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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

*Memorandum with
follow up.*

TO : William L. Taylor
Staff Director

DATE: March 28, 1968

FROM : Samuel J. Simmons *SJS*
Director, Field Services Division

SUBJECT: Jacques Wilmore's comments on implications of Riot Commission Report in Memphis

I think that you will be interested in reading the attached evaluation of the implications of the Riot Commission Report in Memphis, Tennessee.

I think that it vividly points up that any follow-up in a place such as Memphis will require a great deal of time and technical assistance from outside resource persons.

Attachment

cc: M. Carl Holman
John Binkley
Jacob Schlitt
Thomas Jenkins
John McKnight
Philip Montez

P.S. This was dictated before the riot today.



5010-108

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MEMPHIS AND THE RIOT COMMISSION REPORT

A Voice Falling on Deaf Ears -

The most striking thing about Memphis and the Kerner Commission Report is the overall lack of attention which the report has received locally. Up to a few days ago, it was virtually impossible to purchase a copy of the report in the city. It is now on sale at the Memphis Airport - but even there, it is tucked away in a most inconspicuous place. There have been almost no public statements from leading officials or citizens and the press, save for the initial news stories, has tended to ignore the document. One gets the impression that most key local citizens seem to think of the Report as something that refers to somewhere else, and is not really addressed to them. All of this is incomprehensible when one considers that this community is currently experiencing a racial confrontation of serious proportions relating to the strike of sanitation workers.

The Report's Central Message and Memphians -

The central message of the Kerner Commission Report that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal"; and its clear assignment of blame for our ghettos on white racism - "white institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it" - have not, in the writer's judgement, had any impact on white Memphians. It would be a healthier sign if white Memphians were debating these conclusions of the Report, and publicly disagreeing with them. Instead, there is a deadly silence - a silence which seems to indicate a total lack of understanding of the forces at work in both our black and white communities. Perhaps the real meaning of the silence of white Memphians on the central message is that they accept it as the normal and natural state of affairs. We have always had two unequal societies - is that not as it should be? We have always maintained control over the black ghetto - is that not as it should be?

The National Recommendations and Local Needs -

The recommendations for national action speak clearly to Memphis' condition - employment, education, housing and welfare reform are all areas of critical need in this community. Except for the current

confrontation brought about by the action of local ministers and their organization C.O.M.E. (Community on the March for Equality) there has been no official recognition that problems exist in this community relative to these areas. One would be safe to assume that national representatives elected locally will not give leadership, or even support to, the implementation of these recommendations in the Congress. And, as noted above, this posture undoubtedly reflects accurately the feelings of their constituencies.

The Local Recommendations and Local Prospects -

This is the crucial area, for the report contains many sound recommendations which are relevant to local conditions in Memphis. For instance, the three levels of intensity of grievances as reported in the Report could apply almost literally to Memphis (the order might be reversed in one or two cases).

The basic theme of chapter 10, "The Community Response", that cities do not perceive or understand the nature and intensity of minority grievances and are ill-equipped to deal with them, is underscored by the current controversy in our town. Most white citizens tend to view the matter as a labor dispute, but most black citizens view it as another example of the white racism which the Report makes the central villain. Likewise, while the black community calls upon the city to adopt new programs and new procedures, ~~white~~ white officials ~~would~~ would describe such moves as "giving in".

The major proposals of chapter 10 do not stand much chance of implementation in Memphis under the present administration. They are:

1. Neighborhood Action Task Forces - The mayor and his administration will doubtlessly consider this an unnecessary move. The City Council might take action, but the plan is probably doomed to failure without the full support of the mayor.
2. Comprehensive Grievance - Response Mechanisms - This proposal's chances are no better than the one of above, Besides, the administration will probably declare existing channels adequate.

3. Neighborhood Outlets for local, state and Federal agencies - This requires the initiative of the city, plus the cooperation of the state and national governments, making its accomplishment even more difficult.
4. Greater Participation of Ghetto Residents in Policy Formulation - The local War on Poverty Committee (WOPEC) might be an avenue for achieving some of these goals, if an additional and powerful stimulus is provided.

With respect to chapter 11, "Police and the Community", there is much good and needed advice for Memphis. The present Director of Fire and Police would probably be amenable to many of the suggestions, if they were presented in a politically feasible way. Those recommendations calling for a review of police operations and procedures to eliminate abrasive practices, to provide more protection for ghetto areas, and to recruit and promote more Negro police officers will probably get a sympathetic response from the Director, but their actual implementation will require the support of important segments of the community.

Other proposals of the chapter, such as an independent body to receive and investigate complaints against the police and other municipal agencies and the Community Service Officer Program will probably get a less receptive hearing. The first because of the emotion surrounding the issue (the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights proposed such an agency in a 1966 report on Memphis police-community relations). The latter, because it will involve the expenditure of new funds.

Many of the recommendations of chapter 12, "Control of Disorder", would have a good chance of implementation locally, if they received the support of important local persons and groups. Up to the present there is little evidence in Memphis of the hysteria in this area which has gripped many cities - i.e. the purchase of tanks, high powered weapons, etc.. On the other hand, such moves may be underway and have not been made public. However, the implementation of chapter 12 without the concomitant implementation of chapter 11 would probably be misinterpreted by the minority community and lead to worsening of police community-relations.

Finally, with respect to chapter 15, "The Media of Mass Communication", the local prospects for implementation are not good with the newspapers, radio and television. The local newspapers are currently being boycotted by C.O.M.E. because of their handling of the news. Radio news has not been much better. Television, through the use of several popular "interpreters of the news" has been more sophisticated, but has been guilty of the same errors.

A study of the newspapers, radio and television handling of the current confrontation between C.O.M.E. and the city would tend to confirm the findings of the Kerner Commission's Report. Yet, because of the media's independence and lack of accountability, change will be difficult to achieve.

Overall Prospects for Local Implementation -

As stated at the outset, it is difficult to see how there can be such implementation of the report when so little attention is being paid to it. The fact that Memphis has not experienced a major civil disorder (all protests to date have been largely orderly) is probably the major reason for the Report's lack of local impact. Somewhat, ironical as it may seem, the current racial crisis in our city has probably resulted in less, rather than more, attention being given to the Report. Local officials are so busy with the immediate, that they can not see the big picture.

However, to say that nothing is being done is not to say that nothing can be done. Once the current controversy is over, it may be possible to launch some kind of a broad citizens' committee in support of the Report. In fact, the controversy, once settled, may be the local focal point around which such a body could be organized.

A broadly based committee, representing the minority community, businessmen, key public officials, etc. could probably lead a successful campaign for the implementation of some of the recommendations for local action. The question then is "who will bell the cat?". The success of such an organizing effort will depend on large measure upon the skill, the prestige and the timing of the organizers.

SFO:JEWilmore:jcd:3/25/68
 SFO:Chron
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 SFO:FSD
 SFO:SD



**REPORT OF THE
NATIONAL ADVISORY
COMMISSION
ON CIVIL
DISORDERS**

Summary of Report

INTRODUCTION

The summer of 1967 again brought racial disorders to American cities, and with them shock, fear and bewilderment to the nation.

The worst came during a two-week period in July, first in Newark and then in Detroit. Each set off a chain reaction in neighboring communities.

On July 28, 1967, the President of the United States established this Commission and directed us to answer three basic questions:

What happened?

Why did it happen?

What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

To respond to these questions, we have undertaken a broad range of studies and investigations. We have visited the riot cities; we have heard many witnesses; we have sought the counsel of experts across the country.

This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.

Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American.

This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution.

To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values.

The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.

This alternative will require a commitment to national

action—compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will.

The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted.

Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot—it will not—tolerate coercion and mob rule.

Violence and destruction must be ended—in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of people.

Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans.

What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens—urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group.

Our recommendations embrace three basic principles:

- To mount programs on a scale equal to the dimension of the problems;
- To aim these programs for high impact in the immediate future in order to close the gap between promise and performance;
- To undertake new initiatives and experiments that can change the system of failure and frustration that now dominates the ghetto and weakens our society.

These programs will require unprecedented levels of funding and performance, but they neither probe deeper nor demand more than the problems which called them forth. There can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience.

We issue this Report now, four months before the date called for by the President. Much remains that can be learned. Continued study is essential.

As Commissioners we have worked together with a sense of the greatest urgency and have sought to compose whatever differences exist among us. Some differences remain. But the gravity of the problem and the pressing need for action are too clear to allow further delay in the issuance of this Report.

PART I—WHAT HAPPENED?

Chapter 1—Profiles of Disorder

The report contains profiles of a selection of the disorders that took place during the summer of 1967. These profiles are designed to indicate how the disorders happened, who participated in them, and how local officials, police forces, and the National Guard responded. Illustrative excerpts follow:

NEWARK

... It was decided to attempt to channel the energies of the people into a nonviolent protest. While Lofton promised the crowd that a full investigation would be made of the Smith incident, the other Negro leaders began urging those on the scene to form a line of march toward the city hall.

Some persons joined the line of march. Others milled about in the narrow street. From the dark grounds of the housing project came a barrage of rocks. Some of them fell among the crowd. Others hit persons in the line of march. Many smashed the windows of the police station. The rock throwing, it was believed, was the work of youngsters; approximately 2,500 children lived in the housing project.

Almost at the same time, an old car was set afire in a parking lot. The line of march began to disintegrate. The police, their heads protected by World War I-type helmets, sallied forth to disperse the crowd. A fire engine, arriving on the scene, was pelted with rocks. As police drove people away from the station, they scattered in all directions.

A few minutes later a nearby liquor store was broken into. Some persons, seeing a caravan of cabs appear at city hall to protest Smith's arrest, interpreted this as evidence that the disturbance had been organized, and generated rumors to that effect.

However, only a few stores were looted. Within a short period of time, the disorder appeared to have run its course.

... On Saturday, July 15, [Director of Police Dominick] Spina received a report of snipers in a housing project. When he arrived he saw approximately 100 National Guardsmen and police officers crouching behind vehicles, hiding in corners and lying on the ground around the edge of the courtyard.

Since everything appeared quiet and it was broad daylight, Spina walked directly down the middle of the street. Nothing happened. As he came to the last building of the complex, he heard a shot. All around him the troopers jumped, believing themselves to be under sniper fire. A moment later a young Guardsman ran from behind a building.

The Director of Police went over and asked him if he had fired the shot. The soldier said yes, he had fired to scare a man away from a window; that his orders were to keep everyone away from windows.

Spina said he told the soldier: "Do you know what you just did? You have now created a state of hysteria. Every Guardsman up and down this street and every state policeman and every city policeman that is present thinks that somebody just fired a shot and that it is probably a sniper."

A short time later more "gunshots" were heard. Investigating, Spina came upon a Puerto Rican sitting on a wall. In reply to a question as to whether he knew "where the firing is coming from?" the man said:

"That's no firing. That's fireworks. If you look up to the fourth floor, you will see the people who are throwing down these cherry bombs."

By this time four truckloads of National Guardsmen had arrived and troopers and policemen were again crouched everywhere looking for a sniper. The Director of Police remained at the scene for three hours, and the only shot fired was the one by the Guardsman.

Nevertheless, at six o'clock that evening two columns of National Guardsmen and state troopers were directing mass fire at the Hayes Housing Project in response to what they believed were snipers. . . .

DETROIT

... A spirit of carefree nihilism was taking hold. To riot and destroy appeared more and more to become ends in themselves. Late Sunday afternoon it appeared to one observer that the young people were "dancing amidst the flames."

A Negro plainclothes officer was standing at an intersection when a man threw a Molotov cocktail into a business establishment at the corner. In the heat of the afternoon, fanned by the 20 to 25 m.p.h. winds of both Sunday and Monday, the fire reached the home next door within minutes. As residents uselessly sprayed the flames with garden hoses, the fire jumped from roof to roof of adjacent two- and three-story buildings. Within the hour the entire block was in flames. The ninth house in the burning row belonged to the arsonist who had thrown the Molotov cocktail. . . .

... Employed as a private guard, 55-year-old Julius L. Dorsey, a Negro, was standing in front of a market when accosted by two Negro men and a woman. They demanded he permit them to loot the market. He ignored their demands. They began to berate him. He asked a neighbor to call the police. As the argument grew more heated, Dorsey fired three shots from his pistol into the air.

The police radio reported: "Looters, they have rifles." A patrol car driven by a police officer and carrying three National Guardsmen arrived. As the looters fled, the law enforcement personnel opened fire. When the firing ceased, one person lay dead.

He was Julius L. Dorsey. . . .

... As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhood Action Com-

mittee (PNAC). With professional help from the Institute of Urban Dynamics, they had organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood. . . .

When the riot broke out, the residents, through the block clubs, were able to organize quickly. Youngsters, agreeing to stay in the neighborhood, participated in detouring traffic. While many persons reportedly sympathized with the idea of a rebellion against the "system," only two small fires were set—one in an empty building.

* * *

. . . According to Lt. Gen. Throckmorton and Col. Bolling, the city, at this time, was saturated with fear. The National Guardsmen were afraid, the residents were afraid, and the police were afraid. Numerous persons, the majority of them Negroes, were being injured by gunshots of undetermined origin. The general and his staff felt that the major task of the troops was to reduce the fear and restore an air of normalcy.

In order to accomplish this, every effort was made to establish contact and rapport between the troops and the residents. The soldiers—20 percent of whom were Negro—began helping to clean up the streets, collect garbage, and trace persons who had disappeared in the confusion. Residents in the neighborhoods responded with soup and sandwiches for the troops. In areas where the National Guard tried to establish rapport with the citizens, there was a smaller response.

NEW BRUNSWICK

. . . A short time later, elements of the crowd—an older and rougher one than the night before—appeared in front of the police station. The participants wanted to see the mayor.

Mayor [Patricia] Sheehan went out onto the steps of the station. Using a bullhorn, she talked to the people and asked that she be given an opportunity to correct conditions. The crowd was boisterous. Some persons challenged the mayor. But, finally, the opinion, "She's new! Give her a chance!" prevailed.

A demand was issued by people in the crowd that all persons arrested the previous night be released. Told that this already had been done, the people were suspicious. They asked to be allowed to inspect the jail cells.

It was agreed to permit representatives of the people to look in the cells to satisfy themselves that everyone had been released.

The crowd dispersed. The New Brunswick riot had failed to materialize.

Chapter 2—Patterns of Disorder

The "typical" riot did not take place. The disorders of 1967 were unusual, irregular, complex and unpredictable social processes. Like most human events, they did not unfold in an orderly sequence. However, an analysis of our survey information leads to some conclusions about the riot process.

In general:

- The civil disorders of 1967 involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority and property in Negro neighborhoods—rather than against white persons.
- Of 164 disorders reported during the first nine months of 1967, eight (5 percent) were major in terms of violence and damage; 33 (20 percent) were serious but not major; 123 (75 percent) were minor and undoubtedly would not have received national attention as "riots" had the nation not been sensitized by the more serious outbreaks.
- In the 75 disorders studied by a Senate subcommittee, 83 deaths were reported. Eighty-two percent of the deaths and more than half the injuries occurred in Newark and Detroit. About 10 percent of the dead and 38 percent of the injured were public employees, primarily law officers and firemen. The overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians.
- Initial damage estimates were greatly exaggerated. In Detroit, newspaper damage estimates at first ranged from \$200 million to \$500 million; the highest recent estimate is \$45 million. In Newark, early estimates ranged from \$15 to \$25 million. A month later damage was estimated at \$10.2 million, over 80 percent in inventory losses.

In the 24 disorders in 23 cities which we surveyed:

- The final incident before the outbreak of disorder, and the initial violence itself, generally took place in the evening or at night at a place in which it was normal for many people to be on the streets.
- Violence usually occurred almost immediately following the occurrence of the final precipitating incident, and then escalated rapidly. With but few exceptions, violence subsided during the day, and flared rapidly again at night. The night-day cycles continued through the early period of the major disorders.
- Disorder generally began with rock and bottle throwing and window breaking. Once store windows were broken, looting usually followed.
- Disorder did not erupt as a result of a single "triggering" or "precipitating" incident. Instead, it was generated out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked in the minds of many in the Negro community with a reservoir of underlying grievances. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident—in itself often routine or trivial—became the breaking point and the tension spilled over into violence.
- "Prior" incidents, which increased tensions and ultimately led to violence, were police actions in almost half the cases; police actions were "final" incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders.
- No particular control tactic was successful in every situation. The varied effectiveness of control techniques emphasizes the need for advance training, planning, adequate intelligence systems, and knowledge of the ghetto community.

- Negotiations between Negroes—including your militants as well as older Negro leaders—and white officials concerning “terms of peace” occurred during virtually all the disorders surveyed. In many cases, these negotiations involved discussion of underlying grievances as well as the handling of the disorder by control authorities.
- The typical rioter was a teenager or young adult, a lifelong resident of the city in which he rioted, a high school dropout; he was, nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his nonrioting Negro neighbor, and was usually underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system.
- A Detroit survey revealed that approximately 11 percent of the total residents of two riot areas admitted participation in the rioting, 20 to 25 percent identified themselves as “bystanders,” over 16 percent identified themselves as “counter-rioters” who urged rioters to “cool it,” and the remaining 48 to 53 percent said they were at home or elsewhere and did not participate. In a survey of Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35 residing in the disturbance area in Newark, about 45 percent identified themselves as rioters, and about 55 percent as “noninvolved.”
- Most rioters were young Negro males. Nearly 53 percent of arrestees were between 15 and 24 years of age; nearly 81 percent between 15 and 35.
- In Detroit and Newark about 74 percent of the rioters were brought up in the North. In contrast, of the noninvolved, 36 percent in Detroit and 52 percent in Newark were brought up in the North.
- What the rioters appeared to be seeking was fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the majority of American citizens. Rather than rejecting the American system, they were anxious to obtain a place for themselves in it.
- Numerous Negro counter-rioters walked the streets urging rioters to “cool it.” The typical counter-rioter was better educated and had higher income than either the rioter or the noninvolved.
- The proportion of Negroes in local government was substantially smaller than the Negro proportion of population. Only three of the 20 cities studied had more than one Negro legislator; none had ever had a Negro mayor or city manager. In only four cities did Negroes hold other important policy-making positions or serve as heads of municipal departments.
- Although almost all cities had some sort of formal grievance mechanism for handling citizen complaints, this typically was regarded by Negroes as ineffective and was generally ignored.
- Although specific grievances varied from city to city, at least 12 deeply held grievances can be identified and ranked into three levels of relative intensity:

First Level of Intensity

1. Police practices
2. Unemployment and underemployment
3. Inadequate housing

Second Level of Intensity

4. Inadequate education
5. Poor recreation facilities and programs
6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms

Third Level of Intensity

7. Disrespectful white attitudes
 8. Discriminatory administration of justice
 9. Inadequacy of federal programs
 10. Inadequacy of municipal services
 11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices
 12. Inadequate welfare programs
- The results of a three-city survey of various federal programs—manpower, education, housing, welfare and community action—indicate that, despite substantial expenditures, the number of persons assisted constituted only a fraction of those in need.

The background of disorder is often as complex and difficult to analyze as the disorder itself. But we find that certain general conclusions can be drawn:

- Social and economic conditions in the riot cities constituted a clear pattern of severe disadvantage for Negroes compared with whites, whether the Negroes lived in the area where the riot took place or outside it. Negroes had completed fewer years of education and fewer had attended high school. Negroes were twice as likely to be unemployed and three times as likely to be in unskilled and service jobs. Negroes averaged 70 percent of the income earned by whites and were more than twice as likely to be living in poverty. Although housing cost Negroes relatively more, they had worse housing—three times as likely to be overcrowded and substandard. When compared to white suburbs, the relative disadvantage is even more pronounced.

A study of the aftermath of disorder leads to disturbing conclusions. We find that, despite the institution of some post-riot programs:

- Little basic change in the conditions underlying the outbreak of disorder has taken place. Actions to ameliorate Negro grievances have been limited and sporadic; with but few exceptions, they have not significantly reduced tensions.
- In several cities, the principal official response has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons.
- In several cities, increasing polarization is evident, with continuing breakdown of inter-racial communication, and growth of white segregationist or black separatist groups.

Chapter 3—Organized Activity

The President directed the Commission to investigate "to what extent, if any, there has been planning or organization in any of the riots."

To carry out this part of the President's charge, the Commission established a special investigative staff supplementing the field teams that made the general examination of the riots in 23 cities. The unit examined data collected by federal agencies and congressional committees, including thousands of documents supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, gathered and evaluated information from local and state law enforcement agencies and officials, and conducted its own field investigation in selected cities.

On the basis of all the information collected, the Commission concludes that:

The urban disorders of the summer of 1967 were not caused by, nor were they the consequence of, any organized plan or "conspiracy."

Specifically, the Commission has found no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national or local.

Militant organizations, local and national, and individual agitators, who repeatedly forecast and called for violence, were active in the spring and summer of 1967. We believe that they sought to encourage violence, and that they helped to create an atmosphere that contributed to the outbreak of disorder.

We recognize that the continuation of disorders and the polarization of the races would provide fertile ground for organized exploitation in the future.

Investigations of organized activity are continuing at all levels of government, including committees of Congress. These investigations relate not only to the disorders of 1967 but also to the actions of groups and individuals, particularly in schools and colleges, during this last fall and winter. The Commission has cooperated in these investigations. They should continue.

PART II—WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

Chapter 4—The Basic Causes

In addressing the question "Why did it happen?" we shift our focus from the local to the national scene, from the par-

ticular events of the summer of 1967 to the factors within the society at large that created a mood of violence among many urban Negroes.

These factors are complex and interacting; they vary significantly in their effect from city to city and from year to year; and the consequences of one disorder, generating new grievances and new demands, become the causes of the next. Thus was created the "thicket of tension, conflicting evidence and extreme opinions" cited by the President.

Despite these complexities, certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans.

Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future.

White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Among the ingredients of this mixture are:

- *Pervasive discrimination and segregation* in employment, education and housing, which have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.
- *Black in-migration and white exodus*, which have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.
- *The black ghettos* where segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular are the result.

At the same time, most whites and some Negroes outside the ghetto have prospered to a degree unparalleled in the history of civilization. Through television and other media, this affluence has been flaunted before the eyes of the Negro poor and the jobless ghetto youth.

Yet these facts alone cannot be said to have caused the disorders. Recently, other powerful ingredients have begun to catalyze the mixture:

- *Frustrated hopes* are the residue of the unfulfilled expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories of the Civil Rights Movement and the dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South.
- *A climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence* as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism directed against nonviolent protest; by the open defiance of law and federal authority by state and local officials resisting desegre-

gation; and by some protest groups engaging in civil disobedience who turn their backs on nonviolence, go beyond the constitutionally protected rights of petition and free assembly, and resort to violence to attempt to compel alteration of laws and policies with which they disagree.

- *The frustrations of powerlessness* have led some Negroes to the conviction that there is no effective alternative to violence as a means of achieving redress of grievances, and of "moving the system." These frustrations are reflected in alienation and hostility toward the institutions of law and government and the white society which controls them, and in the reach toward racial consciousness and solidarity reflected in the slogan "Black Power."
- *A new mood* has sprung up among Negroes, particularly among the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to "the system."
- *The police are not merely a "spark" factor.* To some Negroes police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread belief among Negroes in the existence of police brutality and in a "double standard" of justice and protection—one for Negroes and one for whites.

* * *

To this point, we have attempted to identify the prime components of the "explosive mixture." In the chapters that follow we seek to analyze them in the perspective of history. Their meaning, however, is clear:

In the summer of 1967, we have seen in our cities a chain reaction of racial violence. If we are heedless, none of us shall escape the consequences.

Chapter 5—Rejection and Protest: An Historical Sketch

The causes of recent racial disorders are embedded in a tangle of issues and circumstances—social, economic, political and psychological—which arise out of the historic pattern of Negro-white relations in America.

In this chapter we trace the pattern, identify the recurrent themes of Negro protest and, most importantly, provide a perspective on the protest activities of the present era.

We describe the Negro's experience in America and the development of slavery as an institution. We show his persistent striving for equality in the face of rigidly maintained social, economic and educational barriers, and repeated mob violence. We portray the ebb and flow of the doctrinal tides—accommodation, separatism, and self-help—and their relationship to the current theme of Black Power. We conclude:

The Black Power advocates of today consciously feel that they are the most militant group in the Negro protest movement. Yet

they have retreated from a direct confrontation with American society on the issue of integration and, by preaching separatism, unconsciously function as an accommodation to white racism. Much of their economic program, as well as their interest in Negro history, self-help, racial solidarity and separation, is reminiscent of Booker T. Washington. The rhetoric is different, but the ideas are remarkably similar.

Chapter 6—The Formation Of the Racial Ghettos¹

Throughout the 20th century the Negro population of the United States has been moving steadily from rural areas to urban and from South to North and West. In 1910, 91 percent of the nation's 9.8 million Negroes lived in the South and only 27 percent of American Negroes lived in cities of 2,500 persons or more. Between 1910 and 1966 the total Negro population more than doubled, reaching 21.5 million, and the number living in metropolitan areas rose more than five-fold (from 2.6 million to 14.8 million). The number outside the South rose eleven-fold (from 880,000 to 9.7 million).

Negro migration from the South has resulted from the expectation of thousands of new and highly paid jobs for unskilled workers in the North and the shift to mechanized farming in the South. However, the Negro migration is small when compared to earlier waves of European immigrants. Even between 1960 and 1966, there were 1.8 million immigrants from abroad compared to the 613,000 Negroes who arrived in the North and West from the South.

As a result of the growing number of Negroes in urban areas, natural increase has replaced migration as the primary source of Negro population increase in the cities. Nevertheless, Negro migration from the South will continue unless economic conditions there change dramatically.

Basic data concerning Negro urbanization trends indicate that:

- Almost all Negro population growth (98 percent from 1950 to 1966) is occurring within metropolitan areas, primarily within central cities.²
- The vast majority of white population growth (78 percent from 1960 to 1966) is occurring in suburban portions of metropolitan areas. Since 1960, white central-city population has declined by 1.3 million.

¹ The term "ghetto" as used in this report refers to an area within a city characterized by poverty and acute social disorganization, and inhabited by members of a racial or ethnic group under conditions of involuntary segregation.

² A "central city" is the largest city of a standard metropolitan statistical area, that is, a metropolitan area containing at least one city of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

- As a result, central cities are becoming more heavily Negro while the suburban fringes around them remain almost entirely white.
- The twelve largest central cities now contain over two-thirds of the Negro population outside the South, and one-third of the Negro total in the United States.

Within the cities, Negroes have been excluded from white residential areas through discriminatory practices. Just as significant is the withdrawal of white families from, or their refusal to enter, neighborhoods where Negroes are moving or already residing. About 20 percent of the urban population of the United States changes residence every year. The refusal of whites to move into "changing" areas when vacancies occur means that most vacancies eventually are occupied by Negroes.

The result, according to a recent study, is that in 1960 the average segregation index for 207 of the largest United States cities was 86.2. In other words, to create an unsegregated population distribution, an average of over 86 percent of all Negroes would have to change their place of residence within the city.

Chapter 7—Unemployment, Family Structure, and Social Disorganization

Although there have been gains in Negro income nationally, and a decline in the number of Negroes below the "poverty level," the condition of Negroes in the central city remains in a state of crisis. Between 2 and 2.5 million Negroes—16 to 20 percent of the total Negro population of all central cities—live in squalor and deprivation in ghetto neighborhoods.

Employment is a key problem. It not only controls the present for the Negro American but, in a most profound way, it is creating the future as well. Yet, despite continuing economic growth and declining national unemployment rates, the unemployment rate for Negroes in 1967 was more than double that for whites.

Equally important is the undesirable nature of many jobs open to Negroes and other minorities. Negro men are more than three times as likely as white men to be in low-paying, unskilled or service jobs. This concentration of male Negro employment at the lowest end of the occupational scale is the single most important cause of poverty among Negroes.

In one study of low-income neighborhoods, the "subemployment rate," including both unemployment and underemployment, was about 33 percent, or 8.8 times greater than the overall unemployment rate for all United States workers.

Employment problems, aggravated by the constant arrival of new unemployed migrants, many of them from depressed

rural areas, create persistent poverty in the ghetto. In 1966, about 11.9 percent of the nation's whites and 40.6 percent of its nonwhites were below the "poverty level" defined by the Social Security Administration (currently \$3,335 per year for an urban family of four). Over 40 percent of the nonwhites below the poverty level live in the central cities.

Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto. Men who are chronically unemployed or employed in the lowest status jobs are often unable or unwilling to remain with their families. The handicap imposed on children growing up without fathers in an atmosphere of poverty and deprivation is increased as mothers are forced to work to provide support.

The culture of poverty that results from unemployment and family breakup generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto. Prostitution, dope addiction, and crime create an environmental "jungle" characterized by personal insecurity and tension. Children growing up under such conditions are likely participants in civil disorder.

Chapter 8—Conditions of Life In the Racial Ghetto

A striking difference in environment from that of white, middle-class Americans profoundly influences the lives of residents of the ghetto.

Crime rates, consistently higher than in other areas, create a pronounced sense of insecurity. For example, in one city one low-income Negro district had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as a high-income white district. Unless drastic steps are taken, the crime problems in poverty areas are likely to continue to multiply as the growing youth and rapid urbanization of the population outstrip police resources.

Poor health and sanitation conditions in the ghetto result in higher mortality rates, a higher incidence of major diseases, and lower availability and utilization of medical services. The infant mortality rate for nonwhite babies under the age of one month is 58 percent higher than for whites; for one to 12 months it is almost three times as high. The level of sanitation in the ghetto is far below that in high income areas. Garbage collection is often inadequate. Of an estimated 14,000 cases of rat bite in the United States in 1965, most were in ghetto neighborhoods.

Ghetto residents believe they are "exploited" by local merchants; and evidence substantiates some of these beliefs. A study conducted in one city by the Federal Trade Commission showed that distinctly higher prices were charged for goods sold in ghetto stores than in other areas.

Lack of knowledge regarding credit purchasing creates special pitfalls for the disadvantaged. In many states garnishment practices compound these difficulties by allowing creditors to deprive individuals of their wages without hearing or trial.

Chapter 9—Comparing the Immigrant and Negro Experience

In this chapter, we address ourselves to a fundamental question that many white Americans are asking: why have so many Negroes, unlike the European immigrants, been unable to escape from the ghetto and from poverty. We believe the following factors play a part:

- *The Maturing Economy:* When the European immigrants arrived, they gained an economic foothold by providing the unskilled labor needed by industry. Unlike the immigrant, the Negro migrant found little opportunity in the city. The economy, by then matured, had little use for the unskilled labor he had to offer.
- *The Disability of Race:* The structure of discrimination has stringently narrowed opportunities for the Negro and restricted his prospects. European immigrants suffered from discrimination, but never so pervasively.
- *Entry into the Political System:* The immigrants usually settled in rapidly growing cities with powerful and expanding political machines, which traded economic advantages for political support. Ward-level grievance machinery, as well as personal representation, enabled the immigrant to make his voice heard and his power felt.

By the time the Negro arrived, these political machines were no longer so powerful or so well equipped to provide jobs or other favors, and in many cases were unwilling to share their influence with Negroes.

- *Cultural Factors:* Coming from societies with a low standard of living and at a time when job aspirations were low, the immigrants sensed little deprivation in being forced to take the less desirable and poorer-paying jobs. Their large and cohesive families contributed to total income. Their vision of the future—one that led to a life outside of the ghetto—provided the incentive necessary to endure the present.

Although Negro men worked as hard as the immigrants, they were unable to support their families. The entrepreneurial opportunities had vanished. As a result of slavery and long periods of unemployment, the Negro family structure had become matriarchal; the males played a secondary and marginal family role—one which offered little compensation for their hard and unrewarding labor. Above all, segregation denied Negroes access to good jobs and the opportunity to leave the ghetto. For them, the future seemed to lead only to a dead end.

Today, whites tend to exaggerate how well and quickly they escaped from poverty. The fact is that immigrants who came from rural backgrounds, as many Negroes do, are only now,

after three generations, finally beginning to move into the middle class.

By contrast, Negroes began concentrating in the city less than two generations ago, and under much less favorable conditions. Although some Negroes have escaped poverty, few have been able to escape the urban ghetto.

PART III—WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Chapter 10—The Community Response

Our investigation of the 1967 riot cities establishes that virtually every major episode of violence was foreshadowed by an accumulation of unresolved grievances and by widespread dissatisfaction among Negroes with the unwillingness or inability of local government to respond.

Overcoming these conditions is essential for community support of law enforcement and civil order. City governments need new and more vital channels of communication to the residents of the ghetto; they need to improve their capacity to respond effectively to community needs before they become community grievances; and they need to provide opportunity for meaningful involvement of ghetto residents in shaping policies and programs which affect the community.

The Commission recommends that local governments:

- Develop Neighborhood Action Task Forces as joint community-government efforts through which more effective communication can be achieved, and the delivery of city services to ghetto residents improved.
- Establish comprehensive grievance-response mechanisms in order to bring all public agencies under public scrutiny.
- Bring the institutions of local government closer to the people they serve by establishing neighborhood outlets for local, state and federal administrative and public service agencies.
- Expand opportunities for ghetto residents to participate in the formulation of public policy and the implementation of programs affecting them through improved political representation, creation of institutional channels for community action, expansion of legal services, and legislative hearings on ghetto problems.

In this effort, city governments will require state and federal support.

The Commission recommends:

- State and federal financial assistance for mayors and city councils to support the research, consultants, staff and other resources needed to respond effectively to federal program initiatives.

- State cooperation in providing municipalities with the jurisdictional tools needed to deal with their problems; a fuller measure of financial aid to urban areas; and the focusing of the interests of suburban communities on the physical, social and cultural environment of the central city.

Chapter 11—Police and the Community

The abrasive relationship between the police and the minority communities has been a major—and explosive—source of grievance, tension and disorder. The blame must be shared by the total society.

The police are faced with demands for increased protection and service in the ghetto. Yet the aggressive patrol practices thought necessary to meet these demands themselves create tension and hostility. The resulting grievances have been further aggravated by the lack of effective mechanisms for handling complaints against the police. Special programs for bettering police-community relations have been instituted, but these alone are not enough. Police administrators, with the guidance of public officials, and the support of the entire community, must take vigorous action to improve law enforcement and to decrease the potential for disorder.

The Commission recommends that city government and police authorities:

- Review police operations in the ghetto to ensure proper conduct by police officers, and eliminate abrasive practices.
- Provide more adequate police protection to ghetto residents to eliminate their high sense of insecurity, and the belief of many Negro citizens in the existence of a dual standard of law enforcement.
- Establish fair and effective mechanisms for the redress of grievances against the police, and other municipal employees.
- Develop and adopt policy guidelines to assist officers in making critical decisions in areas where police conduct can create tension.
- Develop and use innovative programs to ensure widespread community support for law enforcement.
- Recruit more Negroes into the regular police force, and review promotion policies to ensure fair promotion for Negro officers.
- Establish a "Community Service Officer" program to attract ghetto youths between the ages of 17 and 21 to police work. These junior officers would perform duties in ghetto neighborhoods, but would not have full police authority. The federal government should provide support equal to 90 percent of the costs of employing CSOs on the basis of one for every ten regular officers.

Chapter 12—Control of Disorder

Preserving civil peace is the first responsibility of government. Unless the rule of law prevails, our society will lack

not only order but also the environment essential to social and economic progress.

The maintenance of civil order cannot be left to the police alone. The police need guidance, as well as support, from mayors and other public officials. It is the responsibility of public officials to determine proper police policies, support adequate police standards for personnel and performance, and participate in planning for the control of disorders.

To maintain control of incidents which could lead to disorders, the Commission recommends that local officials:

- Assign seasoned, well-trained policemen and supervisory officers to patrol ghetto areas, and to respond to disturbances.
- Develop plans which will quickly muster maximum police manpower and highly qualified senior commanders at the outbreak of disorders.
- Provide special training in the prevention of disorders, and prepare police for riot control and for operation in units, with adequate command and control and field communication for proper discipline and effectiveness.
- Develop guidelines governing the use of control equipment and provide alternatives to the use of lethal weapons. Federal support for research in this area is needed.
- Establish an intelligence system to provide police and other public officials with reliable information that may help to prevent the outbreak of a disorder and to institute effective control measures in the event a riot erupts.
- Develop continuing contacts with ghetto residents to make use of the forces for order which exist within the community.
- Establish machinery for neutralizing rumors, and enabling Negro leaders and residents to obtain the facts. Create special rumor details to collect, evaluate, and dispel rumors that may lead to a civil disorder.

The Commission believes there is a grave danger that some communities may resort to the indiscriminate and excessive use of force. The harmful effects of overreaction are incalculable. The Commission condemns moves to equip police departments with mass destruction weapons, such as automatic rifles, machine guns and tanks. Weapons which are designed to destroy, not to control, have no place in densely populated urban communities.

The Commission recognizes the sound principle of local authority and responsibility in law enforcement, but recommends that the federal government share in the financing of programs for improvement of police forces, both in their normal law enforcement activities as well as in their response to civil disorders.

To assist government authorities in planning their response to civil disorder, this report contains a Supplement on Control

of Disorder. It deals with specific problems encountered during riot-control operations, and includes:

- Assessment of the present capabilities of police, National Guard and Army forces to control major riots, and recommendations for improvement;
- Recommended means by which the control operations of those forces may be coordinated with the response of other agencies, such as fire departments, and with the community at large;
- Recommendations for review and revision of federal, state and local laws needed to provide the framework for control efforts and for the call-up and interrelated action of public safety forces.

Chapter 13—The Administration of Justice Under Emergency Conditions

In many of the cities which experienced disorders last summer, there were recurring breakdowns in the mechanisms for processing, prosecuting and protecting arrested persons. These resulted mainly from long-standing structural deficiencies in criminal court systems, and from the failure of communities to anticipate and plan for the emergency demands of civil disorders.

In part, because of this, there were few successful prosecutions for serious crimes committed during the riots. In those cities where mass arrests occurred many arrestees were deprived of basic legal rights.

The Commission recommends that the cities and states:

- Undertake reform of the lower courts so as to improve the quality of justice rendered under normal conditions.
- Plan comprehensive measures by which the criminal justice system may be supplemented during civil disorders so that its deliberative functions are protected, and the quality of justice is maintained.

Such emergency plans require broad community participation and dedicated leadership by the bench and bar. They should include:

- Laws sufficient to deter and punish riot conduct.
- Additional judges, bail and probation officers, and clerical staff.
- Arrangements for volunteer lawyers to help prosecutors and to represent riot defendants at every stage of proceedings.
- Policies to ensure proper and individual bail, arraignment, pre-trial, trial and sentencing proceedings.
- Procedures for processing arrested persons, such as summons and release, and release on personal recognizance, which permit separation of minor offenders from those dangerous to the community, in order that serious offenders may be detained and prosecuted effectively.
- Adequate emergency processing and detention facilities.

Chapter 14—Damages: Repair and Compensation

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Amend the Federal Disaster Act—which now applies only to natural disasters—to permit federal emergency food and medical assistance to cities during major civil disorders, and provide long-term economic assistance afterwards.
- With the cooperation of the states, create incentives for the private insurance industry to provide more adequate property-insurance coverage in inner-city areas.

The Commission endorses the report of the National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas: "Meeting the Insurance Crisis of our Cities."

Chapter 15—The News Media and the Riots

In his charge to the Commission, the President asked: "What effect do the mass media have on the riots?"

The Commission determined that the answer to the President's question did not lie solely in the performance of the press and broadcasters in reporting the riots. Our analysis had to consider also the overall treatment by the media of the Negro ghettos, community relations, racial attitudes, and poverty—day by day and month by month, year in and year out.

A wide range of interviews with government officials, law enforcement authorities, media personnel and other citizens, including ghetto residents, as well as a quantitative analysis of riot coverage and a special conference with industry representatives, leads us to conclude that:

- Despite instances of sensationalism, inaccuracy and distortion, newspapers, radio and television tried on the whole to give a balanced, factual account of the 1967 disorders.
- Elements of the news media failed to portray accurately the scale and character of the violence that occurred last summer. The overall effect was, we believe, an exaggeration of both mood and event.
- Important segments of the media failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and on the underlying problems of race relations. They have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of life in the ghetto.

These failings must be corrected, and the improvement must come from within the industry. Freedom of the press is not the issue. Any effort to impose governmental restrictions would be inconsistent with fundamental constitutional precepts.

We have seen evidence that the news media are becoming aware of and concerned about their performance in this field. As that concern grows, coverage will improve. But much more must be done, and it must be done soon.

The Commission recommends that the media:

- Expand coverage of the Negro community and of race problems through permanent assignment of reporters familiar with urban and racial affairs, and through establishment of more and better links with the Negro community.
- Integrate Negroes and Negro activities into all aspects of coverage and content, including newspaper articles and television programming. The news media must publish newspapers and produce programs that recognize the existence and activities of Negroes as a group within the community and as a part of the larger community.
- Recruit more Negroes into journalism and broadcasting and promote those who are qualified to positions of significant responsibility. Recruitment should begin in high schools and continue through college; where necessary, aid for training should be provided.
- Improve coordination with police in reporting riot news through advance planning, and cooperate with the police in the designation of police information officers, establishment of information centers, and development of mutually acceptable guidelines for riot reporting and the conduct of media personnel.
- Accelerate efforts to ensure accurate and responsible reporting of riot and racial news, through adoption by all news gathering organizations of stringent internal staff guidelines.
- Cooperate in the establishment of a privately organized and funded Institute of Urban Communications to train and educate journalists in urban affairs, recruit and train more Negro journalists, develop methods for improving police-press relations, review coverage of riots and racial issues, and support continuing research in the urban field.

Chapter 16—The Future of the Cities

By 1985, the Negro population in central cities is expected to increase by 72 percent to approximately 20.8 million. Coupled with the continued exodus of white families to the suburbs, this growth will produce majority Negro populations in many of the nation's largest cities.

The future of these cities, and of their burgeoning Negro populations, is grim. Most new employment opportunities are being created in suburbs and outlying areas. This trend will continue unless important changes in public policy are made.

In prospect, therefore, is further deterioration of already inadequate municipal tax bases in the face of increasing demands for public services, and continuing unemployment and poverty among the urban Negro population:

Three choices are open to the nation:

- We can maintain present policies, continuing both the proportion of the nation's resources now allocated to programs for the unemployed and the disadvantaged, and the inadequate and failing effort to achieve an integrated society.
- We can adopt a policy of "enrichment" aimed at improving dramatically the quality of ghetto life while abandoning integration as a goal.
- We can pursue integration by combining ghetto "enrichment" with policies which will encourage Negro movement out of central city areas.

The first choice, continuance of present policies, has ominous consequences for our society. The share of the nation's resources now allocated to programs for the disadvantaged is insufficient to arrest the deterioration of life in central city ghettos. Under such conditions, a rising proportion of Negroes may come to see in the deprivation and segregation they experience, a justification for violent protest, or for extending support to now isolated extremists who advocate civil disruption. Large-scale and continuing violence could result, followed by white retaliation, and, ultimately, the separation of the two communities in a garrison state.

Even if violence does not occur, the consequences are unacceptable. Development of a racially integrated society, extraordinarily difficult today, will be virtually impossible when the present black ghetto population of 12.5 million has grown to almost 21 million.

To continue present policies is to make permanent the division of our country into two societies; one, largely Negro and poor, located in the central cities; the other, predominantly white and affluent, located in the suburbs and in outlying areas.

The second choice, ghetto enrichment coupled with abandonment of integration, is also unacceptable. It is another way of choosing a permanently divided country. Moreover, equality cannot be achieved under conditions of nearly complete separation. In a country where the economy, and particularly the resources of employment, are predominantly white, a policy of separation can only relegate Negroes to a permanently inferior economic status.

We believe that the only possible choice for America is the third—a policy which combines ghetto enrichment with programs designed to encourage integration of substantial numbers of Negroes into the society outside the ghetto.

Enrichment must be an important adjunct to integration, for no matter how ambitious or energetic the program, few Negroes now living in central cities can be quickly integrated.

In the meantime, large-scale improvement in the quality of ghetto life is essential.

But this can be no more than an interim strategy. Programs must be developed which will permit substantial Negro movement out of the ghettos. The primary goal must be a single society, in which every citizen will be free to live and work according to his capabilities and desires, not his color.

Chapter 17—Recommendations For National Action

INTRODUCTION

No American—white or black—can escape the consequences of the continuing social and economic decay of our major cities.

Only a commitment to national action on an unprecedented scale can shape a future compatible with the historic ideals of American society.

The great productivity of our economy, and a federal revenue system which is highly responsive to economic growth, can provide the resources.

The major need is to generate new will—the will to tax ourselves to the extent necessary to meet the vital needs of the nation.

We have set forth goals and proposed strategies to reach those goals. We discuss and recommend programs not to commit each of us to specific parts of such programs but to illustrate the type and dimension of action needed.

The major goal is the creation of a true union—a single society and a single American identity. Toward that goal, we propose the following objectives for national action:

- Opening up opportunities to those who are restricted by racial segregation and discrimination, and eliminating all barriers to their choice of jobs, education and housing.
- Removing the frustration of powerlessness among the disadvantaged by providing the means for them to deal with the problems that affect their own lives and by increasing the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.
- Increasing communication across racial lines to destroy stereotypes, to halt polarization, end distrust and hostility, and create common ground for efforts toward public order and social justice.

We propose these aims to fulfill our pledge of equality and to meet the fundamental needs of a democratic and civilized society—domestic peace and social justice.

EMPLOYMENT

Pervasive unemployment and underemployment are the most persistent and serious grievances in minority areas. They are inextricably linked to the problem of civil disorder.

Despite growing federal expenditures for manpower development and training programs, and sustained general economic prosperity and increasing demands for skilled workers, about two million—white and nonwhite—are permanently unemployed. About ten million are underemployed, of whom 6.5 million work full time for wages below the poverty line.

The 500,000 “hard-core” unemployed in the central cities who lack a basic education and are unable to hold a steady job are made up in large part of Negro males between the ages of 18 and 25. In the riot cities which we surveyed, Negroes were three times as likely as whites to hold unskilled jobs, which are often part time, seasonal, low-paying and “dead end.”

Negro males between the ages of 15 and 25 predominated among the rioters. More than 20 percent of the rioters were unemployed, and many who were employed held intermittent, low status, unskilled jobs which they regarded as below their education and ability.

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Undertake joint efforts with cities and states to consolidate existing manpower programs to avoid fragmentation and duplication.
- Take immediate action to create 2,000,000 new jobs over the next three years—one million in the public sector and one million in the private sector—to absorb the hard-core unemployed and materially reduce the level of underemployment for all workers, black and white. We propose 250,000 public sector and 300,000 private sector jobs in the first year.
- Provide on-the-job training by both public and private employers with reimbursement to private employers for the extra costs of training the hard-core unemployed, by contract or by tax credits.
- Provide tax and other incentives to investment in rural as well as urban poverty areas in order to offer to the rural poor an alternative to migration to urban centers.
- Take new and vigorous action to remove artificial barriers to employment and promotion, including not only racial discrimination but, in certain cases, arrest records or lack of a high school diploma. Strengthen those agencies such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, charged with eliminating discriminatory practices, and provide full support for Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act allowing federal grant-in-aid funds to be withheld from activities which discriminate on grounds of color or race.

The Commission commends the recent public commitment of the National Council of the Building and Construction Trades Unions, AFL-CIO, to encourage and recruit Negro membership in apprenticeship programs. This commitment should be intensified and implemented.

EDUCATION

Education in a democratic society must equip children to develop their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well. But for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.

This failure is one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment within the Negro community. The hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system is generating increasing conflict and causing disruption within many city school districts. But the most dramatic evidence of the relationship between educational practices and civil disorders lies in the high incidence of riot participation by ghetto youth who have not completed high school.

The bleak record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. In the critical skills—verbal and reading ability—Negro students are falling further behind whites with each year of school completed. The high unemployment and underemployment rate for Negro youth is evidence, in part, of the growing educational crisis.

We support integration as the priority education strategy; it is essential to the future of American society. In this last summer's disorders we have seen the consequences of racial isolation at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between the races be expanded.

We recognize that the growing dominance of pupils from disadvantaged minorities in city school populations will not soon be reversed. No matter how great the effort toward desegregation, many children of the ghetto will not, within their school careers, attend integrated schools.

If existing disadvantages are not to be perpetuated, we must drastically improve the quality of ghetto education. Equality of results with all-white schools must be the goal.

To implement these strategies, the Commission recommends:

- Sharply increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in our

schools through substantial federal aid to school systems seeking to desegregate either within the system or in cooperation with neighboring school systems.

- Elimination of racial discrimination in Northern as well as Southern schools by vigorous application of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- Extension of quality early childhood education to every disadvantaged child in the country.
- Efforts to improve dramatically schools serving disadvantaged children through substantial federal funding of year-round compensatory education programs, improved teaching, and expanded experimentation and research.
- Elimination of illiteracy through greater federal support for adult basic education.
- Enlarged opportunities for parent and community participation in the public schools.
- Reoriented vocational education emphasizing work-experience training and the involvement of business and industry.
- Expanded opportunities for higher education through increased federal assistance to disadvantaged students.
- Revision of state aid formulas to assure more per student aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged school-age children.

THE WELFARE SYSTEM

Our present system of public welfare is designed to save money instead of people, and tragically ends up doing neither. This system has two critical deficiencies:

First, it excludes large numbers of persons who are in great need, and who, if provided a decent level of support, might be able to become more productive and self-sufficient. No federal funds are available for millions of men and women who are needy but neither aged, handicapped nor the parents of minor children.

Second, for those included, the system provides assistance well below the minimum necessary for a decent level of existence, and imposes restrictions that encourage continued dependency on welfare and undermine self-respect.

A welter of statutory requirements and administrative practices and regulations operate to remind recipients that they are considered untrustworthy, promiscuous and lazy. Residence requirements prevent assistance to people in need who are newly arrived in the state. Regular searches of recipients' homes violate privacy. Inadequate social services compound the problems.

The Commission recommends that the federal government, acting with state and local governments where necessary, reform the existing welfare system to:

- Establish uniform national standards of assistance at least as

high as the annual "poverty level" of income, now set by the Social Security Administration at \$3,335 per year for an urban family of four.

- Require that all states receiving federal welfare contributions participate in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children—Unemployed Parents program (AFDC-UP) that permits assistance to families with both father and mother in the home, thus aiding the family while it is still intact.
- Bear a substantially greater portion of all welfare costs—at least 90 percent of total payments.
- Increase incentives for seeking employment and job training, but remove restrictions recently enacted by the Congress that would compel mothers of young children to work.
- Provide more adequate social services through neighborhood centers and family-planning programs.
- Remove the freeze placed by the 1967 welfare amendments on the percentage of children in a state that can be covered by federal assistance.
- Eliminate residence requirements.

As a long-range goal, the Commission recommends that the federal government seek to develop a national system of income supplementation based strictly on need with two broad and basic purposes:

- To provide, for those who can work or who do work, any necessary supplements in such a way as to develop incentives for fuller employment;
- To provide, for those who cannot work and for mothers who decide to remain with their children, a minimum standard of decent living, and to aid in the saving of children from the prison of poverty that has held their parents.

A broad system of supplementation would involve substantially greater federal expenditures than anything now contemplated. The cost will range widely depending on the standard of need accepted as the "basic allowance" to individuals and families, and on the rate at which additional income above this level is taxed. Yet if the deepening cycle of poverty and dependence on welfare can be broken, if the children of the poor can be given the opportunity to scale the wall that now separates them from the rest of society, the return on this investment will be great indeed.

HOUSING

After more than three decades of fragmented and grossly underfunded federal housing programs, nearly six million substandard housing units remain occupied in the United States.

The housing problem is particularly acute in the minority ghettos. Nearly two-thirds of all non-white families living in the central cities today live in neighborhoods marked with substandard housing and general urban blight. Two major factors are responsible.

First: Many ghetto residents simply cannot pay the rent necessary to support decent housing. In Detroit, for example, over 40 percent of the non-white occupied units in 1960 required rent of over 35 percent of the tenants' income.

Second: Discrimination prevents access to many non-slum areas, particularly the suburbs, where good housing exists. In addition, by creating a "back pressure" in the racial ghettos, it makes it possible for landlords to break up apartments for denser occupancy, and keeps prices and rents of deteriorated ghetto housing higher than they would be in a truly free market.

To date, federal programs have been able to do comparatively little to provide housing for the disadvantaged. In the 31-year history of subsidized federal housing, only about 800,000 units have been constructed, with recent production averaging about 50,000 units a year. By comparison, over a period only three years longer, FHA insurance guarantees have made possible the construction of over ten million middle and upper-income units.

Two points are fundamental to the Commission's recommendations:

First: Federal housing programs must be given a new thrust aimed at overcoming the prevailing patterns of racial segregation. If this is not done, those programs will continue to concentrate the most impoverished and dependent segments of the population into the central-city ghettos where there is already a critical gap between the needs of the population and the public resources to deal with them.

Second: The private sector must be brought into the production and financing of low and moderate rental housing to supply the capabilities and capital necessary to meet the housing needs of the nation.

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Enact a comprehensive and enforceable federal open housing law to cover the sale or rental of all housing, including single family homes.
- Reorient federal housing programs to place more low and moderate income housing outside of ghetto areas.
- Bring within the reach of low and moderate income families within the next five years six million new and existing units of decent housing, beginning with 600,000 units in the next year.

To reach this goal we recommend:

- Expansion and modification of the rent supplement program to permit use of supplements for existing housing, thus greatly increasing the reach of the program.
- Expansion and modification of the below-market interest rate program to enlarge the interest subsidy to all sponsors and provide interest-free loans to nonprofit sponsors to cover pre-construction costs, and permit sale of projects to nonprofit corporations, cooperatives, or condominiums.
- Creation of an ownership supplement program similar to present rent supplements, to make home ownership possible for low-income families.
- Federal writedown of interest rates on loans to private builders constructing moderate-rent housing.
- Expansion of the public housing program, with emphasis on small units on scattered sites, and leasing and "turnkey" programs.
- Expansion of the Model Cities program.
- Expansion and reorientation of the urban renewal program to give priority to projects directly assisting low-income households to obtain adequate housing.

CONCLUSION

One of the first witnesses to be invited to appear before this Commission was Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a distinguished and perceptive scholar. Referring to the reports of earlier riot commissions, he said:

I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction.

These words come to our minds as we conclude this report.

We have provided an honest beginning. We have learned much. But we have uncovered no startling truths, no unique insights, no simple solutions. The destruction and the bitterness of racial disorder, the harsh polemics of black revolt and white repression have been seen and heard before in this country.

It is time now to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of people.

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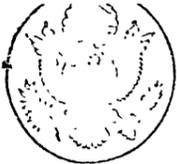
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STAFF DIRECTOR

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

File

OCT 20 1957

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

FROM: William L. Taylor

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

I. Employment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. Housing

A. Measures to assure nondiscrimination in housing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. Welfare

A. Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B. Food Stamp Program.

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

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

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

IV. Miscellaneous Proposals

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

To follow cabinet meeting

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

B. Research and Grant Programs.

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

C. One-Stop Service Centers.

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

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

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

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

E. Police-Community Training Programs.

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

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

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FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

WASHINGTON, D. C. ---- The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights today released the following statement on the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders:

"The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights commends the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and urges support of its recommendations. The report is a challenging and significant document which should awaken the American people to the urgency of our domestic crisis. In identifying white attitudes and actions which have helped to create and maintain the ghetto as the root of the problem, the report has provided a hard dose of medicine for the American people. But the hope of this Nation lies in its capacity for self-criticism and its ability to correct its feelings.

Thus, it is of the utmost importance that national, State, and local leaders avoid the temptation to quibble over details of the report, to ignore its clear warnings, or to respond with superficial remedies. In the weeks and months that lie ahead this report should strengthen thoughtful Americans everywhere in their resolve not to yield to the blind urgings of violence or repression.

Since its establishment 11 years ago, our Commission has investigated the status of the Negro and other minority groups throughout this land. It has reported to the President, the Congress, and the public the sad history of deprivation, discrimination, and prejudice which has denied justice and economic security to millions of nonwhite Americans. Our experience over this period has deepened our belief that the only ultimate guarantee of equal justice and civic order is the creation of a truly integrated society. We share with the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders the conviction that this Nation is on a course leading rapidly toward polarizing the black and white communities into separate and unequal societies.

Along with the Advisory Commission, we believe that the trend can be reversed only by acting now to make the elimination of racism and poverty within our own borders the Nation's first priority."

The statement was signed by John A. Hannah, Chairman, President of Michigan State University; Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman, Editor, Atlanta Constitution; Frankie M. Freeman, Commissioner, Associate General Counsel of the St. Louis Housing and Land Clearance Authorities; Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Commissioner, President, University of Notre Dame; Robert S. Rankin, Commissioner, Professor of Political Science, Duke University; and William L. Taylor, Staff Director.

March 15, 1968

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM L. TAYLOR, STAFF DIRECTOR
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
BEFORE THE
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
Friday, October 6, 1967

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. I appreciate the opportunity to testify before you today to relate to you the experience the Civil Rights Commission has had concerning the urban problems of minority group members and to tell you also some of the conclusions we have reached on the nature of those problems and the kind of efforts necessary to resolve them.

The disorders that have afflicted many of the Nation's cities over the past several summers -- and particularly the riots of this past summer -- have caused grave concern and a good deal of bewilderment throughout the country. We recognize that our cities are in crisis and that some large-scale effort is needed to set them right. The prospect of facing each new summer with the dread of renewed violence, greater property damage, and more lives lost, is an intolerable one. The first order of business, quite appropriately, is to preserve law and order. Many Americans are appalled and even frightened at the fact that riots in such cities as Newark and Detroit have gone beyond the control of law enforcement officers, and their overriding concern is to make sure that this is not permitted to happen again.

We agree that the restoration of law and order must be a primary concern. No effort at resolving our urban problems can be carried on successfully in an environment of chaos and disruption. The nature of the urban crisis we face, however, cannot be defined solely in terms of the breakdown of law and order, nor even in terms of the lives lost and the damage to property. Tragic as the results of violence have been, they also have served to make visible the scope and dimensions of a deeper crisis -- our failure to deal meaningfully with conditions of economic and social injustice suffered by many Negro citizens.

Times of crisis can teach us quickly lessons that we otherwise may be slow to learn and can generate corrective action that we are slow to take in times of tranquility. There are lessons that we can learn from the crisis we now are experiencing that can result in corrective action, not only to assure law and order, but to attack the conditions which underlie disorder and violence. The danger is that we will learn the wrong lessons from what has occurred -- that our response to these outbreaks will be too narrow in scope and serve only to divide the Nation further into opposite camps.

Over the past several years, the Civil Rights Commission, through hearings, investigations, and State Advisory Committee meetings, in such cities as Cleveland, Ohio; Gary, Indiana; Newark, New Jersey; and San Francisco, California, has learned a good deal about the conditions of life for minority group members in central city ghettos -- conditions that have been allowed to worsen for decades and that inevitably have

bred frustration and anger. Through these investigations, we have been able to form a composite picture of the conditions of life for families who live in the ghetto.

The father in such a family probably received whatever education he has in an inferior segregated school system in the South. He has not acquired the necessary skills to earn a good living and he may have encountered discrimination in attempting to find a job. If he is working and living with his wife and children, he may be able to provide them with housing which either barely meets standards of being decent, safe and sanitary, or does not meet such standards at all.

If the father is not living with the family the mother probably receives support for herself and her children from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program. The amount she receives is probably inadequate to the minimum needs of her family. Often, she may have to keep her children out of school for lack of money to buy them adequate clothes, such as a warm coat or even shoes. She may benefit from the food stamp program, but even with this program her stamps last only for two or three weeks of the month. Many stores run sales only during the last week before payment of welfare checks. The mother may want to work to supplement the family income, but she faces certain obstacles. She probably does not have the training to obtain a decent paying job and may not know where to obtain one. She therefore may only be able to get a job as a domestic, which may pay as little as \$25 a week.

Whether the father is living at home or not, the family is probably occupying seriously deteriorated housing. The family's living quarters may be located in an aging multi-family building owned by an absentee landlord. Apartments may have been subdivided so that living space is cramped and overcrowded. The building may not have been painted in years and appliances, plumbing and services may be in disrepair. Ownership of the building may have changed hands several times in recent years, custodial services are inadequate and the landlord responds slowly, if at all, to requests for repairs. The landlord does not provide enough garbage cans, some neighbors are not careful about their trash and the city does not collect it often enough. Rats breed in abundance in the neighborhood and intrude into the apartment. There is no privacy. Children cannot be shielded from the social problems of the neighborhood -- the derelicts, drunks, and the prostitutes.

Public programs have not provided solutions. There is a waiting list for public housing, and the housing is often racially separate. For some families who still have roots in a rural past, project living is in itself an intimidating prospect. The only tangible evidences of urban renewal are likely to be signs on houses scheduled for demolition or empty lots -- some bare and others littered with trash -- where houses have been demolished. The housing codes sometimes have not been enforced in buildings in the urban renewal areas. People forced to relocate by the urban renewal program have been offered housing only in predominantly Negro areas of the central city and the housing

available to them is not of much better quality than the apartments they have been forced to vacate. Local businesses have suffered from increasing vacancy rates in houses condemned or scheduled for demolition by urban renewal.

Children of the family enter school already disadvantaged by the home and neighborhood conditions we have been discussing. They may also have health or medical programs which have not been diagnosed. They need special attention and care, but whether the school is a brand new plant or a relic of the past century, it is likely to be overcrowded, at least by the standards of suburban school jurisdictions which may spend 100-150 percent more per pupil. The quality of teaching in the school and the expectations which teachers bring into its classrooms may span a broad range. Some teachers may be indifferent or defeated, others may be struggling to bridge the communication gap between themselves and children whose experience is outside the limits of the teacher's background and training, while still other teachers or principals may be totally involved in the challenges posed by the child and his community. Teachers face common problems -- textbooks and curricula which are out of date and which have little meaning to the child growing up in an urban environment. The school may not yet have a library, a particularly important deficiency for the child who has no books or no place to study at home.

Above all, life in the ghetto is marked by isolation. It is a world unto itself consisting almost entirely of one race -- Negro, and one economic group -- the poor. For many who live in this world, the most prevalent feelings are those of constant anger and despair and a belief that there is no escape.

While these conditions undoubtedly prevail in most, if not all, the cities where riots have occurred, we do not believe it would be particularly useful to engage in the exercise of attempting to predict those cities in which riots will occur on this basis, nor to attempt to establish an index of conditions by which the likelihood of riots can be measured. Nonetheless, we are convinced that these conditions do underlie the violence and disorder that have occurred and that efforts to restore order and tranquility must include measures aimed at correcting as quickly as possible inequities that have grown during decades of neglect.

The basic question is whether we have the will and commitment to undertake the kind of effort necessary to deal with economic and social injustices. The answer to that question, at this point, is far from clear. For example, one reaction to the disorders has been that we should reject ameliorative measures which could be construed as rewarding violence. To adopt this position would be to withhold from all the means for establishing equality of opportunity in the name of punishing the few who have perpetuated violence. Another view is that riots are a clear demonstration that governmental measures to correct social and economic injustice have proven to be valueless. After more than a decade of concerted governmental efforts to end discrimination and after some three decades of experience with a variety of programs to help our cities, the problems, if anything, seem to be growing worse. In this view, the process of attempting to assure equal opportunity through governmental measures has been tested sufficiently, found wanting, and should now end.

I believe that if we adopt these views, we will be making a tragic mistake. Legislation to assure equal rights for all Americans is not a reward to the relatively few who participate in riots, but rather, an effort to redeem a pledge long overdue to more than 20 million Negro Americans. The task of securing basic rights and of correcting social injustice has been only partially completed and the Nation's responsibility remains an urgent one.

If we examine in detail the extent of these governmental efforts, we find that they have been neither as massive nor as long in duration as some would suppose. For example, our efforts at eliminating discrimination and segregation in public schools can be traced to the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, which was concerned with school segregation required or sanctioned by law in Southern and border States. During the 13 years since that decision, we have made some progress, largely through the civil rights legislation of 1964, in ending de jure segregation. Aside from action by a handful of States, such as Massachusetts and New York, however, we have made no progress whatsoever in meeting the more difficult problem of school segregation resulting from factors other than legal compulsion. In fact, we are losing ground. In our report on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," issued last February, the Civil Rights Commission found that in the 13 years since the Supreme Court's decision there are, in fact, more Negro students attending segregated schools in the South than in 1954. In many Northern cities where segregated schools were unknown at the time of the Supreme Court's decision, today, most Negro students attend

such schools. Efforts to meet this growing problem have been given almost no governmental support and discussion of their merits have been reduced to slogans and shibboleths such as "bussing" and "neighborhood school."

In the area of employment, governmental measures to assure to Negroes and other minority group members equal job opportunity are of only recent vintage. Despite some progress made by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the problem of job discrimination in many trades and industries remains as intractable as ever.

In housing, despite open occupancy legislation enacted by a number of States and cities, the confinement of Negroes and other minority group members to central city ghettos is a continuing and increasing problem. Federal efforts to assure equal housing opportunity are represented by the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, which is characterized by insufficient coverage -- less than 20 percent of the new housing market and about 3 percent of the entire housing market -- and inadequate enforcement by the agencies charged with its administration. Currently, Congress has under consideration a comprehensive Federal fair housing bill. A similar bill failed of chances of enactment last year and its/enactment this year are dim.

We recognize that even if efforts at ending segregation and discrimination were strengthened, conditions that underlie racial unrest in our cities cannot be corrected unless these efforts are accompanied by measures to assist disadvantaged people, a disproportionate

number of whom are Negroes and other minority group members, so that they will be able to take advantage of the opportunities that will be open to them. For example, fair employment laws, vigorously enforced, cannot enable minority group members to secure skilled well paying jobs if they are not adequately trained. By the same token, an effective fair housing law cannot enable lower income minority group families to escape from the ghetto unless there is a sufficient volume of housing within their means outside it.

Although the enormity of this problem has been recognized, governmental efforts to correct it have been meager and inadequate. In housing, for example, we long have recognized the need for generating a large volume of housing within the means of lower income minority group families throughout metropolitan areas. But we have not yet provided the tools to accomplish the job. The public housing program, which was established 30 years ago, has produced little more than 600,000 units during that time, or an average of 20,000 units a year. The 221 (d)(3) program, aimed at the needs of families whose incomes are above the public housing limits but too low to compete in the private housing market, has produced less than 50,000 units during the six years of its existence. And the rent supplement program, for which there were such high hopes, has been so reduced in scale that it is unlikely that the program, as presently constituted, can have a substantial impact.

Further, each of these programs has been saddled with restrictions that confine the housing they produce to the central city, thus compounding the problems of ghetto isolation. In public housing, by virtue of the provisions of State enabling legislation, virtually all the housing produced in metropolitan areas is confined to the central city. The Civil Rights Commission found that of the quarter of a million public housing units that have been built by city public housing authorities in the Nation's 24 largest metropolitan areas, in only one -- Cincinnati, Ohio -- has the city housing authority been permitted to build outside the central city. There, the authority has provided a total of 76 low rent units in an all-Negro suburban enclave. The 221 (d)(3) and rent supplement programs, both of which operate largely through private builders and owners, contain provisions which give suburban communities a veto power which enables them to prevent these programs from being utilized outside central cities.

Other programs which purport to be aimed at helping disadvantaged people, and particularly minority group members, often have the effect instead of perpetuating the cycle of poverty. The program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children is one of the worst examples of a program of social welfare that frequently operates to do more harm than good. In most States, its benefits are available only when a parent is absent from the home. Thus an unemployed father whose family needs public assistance to survive must face the choice of either abandoning them or seeing them go hungry. In Newark, New Jersey, for example, a former welfare case worker told the Commission's

New Jersey State Advisory Committee that he felt compelled to advise one father to leave his family so that they could continue to receive aid under this program and survive. In other States, public assistance is available to families where both parents are present, but only if the father is unemployed. In these States, an employed father who earns too little to support his family must make the same cruel choice -- leave or watch his family go hungry. Furthermore, the amount that welfare families receive often is totally inadequate to their minimum needs. In 20 States, the maximum that may be paid to assist a family of four is \$150 a month. In 7 States the ceiling is less than \$100. The State of Mississippi places a maximum of \$50 on the monthly payments to a family of four. The Federal Government does not insist that the States meet even their own minimum standards in aiding these families. Finally, little incentive is provided for adults to work in that every dollar they earn is deducted from the amount of payments they receive under the program.

I suggest to you that the effect of this program in many cases can only be to perpetuate poverty and to establish a permanent class of wards of the State. I also would suggest to you that there may well be a relationship between the repressive provisions attached to the AFDC program and the fact that it is identified as a program that serves a disproportionately large number of Negroes.

The amendments to this program which recently were passed by the House of Representatives and now are pending in the Senate contain additional repressive measures which would serve only to deprive the

poor even further of basic rights. For example, the bill would have the States require "appropriate" AFDC mothers to accept training and employment or be removed from the welfare rolls. In addition, the bill proposes to meet the problem of the increasing cost of the AFDC program by freezing the number of dependent children who can be assisted under the program to the proportion of such children to the State's entire child population as of January 1967. This would leave to the States the choice of bearing the entire burden of supporting the increased number of children, which most States can ill afford, or abandoning them.

Provisions such as the ones to which I have just referred not only are disturbing in themselves but are disturbing also in that I fear they may represent the direction in which some would have the Nation go. That is, they would abandon efforts to secure equal rights and programs to assist the disadvantaged, and substitute for them measures aimed at containing the poor and keeping them in their place -- measures that only can serve to deprive even more those who are already deprived.

The picture I have presented to you of current conditions, on the basis of the Commission's experience and my own observations, is not a bright one. The Nation's efforts so far at establishing conditions of social and economic justice, despite isolated instances of success, have not had the impact that many had hoped for. The question remains, what can we do to remedy the situation and reverse the dangerous trend of dividing the Nation into opposite and hostile camps.

Many believe that what is needed are programs that can have an immediate salutary effect. They also believe that the principal, if not exclusive, focus of our efforts should be on jobs. I have a good deal of sympathy with this view. It is true that to a large extent what is needed is some tangible evidence to ghetto residents that progress is being made and that there is real hope for the future. And this evidence is needed quickly. Too often in the past, we have made promises concerning the potential benefits of new programs and have misled people into believing that the fruits of these new programs would be gathered shortly, when the programs necessarily were long-range in nature. I agree also that jobs must be a major focus of our attention. We must enlist the resources of private industry, on a much larger scale, in a cooperative effort with government to provide training to equip ghetto residents to qualify for skilled, good paying jobs, and we must assure that a substantial number of jobs will be available in ghetto areas for those we train.

By the same token, we must provide quickly decent housing for ghetto residents who now reside in deteriorating slums. For too long, our efforts at providing decent housing for the poor have been characterized by red tape, inordinate delays, and meager volume. We must utilize to the fullest possible extent new tools such as the public housing "turnkey" and leasing programs and we must emphasize selective rehabilitation in ghetto areas. In education as well, increasing efforts to improve the quality of education afforded to ghetto children must be made and show tangible and quick results.

Although I recognize the need for immediate improvement in the conditions of life in our urban ghettos, in my view, this will constitute more a showing of good faith to ghetto residents than a lasting solution to the problems that face them. The process of training the unskilled and enabling them to acquire good jobs cannot be established on a firm footing solely by means of a crash program in the ghetto. For one thing, the plain fact of economics is that centers of employment increasingly are found in suburban and outlying areas, not in the central city, and efforts in the area of employment must involve getting the job seekers to these employment centers. This will involve either the establishment of sophisticated and costly mass transit systems or breaking up the patterns of racially and economically homogeneous suburban communities, or both. In any case, it will take time.

In housing, we must devise more effective ways of generating a large volume of lower-cost housing throughout metropolitan areas. This will involve not only new financing mechanisms, but also new techniques in building and construction that will reduce the cost of housing. It also will involve new approaches to Federal housing programs that will no longer permit suburban communities to exclude the poor and the nonwhite.

In education, although we must make immediate efforts to make substantial improvements in the quality of education that ghetto children receive, we must recognize that better school facilities and better books cannot, in themselves, solve the problem of unequal educational opportunity. And remedial programs and programs of compensatory education have not yet demonstrated lasting effects in

improving the achievement or aspirations of children isolated in ghettos. We must also attack the harder problem of ending the isolation itself, of establishing facilities that will enable white and Negro children of all economic classes to attend school together and to receive the benefits of high quality education, together.

Of equal importance, we must see to it that programs aimed at helping disadvantaged people do not serve to keep them in the position of perpetual dependency. These programs must be reoriented so as not only to assist ghetto residents to acquire good jobs, decent housing, and the other tangible benefits of life, but also to gain control over their own destinies and to gain the self-esteem to which all people have a right. Programs such as public welfare and public housing often have exacted an enormous cost in terms of dependency and loss of self-esteem in return for the benefits they have offered. This, perhaps as much as anything else, accounts for the frustration and sense of hopelessness that have characterized urban ghettos and which have bred disorders.

Thus although we cannot ignore the immediate, tangible needs of the ghetto, we must realize that lasting solutions to the problems of the ghetto and, indeed, to the problems of our society, will be the task of years and that these solutions probably will not be found within the ghetto, alone.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, in all that has been said about the disorders and the problems that underlie them, we must keep in mind one basic factor -- that we have developed a society in which Negroes and whites live in isolation from one another. We have developed a society where it is possible, as the Commission learned at its Cleveland hearing, for a Negro child raised in the heart of a large city to reach adolescence without ever having known a white persons of his own age. In short, we have developed a society that is rapidly being divided into opposite camps, hostile and mistrustful of each other.

Whatever efforts we undertake and whatever resources we bring to bear to deal with the urban crisis facing us, we cannot eliminate the causes of unrest unless we eliminate the walls that separate us.

7 File

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

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 7, 1967

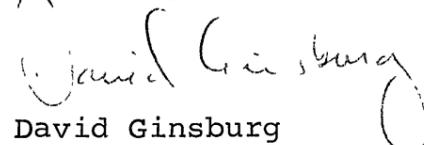
Mr. William A. Taylor
Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Please excuse my tardiness in thanking you for your memorandum of program suggestions. They have already been most helpful to us and have been forwarded both to the Commission members and to our research staff.

If other program ideas occur to you, please do me the favor of passing them along.

Sincerely,


David Ginsburg
Executive Director

(10)

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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

October 30, 1967

Honorable William L. Taylor
Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Bill:

I have received your memorandum to Chairman Otto Kerner containing suggestions on specific proposals that would have an immediate impact on relieving the unrest and tensions in the ghettos. This is the most comprehensive yet concise such document that I have seen to date. It contains many proposals that I am sure this Commission is happy to receive and that it will give great consideration to in its interim report. Your memorandum represents the type of constructive testimony that this Commission wants to have.

I am having the original marked as an exhibit and made a part of the record, and copies have been sent to each of our Commissioners and several of our key staff members. I know that all of them are deeply grateful to you as I am for supplying us with this needed information and data.

Very truly yours,



Merle M. McCurdy
General Counsel

v October 24, 1967

Mr. Alvin A. Spivek
Director of Information
The National Advisory Commission
on Civil Disorders
1016 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Spivek:

Enclosed is the copy of the transcript of my testimony
before the Disorders Commission upon which I have made
corrections.

I have no objection to your releasing this testimony
or my written statement to the press.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Taylor

Enclosure

WLT/kva

cc: Mr. Holman

(1)

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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

October 18, 1967

Honorable William L. Taylor
Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
801 - 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Taylor

I am enclosing a transcript of your opening statement before the Commission on October 6, 1967.

The Commission is giving consideration to making public some of the statements, or portions of them, that have been presented in testimony.

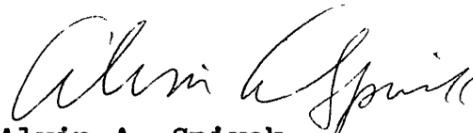
We wonder, first, whether you would have any objection to all or any of your statement being released to the press.

If you have no objection, could we give you this opportunity to correct or revise your statement, or perhaps to note any portions of it which you prefer we keep confidential?

We enclose an addressed envelope for you to return the transcript, with your comments.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,


Alvin A. Spivak
Director of Information

Enclosure



STAFF DIRECTOR

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

OCT 20 1967

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

FROM: William L. Taylor

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

I. Employment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. Housing

A. Measures to assure nondiscrimination in housing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. Welfare

A. Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B. Food Stamp Program.

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

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

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

IV. Miscellaneous Proposals

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

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

B. Research and Grant Programs.

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

C. One-Stop Service Centers.

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

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

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

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

E. Police-Community Training Programs.

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

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

M. Taylor

THRU : Mr. M. Carl Holman, Deputy Staff Director
Mr. Walter B. Lewis, Director, Federal Programs Division
Carol B. Kummerfeld, Assistant Director, FPD

October 17, 1967

Testimony before the Commission on Civil Disorders

Pursuant to your request, I am forwarding comments regarding the "short-term" proposals you made on October 6 in testimony before the Commission on Civil Disorders. I suggest changes in the following items:

3. Merit Standards - The first sentence is in error. The Federal Merit Standards do not apply to "employment provided under State and local contracts, let by such agencies as the Bureau of Public Roads." Rather, the Merit Standards apply, by law, to federally assisted programs such as the Employment Service, public assistance and child welfare, and certain health programs.

The confusion probably arises from the fact that another proposal has been made to include a nondiscrimination clause in contracts with State and local governments, thus covering employment currently outside the jurisdiction of the Merit Standards.

8. Food Stamps - Again, the first sentence is misleading. ". . . the reduction of the cost of food stamps to 50 cents where the need can be established" implies a general, nationwide reduction. In fact, we are aware of only two States where the reduction is in force, Mississippi and Alabama. While the reduction may have been made in other States, to our knowledge it is by no means nationwide.

CBKUMMERFELD/eifm/10/17/67

CC: Messrs. Taylor, Lewis
Mrs. Kummerfeld
Official - FPD
Reading

M. Taylor

Bill Taylor

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION ROUTING SLIP											
TO	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
NAME AND/OR SYMBOL						BUILDING, ROOM, ETC					
1	Mrs. Eunice Grier					RD					
2	Mr. Walter Lewis					FPD					
3	Mrs. Carol Kummerfeld					FPD					
4	Mr. Samuel Simmons					FSD					
5											
<input type="checkbox"/> ALLOTMENT SYMBOL		<input type="checkbox"/> HANDLE DIRECT		<input type="checkbox"/> READ AND DESTROY							
<input type="checkbox"/> APPROVAL		<input type="checkbox"/> IMMEDIATE ACTION		<input type="checkbox"/> RECOMMENDATION							
<input type="checkbox"/> AS REQUESTED		<input type="checkbox"/> INITIALS		<input type="checkbox"/> SEE ME							
<input type="checkbox"/> CONCURRENCE		<input type="checkbox"/> NECESSARY ACTION		<input type="checkbox"/> SIGNATURE							
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<input type="checkbox"/> ANSWER OR ACKNOWLEDGE ON OR BEFORE _____											
<input type="checkbox"/> PREPARE REPLY FOR THE SIGNATURE OF _____											
REMARKS											
<p>These notes, in substance were the "short-term" proposals I made on October 6 in testimony before the Commission on Civil Disorders. Some of these grew out of your suggestions, while you remain guiltless of the others. The Commission has asked that Bill and I send copies of these and other proposals which might be initiated by Federal, State and local governments or private groups.</p> <p>I would appreciate within the next 48 hours, any comments or further suggestions which you might like to make.</p>											
FROM	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
NAME AND/OR SYMBOL						BUILDING, ROOM, ETC					
M. Carl Holman						TELEPHONE		DATE 10/16/67			

October 10, 1967

In addition to the proposals contained in the statement of the Staff Director of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, I suggested the following short-run possibilities:

1. Continuing Sub-Cabinet Action Group on Policies and Program Review--Establishment of a continuing apparatus at the sub-cabinet level for review of policies and programs having impact on ghetto communities. This body would supplant the numerous ad hoc task forces which wax and wane from crisis to crisis. The body should be authorized by the White House and Cabinet officials to expedite action on those Federal programs most relevant to the problems of the ghetto, to establish workable standards for evaluating whether the programs are indeed reaching the minority poor, to cut red tape at times, and in places where riots are not occurring in much the same way the government tries to do this when a riot has occurred, and to devise means by which 'multiplier' effects may be gained through more efficient coordination of Federal programs and by meshing Federal-State, local, or Federal-private efforts to bring about changes of real magnitude.
2. Research and Demonstration Grants--There are at present some one-hundred million dollars in research and demonstration funds which have comparatively little impact on inner-city problems. It would be possible to issue a directive to Federal agencies to re-direct the focus of their impact on these programs by restricting all or the bulk of such funds to projects which hold some clear promise of improving the opportunities and life chances of ghetto residents. For example, some of HEW's share of such funds might go to projects which would fund "new career" job programs for welfare clients.
3. Merit Standards--Improvement of the administration of Federal merit standards so as to increase equal opportunity for minority groups in State and local governments, including employment provided under State and local contracts, let by such agencies as the Bureau of Public Roads. This could be done by revising the merit standards to include a clause (modeled after that in Executive Order No. 11246) requiring affirmative action on the part of the States, instead of the present simple prohibition against discrimination. Having adopted such a clause, it will then be necessary to provide adequate policing and implementation. HEW for example might be able to achieve some very substantial results by using for this purpose some twenty members of the present Title VI Compliance Force.

4. One-Stop Service Centers--One of the basic reasons for the failure of many programs designed to help inner-city residents is the fact that a number of these programs from different agencies try to deal in a fragmentary way with bits and pieces of the ghetto resident's problems. The concept of the one-stop service center at which employment, welfare, physical and mental health, poverty-programs, and small business agencies would be to provide service at a single location within a neighborhood setting. Both HUD and the CAP have assumed some responsibility for encouraging the establishment of such centers. However, it has been objected that in many instances, even where centers have been established, there has not been sufficient coordination or cooperation to have Federal programs, as well as State and local programs represented in these centers. This could be done without the need for further legislation.
5. Year-Round 'Summer' Programs--In addition to expanding the NYC programs to operate throughout the year, government and government-private resources should extend to other programs which can operate year-round either because their clientele extends beyond children of school age or because they can be effectively operated during after school hours and on weekends. There is evidence that the inner-cities are becoming increasingly cynical about the short-range, one-shot programs aimed at cooling down the Summer, and that a good many people feel that there is no guarantee that tension and disaffection will disappear once the public schools open in the Fall. Headstart and the Federal Youth Opportunity Programs are among those which could be effectively extended throughout the year.
6. Police-Community Training Programs--There are already programs aimed at professionalizing police forces, and in some cities police are being given some human relations training. It might be more fruitful to begin to initiate, this Winter, programs which will bring together members of the police department and leaders of the inner-city community in training programs aimed at reducing tensions and increasing mutual understanding of the problems and points of view of both the police and the community. Such programs might bring together the resources of local colleges and universities, welfare officials, and with the workers and perhaps representatives of the more actively involved inner-city religious institutions.
7. Public Works Employment--Billions of dollars are currently being spent on public works programs of various kinds. In many cases, ghetto residents are conspicuously absent from the employment roles for these programs, or are limited to token representation at the lowest possible levels. It is by administrative action necessary to insist on affirmative efforts to recruit, employ and upgrade minority groups and ghetto residents on such projects.

8. Food Stamps--While the reduction of the cost of food stamps to 50 cents where the need can be established shows some belated recognition of the problems of the very poor, there are at least two other steps which need to be taken promptly: (1) to reduce to zero the cost for those families and individuals unable to pay for the stamps, either because they have no cash or because to pay for the stamps would mean going without other basic necessities; and (2) the simplifying of the procedures required for establishing need and building in of safe guards against discrimination by State and local welfare officials.
9. Improved Communications with Ghetto Residents--Federal, State and local governments as well as private groups whose programs affect ghetto residents should begin now to provide staff and similar resources for improving communication with ghetto residents. In an atmosphere where fear, hostility, and alienation provide a perfect spawning ground for rumor and distrust, it is essential that more effective means be found, not only for involving these communities in the programs (housing, urban renewal, welfare, etc.) which affect them, but that they be informed as early and as accurately as possible about such programs as well as about shifts in plans and priorities. Such communications should not be a one-way street, since one of the major factors in the sense of powerlessness which ghetto residents feel is the knowledge that they are seldom consulted even about those things which are supposedly being pursued for their ultimate benefit.
10. Countering the White and Black Backlash--Private resources must be found to launch, at the national and local levels, a counter-campaign of information and positive inter-communication to offset the blatant and subtle racist propaganda which is hardening attitudes among both whites and Negroes. The FCC might also look beyond Jackson, Mississippi and curb those stations which day in and day out highlight or exaggerate racial strife, effectively barring from the air either the presence of members of the Negro community who are not engaged in violence or the reporting of the positive achievement of Negroes and instances of interracial harmony. (While these practices may be more prevalent in some rural and southern areas, few Negroes are unaware that a good many urban northern stations are guilty of equally dangerous and decisive, if more subtle practices). An effort of the magnitude we employed during World War II in selling war bonds and otherwise urging support of the war--especially if begun now before both the Summer and the political campaign have heated up--could be of inestimable value to the ultimate health and well being of this Nation.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM L. TAYLOR, STAFF DIRECTOR
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
BEFORE THE
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
Friday, October 6, 1967

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. I appreciate the opportunity to testify before you today to relate to you the experience the Civil Rights Commission has had concerning the urban problems of minority group members and to tell you also some of the conclusions we have reached on the nature of those problems and the kind of efforts necessary to resolve them.

The disorders that have afflicted many of the Nation's cities over the past several summers -- and particularly the riots of this past summer -- have caused grave concern and a good deal of bewilderment throughout the country. We recognize that our cities are in crisis and that some large-scale effort is needed to set them right. The prospect of facing each new summer with the dread of renewed violence, greater property damage, and more lives lost, is an intolerable one. The first order of business, quite appropriately, is to preserve law and order. Many Americans are appalled and even frightened at the fact that riots in such cities as Newark and Detroit have gone beyond the control of law enforcement officers, and their overriding concern is to make sure that this is not permitted to happen again.

We agree that the restoration of law and order must be a primary concern. No effort at resolving our urban problems can be carried on successfully in an environment of chaos and disruption. The nature of the urban crisis we face, however, cannot be defined solely in terms of the breakdown of law and order, nor even in terms of the lives lost and the damage to property. Tragic as the results of violence have been, they also have served to make visible the scope and dimensions of a deeper crisis -- our failure to deal meaningfully with conditions of economic and social injustice suffered by many Negro citizens.

Times of crisis can teach us quickly lessons that we otherwise may be slow to learn and can generate corrective action that we are slow to take in times of tranquility. There are lessons that we can learn from the crisis we now are experiencing that can result in corrective action, not only to assure law and order, but to attack the conditions which underlie disorder and violence. The danger is that we will learn the wrong lessons from what has occurred -- that our response to these outbreaks will be too narrow in scope and serve only to divide the Nation further into opposite camps.

Over the past several years, the Civil Rights Commission, through hearings, investigations, and State Advisory Committee meetings, in such cities as Cleveland, Ohio; Gary, Indiana; Newark, New Jersey; and San Francisco, California, has learned a good deal about the conditions of life for minority group members in central city ghettos -- conditions that have been allowed to worsen for decades and that inevitably have

bred frustration and anger. Through these investigations, we have been able to form a composite picture of the conditions of life for families who live in the ghetto.

The father in such a family probably received whatever education he has in an inferior segregated school system in the South. He has not acquired the necessary skills to earn a good living and he may have encountered discrimination in attempting to find a job. If he is working and living with his wife and children, he may be able to provide them with housing which either barely meets standards of being decent, safe and sanitary, or does not meet such standards at all.

If the father is not living with the family the mother probably receives support for herself and her children from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program. The amount she receives is probably inadequate to the minimum needs of her family. Often, she may have to keep her children out of school for lack of money to buy them adequate clothes, such as a warm coat or even shoes. She may benefit from the food stamp program, but even with this program her stamps last only for two or three weeks of the month. Many stores run sales only during the last week before payment of welfare checks. The mother may want to work to supplement the family income, but she faces certain obstacles. She probably does not have the training to obtain a decent paying job and may not know where to obtain one. She therefore may only be able to get a job as a domestic, which may pay as little as \$25 a week.

Whether the father is living at home or not, the family is probably occupying seriously deteriorated housing. The family's living quarters may be located in an aging multi-family building owned by an absentee landlord. Apartments may have been subdivided so that living space is cramped and overcrowded. The building may not have been painted in years and appliances, plumbing and services may be in disrepair. Ownership of the building may have changed hands several times in recent years, custodial services are inadequate and the landlord responds slowly, if at all, to requests for repairs. The landlord does not provide enough garbage cans, some neighbors are not careful about their trash and the city does not collect it often enough. Rats breed in abundance in the neighborhood and intrude into the apartment. There is no privacy. Children cannot be shielded from the social problems of the neighborhood -- the derelicts, drunks, and the prostitutes.

Public programs have not provided solutions. There is a waiting list for public housing, and the housing is often racially separate. For some families who still have roots in a rural past, project living is in itself an intimidating prospect. The only tangible evidences of urban renewal are likely to be signs on houses scheduled for demolition or empty lots -- some bare and others littered with trash -- where houses have been demolished. The housing codes sometimes have not been enforced in buildings in the urban renewal areas. People forced to relocate by the urban renewal program have been offered housing only in predominantly Negro areas of the central city and the housing

available to them is not of much better quality than the apartments they have been forced to vacate. Local businesses have suffered from increasing vacancy rates in houses condemned or scheduled for demolition by urban renewal.

Children of the family enter school already disadvantaged by the home and neighborhood conditions we have been discussing. They may also have health or medical programs which have not been diagnosed. They need special attention and care, but whether the school is a brand new plant or a relic of the past century, it is likely to be overcrowded, at least by the standards of suburban school jurisdictions which may spend 100-150 percent more per pupil. The quality of teaching in the school and the expectations which teachers bring into its classrooms may span a broad range. Some teachers may be indifferent or defeated, others may be struggling to bridge the communication gap between themselves and children whose experience is outside the limits of the teacher's background and training, while still other teachers or principals may be totally involved in the challenges posed by the child and his community. Teachers face common problems -- textbooks and curricula which are out of date and which have little meaning to the child growing up in an urban environment. The school may not yet have a library, a particularly important deficiency for the child who has no books or no place to study at home.

Above all, life in the ghetto is marked by isolation. It is a world unto itself consisting almost entirely of one race -- Negro, and one economic group -- the poor. For many who live in this world, the most prevalent feelings are those of constant anger and despair and a belief that there is no escape.

While these conditions undoubtedly prevail in most, if not all, the cities where riots have occurred, we do not believe it would be particularly useful to engage in the exercise of attempting to predict those cities in which riots will occur on this basis, nor to attempt to establish an index of conditions by which the likelihood of riots can be measured. Nonetheless, we are convinced that these conditions do underlie the violence and disorder that have occurred and that efforts to restore order and tranquility must include measures aimed at correcting as quickly as possible inequities that have grown during decades of neglect.

The basic question is whether we have the will and commitment to undertake the kind of effort necessary to deal with economic and social injustices. The answer to that question, at this point, is far from clear. For example, one reaction to the disorders has been that we should reject ameliorative measures which could be construed as rewarding violence. To adopt this position would be to withhold from all the means for establishing equality of opportunity in the name of punishing the few who have perpetuated violence. Another view is that riots are a clear demonstration that governmental measures to correct social and economic injustice have proven to be valueless. After more than a decade of concerted governmental efforts to end discrimination and after some three decades of experience with a variety of programs to help our cities, the problems, if anything, seem to be growing worse. In this view, the process of attempting to assure equal opportunity through governmental measures has been tested sufficiently, found wanting, and should now end.

I believe that if we adopt these views, we will be making a tragic mistake. Legislation to assure equal rights for all Americans is not a reward to the relatively few who participate in riots, but rather, an effort to redeem a pledge long overdue to more than 20 million Negro Americans. The task of securing basic rights and of correcting social injustice has been only partially completed and the Nation's responsibility remains an urgent one.

If we examine in detail the extent of these governmental efforts, we find that they have been neither as massive nor as long in duration as some would suppose. For example, our efforts at eliminating discrimination and segregation in public schools can be traced to the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, which was concerned with school segregation required or sanctioned by law in Southern and border States. During the 13 years since that decision, we have made some progress, largely through the civil rights legislation of 1964, in ending de jure segregation. Aside from action by a handful of States, such as Massachusetts and New York, however, we have made no progress whatsoever in meeting the more difficult problem of school segregation resulting from factors other than legal compulsion. In fact, we are losing ground. In our report on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," issued last February, the Civil Rights Commission found that in the 13 years since the Supreme Court's decision there are, in fact, more Negro students attending segregated schools in the South than in 1954. In many Northern cities where segregated schools were unknown at the time of the Supreme Court's decision, today, most Negro students attend

such schools. Efforts to meet this growing problem have been given almost no governmental support and discussion of their merits have been reduced to slogans and shibboleths such as "bussing" and "neighborhood school."

In the area of employment, governmental measures to assure to Negroes and other minority group members equal job opportunity are of only recent vintage. Despite some progress made by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the problem of job discrimination in many trades and industries remains as intractable as ever.

In housing, despite open occupancy legislation enacted by a number of States and cities, the confinement of Negroes and other minority group members to central city ghettos is a continuing and increasing problem. Federal efforts to assure equal housing opportunity are represented by the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, which is characterized by insufficient coverage -- less than 20 percent of the new housing market and about 3 percent of the entire housing market -- and inadequate enforcement by the agencies charged with its administration. Currently, Congress has under consideration a comprehensive Federal fair housing bill. A similar bill failed of enactment last year and its/enactment this year are dim.

We recognize that even if efforts at ending segregation and discrimination were strengthened, conditions that underlie racial unrest in our cities cannot be corrected unless these efforts are accompanied by measures to assist disadvantaged people, a disproportionate

number of whom are Negroes and other minority group members, so that they will be able to take advantage of the opportunities that will be open to them. For example, fair employment laws, vigorously enforced, cannot enable minority group members to secure skilled well paying jobs if they are not adequately trained. By the same token, an effective fair housing law cannot enable lower income minority group families to escape from the ghetto unless there is a sufficient volume of housing within their means outside it.

Although the enormity of this problem has been recognized, governmental efforts to correct it have been meager and inadequate. In housing, for example, we long have recognized the need for generating a large volume of housing within the means of lower income minority group families throughout metropolitan areas. But we have not yet provided the tools to accomplish the job. The public housing program, which was established 30 years ago, has produced little more than 600,000 units during that time, or an average of 20,000 units a year. The 221 (d)(3) program, aimed at the needs of families whose incomes are above the public housing limits but too low to compete in the private housing market, has produced less than 50,000 units during the six years of its existence. And the rent supplement program, for which there were such high hopes, has been so reduced in scale that it is unlikely that the program, as presently constituted, can have a substantial impact.

Further, each of these programs has been saddled with restrictions that confine the housing they produce to the central city, thus compounding the problems of ghetto isolation. In public housing, by virtue of the provisions of State enabling legislation, virtually all the housing produced in metropolitan areas is confined to the central city. The Civil Rights Commission found that of the quarter of a million public housing units that have been built by city public housing authorities in the Nation's 24 largest metropolitan areas, in only one -- Cincinnati, Ohio -- has the city housing authority been permitted to build outside the central city. There, the authority has provided a total of 76 low rent units in an all-Negro suburban enclave. The 221 (d)(3) and rent supplement programs, both of which operate largely through private builders and owners, contain provisions which give suburban communities a veto power which enables them to prevent these programs from being utilized outside central cities.

Other programs which purport to be aimed at helping disadvantaged people, and particularly minority group members, often have the effect instead of perpetuating the cycle of poverty. The program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children is one of the worst examples of a program of social welfare that frequently operates to do more harm than good. In most States, its benefits are available only when a parent is absent from the home. Thus an unemployed father whose family needs public assistance to survive must face the choice of either abandoning them or seeing them go hungry. In Newark, New Jersey, for example, a former welfare case worker told the Commission's

New Jersey State Advisory Committee that he felt compelled to advise one father to leave his family so that they could continue to receive aid under this program and survive. In other States, public assistance is available to families where both parents are present, but only if the father is unemployed. In these States, an employed father who earns too little to support his family must make the same cruel choice -- leave or watch his family go hungry. Furthermore, the amount that welfare families receive often is totally inadequate to their minimum needs. In 20 States, the maximum that may be paid to assist a family of four is \$150 a month. In 7 States the ceiling is less than \$100. The State of Mississippi places a maximum of \$50 on the monthly payments to a family of four. The Federal Government does not insist that the States meet even their own minimum standards in aiding these families. Finally, little incentive is provided for adults to work in that every dollar they earn is deducted from the amount of payments they receive under the program.

I suggest to you that the effect of this program in many cases can only be to perpetuate poverty and to establish a permanent class of wards of the State. I also would suggest to you that there may well be a relationship between the repressive provisions attached to the AFDC program and the fact that it is identified as a program that serves a disproportionately large number of Negroes.

The amendments to this program which recently were passed by the House of Representatives and now are pending in the Senate contain additional repressive measures which would serve only to deprive the

poor even further of basic rights. For example, the bill would have the States require "appropriate" AFDC mothers to accept training and employment or be removed from the welfare rolls. In addition, the bill proposes to meet the problem of the increasing cost of the AFDC program by freezing the number of dependent children who can be assisted under the program to the proportion of such children to the State's entire child population as of January 1967. This would leave to the States the choice of bearing the entire burden of supporting the increased number of children, which most States can ill afford, or abandoning them.

Provisions such as the ones to which I have just referred not only are disturbing in themselves but are disturbing also in that I fear they may represent the direction in which some would have the Nation go. That is, they would abandon efforts to secure equal rights and programs to assist the disadvantaged, and substitute for them measures aimed at containing the poor and keeping them in their place -- measures that only can serve to deprive even more those who are already deprived.

The picture I have presented to you of current conditions, on the basis of the Commission's experience and my own observations, is not a bright one. The Nation's efforts so far at establishing conditions of social and economic justice, despite isolated instances of success, have not had the impact that many had hoped for. The question remains, what can we do to remedy the situation and reverse the dangerous trend of dividing the Nation into opposite and hostile camps.

Many believe that what is needed are programs that can have an immediate salutary effect. They also believe that the principal, if not exclusive, focus of our efforts should be on jobs. I have a good deal of sympathy with this view. It is true that to a large extent what is needed is some tangible evidence to ghetto residents that progress is being made and that there is real hope for the future. And this evidence is needed quickly. Too often in the past, we have made promises concerning the potential benefits of new programs and have misled people into believing that the fruits of these new programs would be gathered shortly, when the programs necessarily were long-range in nature. I agree also that jobs must be a major focus of our attention. We must enlist the resources of private industry, on a much larger scale, in a cooperative effort with government to provide training to equip ghetto residents to qualify for skilled, good paying jobs, and we must assure that a substantial number of jobs will be available in ghetto areas for those we train.

By the same token, we must provide quickly decent housing for ghetto residents who now reside in deteriorating slums. For too long, our efforts at providing decent housing for the poor have been characterized by red tape, inordinate delays, and meager volume. We must utilize to the fullest possible extent new tools such as the public housing "turnkey" and leasing programs and we must emphasize selective rehabilitation in ghetto areas. In education as well, increasing efforts to improve the quality of education afforded to ghetto children must be made and show tangible and quick results.

Although I recognize the need for immediate improvement in the conditions of life in our urban ghettos, in my view, this will constitute more a showing of good faith to ghetto residents than a lasting solution to the problems that face them. The process of training the unskilled and enabling them to acquire good jobs cannot be established on a firm footing solely by means of a crash program in the ghetto. For one thing, the plain fact of economics is that centers of employment increasingly are found in suburban and outlying areas, not in the central city, and efforts in the area of employment must involve getting the job seekers to these employment centers. This will involve either the establishment of sophisticated and costly mass transit systems or breaking up the patterns of racially and economically homogeneous suburban communities, or both. In any case, it will take time.

In housing, we must devise more effective ways of generating a large volume of lower-cost housing throughout metropolitan areas. This will involve not only new financing mechanisms, but also new techniques in building and construction that will reduce the cost of housing. It also will involve new approaches to Federal housing programs that will no longer permit suburban communities to exclude the poor and the nonwhite.

In education, although we must make immediate efforts to make substantial improvements in the quality of education that ghetto children receive, we must recognize that better school facilities and better books cannot, in themselves, solve the problem of unequal educational opportunity. And remedial programs and programs of compensatory education have not yet demonstrated lasting effects in

improving the achievement or aspirations of children isolated in ghettos. We must also attack the harder problem of ending the isolation itself, of establishing facilities that will enable white and Negro children of all economic classes to attend school together and to receive the benefits of high quality education, together.

Of equal importance, we must see to it that programs aimed at helping disadvantaged people do not serve to keep them in the position of perpetual dependency. These programs must be reoriented so as not only to assist ghetto residents to acquire good jobs, decent housing, and the other tangible benefits of life, but also to gain control over their own destinies and to gain the self-esteem to which all people have a right. Programs such as public welfare and public housing often have exacted an enormous cost in terms of dependency and loss of self-esteem in return for the benefits they have offered. This, perhaps as much as anything else, accounts for the frustration and sense of hopelessness that have characterized urban ghettos and which have bred disorders.

Thus although we cannot ignore the immediate, tangible needs of the ghetto, we must realize that lasting solutions to the problems of the ghetto and, indeed, to the problems of our society, will be the task of years and that these solutions probably will not be found within the ghetto, alone.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, in all that has been said about the disorders and the problems that underlie them, we must keep in mind one basic factor -- that we have developed a society in which Negroes and whites live in isolation from one another. We have developed a society where it is possible, as the Commission learned at its Cleveland hearing, for a Negro child raised in the heart of a large city to reach adolescence without ever having known a white persons of his own age. In short, we have developed a society that is rapidly being divided into opposite camps, hostile and mistrustful of each other.

Whatever efforts we undertake and whatever resources we bring to bear to deal with the urban crisis facing us, we cannot eliminate the causes of unrest unless we eliminate the walls that separate us.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

TELEGRAM

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
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WILLIAM L TAYLOR, STAFF DIRECTOR US COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

801 19 ST NORTHWEST WASHDC

THIS IS TO CONFIRM YOUR APPEARANCE ON FRIDAY OCTOBER 6, 1967 AT 915AM AS A WITNESS BEFORE THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS TO BE HELD IN ROOM 459 EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING 17TH AND PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NORTHWEST WASHINGTON DC AT WHICH TIME WE WOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO FOCUS ON THE SOCIAL WELFARE ACTION PROGRAMS, WHICH IN YOUR JUDGMENT, THE COMMISSION OUGHT TO RECOMMEND AS LIKELY TO MAKE AN IMPORTANT IMPACT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, PARTICULARLY WITHIN THE NEXT NINE MONTHS UPON CONDITIONS IN URBAN NEGRO COMMUNITIES

MERLE M MCCURDY GENERAL COUNSEL NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

SF1201(R2-65)

OCT 4 PM 12:45

Testimony before the Disorders Commission

I Commission's role in investigating urban problems - hearings, approach to problems.

II Will not burden Commission with facts + figures on the social + economic problems in the ghettos of our major cities - since that you have compiled considerable information + would be glad to furnish more

But one conclusion that Commission has reached from its work - is that the basic causes of disorders + riots in the cities lie in deprivation + discrimination. We have also concluded that while it ~~is possible~~ ~~to take steps which~~ there may be steps which will be useful in dealing with the overt symptoms ^{of violence,} ~~of violence~~ + turmoil in the cities is likely to continue until we deal effectively with ^{the} conditions of social + economic injustice suffered by Negro citizens. (This may seem obvious to many people - but I am afraid it is not well understood by the public generally. One of the greater services this Commission could perform is to make its conclusions on this basic issue available to the public as soon as possible.)

Go on
Point about
income grants

III Request is that we address ourselves to remedy + particularly to steps that can be taken within the next 9 mos that are likely to show results. Difficult assignment, especially since current political climate in which Congress is rejecting proposals for steps which

might be helpful. Also difficult because problems cannot be solved in 9 mos. Also would say in Canada that the last thing we need is another summer program - such programs are useful - but they are regarded as increasing skepticism - unless they are a part of a longer range approach which promises to get at root of the problem.

Nevertheless - will identify some of the major ^{and inadequacies of governmental program} problems + suggest solutions, some of which may be capable of producing tangible results in a short period of time.

A. Key problem is employment + economic security.

Many facets to problem, will identify some.

- Persistence of discrimination in some areas - which is not statistically significant in terms of no. of jobs that can be produced in construction + trade. Nevertheless important symbolically + because entry does not require great deal of formal education. Present Federal policy has not been adequate to get at discrimination. Should be charged to make obligations run directly to unions + should be made credible through invocation of sanctions.

- ~~2d aspect of problem is inadequacy of training - training programs inadequate in terms of no. of people~~

- 2d area where no effective policy to guarantee equal opportunity is public employment - state + local. Important because fastest growing field of employment opportunity. Important also because lack of participation of Negro + members of minority groups often means no confidence in way ^{GOVT +} programs are administered. CCR doing study. Big book plan.

Fed. c. r. law Do have Fed. regulations which cover some areas of Federally assisted State + local employment but we are not enforcing them. Need to institute vigorous enforcement program (One aspect of problem is potential gain for restructuring certain kinds of jobs to provide "new careers" for people who do not have professional training - includes aides, welfare aides, etc. . . .)

- 3rd aspect of employment problem is inadequacy of present training programs in terms of nos of people who need training. Also have observed that MDTA institutional - many programs frequently are defective in other ways. Have tended to train ~~people~~ most readily trainable people, frequently training has not provided the work marketable skills. (links have not been established between training programs + jobs. Most effective programs we have looked at have been those where cos regarded MDTA institutional program as basic training to provide basic literacy skills + the accepted responsibility for providing OJT)

- 4th aspect is fact that as employers move plants increasingly to suburbs, jobs are becoming inaccessible to residents of ghetto. In Oakland, found that many cos. had actually lost N employees when they moved from central city down the peninsula. One of the largest + best known - obit of employees which has good record itself had very poor record in its plant in Bay Area. Cos accept no responsibility for seeing to it that communities in which they locate provide a supply of low + moderate income housing, avoid on a non-discriminatory basis for N employees + potential employees. If not by law then by suggestion gov't should seek to

get employers to accept the responsibility.

Economic area + ~~all~~ all other critical areas - housing, ~~school~~ + education - commitment of resources to meet needs is totally inadequate.

welfare program - aid to dependent \approx 20 states, maximum payment for family of 4 is \$150 per mo. Many states do not even meet own standard - Federal does not meet that state

needs: ~~some~~ ^{some} states have established a minimum

housing program - produced 600,000 units in 30 yrs - 20,000 per yr. 221st program for which there had been high hopes - less than 50,000 in 6 yrs.

If significant action to increase our commitment to meeting the needs of citizens is not probable - perhaps there are some things which should be done to ensure that programs we do have are administered in ways which will help secure their objectives.

Objective of welfare laws is to maintain family stability & to assist people to become economically independent. Procedures will precisely the opposite direction. Congress presently considering legislation which, while talking ^{some} in that direction, also includes joint-use provisions. Would hope that commission might take a position in support of genuine reform of welfare laws.

Problem lies not only in procedures but in approach that many govt officials take to the problems of people, to their programs & responsibilities, & to how they view their own interests.

1 example - urban renewal in Cleveland -

subversion of code reinforced so as not to drive up acquisition costs for urban renewal. Fed officials knew of this + of other failures in program. Did nothing til it was exposed in public hearing.

Examples can be multiplied in urban renewal, public housing, welfare etc...

Could no doubt make a start to turning this around in the next yr, but would require a whole new way of doing business. Would require strongest kind of leadership from the top of housing dept.

Would mean that when a Fed housing official says he is going easy in enforcing the Housing Exec order because he does not want to jeopardize FHA's share of market, he would not be in his job the next day.

Fred PT - if we think we ^{are} that we are going to deal w problems w/o attacking the walls that separate us, we are just kidding ourselves.

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
EDWARD V. LONG, MO.
THOMAS J. MCINTIRE, N.H.
WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN.
GALE W. MCGEE, WYO.
WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., VA.

LEWIS G. ODOM, JR., STAFF DIRECTOR
MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF COUNSEL

WALLACE F. BENTLEY, UTAH
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
EDWARD W. BROOKE, MASS.
CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.

Mr Taylor Hotel

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

September 5, 1967

Mr. Wilbur H. Jenkins, Jr.
Student Assistant
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

In reply to your letter of August 31st, I am asking the staff of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to contact you, and I am sure you will be hearing from them in due course.

I appreciate your getting in touch with me. I can assure you that all suggestions are sincerely welcome.

Sincerely yours,

Edward W. Brooke
Edward W. Brooke

EWB/cnh

MEMORANDUM

TO: President's Committee on Crime August 23, 1967
1730 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

FROM: Wilbur H. Jenkins, Jr.
Student Assistant
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

SUBJECT: Proposal for a National Distress Signal

Recently Americans have experienced a number of incidents that have disturbed race relations. One of the incidents was the case of Leonard Deadwyler in Los Angeles, California. According to Robert Conot, author of Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness, Deadwyler used a handkerchief on his antenna as a distress signal while attempting to speed his pregnant wife to a doctor. To Deadwyler, the handkerchief was notice that he was in trouble and needed assistance. However, the Los Angeles police failed to recognize the significance of the handkerchief. This failure of communication significantly contributed to Deadwyler's death.

The aim of this letter is to prevent such tragic incidents as Deadwyler's death from being repeated. It is well known that the labor pains of an expectant wife will often turn a careful driver into a foolhardy one, frantically maneuvering to reach medical aid. Other emergencies may induce similar disregard for the 'niceties' of normal traffic flow. To enable cars needing help to receive the necessary aid, I am requesting that your Committee make the handkerchief tied to the antenna a national distress signal. Upon seeing a handkerchief tied to an antenna, police would be requested to approach the car and ask what help they could provide. Once the need was established, a police escort could legally shorten the time to the desired destination.

The need for a national distress signal to aid automobile drivers is made more obvious by Deadwyler's unfortunate death. Many lives may be saved and the impact of injuries lessened if drivers can reach medical assistance in the shortest possible time. Penalties would have to be administered to the unfortunate few who might abuse the privilege, thus taking advantage of fellow motorists to make time in traffic.

This suggestion is one attempt to contribute to the solution of the many problems in this country, both racial and otherwise.

Thoughtful citizens must seek to benefit from past mistakes. To my knowledge, no nationally recognized distress signal exists. Thus it is possible that the Deadyler incident might occur again in Newark, Detroit, or some other tense American city. Such a recurrence will mean we have, as Americans, learned nothing. As intelligent human beings, we cannot afford to repeat easily corrected mistakes.

Sincerely yours,

Wilbur H. Jenkins, Jr.
Student Assistant
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON CIVIL DISORDERS

PROGRAM RESEARCH STAFF

The research staff on federal programs is headed by Richard P. Nathan of the Brookings institution. Its principal task is to draw together information of federal domestic programs covering:

1. Brief description of major programs and how they work;
2. Evaluation of programs by experts, including both supporters and critics;
3. Proposed program revisions and major alternatives;
4. Information from NACCD field studies and hearings on programs in riot areas -- successes, failures, attitudes of respondents; and
5. Major conclusions and recommendations.

Staff and Research Assignments

The program research staff consists of Dr. Nathan and six professionals designated as Research Assistants. An additional researcher is responsible for analyzing the field city materials in terms of their relevance to federal domestic programs. Research Assistants have been assigned the following topics:

- (1) Role of Private Enterprise in the Inner City
- (2) Role of Minority Communities in Action Programs
- (3) Education
- (4) Welfare
- (5) Civil Rights Enforcement
- (6) Manpower
- (7) Urban Renewal and Rehabilitation
- (8) Recreation

(9) Sanitation

Consultants of other Commission staff members are assembling information on two subjects:

(1) Consumer Protection

(2) Special Programs for Women in the Inner-City.

It should be stressed that these assignments are preliminary and will be adjusted according to findings from field research and decisions made as work progresses as to the relative priorities of the various program areas.

Research Papers

In each of the major program areas, the staff will prepare a central research document which will draw heavily on such sources as Congressional hearings, government documents, books, periodicals, and other relevant materials. Emphasis in the preparation of these papers called "Major Program Area Papers" is at present being placed on conclusions and recommendations for immediate action. It is anticipated that these sections will be our major input for purposes of drafting the Commission's interim and final reports. In addition to the "Major Program Area Papers," the staff will provide shorter and more specific memos on major subjects of interest to the Commission.

Relationships with other Commission Activities

The work of the program research staff is being tied in closely with other aspects of the Commission's activities.

Hearings. The research staff intends to draw heavily on the NACCD hearing transcripts, both the testimony of witnesses and the comments of Commissioners. Members of the staff will attend hearings of relevance for their work. The staff has also been consulted by General Counsel, Merle McCurdy, on the selection of witnesses.

Studies of 26 Cities. The work of the program research staff is also being coordinated with the studies of riot cities. This is being done in two ways. One, excerpting all field study materials which relate to federal programs for integration into the "Major Program Area Papers" described above. (This includes both pre-trip and reports and briefing materials on the background of civil disorders and reports and interviews based on the field work of Commission staff members.) Two, the

program research staff has prepared a short statement of its objectives and major program interests for the Commission's field staff so that they will be alerted, where appropriate, to provide information on the existence, impact, and attitudes towards federal programs.

Other. The research staff is also working closely with Dr. Myron J. Lefcowitz, Associate Director of the Commission responsible for research on longer-term planning in social policy areas. Dr. Lefcowitz is assisting in the preparation of the "Major Program Area Papers."

The staff is also arranging with Dr. Robert Shellow to make certain that information on the analysis of civil disorders which has relevance for federal programs is taken into account by the program research staff.

Information on pending legislation is being provided for the program research staff by Henry B. Taliaferro, Jr., Director of Congressional Relations for the Commission.

Liaison with Government Agencies

To obtain preliminary materials on federal programs and the present objectives of program administrators, we are drawing upon experts in the various federal agencies. This is being done through interviews by the Research Assistants.

Use of Consultants

The staff is also placing reliance on the evaluation of federal programs by non-government experts. This is being done in two ways. Papers, articles, and hearings (including those of the Commission) are being reviewed. In addition, we are conducting interviews with experts.

Schedule

The deadline for preparation of drafts of the "Major Program Area Papers" is October 31. By October 9, work will be in process on all of the areas listed above.

Summary Statement of Purposes of Research

At this point, the principal guidelines of the program research staff are to focus on the immediate time frame, canvass all of the options, and remain flexible. Thus, at the point that the Commission is ready to make decisions, the raw material on federal programs will be available in a usable form.

See attached letter

note date

This came in after
the date of Montell memo
& gave Mr. Holman a copy
of the letter.

MR. TAYLOR

M. Carl Holman
Acting Staff Director

August 29, 1967

S. T. Montell (signed) Sherwin T. Montell

Material for the Koerner Commission

What Have We Done That The Koerner Commission Should Know About?

I think we should list our activities since fiscal year 1966 that pertain to urban problems and provide a brief description of each one. Attachment "A" is a checklist of these.

Personally, I do not believe that the immediate causes of riots can be found in denials of equal protection of the laws or lack of equal opportunity in housing, education, employment, etc. In a more long range sense these are, of course, at the root of the problem. In terms of immediate causation I think that excerpts from our hearings on police-community relations might be of most interest to the Koerner Commission. I would xerox, for example, Chief Wagner's testimony and the testimony of Cleveland witnesses who experienced police brutality, lack of police protection, etc. This will show some of the reasons why ghetto residents mistrust, fear and hate the purveyors of law and order.

I would also make available the McKnight piece for the Digest and the Cleveland hearing film.

What Do We Recommend The Koerner Commission Do?

I would definitely recommend that the Koerner Commission look into the Nation's welfare programs which encourage dependency and penalize those who would work their way out of poverty (i.e., our Cleveland Welfare Report).

I recommend that they explore the racial composition of police forces in the big cities and the reasons why more Negroes have not entered the field of law enforcement.

The Koerner Commission, I am told, is interested in how much is being spent on various urban programs. Figures have meaning only in comparison with other figures. I therefore suggest that the Koerner Commission do some comparative analysis on the "priorities" revealed in the Federal budget. For example, here are some interesting juxtapositions taken from the President's 1968 budget request:

Dollars of New
Obligational Authority in \$1,000s

Urban research & technology (HUD).....	\$ 20,000
Agricultural Research Service (Dept. of Agr.)	252,135
National Aeronautics & Space Admin.....	5,050,000
Dept. of HUD	3,179,000
Dept. of Agriculture	6,001,000
Bureau of Commercial Fisheries.....	47,746
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights	2,790
Community Relations Service	2,000
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	7,170
Manpower Development & Training.....	401,854
Dept. of Agr. Price Support & Related Programs	1,400,000
Low rent public housing.....	290,000
Army Corps of Engineers (civil functions)	1,289,466
School assistance in federally affected areas.....	439,137
National Teacher Corps	36,000

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Urban Program Since F.Y. 1966

Hearings

Cleveland (F.Y. 1966)
Rochester (F.Y. 1967)
Boston (F.Y. 1967)
San Francisco Bay Area (F.Y. 1967)

State Advisory Committee Neighborhood Meetings

List, F.Y. 1966-67

Reports & Studies

Racial Isolation in the Schools (F.Y. 1966-67)
State & Local Government Employment (in process)
Low Income Housing (in process)
Federal Employment Policy - Brookings (in process)
MDEA (in process?)
Cleveland Welfare (F.Y. 1967)
Urban Report - OGC (in process)

Clearinghouse

SAC Reports on Urban Problems
National Conference on Race & Education (in process)
Race & Education Clearinghouse Publications (in process)
Civil Rights Digest (especially McKnight article in first issue)
Socio-economic Progress Measurement
Pre-Employment Testing (Kandel piece)
Survey of activities of Fair Housing Groups (NCDH)

1

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 29, 1967

Honorable John A. Hannah
Chairman, U.S. Commission
on Civil Rights
801 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Dr. Hannah:

By Executive Order 11365 the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was authorized to request, at the direction of the Chairman, from others in the government, any information and assistance deemed necessary to carry out its functions. I'm writing at the direction of the Chairman; copies of the Executive Order and the President's Charge to the Commission are enclosed. These two documents define the scope of the inquiry in which the Commission is now engaged.

Both because of the time limitations under which we're operating, and to avoid unnecessary expenditures, the Commission wants very much to avoid duplicating work that has already been done or is under way. We had thought of sending out detailed letters or questionnaires but finally concluded it would be simpler and faster if we asked each department and agency to designate one person to meet with our people and through him learn what information, personnel and resources can be made available to us.

The main purpose of this letter, therefore, is to ask if you would be willing to designate someone for this purpose and have him telephone Stephen Kurzman, our Deputy Executive Director for Operations (Code 128-28601), to fix a mutually convenient time for an early meeting. If this is inconvenient or impractical, we'll try to adapt ourselves to any other arrangement you may suggest.

Honorable John A. Hannah - 2 -

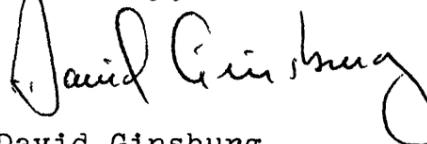
August 29, 1967

Basically, what we're trying to find out, as quickly as possible, is what information you may have available on civil disorders which have occurred within the last two years. We will want to find out in what form you have that information, how it is indexed, its sources, its reliability, how many people you think we might need to examine and evaluate it within two days, and what procedures we will have to follow in order to make copies. Since some departments and agencies have undertaken or contracted for outside studies in this field, we would like to hear about these as well. Our hope is that the Commission may be able to carry out some of its tasks with the help of your Commission.

I know that this request will put an extra burden on many who are already over-worked, but the Commission's assignment is urgent and its time limited. We would be deeply grateful for your cooperation.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely,



David Ginsburg
Executive Director

Enclosures

July 29, 1967

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXECUTIVE ORDER

11365

ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
CIVIL DISORDERS

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Establishment of the Commission. (a) There is hereby established a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of

The Honorable Otto Kerger, Chairman
The Honorable John V. Lindsay, Vice Chairman
Senator Fred R. Harris
Senator Edward W. Brooke
Congressman James C. Gorman
Congressman William M. McCulloch
I. W. Abel
Charles B. Thornton
Roy Wilkins
The Honorable Katherine Graham Peden
Herbert Jenkins

The President from time to time may appoint additional members to the Commission.

SECTION 2. Functions of the Commission. (a) The Commission shall investigate and make recommendations with respect to:

(1) The origins of the recent major civil disorders in our cities, including the basic causes and factors leading to such disorders and the influence, if any, of organizations or individuals dedicated to the incitement or encouragement of violence.

(2) The development of methods and techniques for averting or controlling such disorders, including the improvement of communications between local authorities and community groups, the training of state and local law enforcement and National Guard personnel in dealing with potential or actual riot situations, and the coordination of efforts of the various law enforcement and governmental units which may become involved in such situations;

(3) The appropriate role of the local, state and Federal authorities in dealing with civil disorders; and

(4) Such other matters as the President may place before the Commission.

SECTION 3. Cooperation by Executive Departments and Agencies. The Commission is authorized to request, at the direction of the Chairman, from any executive department or agency any information and assistance deemed necessary to carry out its functions under this order. Each department or agency is authorized, to the extent permitted by law and within the limits of available funds, to furnish information and assistance to the Commission. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, in particular, shall provide investigative information and assistance.

SECTION 4. Compensation, Personnel, and Finance.

(a) Members of the Commission who are Members of Congress shall receive no additional compensation by virtue of membership on the Commission, but, as permitted by law, may be reimbursed for travel, subsistence and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission. Other members of the Commission shall receive \$100 per day when engaged in the performance of duties pursuant to this order, and shall be allowed travel expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence as authorized by law (5 U. S. C. 5703) for persons intermittently employed.

(b) The Commission shall have an Executive Director who shall be designated by the President and shall receive such compensation as may hereafter be specified. The Commission is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such other personnel as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions, and is authorized to obtain services in accordance with the provisions of 5 U. S. C. 3109.

(c) All necessary expenses incurred in connection with the work of the Commission shall be paid from the "Emergency Fund for the President" or such other appropriated funds as may be available for the purposes of the Commission.

SECTION 6. Administrative Services. The General Services Administration shall provide administrative services for the Commission on a reimbursable basis.

SECTION 7. Reports and Termination. The Commission shall make an interim report as to its findings of fact not later than March 1, 1968, and shall present its final report and recommendations not later than one year from the date of this order. It shall terminate upon presenting its final report and recommendations.

/s/
Lyndon B. Johnson

THE WHITE HOUSE
July 29, 1967

#

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JULY 27, 1967

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO
THE NATION
ON
CIVIL DISORDERS
THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

10:30 P.M. EDT

My fellow Americans:

We have endured a week such as no Nation should live through: a time of violence and tragedy.

For a few minutes tonight, I want to talk about that tragedy -- and I want to talk about the deeper questions it raises for us all.

I am tonight appointing a special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Governor Otto Kerner, of Illinois, has agreed to serve as Chairman. Mayor John Lindsay, of New York, will serve as Vice Chairman. Its other members will include Fred R. Harris, Senator from Oklahoma; Edward W. Brooke, United States Senator from Massachusetts; James C. Corman, U.S. Representative from California, 22nd District, Los Angeles; William M. McCulloch, the U.S. Representative from the State of Ohio, the 4th District; I. W. Abel, the President of the United Steel Workers; Charles B. Thornton, the President, Director and Chairman of the Board of Litton Industries, Inc.; Roy Wilkins, the Executive Director of the NAACP; Katherine Graham Peden, the Commissioner of Commerce of the State of Kentucky; Herbert Jenkins, the Chief of Police, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Commission will investigate the origins of the recent disorders in our cities. It will make recommendations -- to me, to the Congress, to the State Governors, and to the Mayors -- for measures to prevent or contain such disasters in the future.

In their work, the Commission members will have access to the facts that are gathered by Director Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI will continue to exercise its full authority to investigate these riots, in accordance with my standing instructions, and continue to search for evidence of conspiracy.

But even before the Commission begins its work; and even before all the evidence is in, there are some things that we can tell about the outbreaks of this summer.

MORE

First -- let there be no mistake about it -- the looting, arson, plunder and pillage which have occurred are not part of a civil rights protest. There is no American right to loot stores, or to burn buildings, or to fire rifles from the rooftops. That is crime -- and crime must be dealt with forcefully, and swiftly, and certainly -- under law.

Innocent people, Negro and white, have been killed. Damage to property -- owned by Negroes and whites -- is calamitous. Worst of all, fear and bitterness which have been loosed will take long months to erase.

The criminals who committed these acts of violence against the people deserve to be punished -- and they must be punished. Explanations may be offered, but nothing can excuse what they have done.

There will be attempts to interpret the events of the past few days. But when violence strikes, then those in public responsibility have an immediate and a very different job: not to analyze, but to end disorder.

That they must seek to do with every means at their command: through local police, state officials, and, -- in extraordinary circumstances where local authorities have stated that they cannot maintain order with their own resources -- then through Federal power that we have limited authority to use.

I have directed the Secretary of Defense to issue new training standards for riot control procedures immediately to National Guard units across the country. Through the Continental Army Command, this expanded training will begin immediately. The National Guard must have the ability to respond effectively, quickly, and appropriately, in conditions of disorder and violence.

Those charged with the responsibility of law enforcement should, and must, be respected by all of our people. The violence must be stopped: quickly, finally, and permanently.

It would compound the tragedy, however, if we should settle for order that is imposed by the muzzle of a gun.

MORE

In America, we seek more than the uneasy calm of martial law. We seek peace based on one man's respect for another man -- and upon mutual respect for law. We seek a public order that is built on steady progress in meeting the needs of all of our people.

Not even the sternest police action, nor the most effective Federal Troops, can ever create lasting peace in our cities.

The only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack -- mounted at every level -- upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions -- not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America.

In the past three and a half years, we have directed the greatest Governmental effort in all of our American history at these ancient enemies. The roll call of those laws reveals the depth of our concern: The Model Cities Act. The Voters Rights Act. The Civil Rights Act. The Rent Supplement Act. Medicare and Medicaid. The 24 educational bills. Head Start. The Job Corps. The Neighborhood Youth Corps. Teacher Corps. Manpower Development and Training. And many, many more acts too numerous to mention on television tonight.

We will continue to press for laws which would protect our citizens from violence: like the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act now under consideration in the Congress and the Gun Control Act.

Our work has just begun. Yet there are those who feel that even this beginning is too much. There are those who would have us turn back even now, at the beginning of this journey.

Last week in Congress, a small but important plan for action in the cities was voted down in the House of Representatives. The members of that body rejected my request for \$20 million to fight the pestilence of rats -- rats which prowl in dark alleys and tenements, and attack thousands of city children. The passage of this legislation would have meant much to the children of the slums. A strong government that has spent millions to protect baby calves from worms could surely afford to show as much concern for baby boys and girls.

There are some tonight who feel that we cannot afford a Model Cities program. They reduced my request for funds this year by two-thirds.

There are some who feel that we cannot afford additional good teachers for the children of poverty in urban areas. Or new efforts to house those who are most in need of housing. Or to aid in education to those who need to read and write.

Theirs is a strange system of bookkeeping.

I believe we should be counting the assets that these measures can bring to America: cities richer in opportunity; cities more full of promise; cities of order, progress, and happiness. Instead, some are counting the seeds of bitterness.

This is not a time for angry reaction. It is a time for action: starting with legislative action to improve the life in our cities. The strength and promise of the law are the surest remedies for tragedy in the streets.

But laws are only one answer. Another answer lies in the way our people will respond to these disturbances.

There is a danger that the worst toll of this tragedy will be counted in the hearts of Americans: in hatred, in insecurity, in fear, in heated words which will not end the conflict, but prolong it.

So let us acknowledge the tragedy; but let us not exaggerate it.

Let us look about tonight. Let us look at ourselves. We will see these things:

Most Americans, Negro and White, are leading decent, responsible and productive lives.

Most Americans, Negro and white, seek safety in their neighborhoods and harmony with their neighbors.

Nothing can destroy good will more than a period of needless strife and suspicion between the races.

Let us condemn the violent few. But let us remember that it is law-abiding Negro families who have really suffered most at the hands of the rioters. It is responsible Negro citizens who hope most fervently -- and need most urgently -- to share in America's growth and prosperity.

This is not the time to turn away from that goal.

To reach it will require more than laws; more than dollars. It will take renewed dedication and understanding in the heart of every citizen.

I know there are millions of men and women tonight who are eager to heal the wounds that we have suffered; who want to get on with the job of teaching and working and building America.

In that spirit, at the conclusion of this address, I will sign a proclamation calling for a day of prayer in our Nation throughout all of our States. On this Sunday, July 30, I urge the citizens in every town, every city, and every home in this Land to go into their churches -- to pray for order and reconciliation among men.

I appeal to every Governor, every Mayor, every preacher and every teacher and parent to join and give leadership in this National observance.

This spirit of dedication cannot be limited to our public leaders. It must extend to every citizen in this land. And the man who speaks to break the peace must feel the powerful disapproval of all of his neighbors.

Tonight, I call upon every American to search his own heart.

To those who are tempted by violence, I would say this: Think again. Who is really the loser when violence comes? Whose neighborhood is made a shambles? Whose life is threatened most?

If you choose to tear down what other hands have built,

-- You will not succeed;

-- You will suffer most from your own crimes;

-- You will learn that there are no victors in the aftermath of violence.

The apostles of violence, with their ugly drumbeat of hatred, must know that they are now heading for disaster. And every man who really wants progress or justice or equality must stand against them and their miserable virus of hate.

For other Americans, especially those in positions of public trust, I have this message:

Yours is the duty to bring about a peaceful change in America. If your response to these tragic events is only "business as usual" -- you invite not only disaster, but dishonor.

My fellow citizens, let us go about our work. Let us clear the streets of rubble and quench the fires that hatred set. Let us feed and care for those who have suffered at the rioter's hands -- but let there be no bonus or reward or salutes for those who have inflicted that suffering.

Let us resolve that this violence is going to stop and there will be no bonus to flow from it. We can stop it. We must stop it. We will stop it.

And let us build something much more lasting: faith between man and man, faith between race and race. Faith in each other -- and faith in the promise of beautiful America.

Let us pray for the day when "mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Let us pray -- and let us work for better jobs and better housing and better education that so many millions of our own fellow Americans need so much tonight.

Let us then act in the Congress, in the city halls, and in every community, so that this great land of ours may truly be "one Nation under God -- with liberty and justice for all."

Goodnight and thank you.

FOR RELEASE AT 4:30 P. M.

JULY 27, 1967

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMBERS OF SPECIAL ADVISORY
COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

MEMBERS

Otto Kerner, Chairman	Governor of Illinois
John Lindsay, Vice Chairman	Mayor of New York City
Senator Fred R. Harris	Senator from Oklahoma
Senator Edward W. Brooke	Senator from Massachusetts
James C. Corman	U. S. Representative from California, Twenty-Second District (Los Angeles)
William M. McCulloch	U. S. Representative from the State of Ohio, 4th District
I. W. Abel	President, United Steel Workers
Charles B. Thornton	President, Director and Chairman of the Board, Litton Industries, Inc.
Roy Wilkins	Executive Director of the NAACP
Katherine Graham Peden	Commissioner of Commerce, State of Kentucky
Herbert Jenkins	Chief of Police, Atlanta, Georgia

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EDWARD T BREATHITT
GOVERNOR



10
File
KATHERINE PEDEN
COMMISSIONER

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
Department of Commerce

FRANKFORT 40601

August 10, 1967

Mr. William L. Taylor
United States Commission on
Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Thank you so much for the expression of cooperation by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. I am sure that the Special Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, chaired by the Honorable Otto Kerner, will be in touch with you through our Executive Director, Mr. David Ginsburg.

Your good wishes are greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,


Katherine Peden
Commissioner



THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007

File

August 9, 1967

William L. Taylor
Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of July 28th to Governor Otto Kerner offering the assistance of the Commission on Civil Rights in the work of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders.

We will of course rely heavily on the work done by your Commission in the past and I look forward to this opportunity to work with you, your staff and the Commission members.

Mr. Jay Kriegel, Assistant to the Mayor, is a member of my staff who is working on this project. Please feel free to contact him on any matters relating to the work of the National Advisory Commission.

Sincerely,

John V. Lindsay

John V. Lindsay
MAYOR

President's Riot Investigation Panel



I. W. Abel

President of the United Steelworkers of America. Abel, 58, defeated longtime president David J. McDonald in 1965 on a platform to get away from "tuxedo trade unionism."



Edward W. Brooke

He is the first Negro to be elected to the Senate in a popular election. The 47-year-old Massachusetts Republican is a native of Washington and a graduate of Howard University.



James C. Corman

A liberal Democrat, Corman fought on the controversial issue of open housing last fall to win reelection in California's open housing law, fought the move to repeal it.



Fred R. Harris

The Oklahoma Democrat, 36, was co-sponsor of a resolution to set up a special Commission on Civil Strife. First elected to the Senate in 1964 to fill the unexpired term of Robert S. Kerr.



Herbert Jenkins

Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins once said "Me? A liberal? I make no claim to that... But I am a police officer. And that means I enforce the law equally."



John V. Lindsay

The New York mayor, 45, has had to deal with big-city rioting himself, going into Spanish Harlem to speak with residents. A former liberal Republican Congressman.



W. M. McCulloch

An economic conservative Republican from Ohio, he has nevertheless been a staunch civil rights supporter and as senior GOP member of the House Judiciary Committee.



Katherine Peden

She became, at 35, the youngest president in the history of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Long-time reporter, radio station experience.



C. B. Thornton

Builder of Litton Industries, a billion-dollar-plus corporation, Thornton still "can't stand useless leisure." Now 54, the self-made executive was buying Texas farmland at 14.



Roy Wilkins

Once a red cap, also an editor, Wilkins, 66, became executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1955. Wilkins was born in St. Louis.

Johnson Names Panel to Probe Urban Rioting

Says 'Criminals' Involved Must Face Penalties

JUL 2 9 1967 WASHINGTON POST
By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Johnson last night appointed a presidential advisory commission to investigate the wave of urban riots and issued a stern warning that the "criminals" who waged violence must be punished.

In a special address carried live on radio and television, the President said the commission would recommend measures to "prevent or contain such disasters in the future."

He struck out forcefully against "apostles of violence" who pillage and burn and loot and declared, "That is crime—and crime must be dealt with forcefully, swiftly, and certainly—under law."

Calls for Programs

But Mr. Johnson coupled his admonitions with a plea for social programs that would cut away the sources of ghetto despair.

"This is not a time for angry reaction," he said. "It is a time for action: starting with legislative action to improve life in our cities."

Mr. Johnson also announced he has ordered new riot-training standards for National Guardsmen and proclaimed Sunday a day of prayer for reconciliation across the country.

The chairman of the Special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, a Democrat.

Republican Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City is vice chairman. Other members are Sen. Fred R. Harris (D-Okla.); Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.); Rep. James C. Corman (D-Calif.); Rep.

William M. McCulloch (R-Ohio); I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers; Charles B. Thornton, president and board chairman, Linton Industries, Inc.; Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; Katherine Graham Peden, Commissioner of Commerce of Kentucky, and Herbert Jenkins, Atlanta police chief.



Associated Press

GOV. OTTO KERNER
... to head commission

The appointment of the commission followed several days of congressional demands for an investigatory group either from Congress or the White House. Mr. Johnson was under pressure to act before conservative opponents in Congress created their own commission.

[A surprised Wilkins said last night he would accept the President's appointment but added, "frankly this is the first I've heard of it," United Press International reported.]

In a strongly worded message, his second of the week on civil disorders, Mr. Johnson declared that, "We have endured a week such as no nation should live through... a time of violence and tragedy."

Innocent people have been killed and the damage to property is "calamitous," he said.

Aftermath of Fear

"Worst of all, fear and bitterness have been loosed which will take long months to erase.

"The criminals who committed these acts of violence against the people deserve to be punished," he declared.

"Explanations may be offered, but nothing can excuse what they have done," said Mr. Johnson.

The President said the FBI will continue to investigate the riots under his standing instructions and will continue "to search for evidence of conspiracy."

But he said, "Not even the sternest police action, nor the most effective Federal troops can create lasting peace in our cities."

The President said that only a long-range assault upon the conditions that breed despair and violence could permanently end unrest in the cities.

To attack these conditions, he called again upon Congress to pass his legislative program

and criticized in particular the congressional failure to pass the rat-control bill. He also pointed out that Congress had sliced his request for the model-cities by two-thirds.

Mr. Johnson said he had directed Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara to issue new training standards for riot control to National Guard units across the country.

After the Newark riot, there was widespread demand for better riot-control training from critics who said the National Guardsmen fired indiscriminately in attempting to curb sniping.

Mr. Johnson said laws are not the only answer and asked the American people to respond not in anger but in deeds of harmony.

"Let us condemn the violent few," he said. "But let us remember that it is law-abiding Negro families who have suffered most at the hands of the rioters."

For the day of prayer next Sunday, Mr. Johnson urged all citizens "to pray for order and reconciliation among men." He asked that every governor, mayor, preacher, teacher and parent join in the national observance.

Finally, Mr. Johnson warned "The apostles of violence, with their ugly drumbeat of hatred, must know that they are heading for disaster. And every man who really wants progress or justice or equality must stand against them and their miserable virus of hate."

Kerner and Lindsay were chosen for the Riot Commission to give it both a political and geographical balance and to provide representation to the Nation's governors and mayors.

Kerner's background as a judge and former U.S. Attorney in Illinois were also considered valuable assets for the chairmanship. In addition, he is a long-standing political ally of Chicago Mayor Richard P. Daley.

Before delivering the speech in his oval office, the President exchanged kisses with his older daughter, Linda Bird. She also placed a pillow in her father's chair just before he went before the television cameras.

LBJ: Public Order Built on... Progress...?

WASHINGTON POST

Following is the prepared text of President Johnson's televised address to the Nation last night:

I.

My fellow Americans. We have endured a week such as no Nation should live through: a time of violence and tragedy. For a few minutes tonight, I want to talk about that

tragedy — and about the deeper questions it raises for us all.

I am tonight appointing a special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

The Commission will investigate the origins of the recent disorders in our cities. It will make recommendations—to me, to the Congress, to the State Governors, and to the Mayors—for measures to prevent or contain such disasters in the future.

In their work, the Commission members will have access to the facts gathered by Director Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI will continue to exercise its full authority to investigate these riots, in accordance with my standing instructions, and to continue to search for evidence of conspiracy.

But even before the Commission begins its work; even before all the evidence is in, there are some things we can tell about the outbreaks of this summer.

II.

First—let there be no mistake about it—the looting, arson, plunder and pillage which have occurred are not part of a civil rights protest. There is no American right to loot stores, to burn buildings, to fire rifles from the rooftops. That is crime—and crime must be dealt with forcefully, swiftly, certainly—under law.

Innocent people, Negro and white, have been killed. Damage to property—owned by Negroes and whites—is calamitous. Worst of all, fear and bitterness have been loosed which will take long months to erase.

The criminals who committed these acts of violence against the people deserve to be punished. Explanations may be offered, but nothing can excuse what they have done.

An Immediate Job

There will be many attempts to interpret the events of the past few days. But when violence strikes, those in public responsibility have an immediate and very different job: not to analyze, but to end disorder.

That they must seek to do with every means at hand, through local police, state officials, and—in extraordinary circumstances where local authorities have stated that they cannot maintain order with their own resources—through Federal power.

I have directed the Secretary of Defense to issue new training standards for riot control procedures to National Guard units across the country. Through the Continental Army Command, this expanded training will begin immediately. The Guard must have the ability to respond effectively, and appropriately in conditions of disorder and violence.

Those charged with the responsibility of law enforcement should, and must, be respected. The violence must be stopped: quickly, finally and permanently.

III.

It would compound the tragedy, however, if we should settle for order imposed by the muzzle of a gun.

In America, we seek more than the uneasy calm of martial law. We seek peace based on one man's respect for another—and upon mutual respect for law. We seek a public order built on steady progress in meeting the needs of our people.

Not even the sternest police action, nor the most effective Federal troops, can create lasting peace in our cities.

The only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack—mounted at every level—upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what they are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions—not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America.

In the past three and a half years, we have directed the greatest legislative effort in our history at those ancient ills. The roll call of those laws reveals the depth of our concern: The Model Cities Act. The civil rights acts. The Rent Supplement Act. Medicare and Medicaid. The Education Acts. Head Start, the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Teacher Corps. Manpower Development and Training, and many, many more.

We continue to press for laws which would protect our citizens from violence: The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. The Gun Control Act.

Rat Bill Cited

Our work has just begun. Yet there are those who feel that even this beginning is too much. There are those who would have us turn back even now, at the beginning of the journey.

Last week in Congress, a small but important plan for action in the cities was

voted down. The members rejected my request for twenty million dollars to fight the pestilence of rats—rats which prowl in dark alleys and tenements, and attack thousands of city children. Passage of this legislation would have meant much to the children of the slums. A government that has spent millions to protect baby calves can surely afford to show the same concern for baby boys and girls.

There are some today who feel that we cannot afford a Model Cities program. They reduced my request for funds this year by two-thirds.

There are some who feel we cannot afford additional good teachers for the children of poverty. Or new efforts to house those most in need. Or aid to education.

Theirs is a strange system of bookkeeping.

I believe we should be counting the assets these measures can bring to us: cities richer in opportunity; cities more full of promise; cities of order and progress. Instead, some are counting the seeds of bitterness.

This is not a time for angry reaction. It is a time for action: starting with legisla-

tive action to improve life in our cities. The strength and promise of the law are the surest remedies for tragedy in the streets.

IV.

But laws are only one answer. Another answer lies in the way our people respond to these disturbances.

There is a danger that the worst toll of this tragedy will be counted in the hearts of Americans: in hatred, in fear, in heated words which will not end the conflict but prolong it.

Let us acknowledge the tragedy; but let us not exaggerate it.

Look about you tonight, and you will see these things:

Most Americans, Negro and white, are leading decent, responsible and productive lives.

Most Americans, Negro and white, seek safety in their neighborhoods and harmony with their neighbors.

Nothing can destroy good will more quickly than a period of needless strife and suspicion between the races.

Let us condemn the violent few. But let us remember that it is law-abiding Negro families who have

suffered most at the hands of the rioters. It is responsible Negro citizens who hope most fervently—and need most urgently—to share in America's prosperity.

This is no time to turn away from that goal.

To reach it will require more than laws; more than dollars. It will take renewed dedication and understanding in the heart of every citizen.

V.

I know there are millions of men and women tonight who are eager to heal the wounds we have suffered; who want to get on with the job of teaching and working and building.

Day of Prayer

In that spirit, I am issuing tonight a proclamation calling for a day of prayer in our Nation. On this Sunday, July 30, I urge citizens in every town and city in the land to go into their churches—to pray for order and reconciliation among men.

I appeal to every governor, every mayor, every preacher and teacher and parent to join in this national observance.

This spirit of dedication cannot be limited to our public leaders. It must extend to every citizen. And the man who speaks to break the peace must feel the powerful disapproval of his neighbors.

Tonight, I call upon every American to search his heart.

To those who are tempted by violence, I say this: Think again. Who is really the loser when violence comes? Whose neighborhood is made a shambles? Whose life is threatened most?

If you choose to tear down what other hands have built,

—You will not succeed;
—You will suffer most from your own crimes;

—You will learn that there are no victors in the aftermath of violence.

The apostles of violence, with their ugly drumbeat of hatred, must know that they are heading for disaster. And every man who really wants progress or justice or equality must stand against them and their miserable virus of hate.

Plea to Nation

For other Americans, especially those in positions of public trust, I have this message:

Yours is the duty to bring about peaceful change in

America. If your response to these tragic events is only "business as usual"—you invite not only disaster, but dishonor.

My fellow citizens, let us go about our work. Let us clear the streets of rubble and quench the fires that hatred set. Let us feed and care for those who have suffered at the rioter's hands—but let there be no bonus nor reward for those who have inflicted that suffering.

Let us resolve that this violence is going to stop. We can stop it. We must stop it. We will stop it.

And let us build something more lasting: faith between man and man, between race and race. Faith in each other—and in the promise of America.

Let us pray for the day when "mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Let us pray—and let us work for the better jobs and housing and education millions of our fellow Americans need.

Let us act in the Congress, in city halls, in every community, so that this land may truly be "one Nation under God—with liberty and justice for all."

Goodnight.