the prevailing rate of pay."

9. What has been done to implement the President's \$29 million package program?

a. How much has been actually funded under SBA and C... since the eruption?

b. What is the status of Compton-Willowbrook-Interprise proposal? The Westminister Neighborhood Association proposal (pre-employment for 1,000 people in Watts area)?

Congressional hearings and recent events in Los Angeles have revealed operational weaknesses in the Economic Opportunity Act in that area which if not corrected can have widespread adverse effects not only on Los Angeles but nationwide. Findings indicate:

(1) Exclusion of true representatives of poverty areas by systematic planning which is producing unrest and hostility in minority communities.

(2) Inordinate delays in programs even after "acceptance" has been assured.

(3) Congressional representatives in affected areas are being ignored.

(4) Proposed investigations of the Ad Hoc Committee of the House Education and Labor Committee are most likely to pit Congressmen against our own Federal officials in interpretations and implementation of the law with Federal officials favoring local officials and Congressmen insisting that the "poor must be involved" more substantially at policy level.

(5) The image of City Hall in Los Angeles is at an all-time low among minorities in the poverty areas. Both inept police relations and a city administration unpopular among minorities and the poor have brushed off on the poverty program, the control of which is centered, with Federal help, in the city government. The policy of "public agencies" controlling the program must be weighed as to the desirability of creating a monopolistic-bureaucratic agency in the face

of mounting pressure from community groups that want and will demand innovative, creative and self-help programs.

(6) A political machine is on the make in Los Angeles that will further weaken the progressive administration of Governor Brown and his re-election chances as well as some Congressmen. This machine is moving into the Neighborhood Adult Participation (NAP) project of the OEO, the indigenous leadership program of poverty neighborhoods, a highly desirable part of the war on poverty but that part which is most susceptible to political abuse.

(7) There exists overwhelming sentiment, which is mounting, in the thirteen well-defined poverty areas in Los Angeles County for resident involvement and self-determination, a parochial spirit of hostility to "outsiders" who "feel themselves too good to live in the poverty areas" yet seeking to run the affairs within these areas. This trend is likely to become more nationalistic in nature if ignored or not handled constructively. It is not inherent in the program nor a true indication of the people's feelings but has been stimulated by an approach that has ignored the admonition expressed in OEO guidelines.

Recommendations:

(1) Immediate building of more indigenous leadership through continuation of the Neighborhood Adult Participation as a project independent of political control. This contemplates funding of this project independent of the local Community Action Agency. Logically, it should be sponsored

by the Federation of Settlements and Community Centers, a "grass roots" federation of private non-profit, community-based organizations close to the people. This Federation was used for the Summer Teen Programs when all other groups in recent controversies could not obtain approval. Both precedent and popular acceptance dictate its selection as the sponsor.

(2) More involvement of actual residents at the policy level with democratic selection instead of appointment as now contemplated. Election machinery in Los Angeles makes this feasible.

Misuse or abuse of such concepts as "democratic processes," "maximum feasible participation," and "mobilization of resources," as called for in the law and OEO guidelines create tensions and distrust as well as inefficiency in the programs. Either the concepts should be abolished altogether or observed. The OEO guide books are being widely read and cited by spokesmen in the poverty areas in support of their protests against "being left out."

(3) Immediate approval of long delayed Small Business Development Corporation under the Los Angeles Economic Development Agency; and utilization of this non-profit corporation for housing developments.

(4) Recognition of other Community Action Agencies in Los Angeles County with proper standards as to sufficient size and scope. Los Angeles County is too large and complex to permit only one octopus size Community Action Agency.

(Competition will insure more honesty and less politics.)

(5) Recognition of single-purpose agencies that can mount strong, creative programs with broad community support and potentially self-sustaining or capable of obtaining private support. (The recently signed agreement in Los Angeles contains a provision which provides for sub-regional screening. This can be used to screen out many acceptable and worthwhile proposals without adequate consideration.)

Yorty Aide
'Payroll
Padding'
Charged

Councilman Ernani Bernardi charged today "payroll padding" in a new mayor's office appointment.

Willard Murray, 34, currently field deputy to Councilman Billy G. Mills, was appointed by Mayor Samuel W. Yorty as executive assistant at a salary of \$17,028 yearly. He currently makes \$10,968 annually.

Yorty said Murray will serve as liaison with the Economic and Youth Opportunities Board which governs the local war against poverty program.

After extensive debate in the City Council session, Murray's appointment was sent back to committee and Mills, who heads the personnel committee, said another hearing will be held tomorrow.

Bernardi charged that the way in which the matter was handled is a "rather blatant and very flagrant disregard of our obligations and responsibility."

Yorty's Office Accused of Padding City Payroll

**Bernardi Raps Appointment of Mills Aide
to Poverty Post Paying \$17,000 a Year**

9-22-65 **BY ERWIN BAKER**
Times Staff Writer

Mayor Samuel W. Yorty's office was accused Tuesday of a flagrant attempt at payroll padding through the appointment of an aide to Councilman Billy G. Mills to a \$17,000 a year anti-poverty post.

The charge was made at a stormy City Council session by Councilman Ernani Bernardi, who also accused the mayor's office of trying to change council procedure in securing the appointment of Willard Murray Jr. to the Economic and Youth Opportunity Agency.

Bernardi did not mention the mayor by name, but limited his criticism to the mayor's office.

Murray, 31, a former aerospace engineer, now a \$10,000 a year field representative for Mills, would be an executive assistant to the mayor with duties as representative to the EYOA and related agencies.

Not in City Budget

Bernardi noted that the position would be a new one not contained in the city budget.

"This ought to point up to us the incongruity of the structure of government on the local level that fosters and encourages this type of payroll padding," the councilman said.

The council, by a 12-3 vote, ordered the appointment returned to its three-member personnel committee for a public hearing.

Mills, one of the three city members on EYOA, said the committee will take up the appointment at its regular meeting at 2 p.m. today.

Bernardi charged that in the new post Murray would be merely a "\$17,000 a year messenger boy" between the mayor's office and the EYOA.

He charged that a request by the mayor's office to bypass the council and refer the appointment directly to

BERNARDI

Continued from Third Page

the personnel committee "was a rather blatant, and very flagrant, disregard of the authority, responsibility, and obligations that we have."

Council minute clerk Monroe B. Wilson, backed by council president L. E. Timberlake, said such referrals were not unusual.

Mills, a member of the personnel committee, warmly defended Murray as a talented and gifted graduate engineer who had taken a sizeable cut in salary as an engineer to join his staff.

Mills denied the implication that "there was something peculiar in the manner in which the committee first considered Murray's appointment."

The councilman said the appointment was approved by another personnel committee member, Councilman Marvin Braude, at a special meeting.

The third member, councilman John S. Gibson Jr., said he was not present at the meeting, but later went along with the recommendation.

Gibson moved that the appointment be returned to the committee because the action "reflected on the committee."

Basis of Controversy

The controversy was born with a message from the mayor to the council on Sept. 14 naming Murray to the post.

Previously, the council had approved creation of a civil service position, paying between \$9,828 to \$12,240 annually, of mayor's representative to the Youth Opportunities Board, predecessor of the EYOA.

Mills said the mayor felt the responsibilities of the EYOA job were sufficiently broad to warrant the \$17,000 annual salary.

The YOA position was not filled before being supplanted by the EYOA post, which is exempt from civil service.

Yorty Denies Charges of Padding City Payroll

Cites County and School Board Appointees in Defense of Salary for Anti-Poverty Aide

7-23-65 BY ERWIN BAKER
Times Staff Writer

Charges of "payroll padding" in appointment of a city anti-poverty aide at \$17,028 a year were branded "loose and irresponsible" Wednesday by Mayor Samuel W. Yorty.

The charges had been made by Councilman Ernani Bernardi in connection with the appointment of Willard Murray Jr., a field representative for Councilman Billy G. Mills.

Murray was named an executive assistant to the mayor to serve as the city's liaison representative to the Economic and Youth Opportunity Agency. His pay would be increased more than \$6,000.

Yorty said the city and county school boards and the county already had such representatives on the Youth Opportunities Board (now the EYO) and that the county representative is being paid "about \$18,000."

Salary Figures

Records show, however, that the city schools representative receives \$17,952, while the county probation department representative gets \$14,832 and the county schools representative \$14,040.

At his weekly news conference, Yorty said the city is the only one of the four powers that has not been represented and has already "wasted" several years in which its interests should have been protected.

He claimed the appointment was held up for years by Mrs. Rosalind Wyman, a longtime Yorty foe who was defeated for re-election to the council earlier this year.

The job has been under consideration for two years, but just a few weeks ago was approved by the council as a Civil Service position with a salary range of \$9,828 to \$12,240. The new position as administrative assistant pays the \$17,028 and is Civil Service exempt.

Yorty, however, disputed Bernardi's claim that the job

YORTY

Continued from Third Page

was not in the mayor's budget. Not only is it in the budget, Yorty said, but half of the salary will be paid by the federal government under terms of the Economic Opportunity Act.

He added that he doesn't think the job should be under Civil Service, because staff aides for the mayor and the council are not.

"I'm sorry about this loose charge," Yorty said. "It's the sort of thing I thought was behind us in the council."

Says Murray Reluctant

But he added that he doesn't think the "honeymoon is over," because "one irresponsible charge doesn't label the whole council." He termed the council a "good one" and said he hopes to continue working with it.

Yorty also echoed Mills' statement that the councilman did not want to lose Murray, and added that even Murray was reluctant to take the job.

The mayor said he was

pleased Murray had agreed to accept "at my urging" and expressed confidence he will look after the city's interests in "a big job."

Later in the day, the council's personnel committee unanimously recommended appointment of Murray to the post of executive assistant. It now goes before the full council.

The committee, comprised of Councilmen John S. Gibson Jr., Marvin Braude and Mills, heard Murray described as "one of the bright young scientists of our times" by Joseph M. Quinn, special assistant to the mayor.

On another subject, Yorty said he was applying for federal funds for public works projects in nine designated poverty areas of the city. Such funds previously were not available because the city as a whole did not have a 6% unemployment rate, he said.

He said the federal assistance will permit doubling of projects and that the city's one-third matching funds are available.

COAST RIOT AREA GETS \$1.7 MILLION FOR RENEWAL JOB

U.S. Antipoverty Funds to
Finance Project Giving
Employment to 16,000

By GLADWIN HILL,
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 18—Gov. Edmund G. Brown announced tonight that \$1,770,000 in Federal antipoverty funds would be applied immediately toward rehabilitation of the 45-square-mile site of Negro rioting here.

Under a "work experience training program" already approved for Los Angeles County, the Governor said, up to 16,000 men and women will be employed.

Mr. Brown's announcement came after the first night without a curfew in the riot area since Saturday. A total force of 15,000 National Guard troops and law-enforcement officers maintained reduced patrols in the Negro area in southwestern Los Angeles centering on the Watts district.

Only one major clash occurred following the lifting of restrictions on night-time movement on the streets.

An early-morning battle between 50 policemen and a number of Black Muslims at their mosque led to the arrest of 59 persons and the hospitalization of four others.

Arms Movement Reported
The police said they had been met by gunfire when they went to investigate a report of arms being trucked to the headquarters of the militant Negro racist movement.

The federally financed rehabilitation program will operate in public areas—widely littered with wreckage as if struck by a tornado—and also private properties constituting a hazard to public health.

Priority in hiring will be given to welfare recipients and people of low income economically hurt by the devastation.

The county's superintendent of charities, William Barr, said today that activity had been fairly light at three offices of the Bureau of Public Assistance in the riot area. Social workers assigned to the area have encountered few dire situations, such as food shortage, he said.

Arrests Top 3,800

The total of persons arrested since the disorders erupted last Wednesday night reached more than 3,800. The death toll remained at 33.

The arraignment of prisoners by the hundreds, on charges ranging up to murder, continued at the Lincoln Heights jail. Preliminary hearings were scheduled to begin tomorrow.

Anti-poverty funds approved for L. A.

Dr. Ellen Winston, U.S. Commissioner of Welfare, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has authorized anti-poverty work experience and training funds and workers to be used for emergency cleanup, repair, and food distribution in the riot-stricken areas of Los Angeles.

The action permits men and women taking part in the existing Los Angeles work experience and training project to help restore the area.

Following emergency services have been approved: Cleanup of public property.

Cleanup of private property when there is a threat to public health.

√Packaging and distribution of surplus food in family-size quantities.

Repair of riot-damaged homes owned by general and public assistance recipients.

with a limit of \$500 materials cost per house.

The California Department of Social Welfare is the State agency responsible for the Los Angeles work experience and training project. The \$17 million project was originally approved early in 1965 by Dr. Winston, under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The project's objective is to improve the ability to work of some 5,600 unemployed men and women in riot emergency areas and other needy parents.

Dr. Winston's authorization for use of these men and women in riot emergency work extends until September 30, and stipulates the use of only persons physically able to perform the assigned duties and gives priority to area residents on public welfare.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

EXHIBIT
10/2/66
L. R. ...
10/2/66

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JOSEPH CALIFANO

ON: Department of Labor Activities and Projects in Los Angeles

Here is a listing of specific activities under Labor Department programs which can be redirected, enlarged or expedited, or launched quickly to ease unemployment pressures in Los Angeles, particularly in the Watts district and other parts of the city's South Central area.

These are activities which can be financed within FY 1966 budgets, although several would require reprogramming of funds from possible activities elsewhere.

Unemployment Compensation

Unemployment insurance claims have increased because of the recent destruction or shutdown of business establishments. These claims will be processed quickly to provide payments to eligible unemployed workers.

Extra employees have been assigned to handle the greater load. Temporary additional offices will be opened if necessary. The California agency plans to be as liberal as possible in permitting backdating of claims and excusing of late reporting, so that eligibility of claimants is not impaired by inability to report during the riot periods.

Employment Service

The Watts district is now served by Employment Service offices in other areas. A temporary new office can be opened quickly in the Watts district to facilitate and step up recruiting, screening, referral and placement services (for both training and employment

opportunities) for residents of that area .

Youth Opportunities Board

The YOB is an ongoing indigenous Los Angeles organization providing counseling , basic education , work experience programs , referral to training and jobs , and other services to 17 to 21 year old youth under contracts from the Labor Department's experimental and demonstration program . (Its funds come also from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and the Neighborhood Youth Corps , as well as private foundations and other sources .)

One of its contracts under the experimental and demonstration program , focusing on the East Los Angeles area (largely Mexican-American population) , is due to expire at the end of October . A second contract , concentrating on the South Central area (including Watts and a heavy Negro population) , is now being continued on a month-to-month basis .

Consideration can be given to extension of these two contracts to the end of the year to meet immediate current needs in both these major LA areas .

Consideration can be given also to temporary broadening of the age group it serves in the South Central area to include young adults age 22 to 30 . This age bracket has a high unemployment rate and includes a large number of those arrested during the riots .

Neighborhood Youth Corps

NYC projects (for which the YOB is the sponsor in Los Angeles) could provide additional work-experience opportunities for youth from the Watts district and could be used to meet part of the forthcoming task of restoration of the riot-shattered area .

There are now some 13,200 enrollees in NYC projects in LA: 8,000 are in-school youth on two projects due to terminate at the end of September; almost 5,200 more are out-of-school youth in a project extending to the end of December . (About 1,800 of the enrollee total are from South Central Los Angeles .)

In addition, there are some 1,500 unfilled positions for in and out of school youth for which funds have already been allocated until the end of September for various community service tasks.

The NYC program could be directed specifically to the Watts area in three ways:

(1) It could stress recruitment of Watts area residents (by YOB, ES, and a planned Youth Opportunity Center) for the unfilled positions and could extend their work for a period beyond September. (This could be done within present budget allocations for Los Angeles.

(2) It could redefine the work to be performed by enrollees in the now-unfilled positions to cover riot-area restoration rather than the other community service tasks now designated. (This too could be done within present budget.)

(3) It could establish an additional project, with emphasis on enrolling of Watts youth, expressly for restoration activities. (This would require reprogramming of funds within the anticipated overall California allocation.

Youth Opportunity Centers

Plans for a network of these centers in Los Angeles were announced earlier and funds for them have already been approved.

One YOC is scheduled for location in the Watts area.

Its tentative site was destroyed in the riots, but another site is being sought. It can be staffed quickly, both by assignment of supervisory and experienced personnel from within the California employment security agency and by trainees soon to graduate from three "CAUSE" training projects in the state.

The YOC would recruit and screen Watts area youth for NYC projects, the Job Corps (about 100 LA youth, including 40 from the Watts area, have already been referred to Job Corps camps by the Employment Service), other training opportunities, or specific jobs, and would provide specialized counseling services.

On-Job Training (OJT) Under MDTA

Three established and one possible significant new OJT activities are relevant:

(1) A new contract with the Urban League of Los Angeles was signed in July to develop 400 OJT training slots. This effort can be sped up and enlarged. The Employment Service is ready to recruit larger numbers of trainees; additional Urban League personnel would have to be arranged for increased job development efforts.

(2) The YOB is already conducting a sizable OJT program. An estimated 500 positions are being directed to South Central area unemployed. This will be carried forward as rapidly as resumption of normal business activities permit.

(3) There are several major nationwide OJT contracts underway with national organizations such as the American Hospital Association. They could be urged to emphasize in the period immediately ahead the development of their OJT activities in the Los Angeles area.

(4) A new community-wide OJT program could be initiated, along lines newly developed in several cities, including San Diego and Oakland. This requires direct participation of the Mayor, other community officials, and leaders of minority groups and other private organizations.

A program for such training for 1,000 unemployed persons in Los Angeles is a reasonable initial target.

The contract for this program would provide funds, not only for training, but for the contractee (either the city or other organization or group it designates) to hire a staff of local job developers to work with the employer community and to negotiate the desired OJT sub-contracts with individual employers in L.A. OJT has the advantage of putting unemployed persons on the job at the very start of training, and with high assurance of continued employment on completion of training: Well over 90% of those in OJT programs are retained by the employer upon finishing their training.

Institutional training under MDTA

There are now nearly 60 MDTA institutional training projects in progress for over 900 trainees in Los Angeles. (It cannot readily be determined how many are from the South Central or Watts area.)

Another 8 projects are starting up in the latter half of August. They are putting another 350 persons into training.

In the last two weeks, 16 more projects for over 1,200 more unemployed persons have been funded, but recruitment, arranging of teaching facilities and instructors, and other preparatory work will ordinarily require at least several weeks and in some cases a good deal longer before the course is actually started.

Finally, another 35 potential projects for 3,500 additional persons are being developed but have not yet reached the final review stage.

It would be possible to (a) expedite the start of projects already approved, (b) speed up processing of those already identified as possible projects, and (c) intensify recruiting and selection from the South Central areas where the nature of the project makes this feasible.

A new MDTA activity recently launched in Los Angeles could usefully be stepped up, also with particular stress on South Central area residents. It provides institutional training, without establishing a full class or project, by referring individuals to ongoing courses conducted by approved educational institutions of all kinds; unemployed workers so referred are eligible for MDTA training allowances while taking such a course.

Temporary agricultural employment

Recruitment from the South Central area can be increased to meet forthcoming demands for temporary farm work, particularly for the tomato harvest. At least 16,000 tomato pickers will be needed shortly; some 4,000 will be needed by the first week of September and another 4,000 the second week.

Additional staff resources

Over 100 Californians are completing next week the CAUSE training program classwork to become counselors and community workers. After Labor Day, they are due to begin 4 weeks of on-the-job training in YOB and Employment Service activities. Most of them can quickly be made available to serve as additional youth-worker resources in the South Central area.

There are three distinct groups: Some, with masters' degrees, have been in training in San Diego to become counselors. Others, with bachelors' degrees, have been in training at UCLA to become "counselor trainees". The third group, with no college degree, have been in training at the YOB to become "community workers"; of 25 Californians in this group, 5 are from the Watts area.

Secretary of Labor

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3
CONFIDENTIAL

Material dictated by John^x McCone.

Mr. McCone may be reached in
Los Angeles at 629-3631, if
needed.

MCC

CONFIDENTIAL

12-1-68
57

Governor Brown charged the Commission on the Los Angeles riots with specific areas which he wishes them to investigate. They are:

1. To prepare an accurate chronology and description of the riots and attempt to draw any lessons which may be learned from such a study. These should include:
 - a. Circumstances surrounding the arrest which touched off the riots.
 - b. The performance of law enforcement, the National Guard, and its effectiveness.
 - c. The performance of individuals, both white and Negro, in attempting to control the riots.
 - d. Why the riots continued, why they spread, and possible outside stimulation, if any, behind them.
 - e. The circumstances surrounding deaths, injuries, property damage.
 - f. The weapons used, how they were obtained, and where such sinister devices as Molotov Cocktails came from.
2. The Governor asked the Commission to probe deeply into the underlying causes of the riots including:
 - a. The sociological and physical conditions in the area.
 - b. The opportunities for Negroes in employment, education and recreation in the troubled area and the attitude and awareness of the Negro community regarding those opportunities.
 - c. Public and private welfare programs available in area and the extent to which they are utilized.

- d. Pertinent facts regarding the individuals involved including age, education, family status, habits, family situation and associations.
 - e. Attitude of rioters toward the community and law enforcement officials.
 - f. Significance of looting in stimulating and prolonging the riots.
3. The Commission should develop recommendations for action designed to prevent a recurrence of these tragic disorders and prescribe what additional can be done by any level of government or by private citizens to prevent a repetition of riots and bloodshed.

The Governor expressed hope that the Commission studies would assist in solving the problems in Los Angeles, in other cities in California, and in cities throughout the Nation. He asked that the report be completed by December 1.

Mr. McCone stated that the Commission was determined to make a study in depth of the problems outlined by the Governor. He said that the Commission was agreed that objectivity is of the greatest importance and the Commission will not tolerate prejudice on the part of the Commission or its staff.

A series of questions from the press developed the fact that the Commission will be independent of any State, county, city or Federal agency, but they utilized to the fullest extent information and statistics developed by such agencies or by private institutions, educational institutions or foundations.

Taken on the typewriter by phone
from John Perry in Los Angeles.

To,

Suggested telegram to be sent to the OEO by representatives of each
of the 4 Joint Powers

The Joint Powers have met and agreed to incorporate the following agreements in a new Joint Powers statement which will then be forwarded to our respective agencies for ratification. In light of this agreement and in accordance with commitments made by representatives of the OEO we ask for immediate approval of all pending Los Angeles proposals under Title 2-a.

1. There will be organized a new joint powers board to include ~~12~~ 16 representatives from the public agency sector, 10 representatives from the groups and areas to be served by the program and 5 representatives from the private agency sector.
2. The 10 representatives from the groups and the areas to be served will be democratically selected in accordance with a plan to be developed by the American Arbitration Association. This plan shall be developed and implemented in a period not to exceed 6 months from date of telegram. It is our understanding that the total cost of this procedure will be paid for by the OEO.
3. An interim representation from the groups and areas to be served shall be named for a period not to exceed 6 months. This representation shall be selected in the following manner:
 - (a) 4 nominees from the Mayor's Committee for Economic Opportunity
 - (b) 4 nominees from the Los Angeles Anti-Poverty Committee

These nominees shall be resident in the City of Los Angeles and shall in each case be equally divided between those who are negro and those of Mexican-American descent. The Mayor shall appoint two interim representatives from each of the four nominees, so as to give equal representation to the negro and Mexican-American communities. Two additional nominees shall come from the organized negro community and two from the organized Mexican-American community. From each of these the Mayor shall appoint one interim representative, thus assigning to the City of Los Angeles 6 of the 10 representatives of the groups and areas to be served. Two nominees shall be presented to the Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors from the organized Anti-Poverty Screening Boards in Pasadena, Long Beach and Compton-Willow Brook-Enterprise. From each of these the county shall select one interim representative. Two nominees shall also be presented to the county by the organized Mexican-American community and these shall be resident in an area outside the City of Los Angeles. From these latter two the county shall select one interim representative, thus giving the county a total of 4 representatives from amongst the groups and areas to be served. The interim representatives from both the city and county shall not be eligible to succeed themselves as first-term

permanent representatives.

4. Those communities desiring to establish area screening boards for the purpose of recommending program shall have a majority of their membership from the groups and areas to be served. These representatives shall be chosen in a manner to be devised by the American Arbitration Association. Interim representation on area screening boards shall be established in a manner and spirit similar to the process described in paragraph 3 above. Area screening boards when established shall also have representation from organized ethnic groups, where most groups constitute a significant portion of the population to be served by the program in that area.

5. ~~This affirmation~~ Disaffirmation or removal of any member of the new Joint Powers Board or any area screening board shall be made only upon action of two thirds of the membership of that board.

6. It is our understanding that the new proposals for Title 2-a funds, other than those already submitted, will not be considered by the OEO until the above agreements have been ratified by the Joint Powers and the interim representatives from the groups and areas to be served have been seated and have had the opportunity to participate in the review of programs.

RECEIVED

APR 19 1966

(5)

Dear Mr. Robinson:

The President has asked me to reply to your thoughtful letter of March 17, 1966, regarding the Watts area in Los Angeles, California.

We agree with your judgment that the root of the problem among residents of Watts is social frustration and a feeling of alienation from the community as a whole. We agree also that meaningful progress can come by giving these unfortunate people skills, self-reliance, jobs, hope and a motive to participate in the mainstream of society.

The provision of decent, safe, and sanitary housing and an improved environment, while not the only need, is an important one and constructive actions to improve housing and environmental conditions, if community support and participation are involved, can provide a viable focus for the social and educational remedies which are also needed.

The resources of various federal programs, including those in the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Office of Economic Opportunity are being made available to local citizens to assist in accomplishing these objectives.

The Federal Housing Administration, in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, is now negotiating with nonprofit sponsors from the Watts area itself who desire to use the Section 202 (a) (3) program to finance the construction of new housing at modest cost. I hope very much that these plans will mature shortly.

It would certainly be desirable if, in connection with this and other proposed construction activities, residents of the area could be

RECEIVED
APR 23 1966
GENERAL INVEST

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6:20 p.m., Wednesday
May 18, 1966

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

Here is a brief report on the situation in Watts which I received from Winslow Christian, Governor Brown's aide, on this matter.

Two days ago, a Negro motorist was killed by a L. A. city policeman on the highway. Since then, statements by the city police have been confusing and contradictory and have offered no valid explanation for the shooting.

At 5:30 last night, a crowd of 500 policemen assembled in a park in Watts. The crowd was steamed up by several Negro clergymen, and identified members of the DuBois clubs there. The crowd by acclamation passed some sort of resolution demanding reformation of the police department.

The crowd then went to a police station but left it before any damage was done. There were a couple of liquor stores looted and some reporters from Newsweek were badly beaten. However, eventually the crowd was dispersed by a group of all white policemen.

There will be an inquest tomorrow in a large public hall concerning the shooting of the Negro motorist by the policeman. The District Attorney in the area, Mr. Younger, has selected this optional procedure to give immediate visibility to the wheels of justice. He also has representatives of the slain man's family assisting him to prepare for the inquest and suggesting questions. The recommendations coming out of the inquest is advisory only. At the end of the inquest, unless Younger and Governor Brown's people are caught by surprise, Younger plans to announce that he is taking the case to the grand jury.

Winslow Christian told me that the city and state police are alerted, and that various other preparations have been made (including contingency preparations for the possible use of the National Guard under State auspices, if necessary). They believe that this method of handling the case will cool things off.

While they are particularly concerned about the extreme leftist elements involved, their overall judgement now is that there will be no riot in Watts either tonight or tomorrow night, but that the situation will be tense.

~~EXECUTIVE~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 31, 1966
3:20 p. m.

Mr. President:

Mayor Yorty called and said the Coroner's verdict^x should be announced today. (You will recall this is the incident where a policeman shot a Negro man who was carrying his wife to the maternity ward of a hospital.)

The Progressive Labor Party, which is Communist controlled, is trying to incite a riot. The Mayor said he wanted the President to know this is a very tense situation and Federal help might be needed. The Mayor said he thought it would be wise to have troops quietly move into Fort McArthur.
x

The Mayor further said that Internal Revenue Service has notified him they want to audit his 1963-64 returns. He believes this is politically motivated.

Marvin

Information passed to
President, Joe Califano
and Harry McPherson.

Marvin Watson - requested Harry and
3:55 p. m. Joe to meet and to con-
tact Katzenbach and/or
Ramsey Clark.

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of -----

224H

WATTS 5/31 HC
URGENT
2ND DAY LD WATTS 116A
BY WILLIAM MCKIE
UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

LOS ANGELES (UPI)--A CORONER'S INQUEST INTO THE POLICE SLAYING OF A NEGRO MOTORIST, WHICH IGNITED DEMONSTRATIONS AND OUTBURSTS OF VIOLENCE IN THE RIOT-SCARRED WATTS AREA, WENT TO A JURY TODAY.

DEP. CORONER CHARLES LANGHAUSER INSTRUCTED THE PANEL OF EIGHT MEN AND ONE WOMAN TO DETERMINE WHETHER LEONARD DEADWYLER WAS KILLED ACCIDENTALLY OR "BY CRIMINAL MEANS."

THE JURY, WHICH INCLUDES ONE NEGRO MAN, RECEIVED THE EMOTION-CHARGED CASE AFTER EIGHT DAYS OF TESTIMONY BY POLICE AND WITNESSES CONCERNING THE SHOOTING MAY 7 AT THE END OF A HIGH-SPEED CHASE.

THE FINAL WITNESS, HOMICIDE SGT. CHARLES HIGBIE, TESTIFIED NEGROES WEARING BLACK MUSLIM INSIGNIA ATTEMPTED TO INCITE THE CROWD THAT GATHERED AFTER DEADWYLER WAS KILLED WHILE ALLEGEDLY TAKING HIS PREGNANT WIFE TO A HOSPITAL.

HIGBIE SAID OFFICERS WERE UNABLE TO PHOTOGRAPH THE DEADWYLER VEHICLE, WHICH WAS UP ON A SIDEWALK AFTER A WILD CHASE AT SPEEDS UP TO 85 MILES AN HOUR, BECAUSE OF THE INTERFERENCE.

HE SAID A NUMBER OF WITNESSES WHO VOLUNTEERED ACCOUNTS OF THE INCIDENT COULD NOT SUBSEQUENTLY BE LOCATED AND THEIR ADDRESSES AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS TURNED OUT TO BE FALSE.

ANOTHER CLOSING WITNESS WAS A HAM RADIO OPERATOR, LEN HANDLEY, WHO SUPPLIED A TAPE OF THE POLICE COMMUNICATIONS DURING THE CHASE. AT ONE POINT ON THE TAPE, POLICE VEHICLES WERE WARNED NOT TO ATTEMPT TO BLOCK THE ONCOMING DEADWYLER VEHICLE BECAUSE IT HAD TRIED TO SIDESWIPE ONE UNIT.

THE JURY WAS TO BEGIN DELIBERATION AFTER A LUNCH RECESS.

THE INQUEST WAS INFORMED LOS ANGELES POLICE ARE TRAINED TO POINT THEIR REVOLVERS AT SPEEDING CARS CONTAINING FELONY SUSPECTS OR DRAW THEM WHEN THE VEHICLE IS STOPPED.

PICKUP 2ND PGH 116A: INSP. JOHN
R&JY1237PPD

RECORDED

7:05 pm., Saturday
June 18, 1966

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

Attached is a confidential report Charlie Schultze has received on the Watts situation. It shows that programs we sent in there after the riots are not going well, largely because there is no one directing the over all effort.

It is not necessary for you to get into the details of the 3 page report, but I have marked the conclusions at the beginning.

I recognize the problems with a Presidential coordinator in the area and I have explained them to Charlie Schultze. Short of that, I think it is incumbent upon us to do something to make sure the Federal programs operate effectively, especially with the summer upon us.

I recommend that Schultze and I get together with Labor, HEW, Poverty and HUI to agree on a single individual to make sure the programs are operating effectively and are well coordinated. He would not be a Presidential representative, but a coordinator agreed upon and designated by the four agencies involved. I think this would avoid problems which concerned us when we were thinking in terms of Ramsey Clark or someone else sent out by the White House.

approved _____ Disapproved _____

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of _____

...reg the conc...
...for you to get into
...the over...
...the Watts situation...
...attached...
...to get started...
...to get started...
...to get started...

To: Director

From: WDC

Subject: Preventive Action in Los Angeles

A tally of Federal programs targeted on the Watts-East L.A. situations shows that most of them are in trouble. Taken together, the cumulative disappointments and shortfalls can contribute to another general brawl.

In a good number of cases, immediate action might make a difference.

We do not have any machinery in the LA area to focus on the total situation and work out solutions. The Federal Executive Board is not getting down to specifics. Nobody is "in charge" in a crisis sense.

I believe -- and I am not alone in this -- that the situation warrants the immediate assignment of a full-time, very able individual to Los Angeles as an Expediter: to have Presidential backing, to cut red tape, to keep track of projects being set up, and to report when he cannot resolve a stalemate. It would be impossible to keep this quiet, but the alternatives are worse.

Here is a run-down, based on information I have obtained informally and unofficially.

Los Angeles Youth Programs

<u>Program</u>	<u>Status</u>
Labor Department:	
NYC -- "in school program" -- \$6 million -- 9,500 summer jobs	OK
NYC -- "out of school" program -- \$3.7 million -- 2,925 jobs authorized, only 1990 filled -- poor quality jobs, poor pay, no transportation, poor quality CAA program	In trouble
MDTA - institutional training -- \$12.5 million -- 5,000 training positions, but only 3,100 enrolled -- La Board of Education attitudes, plus legal red tape, are slowing program.	In trouble
MDA - Job Skill Centers -- only one center in operation (200 trainees), other centers trying to get started. Some troubles with Board of Education.	In trouble

<u>Program</u>	<u>Status</u>
MDTA - On-Job-Training --- 4,700 slots approved for Watts, but only 1,500 filled. Lack of entry jobs for hard-core. Defense contractors need pushing.	In trouble
ES - Youth Opportunity Centers -- Six of these centers. Employment Service has set up new offices in the problem areas. Problem is lack of jobs for hard core.	In trouble
<u>Health, Education and Welfare</u>	
Title I, ESEA -- \$15 million for LA, with \$1.2 million for summer programs. Very little information available as to what the target area programs are. School board very conservative/	Unclear
Maternal and child health...LA is the only one of 10 major cities unable to formulate a proposal for H.M. Conservative local health people, bad communication with USC.	In trouble
Dental program -- not moving. Participating dentists in wrong places. No transportation available. Shortage of dentists.	In trouble
Health Centers Project -- unable to get started since August 1965. Resistance from local medical fraternity, and local health authorities aren't pushing.	In trouble
Welfare programs: lack of welfare offices in most needy areas. Almost impossible for needy to reach existing office by local transportation.	In trouble
Special training in work habits -- four centers authorized, 3 in operation. Capacity for 130 trainees, only 150 signed up. Pacoima office stymied for lack of a building.	Ineffective
Training unemployed heads of families -- \$1.7 million -- 2,193 trainees, being cut to 1,440 on budgetary training aspect.	Unclear

ProgramStatus

Day Care Training Centers --
Capacity to train 130 persons in child care. 27 positions filled. 2 of 4 centers in operation. Two others stymied by lack of local approval of buildings or sites. No transportation for children.

In trouble

Office of Economic Opportunity

\$2.9 million available for LA summer youth programs. CAA proposals very poor. CEO and City Hall have differences. Time running out. Civil Service sticky about hiring youths with police records.

In trouble

Headstart -- sites were picked without prior inspection. Most of them need repairs. City authorities insist on meeting building codes. City Council has asked CEO for $\frac{1}{2}$ million for repairs before permits are issued.

In trouble

Regular CEO programs -- \$27.5 million provided in 1966 to LA. Friction with City Hall, local action agency, and the poor. Local agency unable to administer programs. 75% of poor not being reached by programs.

In trouble

Operation Champ (Fitness) -- 350 youths to be employed, but Civil Service sticky on hiring youths with police records.

In trouble

Housing and Urban Development Programs

Renewal plans for Watts and East LA funded by small grants, but for study and planning only. Negligible summer impact.

FHA has contracted to lease 1000 units of housing, but 500 are for senior citizens who don't get involved in local tensions.

Low Income Housing Demonstration Grant application received for 15 eight-unit Watts apartment buildings for rehabilitation. Still in scope, little overall impact.

Grant approved for 2.7 million for east-west bus service in Watts. Crucial. But buses can't run until settlements are reached with several franchised bus companies, and then with the various unions.

In trouble

FHA seems to have tightened credit policy for rehabilitation and building in Watts area.

In trouble

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1966

TO: Marvin Watson

FROM: Clifford L. Alexander, Jr. *Cijj*

Re: Letter from George Knox Roth ^X

I would agree with Roth that the calls for "Black Power" represent a very serious problem for the country. I would disagree, however, with his suggested solutions. First of all, to draw more attention to Watts, in my opinion, would only serve to underline how little has been done in this area. The basic condition of the Negro in that part of Los Angeles, from what I understand, is fundamentally unchanged since the riots.

Secondly, while we should attempt to emphasize the positive, it would be necessary for the President to indicate specific programs when talking about improving the condition of the Negro in America. The responsibility for these programs must rest more and more in the private sector and with State and local governments. The establishment of a National Center for the Appreciation of Negro Contributions to American Life is a little esoteric, in my opinion, for dealing with pragmatic problems. Perhaps in the near future the President will want to say something about those who irrationally cry for Black Power. Watts, however, is not the place to make such a speech.

Within the next few weeks we should have the follow-up machinery for the Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" moving. At that time, the President might want to talk about some practical programs that the Federal Government, and more importantly, State and local governments and the private sector, could undertake to improve the lot of minority groups in this nation.

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 7/13/66
L.W.

file
EXECUTIVE (6)

PL/ST5

HU2

HU2/ST5

FG999

JOHN ALEX McCONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 90017

August 17, 1966

EXECUTIVE

Handwritten notes:
Handwritten initials and scribbles, including "Handwritten", "575", and "Handwritten".

Dear Joe:

Attached is a letter that Warren Christopher and I have just delivered to Governor Brown, together with a copy of a Staff Study on actions taken on the recommendations of our Commission Report. I am sure this will interest you. When you have finished with it, you might pass it on to others who have a particular interest in progress in this area. You will note that some things are good, some not so good, but I am inclined to "call a glass of water half full and not half empty."

I will look forward to receipt of the information you are gathering up to send to me. I deeply appreciate your help. For your information, I have agreed to make a major speech at the Advertising Council Dinner in New York on December 14th and intend to deal with certain aspects of the problems in our city. I'll need your help!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John A. McCone
John A. McCone

Mr. Joseph Califano
The White House
Washington, D. C.

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION
ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS

STAFF REPORT OF ACTIONS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THE
RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

August 17, 1966.

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS

P.O. BOX 54708, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90054



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Mr. John A. McCone
VICE CHAIRMAN
Mr. Warren M. Christopher
MEMBERS
Judge Earl C. Broady
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The Very Rev. Charles S. Casassa
The Rev. James Edward Jones
Dr. Sherman M. Mellinkoff
Mrs. Robert G. Neumann

August 17, 1966

Governor Edmund G. Brown
State Capitol
Sacramento, California

Dear Governor Brown:

We transmit herewith an inventory prepared by the staff of the Commission of the action taken on the principal recommendations contained in the Report entitled, "Violence in the City, an End or a Beginning," which was transmitted to you on December 2, 1965.

I.

In our December 1965 Report, we observed that at the core of almost every major city in our nation, conditions of life are marginal, and law and order have only a tenuous hold. Sadly, the accuracy of this observation has been confirmed by news of riots by Negroes in a list of places that reads almost like a glossary of American cities -- Bakersfield, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Lansing, New York, Oakland, Omaha, San Bernardino, San Francisco, Washington, D. C., and far too many more. Against this background of riots and disorders which fill the headlines almost daily, are there any who can now doubt that this sickness in the center of our cities is our nation's number one domestic problem?

II.

There has been no major disturbance this summer in the South Central area of Los Angeles. Nevertheless, tension has continued to be high. An outburst of

Governor Brown
August 17, 1966

2.

violence on May 15, 1966, took two lives but was brought promptly under control by a combination of efficient police work and the efforts of many people in the area to support the law rather than the lawless. The Leonard Deadwyler incident on May 7, 1966, produced a very intense reaction from the community but responsible action by public officials and many citizens of the community prevented escalation. And, throughout the year, there have been a succession of violent incidents between law enforcement officers and gangs or groups of youths, which serve as a reminder that there is no room for complacency about this problem.

III.

We are encouraged, but far from satisfied, by the progress made since last December in dealing with the problems identified in our Report. The staff inventory which we are transmitting shows that significant progress has been made on all but a few of the recommendations contained in the Commission's Report.

IV.

Improvement in the educational achievement of the Negro is of fundamental importance to the solution of the whole spectrum of problems of race relations. That judgment was the foundation of our Commission's recommendations in the field of education. The items summarized below indicate that much effort has been expended and a commendable start made, but nevertheless, that a larger commitment of resources is essential.

The \$189 million Los Angeles school bond issue, which was passed last June by an overwhelming margin, will provide funds to end double sessions, although it will take some time for the construction of the necessary facilities to achieve this goal.

A substantial improvement has been made in library, cafeteria, and counseling facilities in schools in the South Central area, and many additional facilities are programmed.

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3.

(Regrettably there has not been a comparable improvement in these facilities in schools in the Mexican-American areas, and we sound a sharp note of concern on this point.)

There has been a sharp increase in the number of Headstart and other pre-school programs in the disadvantaged area, but the programs have been hampered by the inadequacy and uncertainty of support, with the result that only a minor fraction of the three and four year olds in the affected area are participating in the programs (and a diminished federal contribution will apparently require a reduction in the number of classes in the fall of 1966).

The "Emergency Schools" program which we believed last December, as we do now, to be absolutely essential for areas of substandard educational achievement has not been adopted, although the 1966 California State Legislature provided assistance for reduction of class size and for supplemental reading programs.

The problem of attracting teachers to the South Central area, which has been aggravated in the last eight months, adds to the urgency of adopting an "Emergency Schools" program which will provide a more satisfying classroom situation for teachers in the disadvantaged areas and thus aid in recruitment of teachers as it has in the More Effective Schools Program in New York.

The absence of greater achievement on the Commission's education recommendations does not stem from any lack of agreement regarding their merit; indeed, there seems

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to have been no serious dissent from the Commission's analysis of the problem or from the validity of the recommendations. Rather, budgetary considerations have kept the Federal, State and local governments from further implementation of the recommendations. We recognized in our Report that the recommended programs would be costly, but we believed then, as we do now, that it may be much more expensive in the long run for our society if the programs are not promptly adopted. It is our conviction now, as it was then, that we are taking an unnecessary and dangerous risk with our national destiny if we do not make a massive effort to raise the educational levels in disadvantaged areas.

V.

In the field of law enforcement, it is encouraging to find that there have been new and promising initiatives by the law enforcement agencies in their relations with members of the minority communities and in their efforts to recruit officers from those communities.

At a time when there is much divisive controversy over civilian review boards for law enforcement agencies, Los Angeles has the advantage that civilian control of the police department was long ago established by our City Charter. We believe that the civilian Board of Police Commissioners can play a vital and constructive role in police-community relations if it will fully exercise its authority under the Charter. Although there are some signs of greater activity by the Commissioners, we continue to doubt whether the Board, which meets but once a week, with compensation fixed at \$10 per meeting, is fully responding to the opportunity and the responsibility contained in the Charter.

The Police Department, with the approval of the City Council, has established an Inspector in Charge of Citizen Complaints, as recommended by our Commission. However, our recommendation that the "Inspector General" be "properly staffed with sworn officers and civilian personnel" so that civilian complaints could be investigated independently

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5.

and outside the chain of command has not been followed. If the failure to provide the Inspector General with the recommended staff assistance is an economy move, as we have heard suggested, we think it is a false economy.

VI.

Impressive results have been achieved in the field of employment and training. Because of the mobility of our population and the inexactness of community boundaries, precise figures are difficult to obtain. It appears, however, that jobs have been found in the last year for more than 10,000 residents of the curfew area by the State Employment Service working in conjunction with the Management Council for Merit Employment, Training and Research, and aided by the commendable cooperation of hundreds of employers in the Los Angeles area.

In the field of training, there are perhaps as many as a dozen separate training programs under way, supported by Federal, State and local resources as well as by private contributions. We are advised that these programs, when in full operation, will train several thousand men and women each year. Negroes are playing important roles in both the motivational and training aspects of these efforts. The pursuit of the training efforts, carefully coordinated with industry needs, offers promise that employment problems in the South Central area will be solved as training progresses.

In our Report, we emphasized that the ultimate success of the employment and training programs is dependent upon the motivation of the Negro to enter into training programs and upon his ability to compete for employment and advancement. As we said, unless he can shoulder his responsibilities in these respects, no amount of money, no amount of effort, no amount of training will be successful. We continue to believe that this is a basic fact of our competitive economy, and cannot be ignored by any segment of our society.

Governor Brown
August 17, 1966

6.

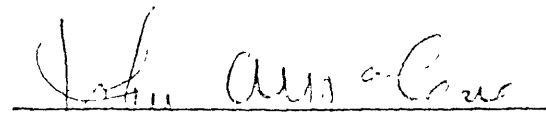
VII.

Perhaps the most encouraging single development since the publication of our Report has been the emergence of community efforts to improve conditions in the area and prevent a recurrence of strife. In our Report we stated that no amount of outside effort would be successful without the constructive assistance of the members and leaders of the Negro community. A beginning of such constructive community action has been evidenced by such organizations as Community Pride, Inc., by the recent Arts Festival on the anniversary of the riot, and by the several job training and placement efforts mounted in the community.

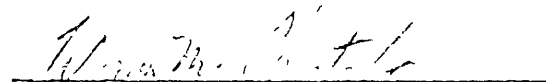
In this letter we have made general observations on programs in the fields of education, employment and training, and in law enforcement, the three areas of greatest concern to our Commission. The attached report treats these three subjects in greater detail and also reports on the welfare programs, consumer problems, transportation, health problems, housing and urban development, the city human relations commission, news media and certain recent state legislation.

With the constructive assistance of the community itself and with a new resolve to carry out programs recommended and planned for that area, we hope for an enhanced prospect that there will be an end to violence and a beginning of a new era of harmonious relationships between the races in Los Angeles.

Respectfully,



John A. McCone
Chairman



Warren M. Christopher
Vice Chairman

EDUCATION

The Commission considered education as "holding the greatest promise for breaking the cycle of failure;" however, based on its in-depth study of the quality and results of public education offered in minority communities, the Commission concluded that "the reading and writing level of students in the disadvantaged areas is far too low for them either to advance in school or to function effectively in society." The Commission further concluded that the "schools in the disadvantaged areas do not provide a program that meets the unique educational needs of culturally disadvantaged children."

The Commission strongly advocated "a new, massive, expensive, and frankly experimental onslaught on the problem of illiteracy," and propounded a series of recommendations "to strike at the heart of low achievement and break the cycle of failure."

Commission's Recommendation

Elementary and junior high schools in the disadvantaged areas which have achievement levels substantially below the city average should be designated as "emergency schools." In each of these schools, an "emergency literacy program" should be established, consisting of a drastic reduction in class size to a maximum of 22 students and additional supportive personnel to provide special services.

Status

Important steps have been taken to provide more aid to the schools in disadvantaged areas, but the Commission's specific recommendation for an emergency literacy program has not been fulfilled. A sharp reduction in class size and concentration of experienced personnel in schools in poverty areas has not been

accomplished, even on a pilot basis. Despite substantial aid from federal and state agencies, piecemeal efforts to implement new programs have not been effective in meeting the unique educational needs of the culturally disadvantaged, described in the Commission's report.

The 1966 California Legislature has appropriated millions of dollars for various school aid bills. The \$40 million Unruh School Aid Bill gives financial assistance to low-wealth school districts, and provides for the eventual reduction of class size down to 30 or 31 students.

The Miller-Unruh Basic Reading Act provides for reading specialists in the primary grades, and the McAteer Act (Senate Bill 28), for compensatory education, provides for a reduction in class size to 25 students in elementary schools in poverty areas. Under the provisions of this bill, school districts, to be eligible for funds, must demonstrate efforts to eliminate de facto school segregation. Los Angeles City Schools just received \$13 million under this bill, not sufficient to launch the massive educational reform called for by the Commission.

The More Effective Schools program for disadvantaged children in New York City provides for a drastic reduction in class size plus greatly increased supporting services and materials. This program continues to attract experienced teachers because it offers them a more professionally rewarding assignment. In Los Angeles, the problem of securing teachers to fill vacancies in the schools in disadvantaged areas has become more serious since the beginning of this year. There has been a 38% decrease in the number of teachers applying for teaching positions, and 317 tenured teachers have requested transfers from 67 schools in the disadvantaged areas. Several factors appear to account for the growing teacher shortage. First, teachers have been going to other areas where there is less possibility of racial tension and less frustrating teaching conditions. Second, the new state credential

requirement for a fifth year of college has discouraged many college students from entering the field of elementary education. As a temporary measure, the State Board of Education has agreed to allow provisionally credentialed teachers to work in Los Angeles City (and 239 other school districts) in order to alleviate the impending severe teacher shortage.

Professional teachers' organizations in Los Angeles are on record as favoring the Emergency Literacy Program, and they have stated that if such a program were put into operation it would attract experienced teachers to teach in disadvantaged areas.

Commission's Recommendation

A permanent pre-school program should be established throughout the school year to provide education beginning at age three. Efforts should be focused on the development of language skills essential to prepare children to read and write.

Status

Operation Head Start and other federally financed pre-school programs aimed at breaking the cycle of educational deprivation for the disadvantaged, have been launched throughout poverty areas in Los Angeles. In addition, a new state program of pre-school compensatory education for children who are recipients or potential recipients of public assistance provides for \$12 million in federal funds and \$4 million in state funds for the combined Los Angeles County program, the largest in the nation.

The pre-school programs have not been in operation on a permanent school year basis, as recommended by the Commission. Uncertain federal funding and delays in project approval have hindered the stability of the programs and discouraged the long-range planning necessary if projects are to have a lasting effect upon school achievement in poverty areas.

The Commission recommended that pre-school education begin at age three, but it is estimated that less than twenty per cent of the four-year-old children and less than eight per cent of the combined three and four-year-olds in disadvantaged areas have participated in these programs.

Commission's Recommendation

The Board of Education should consider whether double sessions can be lessened by arranging for children whose school is overcrowded to attend nearby schools with unused classrooms.

Status

There has been no reduction in the number of double session classes in Los Angeles City Schools since December of 1965, nor has the Board of Education utilized empty classrooms to alleviate overcrowded schools.

A significant step has been taken to implement long-range plans designed to eliminate all double sessions within three or four years. The \$189 million Los Angeles school bond issue, passed in June, provides funds for construction of new schools and classrooms. However, the Board of Education has not yet alleviated the current problem of overcrowding in schools. Despite 328 unused elementary school classrooms with space for more than 10,000 children, over 27,000 children were still attending double session classes at the start of the 1966 spring semester.

A proposal to reduce double sessions by a bus transportation plan was presented to the Los Angeles Board of Education in May, 1966. This proposal, inspired by the Commission's Report, was based on a computer analysis by Rand Corporation scientists and modeled after a parent sponsored program that has been in operation in Los Angeles for over two years, with 208 children participating. This proposal, to transport 2,160 children from crowded

elementary schools to schools with empty classroom seats at an estimated annual cost of \$260,000, was defeated by the School Board by a 4-3 vote.

Commission's Recommendation

Action should be taken to provide cafeteria facilities in the schools in disadvantaged areas and free or reduced-price meals should be provided for needy students in these areas.

Libraries should be provided in all schools.

Status

Cafeterias have been reactivated in three schools in South Central Los Angeles since the beginning of this year. Twenty-three new cafeterias are scheduled to be constructed with 1966 school bond funds in existing elementary schools in disadvantaged areas. No action has been taken on providing free or reduced-price meals for needy students in disadvantaged areas.

Libraries have been established or are now being established in most of the schools in disadvantaged areas. In addition, trained teacher librarians have been placed in fourteen schools.

Commission's Recommendation

Counseling and special services for students in the disadvantaged areas should be augmented.

Status

The student caseload for high school counselors has been reduced 21% in the Watts area and to a lesser extent in all disadvantaged areas. There has also been some augmentation in counseling services at the elementary

level, however, counselor loads are still considered to be too high.

Commission's Recommendation

Adequate special provisions should be made for all academically talented and gifted students to attend advanced courses, and where necessary, transportation should be provided to other high schools or universities for that purpose.

Status

Implementation of this recommendation has been limited to summer honors classes. Honors classes and enrichment workshops were offered to students who have shown high competence and potential in the academics and fine arts. Classes were held in six schools in the southwest area with students providing their own transportation.

EMPLOYMENT

The Commission considered employment as "the most serious immediate problem" facing the members of our minority communities. Unemployment and the consequent idleness was depicted as a major cause of despair, resentment, frustration, loss of human dignity and male stature, family disintegration, and anti-social behavior.

The Commission expressed its concern in a wide series of recommendations covering the military, all levels of government, business and labor leaders, training and placement, job opportunities, discrimination; and urged a combined, coordinated, massive attack on unemployment.

Commission's Recommendation

The Rehabilitation Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, in conjunction with others, should continue to operate in South Central Los Angeles and should establish joint counseling and employment functions in that area.

Status

The Rehabilitation Committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce continues to operate in the south central area of the city. It formed a non-profit corporation called the Management Council for Merit Employment, Training and Research, funded by the Haynes Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the aerospace industry. In an effort to implement the recommendation of this Commission, the Management Council has brought together available jobs and unemployed people, and has provided assistance and direction for training unskilled people for jobs now available and to be available.

The Management Council, working in conjunction with the California Department of Employment, estimates some 10,000 of the 25,000 Negroes who were unemployed one year ago, have been placed in industrial jobs. The Management Council's contribution to this progress included a direct appeal to the top management of hundreds of locally based corporate employers to assist by immediately hiring qualified but unemployed members of minority communities who live in disadvantaged areas. To date some 260 corporations are participating with the Council in this program.

In an effort to provide an answer to the oft asked question, "Train for what?" the Council has secured from its participating corporations an inventory of the skills needed now and in the immediate future.

On June 1, 1966 the Council's Manpower Development Committee held a meeting with the numerous organized units active in manpower development and training programs in the Los Angeles area. This Committee compiled details as to the type and extent of vocational and other training offered by each organization, characteristics of the group for which training is intended, and post-training services such as placement, job development and on-the-job training that each one provides. Information on the various training programs was distributed to each participating organization.

The Council is assisting in matching the training programs with the needs of industry.

Commission's Recommendation

A job training and placement center should be developed immediately in the curfew area through the combined efforts of Negroes, employers, labor unions and government.

Status

A number of job training and placement centers have been developed in the past year in disadvantaged areas, and most of them are in the early stages of operations.

1. An Opportunities Industrialization Center has been opened in Los Angeles. It has received \$450,000 from the Ford Foundation, and it has been organized and staffed by Negroes. The fundamental purpose of OIC is first to motivate the unskilled, untrained, unemployed adults and then to train them for employment opportunities on equipment and machinery provided by industry. They anticipate that in the next year they will provide basic educational and pre-vocational training to some 1,575 persons, and that they will train some 590 persons in needed occupational skills.

2. The Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance has been federally funded to train 3,019 adult recipients of public assistance for job placement through the Community Work and Training Program in the next year. They have also been federally funded to train 480 adults who are not eligible for any public assistance at four different locations in the county through the Project for Adult Training in the next year.

3. The California State Employment Service in conjunction with the Los Angeles School District and West Coast Trade Schools has been federally funded to train 5,705 adults and 3,480 youths at four different locations in the county through the Multi-Occupational Skill Development Centers, in the next year.

4. Economic and Youth Opportunity Agency of Greater Los Angeles has been federally funded to train 3,234 youths, age 16-21, at three locations in the county in the next year.

5. The California State Department of Rehabilitation has been federally funded to train 3,150

persons through their Adult Training and Counseling Project in the next year.

6. The Los Angeles Urban League has been federally funded to place 1,000 unemployed adults in on-the-job training projects with employers in the next year.

7. The Equal Opportunity Foundation has been federally funded to place 400 unemployed persons in on-the-job training projects with employers in the next year.

8. The Westminster Neighborhood Association has been federally funded to provide basic pre-vocational training to 356 youths in the next year.

9. Operation Bootstrap has been privately funded and anticipates training some 100 persons in the next year.

These programs anticipate training a total of 16,375 adults and 6,714 youths in the next year.

Commission's Recommendation

Federal and State governments should develop new facilities and additional means of communication to seek to insure that maximum advantages are taken of the many government and private training programs and of the available employment opportunities in the disadvantaged communities.

Status

There are a number of different training programs now in existence throughout the disadvantaged areas of the county.

Since April of 1966, The President's Committee on Manpower has had a three-man "task force" made up of

representatives from the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Los Angeles. Their purpose is to assist local officials to improve coordination of federal manpower programs, to review federally funded job development programs in this county, and to assist in placing the hard-core unemployed in industrial jobs.

The Management Council has also been active in coordinating training programs with job opportunities.

Commission's Recommendation

Employers should re-assess job qualifications with a view to considering whether it is feasible to increase employment opportunities for persons with arrest records, and blanket rejection of such persons should be discouraged.

Status

In response to President Johnson's message to Congress in March 1966, the federal government has been reviewing and re-examining its security requirements with the view of reducing prohibitions to employment for persons with minor arrest records. The U. S. Civil Service Commission on August 15, 1966 announced that it had eased hiring requirements of many federal agencies by eliminating questions regarding arrests from some federal employment forms.

The Management Council of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce is actively urging its hundreds of participating corporate employers to re-assess their hiring practices, distinguish between arrest and conviction, evaluate the severity and frequency of the offense, and consider the age of the person at the time of the incident and the amount of time that has elapsed since the incident.

Commission's Recommendation

Legislation should be enacted requiring employers with more than 250 employees and all labor unions to report annually to the State FEPC the racial composition of their work force and membership.

Status

No such legislation has been enacted as of this time. Legislative action during the 1967 session is anticipated even though the bill is not as yet drafted or prepared.

The Fair Employment Practices Commission strongly advocates that such legislation be enacted, and it suggests that the enabling legislation cover employers with fewer than 250 employees. In the event that this law is enacted, the FEPC is preparing procedures to make the law effective without being unnecessarily burdensome and duplicative.

Commission's Recommendation

The "California Proposal" for 50,000 jobs should be tested on a pilot basis before any massive program is launched.

Status

A modified proposal for a planning grant is presently pending before the Office of Economic Opportunity for funding.

The California proposal for a national program estimated to cost the federal government 2.5 billion dollars annually which would provide some 50,000 jobs in California and a proportionate number of jobs elsewhere throughout the nation was rejected in Washington.

Meetings between California officials and federal officials resulted in a proposal for federal funding of a pilot program for 2,000 socially useful jobs in California that would pay \$4,000.00 per year per employee. It was submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity on April 18, 1966. In June of 1966, this proposal was rejected with a suggestion that a new proposal for a two-month planning grant be submitted. This suggestion has been followed and such a proposal was submitted and is presently awaiting action.

Commission's Recommendation

The standards of selective service and recruitment for the Armed Forces should be reappraised to determine whether they are unnecessarily restrictive with respect to Negroes.

Status

The standards for acceptance into military service have not been revised. In July 1966 the President created the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service to review the entire selective service system and military recruitment policies and standards.

Since 1951, military records omit reference to race, color and creed, and selective service officials are under orders to disregard race, color and creed.

Examinations and evaluations of candidates for military service are standardized nationally and disregard race, color or creed. The three criteria are mental, moral and physical, with Armed Forces Examination and Evaluation stations bound to minimum standards set forth in Army Regulations as revised and published in 1961. Mental evaluation approximates the 6th grade mental level. Moral evaluation is based upon the candidate's individual record of civil offenses, subjecting him to rejection if his civil record shows him as a potentially disruptive influence beyond his productive potential in the service.

WELFARE

The Commission was "profoundly disturbed by the accelerating trend of expenditures" of welfare funds, particularly "during the present trend of unparalleled prosperity for our nation and state;" and while pointing out problems relative to obtaining, accepting, and administering welfare and expressing the hope that the welfare studies completed, initiated and contemplated would resolve these problems, the Commission still made several recommendations directed toward assisting "welfare recipients to become independent of public aid."

Commission's Recommendation

There should be a closer coordination between welfare and related agencies in seeking means which may provide avenues of independence.

Status

The 1966-67 budget for Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance is \$413,473,194, which is ten times the total amount of War on Poverty funds for Los Angeles. Administrative budget projections are up 26.5% over the previous year, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children is up 26.2% over the prior year. In 1966-67, a total of \$135,843,508 in payments to families with dependent children was budgeted by the Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance.

Two training programs were funded by the federal government for the California Department of Social Welfare in 1966. These programs are intended to help recipients or potential recipients of public assistance to become self-supporting.

The first is a grant for \$1,893,606, received in May, to continue existing community work and training programs for persons who are recipients of certain public assistance funds. The Bureau of Public Assis-

tance contracts with private industry and private vocational schools for employment training. Local school districts and the State Department of Education cooperate in providing needed educational services, and the State Department of Employment assists in job placement upon completion of the training. At the end of July, 1966, 963 persons had participated in the program.

The second is a new program funded by the federal government in January, 1966, for \$1.8 million. It is known as the Project for Adult Training (PAT) and provides training for chronically unemployed adults between the ages of 22 and 35 who are not eligible for public assistance. Single adults and married couples without children are eligible to receive financial grants for living expenses while in training. The program provides work training in cooperation with private industry and public agencies with assistance of the Department of Employment and local school districts. Four adult training centers have been opened since April, 1966, and are located in South Central Los Angeles, East Los Angeles, Venice and Pacoima. Two additional locations will be added. The total project is staffed to handle 480 trainees at a time. It is estimated that 720 persons will be trained during the year.

It is anticipated that these new programs will assist welfare recipients and potential welfare recipients to become self-supporting, thus reducing future welfare expenditures.

In an attempt to bring welfare services geographically closer to the residents in disadvantaged areas and improve the quality of services offered, the Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance has been conducting an experimental program (Public Welfare Project No. 220) in conjunction with local universities for the past two years. Teams of welfare workers have been located in three housing projects, Jordan Downs, Pueblo del Rio, and Marvilla, to give immediate personal attention to the needs of the local residents. This new approach to the integration and decentralization

of welfare services is expected to provide an opportunity to develop neighborhood participation, establish closer relationships between the community and the service center, and experiment with intensive case-work services.

Recent legislative action in California provides for the "one-stop" or service center concept that combines at one location representatives of several state agencies. The first of these service centers was opened in Watts on August 27, 1965. Multiservice Centers are intended to reduce dependence on welfare through job training, placement and related programs. Agencies cooperating include the Departments of Social Welfare, Department of Employment, Fair Employment Practices Commission, Apprenticeship Standards Division, Department of Rehabilitation, Department of Corrections, Public Health Department, Office of Economic Opportunity, Youth Authority, and Department of Mental Hygiene. Present plans call for the establishment of another center in East Los Angeles. Twelve centers throughout the state were approved for establishment during fiscal year 1966-67.

In June 1966, State Social Welfare Board awarded Space-General Corporation of El Monte a \$225,000 contract for a system analysis of welfare operations in California. The study will focus on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. The nine-month study is expected to result in recommendations for improving the welfare system in the state and a master plan for welfare in California.

Commission's Recommendation

Use of child care centers to free heads of families for employment or training should be emphasized.

Status

A federal grant of \$471,500 was funded in

October, 1965, for the establishment of four Day Care Centers in Los Angeles County on a pilot basis. The Day Care Centers are professionally staffed to train parents who are on welfare, while providing care for their children. The parents are to be trained in ten occupations related to the operation of Child Care Centers: teacher's assistant, cook, custodian, gardener, clerk typist, bookkeeper, maintenance man, administrative assistant, housekeeper and nurse's assistant. In one year the four centers are to train 267 parents on public assistance and care for 336 children.

The Day Care Centers are contracted by the Bureau of Public Assistance with school districts or with private agencies. Two centers have been opened. The Henderson Community Center of the Second Baptist Church opened in April, 1966, and the Willowbrook Children's Center opened in June, 1966. The Enterprise Children's Center is scheduled to open on September 12, 1966, and a fourth center is to open in East Los Angeles in the near future under contract with the Foundation for Mexican-American Studies.

This program is administered by the Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance, and if they are successful, a total of thirty Day Care Centers in Los Angeles County will be requested. These centers are the first of their kind in the United States.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The Commission's focus in this area was on the relationship between law enforcement and minority communities.

The Commission's recommendations were directed to the leadership responsibility of law enforcement agencies, particularly in reference to citizen's complaints, community relations and minority recruitment, in order to promote the "mutual respect and understanding" between law enforcement and the community it serves.

There is new leadership of the police department in Los Angeles. The continuing problems of police -- community relations offer a most significant opportunity which that leadership and the community it protects and serves cannot afford to reject.

Commission's Recommendation

The Board of Police Commissioners should be strengthened so as to enable it to discharge its City Charter responsibilities.

Status

The Los Angeles City Charter is unique in that it provides for a civilian Board appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by the City Council, to be the head of the Police Department, charged with the responsibility of establishing policies, supervising and managing the Department, and seeing to it that its policies are followed. There is no limitation on the number of meetings the Board may have in fulfilling its duties. Its compensation and staffing are regulated by the City Council and Mayor through ordinances and budgeting.

After 16 years as Chief of Police in Los Angeles, William H. Parker died on July 16, 1966. Deputy Chief Thad F. Brown was appointed Chief to serve until a permanent successor is selected.

The following changes have taken place in the makeup of the Board of Police Commissioners: Mr. John Ferraro, who was president of the five-member Board in 1965, resigned on May 24, 1966, and was selected to fill a vacancy on the Los Angeles City Council. Mr. Elbert T. Hudson, a member of the Board, was elected by the Board on May 25, 1966, to its presidency. He was re-elected president of the Board on July 27, 1966, for the current term. Mr. Hudson is a Negro and is an attorney. On June 6, 1966, Mr. Emmett C. McGaughey was confirmed by the City Council as a member of the Board to succeed to the position vacated by Mr. Ferraro's resignation. Other members of the Board are Mr. Frank Hathaway, Mr. Michael Kohn and Dr. R. J. Carreon, Jr.

The Police Commission continues to meet formally only one day each week. Their sessions have been lengthened in recent weeks to encompass more than a half-day. The Commission members individually are devoting additional time and effort. They are taking an active interest in the community relations policies and accomplishments of the Police Department, and are currently reviewing the administrative programs of the Department.

Commission's Recommendation

The Board of Police Commissioners should act on all complaints against police officers to determine whether the complaint is or is not sustained.

Status

The Board accepts all complaints filed with it by citizens. The Board's secretary acknowledges the complaint by letter to the complainant. Personnel complaints are processed, investigated by the Police Department, reviewed by police officials and the results are furnished to the Board. The matter is reviewed by the Board, and the complainant is notified

by letter from the Board's president as to its disposition.

Complaints filed with divisions or other officials of the Police Department, and investigations conducted thereon, are summarized weekly for the Board, including the dispositions made. The complainant in these matters is informed by letter from the Commanding Officer of the Division as to its disposition.

Discipline of police officers remains the obligation of the Chief of Police, and in some instances a Police Board of Rights, under the City Charter.

The full file of the Police Department on any personnel matter is available to the Board of Police Commissioners on request.

Commission's Recommendation

An adequate hearing process for the citizen complaint should be made available at some point in the [police] procedure and he should be informed of the action taken on his complaint.

Status

The Board of Police Commissioners has a procedure for assignment of a Hearing Officer, who is a civilian independent of the Police Department and the Commission, to conduct hearings on matters referred to the attention of the Commission.

The Board of Police Commissioners has never utilized Hearing Officers on citizen allegations of police misconduct.

A complainant unsatisfied with the disposition of his complaint may appeal to the Commission for a hearing, which the Commission may permit or deny. If

a violation of law is alleged by the complainant, he may lodge his complaint with appropriate city, state or federal prosecuting officials.

Commission's Recommendation

An "inspector general" should be established in the Los Angeles Police Department under the authority of the Chief of Police but outside the chain of command, the inspector general to be responsible for making investigations and recommendations on all citizen complaints, whether filed with the Board of Police Commissioners or the Police Department.

Status

The Los Angeles City Council established a new position in the Police Department designated as "Inspector -- Administration of Discipline."

Inspector James B. Gordon was appointed on March 2, 1966, to the position. This position is outside the chain of command in the Police Department, and is responsible directly to the Board of Police Commissioners and the Chief of Police. Duties of this office are to supervise the reception, processing and disposition of all complaints against police personnel received from the public, and to insure the integrity of the reception, reporting and investigation of these complaints. He receives a copy of every citizen complaint. He has the authority to require full investigation of any complaint, although he has no staff.

Actual investigation of complaints against police personnel are conducted and reported by the staff of the Internal Affairs Division of the Police Department on matters considered to be of unusual significance including all incidents involving police action where a discharge of firearms results in injury to any person; where personnel of more than one division of the department are involved, or where the complaint is such that

it is deemed impractical for the investigation to be conducted by the concerned commanding officer. The Internal Affairs Division is outside the chain of command in the department.

Other complaints are investigated and reported by or under direction of the commanding officer of the accused employee. These reports are reviewed by the Internal Affairs Division, which has authority to order additional investigation or to reinvestigate the entire matter. They are also reviewed by line commanders in the department division in which the accused is employed.

Following these steps the Inspector - Administration of Discipline reviews the reports and may order additional investigation before he forwards the results to the Chief of Police, who may also order additional inquiry before he makes the final decision as to disposition of the complaint, including possible disciplinary action.

The Inspector - Administration of Discipline is supervisory and has direct access to the Board of Police Commissioners. This office has been assigned a portion of the supervisory duties formerly assigned to a Deputy Chief of Police in charge of Administration.

The concept of "inspector general" recommended by this Commission to the Los Angeles authorities is not in operation. There is, however, considerable information indicating the discipline level of the Police Department is effective.

Statistics for the period from August, 1965 through May, 1966 show that battery and felonious assaults against Los Angeles police officers increased 31.4% over a like period one year earlier. During the year 1965 in the five Pacific states, assaults on police officers were at the rate of 10.8 officers assaulted per 100 officers. The assaults are not limited to any particular ethnic group, and reflect a general attitude of intentional aggressiveness toward police officers.

While these assaults on police officers have been increasing, so also have complaints increased against police officers. During 1965, the complaints against Los Angeles police officers by citizens increased 51.5%, rising from 412 in 1964 to 624 in 1965. The total complaints against officers from all sources, including those from within the Department's supervisory staff, increased 38.1% rising from 709 in 1964 to 979 in 1965. And, in 1965, 45.4% of all complaints were sustained, showing the department's investigation developed evidence indicating the accused employee had committed all or part of the alleged acts of misconduct, and disciplinary action was taken.

During 1965 officers of the Los Angeles Police Department made 198,293 arrests and issued 1,605,255 traffic citations.

Commission's Recommendation

Programs to improve relations between the Police Department and the various minority communities are a basic responsibility of the Police Department and a greater effort is necessary.

Status

The Police Department and the Police Commission have substantially increased their efforts to improve the police -- community relationship.

The Los Angeles City Council authorized an increase of 150 additional policemen; new authorized strength, 5,410 officers. This increase includes ten lieutenants who are to be assigned to work in community relations, and at least six additional staff members have been added to the community relations administration under Inspector James Fisk. Additional personnel have been assigned to work exclusively on community relations in the field at the divisional level.

The Board of Police Commissioners and Chief of Police Thad F. Brown have taken an active interest in police -- community relations and are personally participating in the development of new programs. Plans to reinstitute the Deputy Auxiliary Police (DAP) program are presently being considered.

Each field division located in a minority community is engaged in a community relations program that includes neighborhood meetings with the police personnel in the police facilities and personal contacts with local businessmen, local organizations and youth groups, and visitation programs to the schools.

The Police Department has recognized that the success of effective community relations rests on the uniformed officer who is constantly in contact with the public, and continuous training for officers is provided.

This community relations effort requires considerable preparation not readily visible at the outset, aimed at both short and long range accomplishments. The efforts are producing positive results for the Police Department, and officers assigned exclusively to this work are generally very optimistic toward its potentialities, both for the Police Department and the community. Personal effort of these officers is sincere and commendable. They deserve community cooperation and support. The police attitude toward improvement of police -- community relations is considered a positive factor in preventing several small scale incidents from escalating into more extensive disruption of the community. Responsible citizens in the community, by their attitudes and actions, also were positive factors in protecting the public order in times of stress.

When the City Human Relations Commission becomes operative, the Police Department can be expected to establish liaison and full cooperation with it, and utilize its assistance in every way possible, including training and field assistance.

The use of non-government professionals in community relations training also should be encouraged.

Commission's Recommendations

The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department should follow the Report's suggestions regarding the processing of citizen complaints to the extent that they may be applicable to its procedures.

The Sheriff's Department should introduce community relations programs as recommended for the Police Department.

Status

The Sheriff of Los Angeles County has a standard operating procedure with reference to the acceptance of complaints against personnel of his department. All complaints lodged are received and investigated by or under the supervision of an Inspector not in the chain of command. Complaints against personnel are not investigated by officers in the chain of command. Results of these investigations are reviewed personally by the Sheriff and he makes the decision as to disposition of the matter. All complainants are notified in writing as to the disposition of the complaint.

Citizen complaints against Deputy Sheriffs are also initiated through the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission, which has established effective liaison with the Sheriff's Office for the prompt processing of citizen complaints.

There is no hearing process as such for the hearing of citizen complaints and no provision for hearing officers.

The Sheriff, as an elected official, is directly responsible to the electorate and not to any board or commission. In some cases, the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission is of great assistance in being able to assure the complainant that his allegations were filed, investigated, and ruled upon.

The Sheriff's Department has stepped up its community relations programs.

Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess has an inspector assigned to his immediate staff as the Community and Human Relations Coordinator. In December of 1965, the Sheriff's Department requested authorization for six additional sergeants to work full time in the police -- community relations field.

The Sheriff's Department utilizes the staff of the County Human Relations Commission, where abrasive situations relating to the execution of legal responsibilities of the Sheriff can be anticipated, in an effort to avoid misunderstandings and unwarranted resistance. Initial contacts by the Human Relations Commission staff with citizens affected by prospective legal action produces an understanding of the process and is reported by the Human Relations Commission staff to have a substantial and favorable reaction with persons involved.

This coordination is possible through an established liaison between the Sheriff's Department and the Human Relations Commission staff.

The Sheriff's Department activities are reviewed and subject to the elective process every four years. Beyond doubt, this requires community relations programs on a county-wide basis. Sheriff Pitchess was re-elected in the June 1966 elections to a new term of office.

The increased use of the County Human Relations Commission's staff in both training and in the field operations, as well as non-government professionals in community relations training, should be encouraged.

Commission's Recommendation

The Police and Sheriff's Departments should take steps to increase the number of sworn officers who are Negro and Mexican-Americans.

Status

Some steps are being taken to recruit Negro and Mexican-Americans to enter local law enforcement agencies. The Police Department and the Sheriff's Department each have several hundred existing vacancies for officers and deputies.

Both the Police and the Sheriff's Department have joined their respective Civil Service Departments, who are directly responsible for the individuals appearing on their eligibility lists, in initiating innovations and relaxing certain standards to accelerate recruitment. Both programs are just now being implemented and have not progressed far enough to produce statistics for comparison with past performance. The changes being effected by both entities are expected by authorities to attract a higher ratio of acceptable recruits from minority ethnic groups, particularly Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

The Los Angeles Police Department recruitment programs include:

1. Immediate recruitment of junior college students to work part time in the Police Department and who will eventually apply for police duty when qualified.
2. Modification of medical standards having to do with vision, teeth and weight.
3. Complete review of medical standards by specialists with a view toward further modifications without sacrifice of quality.
4. Extension of the upper age limit for entrance to 35 years.
5. Joint Civil Service and Police study of positions in which other than sworn officers might function.

6. An increased public relations campaign.

The Sheriff's Department recruitment programs include:

1. Modification of medical standards relative to teeth and weight.
2. Creation of seven examining boards to screen applicants on evenings and Saturdays, thereby being available to employed men.
3. Screening teams to be available on scheduled visits to substations for on-the-spot examinations.
4. The written examination has been reviewed and condensed to sixty comprehensive questions.
5. An increased public relations campaign.

The increased effective community relations programs of both departments will materially assist them in their recruitment by removing antipathy toward the profession of law enforcement.

Many qualified Negroes and Mexican-Americans are not attracted to law enforcement careers. As more members of the minority communities are promoted within such agencies, it is anticipated that law enforcement careers will become more appealing.

Non-governmental agencies and civil rights groups that have expressed concern with police problems should be called upon for constructive assistance in securing qualified candidates for police careers from the minority communities.

The U. S. Department of Labor in July, 1966, made available \$938,715 in federal funds to the California Department of Education. These funds are for a project to furnish pre-training for jobs in protective

services and law enforcement agencies in Los Angeles County under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The program is directed to concentrate for a period from six months to a year on improving basic education skills. Local law enforcement agencies should not overlook this allocation of funds in their quest for recruits.

Commission's Recommendation

Law enforcement agencies and the National Guard should develop contingency plans so that in future situations of emergency, there will be a better method to assure the early commitment of the National Guard and rapid deployment of the troops.

Status

Contingency plans for alerting, calling and utilizing the National Guard in times of emergency have been studied, prepared and disseminated to law enforcement agencies.

The National Guard has prepared and published Standing Operating Procedures for Activation and Employment of State Military Resources in Natural Disasters and Civil Emergencies. Alerting procedures, activating and command regulations are included therein for immediate reference and utilization. Liaison representatives have been appointed by military and law enforcement agencies in preparation for meeting their responsibilities in natural disasters and civil emergencies. These arrangements are kept up to date.

The State of California has developed and refined procedures whereby the state: (1) is alerted to possible emergencies or disasters, (2) investigates the alert, (3) takes preliminary steps for mobilization in the event it becomes necessary, (4) attempts to head off the emergency by utilizing other state agencies,

(5) prepares to mobilize and commit the National Guard and the resources of state agencies such as the California Highway Patrol.

Members of law enforcement agencies, the National Guard, the California Highway Patrol, and the State Disaster Office have studied the Los Angeles riots and the riots in other American cities and are now better prepared and equipped to meet and handle civil emergencies.

The understanding and conclusion reached by the various agencies have not yet been reduced to writing. Many technical details have been studied and programmed, but more have to be worked out. Being prepared for civil emergencies of varying proportions and degrees requires flexibility and also a continuous effort to remain knowledgeable relative to personnel, equipment, transportation, communication, supplies, and procedures.

The local law enforcement agencies and the state agencies appear to be alert to their responsibilities in this regard and they are endeavoring to always be in a position to fulfill these responsibilities.

THE RULE OF LAW

The Commission found and recognized many conditions "that underlay the gathering anger which impelled the rioters" to escalate an isolated incident into six days of violence. The Commission stated: ". . . Yet however powerful their grievances, the rioters had no legal or moral justification for the wounds they inflicted. Many crimes, a great many felonies, were committed. Even more dismaying, as we studied the record, was the large number of brutal exhortations to violence which were uttered . . . All this nullified the admirable efforts of hundreds, if not thousands, both Negro and white, to quiet the situation and restore order . . ."

Three significant legislative enactments were signed into law in the past year:

1. The Anti-Riot Act, which provides that "Every person who with intent to provoke a riot . . . does an act or engages in conduct which tends to incite a riot, at a time and place under circumstances which produce a clear and present danger to the public peace, is guilty of a misdemeanor."
2. The punishment for possession of a Molotov cocktail has been increased from a misdemeanor to a felony.
3. The punishment for battery against a police officer was increased from a misdemeanor to a felony.

CONSUMER PROBLEMS

The Commission observed that the consumer problem for many members of minority communities "has the double bite of poverty and race," and "result from the traditional interplay of economic forces in the market place, aggravated by poverty conditions." Although the Commission was proposing solutions that would alleviate consumer problems in its recommendations on employment, education, and welfare, the Commission also made a series of recommendations specifically addressed to this subject.

Commission's Recommendation

Public and private agencies which exist to help and protect the consumer should be adequately staffed, financed and publicized.

Status

The Los Angeles Neighborhood Legal Services Center has opened offices in Watts, East Los Angeles and Venice. They are federally financed with a current budget of \$333,000 and a projected budget of \$585,000 for the next fiscal year, which will permit them to open two additional offices. Each of these offices provides free legal advice and counsel for persons of low income and are able to alleviate some of the problems of the impoverished consumer. These Neighborhood Legal Service Centers last year received 4,850 applications for legal advice and assistance. Of this number, 3,497 were accepted. The considerable use of these legal services offices indicates their availability is well publicized in the communities they serve.

The Better Business Bureau has not opened a branch office in South Central Los Angeles nor has the Civil Division of the Public Defender's Office expanded its services in the curfew area by opening branch offices.

Commission's Recommendation

The County Health Department should increase and improve its inspection program for the markets in all disadvantaged areas of the City.

Status

In December, 1965, the State Food and Drug Department conducted a survey of the retail grocery establishments in Watts and two other areas in California. They estimated that there were 160 retail grocery stores in Watts and inspected 100 of them as part of their survey. This inspection included the food for sale and the sanitation of the premises. Of the 100 markets inspected, 67 were smaller than 200 square feet and 11 were larger than 20,000 square feet. As to the condition of the food, 4 stores had overripe vegetables and fruits, two stores had unfit canned goods (a total of 17 cans), two stores had some spoiled meat, three stores had some old but wholesome dry foods, and five stores were found with questionable sanitation conditions.

In March of 1966, representatives of the County Engineer, Building and Safety Division, Forester and Fire Warden, Fire Prevention Division, and the Health Department, Bureau of Environmental Sanitation, met and developed a procedure for making inspections, improving communications and processing referrals. Five additional sanitarians were assigned to part of the curfew area.

Since April of 1966, the Los Angeles County Health Department has increased its number of monthly inspections in part of the curfew area, and in a three-month period: made 1,063 original inspections, issued 1,183 notices for corrections, issued 677 notices regarding rubbish and trash, posted 177 vacant dwellings as unfit for human occupancy, made 2,144 re-inspections, obtained 675 abatements, and made 393 referrals to other departments. There is also a stepped up program of inspection in other parts of the community. These

programs are to continue.

Commission's Recommendation

Businessmen in the curfew area should show greater interest in the community where they work; also make more energetic efforts to acquaint the community with what they are doing.

Status

The recent Watts Summer Festival was an excellent display of community interest and pride, not only by community leaders and agencies but also by the participating local businessmen.

The South Central Los Angeles and Watts Chamber of Commerce has been formed and has opened an office at 11165 South Central Avenue. This office coordinates and disseminates information to the various businessmen in the area and community. The Management Council for Merit and Employment Training and Research has been assisting the businessmen in the community.

The Los Angeles Small Business Development Center under the sponsorship of the Economic Development Agency has opened two offices, at 311 West Manchester Boulevard and at 5112 East Whittier Boulevard. These Centers provide workshop classes and management counseling as well as assist new and existing businesses to obtain loans from the Small Business Administration.

TRANSPORTATION

The Commission observed that "the inadequate and costly public transportation currently existing throughout the Los Angeles area" restricts, handicaps, isolates, frustrates, and compounds the problems facing the poor. The Commission distinguished between the need for an adequate and economical public bus transportation system which is presently obtainable, and a new mass rapid transit system that is still in the planning stage; and made a series of recommendations aimed at immediately achieving the possible.

Commission's Recommendations

A public subsidy in one form or another should be provided to give the Southern California Rapid Transit District (SCRTD) financial ability to provide an adequate and reasonable bus transportation system throughout the Metropolitan area.

The SCRTD should acquire the existing small transportation companies which now complicate and increase the cost of transportation in the Los Angeles area.

Transfer privileges should be established in order to minimize transportation costs.

With respect to the Watts area in particular, immediate establishment of an adequate east-west cross-town service as well as increasing the north-south service to permit efficient transportation to and from the area is recommended.

Status

SCRTD has made a number of changes and improvements in its service since the Commission's recommendations. Line 3, which formerly terminated at Slauson and

Central Avenue, was extended along Central to Manchester, thus bridging a gap on Central Avenue. A rerouting of Line 29 via Avalon and Florence improved service in that area. Service on Line 33 was improved with the establishment of additional stops on Avalon Avenue and San Pedro Street. There were changes in scheduling to coordinate arrival and departure times of buses connecting with the Atkinson lines. (SCRTD officials stated that since these scheduling changes, they have not received a single complaint.) SCRTD has added a substantial number of trips from downtown Los Angeles to the General Hospital.

The federal government has provided chartered buses to transport adult trainees and members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps from the area where they live to the schools and training centers. There are no existing public bus facilities that could accomplish this.

On May 26, 1966, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development made a \$2.7 million grant to the State of California to establish the Transportation Employment Project, a research project to determine and test the relationship between a public transportation system and job and other opportunities of low income groups. This project, which is to be carried out over a period of twenty-four months in South Central and East Los Angeles, is a combination of research and experimentation while providing additional funds to subsidize and create new transportation facilities. A comprehensive list of research and study programs regarding transportation will be undertaken as part of this project which is to be supervised by a seven-man staff at 8512 South Broadway in South Central Los Angeles and an advisory committee.

On July 1, 1966, a new bus line on Century Boulevard from Watts to Los Angeles International Airport was established by SCRTD under a two-year subsidy provided by the Transportation Employment Project.

HEALTH PROBLEMS

The Commission concluded that residents of disadvantaged areas are generally in poorer health and that the "facilities to provide medical care are insufficient;" and made a series of recommendations to immediately alleviate this situation.

Commission's Recommendation

Immediate and favorable consideration should be given to a new, comprehensively equipped hospital in this area, which is now under study by various public agencies, and to that end we strongly urge that a broadly based committee be appointed to study where such a hospital should be located and to make recommendations upon various technical and administrative matters in connection with the hospital.

The Los Angeles County Health Department should increase the number and services of public health and preventive medical facilities in the area and a similar program improvement should be undertaken by the Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health, the Visiting Nurse Association of Los Angeles, and other voluntary health agencies.

Status

The county hospital bond issue failed. On June 7, 1966, 62.5% of the voters of Los Angeles County approved the \$12.3 million bond issue to finance the county's share of the \$21.4 million cost to build a 438 bed hospital in South Central Los Angeles, but such an issue requires the approval of 66-2/3% of the voters.

After the failure of the bond issue, the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County budgeted for the fiscal year 1966-67 \$1,014,000 for architectural fees and \$90,000 for the purchase of 30 acres for the hospital

site. Alternative financing plans have been presented to the Board of Supervisors in an attempt to raise Los Angeles County's \$12.3 million share of the cost of such a hospital.

On January 10, 1966, the University of Southern California proposed a program to the Office of Economic Opportunity to construct and operate a Family Neighborhood Health Services Center in South Central Los Angeles. This program has been funded for \$2.4 million, and the Center expects to be ready to provide medical care twenty-four hours a day, beginning in January of 1967. A new 55,000 square foot air conditioned building will be built, and it will be staffed with thirty-three practicing physicians, twelve dentists, and supporting personnel from the local community whenever possible. A Community Health Center Council, composed of local residents and representatives from locally based agencies will be responsible for policy making, will assist in the operation, and will eventually assume the responsibility of running the Center; it will be assisted by a professional advisory board.

The Center will provide a complete range of out-of-hospital medical and health services, including preventive medicine, diagnosis and medical treatment, physical therapy, drugs, dental care, family planning services, prenatal and child care, mental health and personal health counseling. The Center will not be a hospital, and cannot take the place of a much-needed hospital.

Under the Economic Youth Opportunity Act and Operation Headstart, medical and dental attention has been proposed for nearly 9,000 pre-schoolers. Medical and dental societies along with related private and public agencies have combined to provide initial medical and dental examinations and the education of parents regarding preventive techniques.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The Commission traced the growth, development and size of both the Negro population and the Negro neighborhoods in Los Angeles, and expressed its "particular concern" that a serious deterioration of the areas where minority communities are located was in progress. The Commission made a series of recommendations directed at reversing this trend.

Commission's Recommendation

There should be an implementation of a continuing urban rehabilitation and renewal program for South Central Los Angeles.

Status

Visually, little new construction has taken place in South Central Los Angeles since the August, 1965 riots, which damaged more than 600 buildings by burning and looting, of which more than 200 were destroyed by fire. One new building under construction at the time of the riots has been completed, the Doctors Building at 1637 East 103rd Street. The northwest corner of 43rd and Central, the site of a former chain drug store, has been cleared and a new drug store is being built. A gas station is being erected at the corner of Wilmington and Imperial Highway. At 46th and Central Avenue, a building which had been partially destroyed is now being rebuilt. On the corner of Vernon and Central Avenues, several partially destroyed buildings are being repaired.

The Los Angeles City Planning Department in June, 1966, completed its revised planning report for the Watts Community Plan. This plan provides for the complete physical development of the area, including modernization and improvement of existing industrial areas, housing, playground and public facilities, and

a pedestrian mall. This plan has been recommended for adoption by a committee of the Los Angeles City Council and is expected to go before the full City Council for approval in late August, 1966.

Major industrial corporations have evidenced interest in the redevelopment of the core of the city. One such proposal is that prepared by the Southern Pacific Company for a modern industrial redevelopment, extending along both sides of the existing rail network in Central Los Angeles. This development plan calls for broad streets, open park areas, landscaping, and the redevelopment of approximately 1,330 acres of land for an industrial project which would result in creating substantial job opportunities. In August, 1966, this plan was submitted to the appropriate agencies.

Insurance losses from the riots now totals some \$37 million and are expected to reach \$40 million. Immediately after the riots, the California Insurance Commissioner appointed an Insurance Industry Committee, consisting of nine leading insurance men (increased to nineteen in March, 1966) to assist the Insurance Department in handling problems of cancellations and non-renewal or unavailability of insurance in the disadvantaged area. To date, this committee has received from the Insurance Department over 620 problems relating to obtaining fire and extended insurance coverage, and all but 100 of these problems have been resolved.

Insurance companies will provide insurance, but the rates will be commensurate with the risk. In January, 1966, eighty insurance companies formed the Insurance Industry Facility to provide fire and extended insurance coverage for high hazard property when it is not obtainable on the regular insurance markets; rates average about two and one-half times higher than the standard rates. As of August 1, 1966, the pool has issued 266 policies and six binders for a total coverage of \$9,523,000. On August 8, 1966, the Facility's capacity was increased from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000.

Commission's Recommendation

Private non-profit organizations, such as churches and unions, should be encouraged to sponsor low-cost housing under Section 221(d)(3) of the National Housing Act and similar statutes.

Status

No private non-profit organizations have applied to the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), Los Angeles, to sponsor low-cost housing under Section 221(d)(3).

A cooperative organization has presently under construction a 50-unit project on South Normandie Avenue near 111th Street, which is about 90% complete. The FHS insured mortgage on this property is approximately \$658,000. When the project is completed, each of the occupants will pay for their apartments through the purchase of stock instead of paying rent.

No other low-cost housing project under this section has started.

One application for a 78-unit three-story, walk-up garden type, one and two bedroom apartment dwelling at Hoover and Arapahoe Streets, by a private sponsor, a limited partnership, is being processed by FHA. The mortgage amount being requested is \$850,000.

There are pending with FHA several other applications in the curfew area for low cost housing projects but the negotiations are in the infant stages and the applications have not yet been formalized.

Commission's Recommendation

One county-wide "data bank" should be created to centralize and standardize the information and statistics which numerous federal, state and local

agencies collect concerning various areas of the county.

Status

A county-wide data bank has not been created. A number of agencies are currently using electronic data processing techniques and other agencies are planning to use them in the near future; however, at present, no coordinating unit exists.

CITY HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

Commission's Recommendation

The City of Los Angeles should create a City Human Relations Commission, endowed with clear-cut responsibility, properly staffed and adequately funded. The Commission should have special competence in the fields of research, employment, housing, education, law, youth problems and community organizations. The Commission should develop comprehensive educational programs designed to enlist the cooperation of all groups, both public and private, in eliminating prejudice and discrimination in employment, housing, education and public accommodations.

Status

The City Human Relations Commission was established six months ago, and is still in the process of getting organized, staffed and located. On February 1, 1966, the Human Relations Bureau for the City of Los Angeles was established under the control and management of a nine-member Commission with "the power and duty to engage in activities of a research, educational, advisory or assistance nature to promote interracial or intergroup harmony compatible with existing public law on a city-wide or neighborhood basis, and to recommend to the City Council such legislation, action or other programs not in conflict with state law as are believed necessary and appropriate in carrying out its function."

The Commission is composed of the following persons: President, Taul Watanabe, banker and publisher of a Japanese-American newspaper; Vice President, Mrs. Carol Waters, civic leader; Commissioners, Wesley R. Brazier, Los Angeles Urban League; Peter Robert Diaz, sales executive; Norman B. Houston, insurance; Max Mont, Jewish Labor Committee; Keith Smith, San Pedro businessman; Ernest L. Stevens, Los Angeles Indian

Center; and Jose G. Villarreal, attorney at law.

Appropriations of \$5,348 for year 1965-66 and \$47,420 for the year 1966-67 were made by the City Council.

No office space had been found for the City Human Relations Commission as of August 8, 1966, and a staff had not been selected. Various persons have taken civil service examinations for the five staff positions available; one Executive Director, two advisors, and two secretaries. The Commission expected to select an Executive Director at its meeting on August 23, 1966.

On August 11, 1966, Mayor Yorty announced the names of the 35 members of the Advisory Committee who would work with the Commission. Each City Councilman had named two of these members and the Mayor selected five representatives.

NEWS MEDIA

Commission's Recommendation

We urge that members of all news media meet and consider whether there might be wisdom in the establishment of guidelines, completely voluntary on their part, for reporting of disasters and inflammatory incidents.

Status

In response to the Commission's recommendation, an informal committee composed of seven local men who are among leading figures in the various fields of communication, devised a set of fifteen "suggestions" for reporting civil disorders and other events which may increase public tension. They are purely voluntary guidelines of a practical nature, designed to avoid the news media's contributing to the tension without suppressing news. These fifteen guidelines were derived in part from a code developed 15 years ago by the Chicago Sun-Times, and from experience in various cities, including Los Angeles. They have been offered to newsmen in Southern California, and nationwide distribution is now also under way.

The first distribution of this code was to many local groups in the news media from which the reception has been generally favorable. It has been featured in trade papers favorably and with detailed paraphrasing.

VIOLENCE IN THE CITIES CONTINUES

There have been recurring and persistent rumors of impending riots in Los Angeles during the past year, although the city has not experienced any activity even remotely comparable in size, duration, or destruction to the riots there in August, 1965.

On March 15, 1966, in South Central Los Angeles, a rock-throwing incident of vandalism brought an arrest, resistance to police, rumors and crowd response. An innocent Mexican-American tradesman was shot fatally without provocation. Additional arrests took place. A few stores were looted and a few fires were set. Police reinforcements for the area were required. Several other persons were injured and a Negro bystander was shot to death. Some news media rushed representatives to the scene. Police, with the assistance of responsible citizens, restored order within a very few hours and dispersed groups of youth who had gathered in the area.

On May 7, 1966, Leonard Deadwyler, a Negro motorist, was shot by a Los Angeles police officer while in a policing incident in South Central Los Angeles. Vast publicity followed. The Los Angeles County District Attorney caused an extensive, televised public Coroner's inquest into facts surrounding the shooting. While community tension was very high, public officials and responsible citizens of the community engaged in successful efforts preventing further escalation of the situation.

The community response in these two abrasive incidents points to a recognition that rioting does not provide solutions to recognized problems.

In other areas of California, civil disturbances have taken place this year. In July, a Negro was shot by a San Francisco Negro policeman in a policing action. The officer was attacked by irresponsible bystanders before he was rescued by fellow officers.

During the same month, a group of Negro youth in Menlo Park engaged in riotous activity, but were subsequently controlled by law enforcement agencies.

Small-scale rioting occurred in Bakersfield in early summer. Sporadic rioting was experienced for three days in San Bernardino in July. Fires were started, police officers and their vehicles were stoned, and a number of arrests were made before the situation was contained.

In other states, violence has been witnessed this year. Various sections of New York City were subjected to riots spanning several days, resulting in one death and some injuries to residents, and injury to five police officers.

In Chicago, Perth Amboy, Omaha, Cleveland, South Bend, Lansing and Detroit, civil disturbances and riots of varying intensity have occurred. In June, the Puerto Rican section of Chicago was the scene of several shooting incidents and attacks on police and their vehicles by rioters which required a substantial effort by law enforcement to restore order. In July, 3,900 Illinois National Guardsmen were called to active duty in Chicago to aid in quelling a riot in a Negro area covering approximately four square miles. Stores were burned and looted by rioters. Several persons were shot and injured, two Negroes were killed and hundreds of persons were arrested. This riot began one week after a marching technique had been commenced by Dr. Martin Luther King in support of an open housing campaign sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Marches into Caucasian neighborhoods directed toward real estate sales companies triggered rioting by Caucasians against the marchers who were under police protection. Numerous Caucasians were arrested by police.

In July, 4,200 Ohio National Guardsmen were called to active duty in Cleveland to assist in suppressing a riot which extended for a week in a disadvantaged Negro area. Four citizens were killed and

more than fifty were injured. Roving gangs vandalized businesses and set fires, in many instances with Molotov cocktails. Firemen and police were attacked by snipers, and property damage was estimated at one-quarter million dollars.

Omaha, Nebraska, was the scene in late July of rioting in a Negro district, triggered by a police arrest. Molotov cocktails were utilized by rioters although no major fires resulted.

During July, Negroes in South Bend, Indiana, threw debris at police and civilians in passing automobiles. Several persons were injured, including a police officer.

About 200 Negro youths in Lansing, Michigan, on August 8, 1966, engaged in a minor attack on passing cars, throwing gas bombs at motorists. The following day in Detroit, while police were making an arrest of a Negro, the officers were attacked by irresponsible bystanders.

Several incidents in Florida and in Mississippi arising from public marches and other demonstrations reached near-riot proportions. Civilians were attacked and property was damaged. The most publicized incident was the shooting of James Meredith by a Caucasian while Meredith was on a march from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi.

The Attorney General of the United States has publicly discounted the speculation that riots and disturbances in the various cities have been centrally organized or have had common participants.

This Commission's report of December, 1965, referred to riots which had occurred in seven eastern cities of the United States during the summer of 1964.

Violence experienced by the various states has occurred primarily at the core of large cities where the members of minority communities live, where

conditions of life are marginal, and where educational accomplishments are low and unemployment rates are high. In these respects, complaints of residents of the areas in which riots have occurred are remarkably similar to those encountered in Los Angeles in 1965.

APPENDIX

STAFF FOR THE
FIRST STATUS REPORT

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION
ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS

Thomas R. Sheridan
General Counsel and Executive Director

Logan Lane
Chief Investigator

STAFF

Carrie E. Blanchard

William W. Colby

Renee A. Copes

Dr. Kenneth A. Martyn

John A. Mitchell

June L. Perkins

Malcolm P. Richards

Frank H. Townsend

TELEGRAM *nd/gh*

FULL RATE OR
STRAIGHT TELEGRAM
DAY LETTER
NIGHT LETTER

The White House
Washington

September 29, 1966

Honorable John F. ^XShelley
Mayor of San Francisco
San Francisco, California

The President has received and read your telegram of September 29.

At his direction, I have met with top officials of the Department of Justice, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Economic Development Administration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to review the situation in San Francisco and the federal programs that are available there.

We are deeply gratified with the reports that law and order have been restored. This is the only environment in which planning and constructive action can go forward.

We are anxious to be of whatever help we can and to cooperate with you. In line with this, these officials have asked Mr. Daniel ^XLuevano, Director of the Western Region of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to ^{immediately} meet with you to discuss federal programs, which are presently available and authorized by Congress, as well as state, local and private programs in the San Francisco area.

APPROVED FOR DISPATCH

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

EXECUTIVE

HU2/STS

16 / San Francisco

FG135

FG160

FG165

FA

FG11-15

②

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1966
12:30 p.m., Thursday

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano *JC*

Attached is a telegram Ramsey and I have drafted in accord with your instructions.

If you approve it, I will read it to Mayor Shelley, and Dan Luevano and then dispatch it.

Whether we release it from here or not, I think we should assume that Shelley will release it from San Francisco.

Do you want to release it from here?

Yes _____

No _____

*To
The White House*

1966 SEP 29 AM 1 44

WA001 RX PD

FAX SAN FRANCISCO CALIF 28 9P PDT

THE PRESIDENT

DELIVER AT ONCE THE WHITE HOUSE

SAN FRANCISCO IN DIRE NEED OF EMERGENCY FEDERAL FUNDS TO ALLEVIATE
CRITICAL UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION AMONG NEGRO YOUTH IN THIS COMMUNITY,
WHICH HAS RESULTED IN AN OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE AND RIOTING ENDANGERING
THE PERSONAL SAFETY AND PROPERTY OF OUR CITIZENRY. POLICE

CHIEF AND I IN CONFERENCE TODAY WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF NEGRO
YOUTH RECEIVED THEIR COMPLAINTS AND THEIR EXPRESSED INDIGNATION

OVERWITHDRAWAL OF MDIA FUNDS FROM SAN FRANCISCO AND THE LACK
OF A PROGRAM THAT IS IN ANY WAY ATTUNED TOWARD GIVING THEM
HOPE OF FUTURE ASSISTANCE. ALL POLICE HAVE BEEN CALLED TO DUTY
AS WELL AS 350 STATE HIGHWAY PATROLMEN AND SEVERAL HUNDRED
NATIONAL GUARDSMEN. RIOTING IS SPREADING THROUGHOUT THE
CITY. AS MAYOR I HAVE DECLARED THE EXISTENCE OF A STATE
OF EMERGENCY AND HAVE INVOKED A CURFEW. GOVERNOR BROWN
IS ON HIS WAY TO SAN FRANCISCO FOR PERSONAL COOPERATION
WITH ME IN THE EVENT WE MUST DECLARE A STATE OF MARTIAL LAW
TO PREVENT ANOTHER WATTS. AS ONE WHO HAS BEEN A LOYAL SUPPORTER

OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, I PLEAD
IN THE NAME OF GOD AND ALL HUMAN DECENCY FOR IMMEDIATE EMERGENCY
FUNDS TO ASSUAGE THIS SITUATION. RESPECTFULLY

JOHN F SHELLEY MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Jack

RECEIVED
HU-1575
F. 7-15
F. 1-15

Mr. Califano:

^X
Jack Howard, Director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, dictated the following paragraph for the telegram, as requested by Ramsey Clark:

"I am sure you realize there has been no withholding of funds for Manpower Development and Training Act programs. At the moment, there are approximately 1900 persons in training in San Francisco, and an additional 2600 training opportunities are being made available for the coming year. We share your interest in this program, and we are grateful for your recognition that training for jobs is a major need in America's cities today."

Lora -- 9/29/66

Jack Howard
110/5324

[Faint stamp]



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1966

TO: Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Bill Welsh *BE*
Assistant to the Vice President

SUBJECT: San Francisco Riot

As a follow-up to Watts the Vice President met this year with a select group of defense contractors in the Los Angeles area. He urged them to find ways of directly employing hard-core unemployed from Watts.

Marion Parsons of the Department of Labor has been assigned in Los Angeles to follow up on these efforts.

To date three defense contractors: Aerojet General, Northrop and North American have come forward with proposals that are potentially very useful. They are currently being evaluated and reworked by Labor, DOD and the contractors.

Aerojet proposes construction of a plant in Watts and establishing a subsidiary operation under a Negro management firm.

Northrop proposes to bring some 50 hard-core unemployed out by bus to their plant.

North American has a proposal for refurbishing air force owned electronic test equipment in or near Watts.

Each proposal would be backed up with OEO and MDTA funds for training programs. DOD has been cool, but we are pressing there.

EXHIBIT-1116

11-15

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-2-

I call this to your attention since I have been following each proposal closely since joining the Vice President's staff, and John Stewart (who has gone for a year's leave) was on this before.

It is quite possible that these formats will have some usefulness in San Francisco, and there may be enough defense based industry there to try and stimulate the same interest. If I can help, please let me know.

10

FR 11-15

October 3, 1966

To All Heads of Federal Agencies
Operating in the San Francisco Bay Area:

Dear Sir:

TF = 10/11

Pursuant to a Presidential instruction which I received September 29, 1966, I have convened a San Francisco Bay Area Task Force. To immediately implement this instruction, I have asked the Federal Executive Board's Critical Urban Problems Steering Committee, comprised of the heads of several Federal agencies in this region, to function as the Task Force.

The unfortunate disturbances which occurred in this city last week have indicated once again that greater efforts are required by the several levels of government, as well as by business and labor, to develop meaningful employment opportunities for all.

On behalf of the Federal Government, the Task Force is undertaking the following functions:

1. A survey of present employment opportunities in the various Federal agencies which immediately could be made available to economically disadvantaged people. A mechanism will be established, in cooperation with state and local officials, to match employees to available jobs.
2. Assessment of the nature and scope of all Federally funded programs which are directed explicitly toward the elimination of various forms of discrimi

vation in our society.

3. Centralized coordination of all Federal efforts with activities which are being undertaken by local officials and by business and labor.

In connection with the immediate effort to provide employment in Federal agencies, you may be contacted in the next several days -- if you have not been already -- to provide comprehensive information regarding jobs which your agency might be able to provide. All inquiries, suggestions, or information should be directed to Jane Taylor, General Services Administration Institute, 40 4th Street, N. S. 54, San Francisco, California. Her telephone number is 556-6525.

Regarding item 3 above, if maximum effectiveness is to be achieved, it is essential that the activities of all Federal agencies be fully coordinated through the Task Force. This is particularly true of immediate efforts to provide jobs now. If any contacts have already been made -- either with private agencies or with state or local government officials -- those contacts should be reported immediately to this office. Any future contacts should be undertaken through the Task Force. All inquiries, suggestions, or information regarding inter-organizational activities should be directed to Richard J. Smart, Regional General Counsel, Office of Economic Opportunity, 100 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California. His telephone number is 556-9307. I have designated Mr. Smart staff coordinator for the Task Force.

Mr. Tor Torland of the Department of Labor, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, Room 10007, San Francisco, California, has been designated Public Affairs Officer for the Task Force. Agencies desiring to make public statements regarding activities discussed herein may contact Mr. Torland.

Your full and immediate cooperation is essential.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel M. Luévano
Task Force Chairman
Regional Director
Office of Economic Opportunity

cc:Honorable John F. Shelley
Mr. Joseph A. Califano, Jr. ✓

2
6/2/66

FILE
H...
FG...
...

October 4, 1966

FOR Alex Greene¹⁰⁰³
FROM Joe Califano

Please send a set of this material to
Dan Luevano in San Francisco.
Attachment

Revised
9/30/66

SELECTED FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN SAN FRANCISCO
(Dollars in thousands)

<u>Agency Summary</u>	<u>1966 Obligations</u>
OEO.....	\$ 6,579
Labor.....	4,663
HUD.....	24,302
VA.....	89,700
SBA.....	902
EDA ^{1/}	150
DOD ^{2/}	1,135,700
HEW ^{2/}	223,186
Total.....	\$1,485,182

- ^{1/} San Francisco Metropolitan Area.
^{2/} Excludes \$266,000 grants to State agencies not identified by locality.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN SAN FRANCISCO
(Dollars in thousands)

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Cumulative obligations</u>	<u>1966 obligations or commitments</u>	<u>Grantee or agency</u>	
EDA	Technical assistance	\$150	\$150	Plan of Action Committee (PACT)	Pre-vocational training for "hard core" unemployables
OEO	C.A.P.	6,022 (since 1965)	3,964	Economic Opportunity Council	1966 Program --5 neighborhood centers --Job development program, 2500 beneficiaries --Health component, upward bound, compensatory education, foster grandparents legal aid --Summer headstart only, 1530 kids --Summer employment crash program: 1200 14-16 year olds 150 16-24 year olds --CAP employment 255 (219 poor)
	N.Y.C. (Labor)	2,200	1,698	School District, Public Utilities Commission, etc.	1966 program --in school 400 youths -- out of school 565 " --summer 1400 " total 2365 " cumulative total since 1965 3296 youths
	Adult Basic Education (HEW)	--	493	State	4,594 participants
	Work Experience (HEW)	--	378	State	Number of beneficiaries not available
	VISTA	--	46	--	14 volunteers
	Total OEO	--	6,579		

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Cumulative obligations</u>	<u>1966 obligations or commitments</u>	<u>Grantee or agency</u>	
VA	Compensation and pensions	--	\$60,600	Veterans, Survivors, Dependents	45,000 living veterans 18,000 widows, orphans, other dependents
	Readjustment, vocational rehab.	--	900	Veterans	
	Insurance	--	11,500	Survivors	
	Administration	--	3,900	--	
	Medical programs	--	12,800	Veterans	Average daily patient load 400
	Total VA		89,700		
DOD ^{1/}	Civilian payroll	--	395,700	Federal installations	51,516 employees--large expansion (5,000) in 1966
	Summer employment	--	--		908 summer employees could be carried year round--No training programs for youth.--Commuting average 1½ hrs.
	Military payroll	--	186,000	Military	40,618 personnel.
	Defense contracts	--	554,000	Various private firms and institutions	\$167,000 increase over 1965 oriented toward large employment industries, e.g., transportation, ship repair, etc.
	Total DOD		1,135,700		

^{1/} Data for metropolitan area only.

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Cumulative obligations</u>	<u>1966 obligations or commitments</u>	<u>Grantee or agency</u>
HUD	College housing	\$18,289	\$4,000	1966 program 880 student accommodations. Cumulative 3817 student accommodations.
	Mass transit	22,555	20,302	4 projects.
	Housing for elderly	446	--	32 units.
	Urban renewal	105,362	(13,000 reserved)	8 projects.
	Public housing	63,646	--	26 projects. 5,974 units.
	Open spaces	114	--	2 acres.
	Low income housing	245	--	1 project.
	<u>Total HUD</u>	<u>210,657</u>	<u>24,302</u>	
<u>LABOR--Employment Service</u>				
	Youth Opportunity Centers	916	818	5 YOC's.
	Calif. Employment Service Offices	N.A.	2,324	State agencies 2 Employment Service offices, 1 Unemployment Insurance office, 1 Farm Labor office
<u>M.D.T.A.</u>				
	Institutional	6,159	977	Not available 410 job slots in 1966; 3554 cumulative.
	On-the-job	N.A.	463	Not available 1047 job slots in 1966, to expand to 1800 in 1967.
	Exper. and Demonstration	2,591	81	Not available 610 job slots in 1966; 4318 cumulative.
	<u>Total M.D.T.A.</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>(1,521)</u>	
	<u>Total LABOR</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>4,663</u>	

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Cumulative obligations</u>	<u>1966 obligations or commitments</u>	<u>Grantee or agency</u>	
SBA	Business loans	--	\$902 ^{1/}	--	--71 loans made--since 3/65 72 loans totalling \$392 have been made to applicants referred by PACT. These are made on loosened credit standards. --2 management counselling courses in Negro areas are now scheduled for Fall 1966.
HEW	Social security payments	--	103,112	Individuals	
	Public assistance payments	--	97,164	State welfare agency	
	Education assistance for Federally affected areas	--	1,272	School Boards	
	Health professions education assistance	--	605		Construction of facilities at 3 professional schools (U. Calif., U. of the Pacific, Calif. Podiatry Coll.)
	Hospital and medical facilities construction	--	581		Grants for construction to 2 hospitals (St. Francis Memorial and Franklyn) and 1 Public Health Clinic (Sunset district)
	Higher education facilities construction grants	--	760	University of California	
	Cooperative research in education	--	410		Various project grants
	Community service and continuing education	--	547	Coordinating Council on Higher Education	For training of adults to assist in solving community problems

^{1/} 1965 Calendar Year

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Cumulative obligations</u>	<u>1966 obligations or commitments</u>	<u>Grantee or agency</u>	
HEW	Water Pollution control	--	408		Three grants
	Training teachers of the handicapped	--	392	San Francisco State College	
	Chronic disease and health of the Aged	--	315		
	Community health research grants	--	255		Various projects for research and training
	Nurse training and traineeship	--	347		
	Educational TV	--	189	Bay Area educational TV Association	Construction of facilities
	Undergraduate Instructional equipment	--	125		To colleges and universities for purchase of equipment
	Juvenile delinquency control	--	107	San Francisco State College	For training of youth
	NIH--Medical research	--	<u>16,106</u>		Various projects
	Subtotal HEW		222,695		

Note: \$226,000 of additional HEW grants are made to State agencies. The portion of these funds allocated to San Francisco cannot be identified without further extensive research.

July 25

JOHN ALEX ^X McCONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 90017

EXECUTIVE
Hel 2/5T 4
LG 1/10 1967

July 25, 1967

Dear Joe,

I am now getting to the point where I will draft my final interim report to the Governor on the situation in South Central Los Angeles. Obviously the recent events in Newark and Detroit will have an important bearing on what I say.

Some weeks ago you promised to send me an interdepartmental report on South Central Los Angeles prepared by representatives of Labor, HEW and OEO. Perhaps you overlooked this. If such a report is available I would greatly appreciate your sending it to me -- and if it is "confidential", I will respect it as such.

Also, you had a personal representative out here for a few days. He was to prepare a memorandum on his observations. I arranged for him to talk with Chad McClellan, to sit in on a meeting with one hundred employers and to visit skill centers and adult training centers. His views would interest me greatly and would bear on my final judgments of the progress being made in our negro districts.

The violence of Detroit seems to indicate a new phase of the negro problem and one which is infinitely more serious than the riots of 1965 and 1966. I am hopeful that Los Angeles can keep things under control, however, the situation remains explosive.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to the President
White House
Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL ✓

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 7/27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*TO : Joseph A. Califano, Special Assistant to
The President, The White House

DATE: June 30, 1967

FROM : Daniel M. Luevano *Daniel M. Luevano*
Chairman, San Francisco Task ForceSUBJECT: *X X* San Francisco Task Force - Brief Outline of events

Following the Hunters Point riots in San Francisco of September 28 and 29, 1966, Mayor John Shelley appealed to all agencies, federal, state and local, for aid to prevent further mob violence in the city. Responding to the request President Johnson appointed Daniel M. Luevano to head a San Francisco Task Force. In order to carry out the assignment, Luevano requested the regional heads of the Federal Agencies most directly concerned with urban problems (The Office of Economic Opportunity; Department of Labor; Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and the Department of Housing and Urban Development) to assist in working closely with the Mayor and other local and state agencies. At the outset, it was recognized that there was an immediate need for a full-scale hunt for jobs as the strongest course of action to prevent further disruptive rioting. Direct contact with young men from the riot area indicated chronic unemployment and the existence of barriers to economic opportunities for minority youths and adults as continuing sources of irritation and resentment.

In convening the Task Force, three immediate underlying assumptions dictating the nature of its operations were followed. These assumptions were: (1) the widely accepted interpretation of the causes of the riots, and the direction taken thereafter by the Mayor, indicated that a specific Federal response would be both functionally worthwhile and politically acceptable; (2) the Federal response should not involve crash commitments of new money; and (3) the federal response must show concrete result directly related to alleviation of deprivation of minority ghettos. It was apparent that any responsive Federal Action should be undertaken through a centralized agency rather than an agency by agency approach. Implicit in this approach was the idea that any response to this crisis situation should illuminate a carefully planned reaction motivated by Presidential concern.

In approaching the employment and poverty problems in San Francisco, the Task Force asked two fundamental questions. First, what can the Federal establishment do to achieve an immediate impact to alleviate the problems of San Francisco's disadvantaged minorities? And, second, what long range contribution can it make to the poverty problems in the city? While these questions posed an approach oriented to area problems, the Task Force was also involved in the equally important role of setting a precedent for the response by the Federal Government to any similar emergencies and problems in other communities.

X X
San Francisco Task Force - Brief Outline of events

August 1, 1967
4:45 p. m.

EXECUTIVE

10-1-15

11-8-17

1-21-75

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Fred Panzer

SUBJECT: Los Angeles Riot Study

Attached is a copy of a study on the Watts riot of 1965. It was prepared by UCLA at the request of OEO.

One finding supports your request that more than "conventional wisdom" be applied to the search for the truth about civil disorders. That is:

"Our data contradict the common notion that those persons who are the most deprived will sense the greatest frustrations and express the highest levels of discontent. Instead, they support the other common contention that those most aggrieved are those who have begun to overcome traditional barriers but who are impatient with the yet-existing constraints placed upon them. This point of view is well expressed by Pettee:

"The consciousness of repression leads to discontent only when it is felt unnecessary. This is the reason why a rising class, which is actually becoming constantly better off objectively, generally rebels most readily, and why the most severe repression has so often failed to cause a revolution."

This finding suggests that economic and social remedies will not stop riots in and of themselves. Indeed they will have the opposite short-range effect. Thus the first priority must go to anti-riot prevention and control efforts of local police and state guard units.

Hand
Control

10
of 1/2

Of course, announcement of police and economic remedies should be made simultaneously.

The conclusions of the study begin on page 112 marked with red tag.