



I recommend you approve the first alternative. If you do so, we can discharge the Task Force but keep Ramsey as our man on Los Angeles to insulate you from Schlei's activities, yet give Ramsey and Schlei the power they need to get the job done. Ramsey would stay in touch with me for any White House guidance he needed.

Approved  \_\_\_\_\_

Disapproved  \_\_\_\_\_

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Charlie Schultz &  
McCone*

9:00 p.m., Monday  
September 27, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

One of the things mentioned by civil rights leaders when we called them on the civil rights reorganization, in addition to the White House conference, was the issuance of Ramsey Clark's report on Los Angeles. In your statement of September 2, 1965, you said that a "comprehensive report is expected from the Task Force shortly."

I believe the Ramsey Clark report is now in shape to be issued and I have a technique to insulate you from any problem that might arise while still getting the full benefit of the report. It is bound to be a very popular document with the civil rights leaders. Abe Fortas considers it an outstanding and penetrating story. I recommend the following procedure:

1. That Ramsey Clark issue the report from his place at Justice.
2. That you issue the attached statement at the same time that Ramsey issues his report. In the statement, you approve the recommendations:
  - a. A Bureau of Census analytical study be made on Los Angeles in coordination with Governor Brown's Commission (Governor Brown, John McCone, et al want this very badly);
  - b. That the Justice Department prepare a first-rate riot control training course for metropolitan police; and
  - c. That the ideas and suggestions discussed under various topics in the report be referred to the Brown Commission and the appropriate Federal agencies (this is a compromise I worked out with McCone). Your statement refers to Charlie Schultze for study by his Task Force on Inter-Governmental Relations (an outside group of experts that Charlie has convened that has been meeting for several weeks) the recommendation that a principal Federal officer be appointed in the Los Angeles area. This gives you further consideration by experts of your proposal and the option to decide later --

after we have had some reaction from people like Brown and Yorty -- whether to send a principal Federal officer into the Los Angeles area. It also gives us time to find the right person to send into the area. Thus, if within a couple of weeks, Brown and Yorty urge you to adopt this proposal (McCone believes you should adopt the proposal), we will be able to find the right guy who can act on it. On the other hand, there is no need for you to make any decision until and unless we present this to you as part of next year's program.

Bill Moyers concurs in this method of handling the report. If you approve Ramsey will go with the report tomorrow afternoon and we will release your statement at the 4:00 p. m. briefing. I recommend approval.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

*See me*

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT FOR RELEASE WITH THE FINAL  
REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS

The final report of the Presidential Task Force on the Los Angeles riots is both constructive and comprehensive. Filled with grim facts and human insights, it is the story of today's despair but of tomorrow's hope.

As I said before, and want to stress again, the riots in the Watts area flowed from a shattering breach of deep-seated American principles. There is no greater wrong in our democracy than violent, willful disregard of law.

But to decry disorder is not enough. We must strike at the unjust conditions from which the disorder largely flows, lest our body politic be poisoned and our democracy endangered.

And let us also remember that the actions of the three thousand rioters must not stay our compassion for the tens of thousands of needy citizens in the riot area -- of every race and color -- who neither participated in nor condoned the riots.

The Task Force I sent to Los Angeles -- led by Ramsey Clark, with Andrew Brimmer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and Jack Conway, Deputy Director of the War on Poverty -- was instructed to develop with the help of Governor Brown, Mayor Yorty and other state and local officials the best programs known to wipe out the causes of such violent outbursts.

The Task Force has now admirably discharged these responsibilities. Many of the programs it has recommended are already underway.

We must await the work of Governor Brown's Commission for the full account of the riots and their causes. But the Task Force report is an important first step forward. It points the way for Federal, state and local governments to proceed jointly to launch their attack now not only on the immediate tensions which triggered the riots, but also on the deeper underlying problems. It also will be a valuable document for the leaders and citizens of our other major cities.

As a result of the Task Force's recommendations, I am taking the following actions:

First, I am approving a number of additional self-help programs -- more than 30 at a cost of over \$20 million -- to complement the 49 projects totalling \$29 million and approved on September 2, 1965. These projects, tailored to local needs, will increase job opportunities, provide better health care for the young and improve the quality of education. But they will do more. They will give to those of our underprivileged citizens an equal chance to share in the benefits of our society. As before, the projects fall within already authorized programs and funding levels.

Second, I have asked the Census Bureau immediately to undertake a detailed analysis of southern Los Angeles to collect economic and sociological data, in coordination with Governor Brown's Commission.

Such a study will provide decision makers with an intelligent and rational basis for shaping the most effective, long-range community action programs.

Third, I have directed the Justice Department to prepare a series of first-rate riot control training programs for metropolitan police.

Fourth, I am <sup>referring the accompanying suggestions in the report to</sup> ~~sending to Governor Brown's Commission and all interested~~ <sup>the Attorney General and the Director of the Budget to develop</sup> Federal agencies for consideration the wide range of suggestions ~~for further~~ <sup>such plans and take such action as they deem appropriate</sup> programs and progress in the Task Force report. <sup>in cooperation, after discussion with the state and local officials</sup>

Fifth, I am asking the Director of the Budget to refer to the Task Force on Inter-Governmental Relations the matter of appointing on an experimental basis, a principal Federal officer for Los Angeles who would coordinate and expedite all Federal programs in the area.

Finally, we are going to intensify our efforts to find new and imaginative ways to come to grips with the problems of our cities so that the tragic events in Los Angeles will never be repeated.

The task ahead is difficult. I believe we will meet and overcome these challenges. But the task is not one for the Federal government alone or the state and local governments alone. It is a task to which each citizen must devote his efforts.

For "justice in life and the conduct of the state is possible only as it resides in the hearts and souls of the citizens". So, I ask each of you to look into your heart and soul to see for yourselves whether you treat your fellow man justly and as you would have him treat you.

We all owe a debt of gratitude to Ramsey Clark, to Jack Conway and Andrew Brimmer, and to Governor Brown and Mayor Yorty, to Senator Kuchel, Congressmen Hawkins and Roosevelt, as well as to the many Federal, state and local officials, community groups and clergymen who gave their unstinting support to the work of the Presidential Task Force.

UCLA  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES  
Office of Public Information  
405 Hilgard Ave. - Los Angeles, California 90024  
432-9711 or 272-11

Release

August 1, 1967

THE LOS ANGELES RIOT STUDY (LARS)

Nathan E. Cohen, Study Co-ordinator  
Institute of Government and Public Affairs, UCLA

We are writing as a group of social scientists at UCLA's Institute of Government and Public Affairs who have just completed an extensive two-year study of the August 11-15 events in South Central Los Angeles. It is not possible to outline all of our findings in detail but the highlighting of some of the key ones may contribute to a better understanding of the present day series of "riots." A number of statements being made about the present riots resemble those made immediately after the Watts riots. Our data indicates that such statements made about the Watts riots were erroneous.

The Los Angeles Riot Study was initiated immediately after the 1965 Los Angeles Riots. During the five months following the riot a total of 2,070 personal interviews were collected in a survey which sampled seven basic populations: 1) the Negro curfew area residents, 2) Negro riot arrestees, 3) white residents of greater Los Angeles, 4) white curfew area residents, 5) Mexican-American curfew area residents, 6) social service workers, and 7) merchants who incurred damage during the riots.

The sample of Negro curfew area residents is a random sample, stratified by age, sex, and income. Interviews were about two hours in length. The interview schedule covered questions of attitude toward the

riot, activity in the riot, general social and political attitudes and background information. Interviewers were selected from the area.

In reporting the findings of the LARS Study it may be helpful to first describe the characteristics of the random sample studied in the curfew area.

1. The majority of the sample spent their childhood in the South.
2. Over 60 percent grew up in urban areas (large city, suburb, or medium size city).
3. About 60 percent of the sample had lived in Los Angeles ten years or longer at the time of the riot.
4. Over 50 percent of the sample completed high school.
5. If one applies the concept of the "job ceiling" to refer to those positions above the level of semi-skilled, only about 25 percent of the males, and 18 percent of the females in the sample are above the level of semi-skilled workers.
6. Seventy-two percent of the males and 35 percent of the females in the sample are employed. The percentage of unemployment is much higher for the females (42 percent) than for the males (15 percent).

#### Major Findings

There is a growing body of myths emerging about the riots. They center around the effort to distinguish between the "good Negro" and the "bad Negro." A correlate is that the riots are usually the work of outside agitators or the "riffraff," or the "bad dog" element of Negroes.

This leads to the numbers game of guessing the percentage of "bad Negroes" (2 to 5 percent seems to be popular) and to a rationalization of better use of police power to deal with them. In turn this tends to divert attention from the social ills responsible for the riots.

In regard to participation in the riot, the LARS study suggests the following conclusions:

1. Up to 15 percent of the Negro adult population, or about 22,000 persons were active at some point during the rioting, and in more than a "spectator" role.
2. An additional 35 or 40 percent of the Negro adult population, or at least an additional 51,000 persons, were active spectators to the disturbance.
3. Young people were much more active than older people.
4. Men were more active than women, but young women were more active than middle-aged or older men.
5. Support for the riot was as great among relatively well educated and economically advantaged as among poorly educated and economically disadvantaged in the curfew area.
6. Support for the riot was as great among relatively long time residents of South Central Los Angeles as it was among the more recent migrants from the South. Our data, furthermore, indicates that the majority of people in South Central Los Angeles are long time residents, thus dispelling the belief that the riot was a product of a recent influx of migrants from the South.

Perhaps as important as the proportion of persons involved in the riot is the extent to which residents of the community gave approval to it.

1. About 34 percent of the sample were somewhat favorable, or very favorable about what took place.
2. While the majority expressed disapproval of the violence and destruction, this was often coupled with an expression of empathy with the motives of those who participated, or a sense of pride that the Negro has brought world-wide attention to his problem.

Another important measure of attitude is the assessment of the residents of the community of the consequences of the riot for the Negro cause and for relations with white persons. Considerable optimism was shown over the results of the riot.

1. Thirty-eight percent of the population in the curfew area felt that the riot would help the Negro cause. Only about 20 percent felt that it would hurt the cause. Our study of the white population in the Los Angeles metropolitan area was in sharp contrast. Seventy-four percent believed it would hurt the cause of the Negro.
2. Only 23 percent of the population in the curfew area felt that the riot increased the gap between the races, as contrasted with 71 percent in the white population.
3. Fifty-one percent of the population in the curfew area saw the whites as now being more sympathetic because of the riot as contrasted with 32 percent in the white population.

What of the Social Ills

The pre-riot conditions in the South Central Area of Los Angeles reflect the entire gamut of social problems in the slum ghetto. There were the usual deficits in employment, housing, education, health and welfare services. For example, there were twelve social agencies prior to 1964 in Watts, eleven new ones were started between 1964 and 1965, and nineteen additional ones were instituted after the riot. Those launched in 1964 were primarily related to the poverty program but their effectiveness was limited by a running battle in the community between city hall and the voluntary agencies as to where the power was to be located.

In addition, the following factors were found to be characteristic of the social service delivery system in South Central Los Angeles.

1. Only half of the agencies had provisions for emergency service in an area that has high requirements for such provisions.
2. The requirements of highly specialized agencies governing the conditions under which service could be obtained made it extremely difficult for those most in need to be eligible.
3. Most of the new poverty program agencies had no waiting lists for service but the agencies offering highly skilled professional services in health, mental health and family services did have them.
4. Only a very small minority of agencies had representatives of the client population on their policy making boards.

In general, the majority of agencies did not seem to block access to their services with excessive intake demands and long waiting lists. However,

there was limited case finding or reaching out for people who could not connect without some additional help. If the individual or family did not have the strength to get there and stay there, he went unserved. The highest level of expertise was not frequently available to the low income resident of South Central Los Angeles even when the agency was located in this area. It was felt that this may lead to an increased sense of relative deprivation which is so often the seed of violence.

The grievances of the people in the South Central Area were numerous. These ran the gamut of the practices of merchants operating in the community, various types of discrimination, and alleged forms of mistreatment by the police. An analysis of the data suggests the following:

1. When asked to state their biggest gripe, 33 percent said poor neighborhood conditions, 14 percent mistreatment by whites, and 13 percent economic conditions. Only 21 percent had no specific complaints.
2. When asked specifically about exploitive practices by merchants, approximately one-third claim to have encountered "frequently" the experience of being overcharged and sold inferior goods.
3. When asked about job discrimination, 54 percent of the males, and 33 percent of the females mentioned that it happened to them personally.
4. Males were also more likely to report discrimination in housing, practices by landlords, and schools. Thirty-four percent of the males stated that they had experienced discrimination in housing.

"Police brutality" is frequently mentioned as a major factor in the Los Angeles riot. An analysis of the data indicates that well above a majority of both sexes believe that most forms of police malpractice -- including the more violent such as use of unnecessary force in arrests, beating up people in custody, and searching homes unnecessarily -- occur in this community. Few of the respondents, however, have experienced the more violent forms of police malpractice. When it comes to such malpractice as insulting comments, rousting or frisking individuals unnecessarily, and stopping or searching cars unnecessarily, approximately one-third of the males in the sample reported one or more such occurrences, and about 50 percent reported that they have seen it happen. Less than 15 percent of the females reported direct experience, but about 30 percent reported seeing it happen.

Another important factor in assessing the Los Angeles riot is the extent of social contact of Negroes in the curfew area with whites, and their feelings about whites. The data suggests the following:

1. Approximately half of the sample (45 percent of the males and 42 percent of the females) report social contact with whites.
2. Among both sexes the overwhelming majority seemed to have little objection to white interaction of whatever intimacy.
3. About 90 percent of both sexes stated that they would prefer working in a racially mixed group.
4. Approximately 18 percent of the males and 15 percent of the females said they did not trust any white person. Over 70 percent of both sexes stated they could trust some, and approximately 9 percent said they could trust most.

The white community can be both a help and a barrier in solving the racial problem. Their perceptions and deeds are an integral part of understanding the social fabric within which the riot took place. The findings from the white reaction study of LARS provides the following information:

1. In characterizing the events of August 11-15, its causes and its purpose, about a third of the white respondents showed some sympathy toward the disturbance.
2. Nineteen percent stated that it helped and 74 percent said it hurt the Negro cause.
3. Seventy-three percent stated that it had increased the gap between the races, and 13 percent stated it had decreased the gap.
4. Thirty-two percent of the sample thought whites were more sympathetic since the riot and 37 percent thought whites were less sympathetic.
5. Sixty-six percent thought the authorities handled the riot well, and 31 percent badly.
6. Over half the whites felt some fear or a great deal of fear.
7. Nearly one-third considered using firearms, over one-half approved of buying guns, and some 12 percent either bought or already had firearms.
8. Roughly one-third of the whites had an exaggerated idea of the size of disturbance and the number of Negroes supporting it (even after 3 months of factual reports on the riot).

9. Some 20 percent felt that the best way to prevent further riots was to take punitive or restrictive action of one form or another.
10. On measures of stereotypes and beliefs about racial differences; social distance questions; attitudes of dislike and distrust of Negroes; and attitudes about Negro efforts to improve their position through social action; the findings were that:
  - a. The least amount of antagonism is found with regard to stereotypes, racial beliefs, and impersonal social relations,
  - b. while most antagonism is in the areas of social action programs and close social relationships.

The most important factor in determining the reaction of whites to the disturbance appears to be their more basic attitudes toward Negroes. Respondents who are relatively antagonistic toward Negroes tend to view the riots as the result of outside "agitation," to believe the riots hurt the Negro's cause, and to suggest punitive solutions to the problem. Conversely, respondents who are tolerant in their general attitudes toward Negroes tend to see the causes of the riots in such sources as white prejudice and discrimination against Negroes or lack of employment and educational opportunities, are more likely to believe the riots helped the Negro's cause, and are more likely to suggest ameliorative solutions to the problem, such as full civil rights for Negroes and increased educational and economic opportunities.

There are several key issues emerging out of these findings which warrant further exploration. The Negro Community was ambivalent toward the riot itself, but a majority saw it as bringing positive results. The riot was viewed as a way of bringing their plight to the attention of the white community, with the assumption that if the whites knew the real conditions they would act rationally and in good American tradition take the appropriate steps to reform the situation. For the Negro the riot might help to hasten the creation of jobs and general improvement of the neighborhood and its institutions dealing with education, welfare, social control, health, recreation, housing, transportation, and consumer malpractices. We must ask ourselves honestly whether or not this has happened.

It is not enough to be able to state that some progress has been made. Gradual change in a period crying for rapid change is not enough. Statistics can show that there have been some small increases in employment and some narrowing of the economic gap between the white and the Negro. There is the danger, however, of falling into the trap of the scientist who drowned in the river because of his information that its average depth was four feet.

Since the Los Angeles riots, white political and civic leaders have apparently become more responsive to Negro demands. To this point, such responsiveness is more verbal and visible than it is substantive: the degree of policy change that can be observed is minimal; there is furthermore a tendency within the political party system for a Democratic political leadership to take the Negro as a traditional democrat "given" and contrariwise for Republican Party leaders to write off the Negro vote.

The McCone Commission Report recommendations represent a maximum program to most whites, including most white leaders, but only a minimum and

largely symbolic program to Negro leadership and followership alike. The very nature of the political structure is producing barriers to the accomplishment of even these "minimal" recommendations.

The division of authority and function between city and county also between state and Federal levels of government makes it difficult to pursue even a single goal (such as housing). The weak mayor-council tradition and the proliferation of independent boards and commissions of the city (i.e., the "civilian" Police Commission) also inhibit effective Negro political action. Nonpartisan elections, and . . . in the case of the Los Angeles Unified School Board . . . at . . . large districts also operate to discount the numerical significance of Negro electoral power.

Much of the expansion of resources has come from the Federal government. There has been growing uncertainty as to the availability of funds and many programs are never sure about their survival. Summer programs tend to be funded at the beginning of the summer and even in mid-summer rather than a year in advance so that appropriate plans can be made. There is also evidence of a growing Congressional resistance to legislation dealing with the problems of the slum ghettos. Crucial programs such as model cities, rent supplements, aid to education, the community action program of O.E.O., and rat control have become political footballs. More basic programs such as a massive public works project, guaranteed jobs, encouragement of the private sector to participate in slum problems through tax incentives, and a guaranteed annual income have not reached the drawing board.

A second key consideration is the growing polarization of three groupings in the Negro community, namely, the "traditionalists," the "militants," and the "survivalists." The Administration's policies and

programs vis-a-vis the Negro problem has tended to stress more the traditional model of individual success than viewing the problems of the group as a whole. As a result a pattern has been encouraged in the Negro Community which places a premium on individual mobility rather than collective concern. The Negro Community has witnessed the emergence of the "Talented Tenth" projected by DuBois, but find that this group which has grown beyond the 10 percent has tended to operate in the more traditional ways, and has lost touch with the plight of the 35 to 40 percent of the Negro population whose pervasive concern is not status frustration, but rather economic frustration. The latter group can best be characterized as victims of disease, desperation, joblessness and hopelessness. They are highly visible on the welfare roles and if employed, tend to be underemployed. They contribute heavily to the poverty statistics. Their primary concern is survival.

Between these two groups -- the "traditionalists" and the "survivalists" -- is a growing group of the Negro population who are questioning the strategy of the "traditionalists" and the programs of the government. They are the "militants" who are seeking new solutions. They vary in their philosophy but have as a common denominator the belief that individual mobility is not the answer and that only through collective concern can the Negro solve his problems. Included in this group is a new urban Negro who is least representative of yesterday's Negro. The core of this group is educated, tend to come from educated families, are less religious, and do not identify themselves as lower class. They are making strong efforts to build a sense of pride in their color and to rebuild a sense of ethnicity. For them the white man has not yet demonstrated that he is to be trusted.

The emergence of the "militants" comes through sharply in the LARS study around questions determining opinions toward militant organizations. Those who approved of the militant organizations were classified as "militants," those who disapproved were classified as "conservatives," and those who were unfamiliar or indifferent to militant organizations were classified as "uninvolved." An analysis of the data around this tripartite typology suggests the following:

1. Each group was represented by approximately equal thirds of the population. (Militant position, approximately 30 percent; conservative position, approximately 35 percent; and the uninvolved, approximately 35 percent.)
2. There were no marked differences between the groups around such factors as birthplace, sex, education, length of residence in Los Angeles, political party, or declared social class.
3. One background characteristic which was significantly different is employment. More of the "militants" (70 percent) and the "conservatives" (63 percent) are employed than the "uninvolved" (55 percent). Thus the "militant" Negro is as likely to be a job holder as any other Negro.

In the area of attitudes there are several significant differences between the three groups.

1. "Militants" were significantly less favorable to the news media (radio, T.V., newspapers) than the "conservatives," and tend to view them as unfair in their portrayal of the Negro and his problems. The "uninvolved" tend to fall about midway between the "militants" and the "conservatives" in their

evaluation of news media.

2. Political institutions (state legislature, city council, etc.) were less favorably evaluated by the "militants" than by the "conservatives," the "uninvolved" again falling midway between the two.
3. Political figures, local state and national were relatively devalued by the "militants" compared to the "conservatives," the "uninvolved" falling between again.
4. Civil rights organizations were valued highly by all groups, but the group least favorable toward any organizations was the "uninvolved." The "militants" lent strongest approval to the more militant organizations, but in general they were not different from the "conservatives" in their clear approval of any civil rights organization.

In view of the recent explosion of riots and the ascendancy of the militant or activist ideology it may be helpful to outline their characteristics in greater detail. The profile which emerges from the findings of the study suggests the following:

The militants were more action oriented than the conservatives.

They were significantly more willing to engage in civil rights demonstrations, were significantly more active in demonstrations prior to the riot, were more often approached by civil rights organizations, and were more sophisticated and active in traditional political activity (voting and extra-voting political behavior).

The militant claimed greater degrees of and more extensive varieties of grievances than the conservatives. He saw significantly more police brutality in all forms from insults to physical assault. He believed that merchants victimized Negroes to a greater extent than the conservatives and he saw greater degrees of discrimination in schools, jobs, housing, etc., than his conservative counterpart.

The militant is both angry and active and his message backs up his feelings and action. When asked whether the event of August was a riot or a revolt, he claimed it was a revolt significantly more often than the conservative. The militant gave uniformly greater approval to the Los Angeles riot and expressed greater belief that the riot would produce positive outcomes for Negroes. He also declared a greater likelihood of a recurrence of rioting in Los Angeles, and selected violence significantly more frequently than the conservative as the most effective method for the Negro to gain equality.

The "militants" are no longer impressed with the upward mobility of the "traditionalists" and tend to regard them with suspicion and as "Uncle Toms." They are competing with the "traditionalists" for the leadership role in delivering the "survivalists" out of the wilderness. To do this they realize that they must develop economic and political power which they now refer to as "Black Power."

The "traditionalists" with their emphasis on status frustration can be more future oriented than the "survivalists" whose priority concern is economic frustration. The "militant" with his focus on both status and

economic frustration is becoming more attractive to the "survivalist." For those whose plight and condition make them present oriented, the "militant" offers the most attractive plan, pointing out as he does that the Negro has gained very little through the slow legislative processes and that results will come more immediately if the Negro takes matters into his own hands. To the "survivalist" whose life has not been materially changed by conventional civil rights activities and by an expansion of services, many of which are future oriented, and who daily sees little indication of a real interest on the part of the white community in changing his condition, the interpretation of their plight by the "militants," and the call to action, becomes exceedingly attractive.

The "traditionalists" still have the primary access to the Administration and to the white establishment. They are still being relied on to deliver the Negro Community politically and to keep the lid on the pressure cooker of mounting action. They are having growing difficulty, however, in maintaining their leadership which is dependent on the ability of the Administration to deliver on a much larger scale than the present the essential policies and programs which deal with economic frustration. As stated by Roy Wilkins,

"The reality is that all levels of government, local, state and federal have bolstered the 'wreck em' theory of Negro separatists and the brinkmanship of Negro crusaders by their mincing politics and partisan political maneuvers."

The reaction of the white community to the "riot" would indicate that there is a hardening of their position on race relations, a polarization of their attitudes into a potential white backlash, and an increased use of force.

In regard to the handling of the riot, 64 percent of the population in the curfew area thought it was handled badly, and only 23 percent thought it was handled well. In the White Community 66 percent saw it as handled well, and 31 percent as handled poorly. This "worries" the "traditionalists" in their effort to obtain gains through the usual legislative and court processes. The "militants," however, would argue that the whites are merely using the "riots" as a rationalization to avoid doing what they had not planned to do in the first place. They feel that it is important to keep before the "survivalists" an atmosphere of the white as the enemy, and before the whites a fear of a growing militant group who will stop at nothing to attain their goal. This stance against an outside enemy, they feel, will help to build a unity among Negroes, and that it will strengthen their position to demand more for their people.

Essentially the "militants" are committed to a strategy of disrupting the system as a means of gaining greater bargaining power for helping the Negro move more rapidly into the economic and political streams. The social stream -- integration -- is no longer the primary goal. Integration becomes an individual goal rather than a group goal. What they are seeking is the right of any individual to have a choice. This is a long-range concern, however, and the power necessary to achieve it can be found through greater strength in the political and economic arenas. This in turn necessitates, at this time, the building up of a greater sense of identity, unity, and spirit of "nationalism."

The method of the "militants" is creating fear and hostility in the white community. The White Community's stance traditionally has been to ask the Negro to prove himself if he is to gain access to "our" society.

They have controlled the time table by controlling the avenues of opportunity. The Negroes have witnessed the white's ambivalence between encouraging their progress and erecting barriers to achieving their share of the American Dream. It is difficult for the whites to accept the Negro's contention that what they are asking for is their rights as citizens and not for something that belongs exclusively to the whites, to be doled out to the Negro as the whites think they are ready for it. For the Negro, this smacks of colonialism, a system which they have seen go down to defeat elsewhere in recent years.

What is needed is a comprehensive approach to the racial problem which reflects a knowledge of the differential aspects of the three groupings described earlier, their interrelationships, and the core of their common concerns as well as their differences. This will necessitate dialogue with representation from all three groups. The White Community's hostility towards the "militants" should not blind them to the growing role of this group in the Negro Community. The question of jobs should be first on the agenda. Also high on the agenda should be issues such as poor neighborhood conditions, discriminatory practices, and social control malpractices. Also essential is the role and responsibility of the larger context within which the Negro community operates, namely, the White Community. The White Community is both helper and barrier to the solution of the problems. The Negro Community is looking for tangible evidence that the nation has not lost its sense of commitment to what they had come to believe was being regarded as the major problem of our times. They are pondering the various solutions being debated within their own ranks. Their direction will be effected markedly by the economic, political and social climate. If, for example, they discern a regressive climate which

stresses increased police power as the answer -- similar to the back-to-the-woodshed theory in delinquency -- rather than the view expressed by former Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, namely, that the most dangerous agitators in the ghettos are disease and desperation, joblessness and hopelessness, then the program of the extreme "militants" will of necessity find favor.

The question is whether the nation emerging out of its trauma of the past several weeks moves to solve the racial problem within the spirit of its democratic heritage, or whether it will resort primarily to power and force, risking change in the very nature of our society. It is imperative that in forging next steps all the facts and knowledge available be utilized so that decisions and plans are both wise and just. Order must be maintained, but not as a substitute for dealing with the urban and racial condition. The solution is neither simple nor without massive costs. It demands the full cooperation and sacrifice of the total community. The problem lies with human beings and cries for a human answer. It is inhuman to seek solutions through a desire for partisan political gains. It is blind and unjust to seek them through fear and prejudice. What is at stake is more than the plight of the Negro. What is at stake is the future of the democratic way of life and the future of humanity.

Research Staff and Listing of Specific Research  
Projects in the L.A.R.S. Study

Nathan E. Cohen, Ph.D. (Study Co-ordinator)

"Inventory of South Central Los Angeles Prior to the Riot,"  
"Policy and Program Implications-Recommendations."

Jerome Cohen, D.S.S.

"Social Services in South Central Los Angeles."

Eugene L. Loren, Ph.D.

"Economic Background - The Los Angeles Riot Study."

Richard T. Morris, Ph.D.  
Vincent Jeffries, M.A.

"White Reaction Study."

Raymond J. Murphy, Ph.D.  
James Watson, M.A.

"Structure, Grievance and Support for the Riot."

Walter J. Raine, Ph.D.

"The Ghetto Merchant Survey,"  
"The Perception of Police Brutality in South Central Los Angeles  
Following the Revolt of 1965."

Harry M. Scoble, Ph.D.

"Negro Politics in Los Angeles: The Quest for Power."

David O. Sears, Ph.D.

"Riot Participation,"  
"Negro Attitudes Toward the Riot,"  
"Political Attitudes of Los Angeles Negroes,"  
"The Riot and Blocked Mechanisms of Grievance Redress."

Thomas M. Tomlinson, Ph.D.

"Negro Attitudes Toward the Riot,"  
"Militance, Violence and Poverty; Ideology-Foundation for Action."

Diana Tenhouten, M.A.

"Los Angeles Riot Study: Method and Procedures."

New ~~action~~ action at the end of  
the L.A. report.

DRAFT 9/21/65

LA File

In the past several years the Federal Government has engaged in a new partnership with State and local governments throughout the country -- in combatting poverty, in assisting economically distressed regions, in metropolitan development, and in many other areas. These new programs share a number of common characteristics:

- . they all involve the joint participation of several Federal agencies.
- . they all require joint action by many levels of Government -- Federal, State and local.
- . they all require some form of joint planning.

To carry out these programs we need to strengthen substantially the regional and local organization of the Federal Government, so that all agencies work efficiently and harmoniously with State and local officials. At my request the Director of the Bureau of the Budget has established a Task Force composed of the Nation's outstanding experts on intergovernmental relations, to recommend how we can best improve our Federal organization -- particularly at the local level -- to meet these new responsibilities.

The success of the new programs of the Great Society depend ~~heavily~~ heavily on a close working relationship among Federal, State and local levels. I am determined that the Federal

Government is prepared in every case to offer full and expeditious cooperation. The appointment of Mr. Schlei and the establishment of the new Task Force reflect that determination.

REVISED MASTER

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE  
ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS,  
AUGUST 11 - 15, 1965

September 17, 1965

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## INTRODUCTION

The Los Angeles riots shocked a disbelieving American public. Again, we were forced to recognize calamitous conditions existing in our urban slums peopled primarily by Negroes. This time it became clear that national action is necessary. In a statement on August 26, 1965, President Johnson said:

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

The President emphasized the urgency of a comprehensive and effective attack upon the problems of urban America. He emphasized that as far as the rioting in Los Angeles is concerned:

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

To assist in providing this help, the President sent a team of federal officials to Los Angeles. This Task Force arrived in California on August 26, 1965, and remained until September 3rd. The assignment given by the President was,

...to develop with Governor Brown, Mayor Yorty and other officials, a combined program to restore and rehabilitate the damaged areas of Los Angeles.

The President further stated:

This program will be aimed at helping these citizens affected by the riot to help themselves. In short, the

team's charter is to make available the best programs now known to wipe out the causes of such violent outbursts.

The assignment called for action, not study and research. The main objective was to assist State and local officials in their efforts to improve conditions in the City and County of Los Angeles and to coordinate and expedite federal programs to support this objective. To this end, the Task Force acquainted itself as fully as possible with the economic and social environment within which the riot occurred.

Starting with Governor Brown, other State officials, and the Governor's Commission to investigate the causes of the riot, the Task Force closely coordinated its efforts with County and City government, affected school districts, State and local agencies, elective officials and representatives of private community service units.

~~The body of This report, after examining the riot environment, some of the riot effects, and the community attitudes, will discuss several specific problems and set forth suggestions for their alleviation. We recommend that those suggestions be studied, on an expeditious basis, by all the appropriate Federal Agencies and by Governor Brown's Commission as to their effectiveness & feasibility.~~ DISCUSSES SEVERAL SPECIFIC PROBLEMS HIGHLIGHTED BY THE RIOTS AND SETS FORTH SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR ALLEVIATION. WE RECOMMEND THAT THOSE SUGGESTIONS BE STUDIED, ON AN EXPEDITIOUS BASIS, BY ALL THE APPROPRIATE FEDERAL AGENCIES AND BY GOVERNOR BROWN'S COMMISSION AS TO THEIR EFFECTIVENESS & FEASIBILITY.

Briefly, the preservation of law and order must be assured at all times. Utilization of every known technique of riot prevention and the ready availability of an adequate police force to control any riot situation are essential.

The underlying causes of the riot are numerous, complex, and profound. Just as there is no sole cause, there is no sole solution. Steps must be taken in virtually every

aspect of our national life, for the problems are not those of one city alone.

From our experience, four points emerge clearly:

- The needs of the poor in the city are immense;
- The needs are urgent;
- The needs can be filled only by the all-out effort of every component of government--local, State and Federal; of every element of nongovernmental group action; and of the individual citizens, particularly those involved;
- The most that can be done is to help the disadvantaged to help himself.

→ insert p 4  
MATERIAL HERE

RECOMMENDATIONS (TO ALL FED IN A UNIFORM F-1)  
~~Recommendations~~

On September 2, 1965, the President approved an interim report recommending 49 programs and project grants tailored to provide immediate assistance to all sections of Los Angeles in need of help. The Task Force has since worked on developing some 35 additional projects and project grants. This report sets forth its further recommendations.

The major recommendations for immediate action are as follows:

- I. The appointment on an experimental basis of a principal federal officer for the Los Angeles area and an inter-agency technical task force. The principal federal officer would be charged with the responsibility of coordinating and expediting federal services in the area, and he would coordinate these services with the state and local governments to assure them full federal support in performance of their responsibilities, the primary governmental responsibilities of the area. The inter-agency technical task force would operate under his supervision to expedite the implementation of all federal programs and project grants in the

Los Angeles area directed at urban problems and poverty, commencing with the 49 projects authorized by the President on September 2, 1965.

2. Preparation and refinement by the Department of Justice of riot control training programs, inter-jurisdictional police coordination techniques, and military liaison systems for metropolitan police departments. Stimulation of the development and production of riot control equipment for police utilization with training as needed. As indicated, a national conference or series of conferences among police officials for riot prevention and control training.
3. A detailed Bureau of the Census statistical analysis of the recent curfew area of Los Angeles designed to elicit and correlate all relevant demographic, economic, and sociological data, supported by scientific attitude sampling and coordinated with Governor Brown's Commission.

*Move to p. 3.*

A proper balance among diligent efforts of all of our governments is essential--not only to get the job done, but to prevent that distortion of the Federal system which will undermine government. This requires the initiative, the determination and the coordination of all government leadership. ~~Strong inter-governmental support for the work of Governor Brown's Commission can serve as a model.~~

Ultimately, the problems which exploded into violence in Los Angeles are problems of how human beings treat one another, not only through the institutions of their society, but individually. Hope for the future rests on the good will and hard work of all our people.

I

THE RIOT ENVIRONMENT

The focal point of the riot was the South Los Angeles area, which is heavily populated by Negroes. South Los Angeles is not homogeneous. Some of the worst slums in the city are located in its eastern portion, most of which could be classified as a poverty area, while a substantial part of Los Angeles' Negro middle class residential area is located in sections of the western portion.

Most of the rioting, arson and looting occurred on streets parallel to the Harbor Freeway, which runs north and south and divides South Los Angeles roughly in half. Considerably more of the damage occurred in that portion of the area east of the Freeway. It was ultimately necessary to impose a curfew in an area of about 46 square miles, 34.4 square miles in the City and 11.6 square miles in the County of Los Angeles outside the City. (See attached map.)

Exact demographic data are not available on each of the sections of the curfew area. However, some information is available on the curfew area as a whole, and on Watts in particular, which should be helpful in giving a broad-brush profile of the area. It should be noted that while Watts is popularly identified as the area in

which the rioting occurred, it is actually only a very small part (2.1 square miles) of the eastern portion of the curfew area.

The curfew area is heavily populated by Negroes. As shown in Table 1, the total population in the curfew area is roughly 576,000, of which 317,000 (or 55 per cent) are Negroes. In the curfew area within the City limits, Negroes make up a slightly higher proportion, with about three-fifths of the Negroes in the City of Los Angeles living within the curfew boundaries. In the Watts district, the total population is about 35,000, with 30,000 (or 85 per cent) Negroes.

The curfew area is also among the most densely populated in the City. In the City as a whole, there are about 5,900 persons per square mile, and outside the curfew area the density is roughly 5,300 per square mile. Within the curfew area as a whole, there are 12,500 persons per square mile, and for the City component the figure is 13,000 per square mile. In Watts, the density jumps to 16,400, a ratio almost one-quarter above that for the curfew area as a whole and nearly three times that for the entire city.

The great land area of the City and the sparse settlement in some sectors make density comparisons difficult. Yet in Watts

the over-crowding indicated by the density figures is confirmed by the figures on residents per house, especially when it is realized that the houses in the area are quite small. As shown in Table 2, in the ten census tracts constituting that district, population per household ranged between 3.59 and 5.44 in 1960. This range was well above that for even the rest of the curfew area and substantially higher than for the rest of the City.

The housing conditions in the South Los Angeles area vary greatly. Renting seems to have dominated in 1960, yet there was a high degree of home-ownership, although the ratio of owners to renters was considerably smaller than in the rest of the City. Since 1960, the trend has probably been toward owner-occupancy. This trend is evident even in Watts, despite the heavy concentration of renters in large public housing projects.

In 1960, about half of the homes in five census tracts were owner-occupied. In two other tracts, public housing projects dominated, and over 90 per cent of the dwelling units were rented.

The homes tend to be among the oldest in the City, but there has been a considerable amount of new construction. Over three-quarters of the housing in the curfew area was built before 1939; about three-fifths of the housing in Watts was in this category. This lower age partly reflects the building of new public housing projects in Watts since World War II. But the continued building of new, single-family homes in the area is also evident.

The physical appearance of the Watts residential area is extremely uneven. There are neat rows of lawn-fringed, well-kept houses bordered by streets lined with palm trees. There are clean streets, and the varied color schemes of many houses--in keeping with the Southern California tradition--do impart something of an atmosphere of light and vigor.

However, many of the tree-lined streets end in dirt roads and junk yards. Garbage trucks are sometimes parked in residential areas. Isolated patches of minor industries are back-to-back with homes, schools, and playgrounds.

Underlying this uneven physical appearance are the social and economic characteristics of a disadvantaged community--ignorance, unemployment, poverty.

In 1960, the Watts population 25 years of age and over had completed about 9.5 years of schooling. This is higher than the national average for Negroes but below that for the remainder of the curfew area. Moreover, about two-thirds had less than a high school education, and about one in eight was illiterate. In 1960, the unemployment rate among Negro men in Los Angeles was nine per cent. But in Watts, the lowest rate was 9.8 per cent in one census tract, and it was ten per cent or more in all other census tracts. In a census tract where the median family income was \$2,404, the unemployment rate among men was 29.0 per cent.

In 1960, the median family income of Negroes in Los Angeles was the highest for any major city in the nation at \$5,163. In one Watts census tract, where the median years of school completed were 10.7, the median family income was \$5,400. But most residents of Watts were far less well off. In a census tract where the median years of school completed were 10.1, the median family income was \$2,404. In seven of the ten census tracts in Watts, the median family income was \$4,500 or less. Finally, in a city in which the cost of living is among the highest in the nation, about half the families have incomes below \$4,000 per year. Coupling these low family incomes with the fact that families in Watts tend to be larger than the average for the City as a whole, it is evident that the general condition in Watts is that of poverty.

In Watts, social disorganization is visible in a number of

ways:

The divorce rate is about one-and-one-half times that for the City as a whole.

The number of households headed by a female is also well above the average for the City.

About one-quarter of the families in Watts receive public assistance.

In 1960, over half the children under 18 years of age lived in broken homes with only one parent present.

The ugliness of social disorder shows in many other ways:

Delinquency and school drop-out rates are among the highest in the City.

Watts is a haven for narcotics pushers, addicts, and alcoholics.

It is a red-light district where prostitution is open.

Gambling is commonplace.

Crime rates among Negroes in Los Angeles are particularly high in relation to the total population, of which they constitute 16 per cent. In 1964, Negroes were suspects

in nearly 60 per cent of the murder cases;

in over half the cases of forcible rape;

in two-thirds of the robberies; and

in over half of the cases of aggravated assaults.

And a significant proportion of the crimes committed in South Los Angeles are committed against other Negroes. In 1964, of the nearly 10,000 cases of violent crimes committed by Negroes in Los Angeles, over three-fifths were committed against other Negroes.

Of 88 Negroes murdered, 85 were killed by Negroes.

More than 90 per cent of the Negro victims of felonious assault were attacked by other Negroes.

Three-fourths of the Negro women forcibly raped were raped by Negroes.

Over 90 per cent of the Negroes robbed were robbed by Negroes.

This high incidence of crimes has led to a heavy concentration of police in South Los Angeles. For example, during the fiscal year 1964-65, annual police cost per capita in the curfew area was about \$28, compared with \$19 in the rest of the City. Per square mile, such cost in each area was \$401,552 and \$99,451, respectively. Translated into manpower, these budget figures clearly imply a far greater presence of policemen in South Los Angeles than in the rest of the City. They also imply that frequent contact between police and residents of the community is a continuing feature of the environment.

The above demographic characteristics of South Los Angeles are unmistakable indices of poverty, social disorganization, and dependency. The economy of the area is equally dependent. In the entire curfew area, there is only one major industrial plant. All other sources of employment in the area, with the exception of some small machine shops and needle trades establishments, are in retail trade and to a lesser extent in services. There are few industrial opportunities for the unskilled or semi-skilled worker in this part of the City.

The real industrial growth of the last seven years has centered primarily east of South Los Angeles, in the City of Industry,

City of Commerce, and Orange County. If a resident of South Los Angeles is to pursue such industrial opportunities, assuming that he has or can obtain the skills to compete for the available jobs, he must travel a considerable distance to work--perhaps as much as 15 to 20 miles each way. Yet, in April, 1965, only about one-quarter of the households in the curfew zone possessed at least one automobile, and only nine per cent possessed two cars.

Consequently, the residents of the South Los Angeles area must rely primarily on public transportation, and here they face a particularly difficult situation. The Metropolitan Transit Authority provides service in the central area of the City at a basic rate. It also provides service in several zones beyond the central area, but each new zone entails an increment in fare. In much of the area south of the City--in which a great deal of the area's industry is concentrated--three separate bus lines are in operation, and there is no system of free transfers. Another separate line operates to the east of the central area.

Moreover, the heavy traffic movement is the round-trip from the suburbs to the central city and return, and the bus schedules are designed to facilitate it. The service from South Los Angeles

to both the central city and the suburbs is less adequate, partly because of the smaller volume of traffic. And because of inadequate public transportation, there is greater reliance on private automobiles, which further lessens the effective demand for public transportation.

This pattern is a striking illustration of how a part of the population can be excluded from an economic system by being too poor to pay their way into it. And the pattern holds a number of important implications for the residents of South Los Angeles who must rely on public transportation: it means a long journey to work, in many cases as much as two hours each way. It also means an expensive journey; even within the central area, a round-trip may cost as much as \$1.78. These distances and cost factors weigh particularly heavily on the most disadvantaged residents of the City--the unemployed seeking work, the aged seeking guidance, and public welfare recipients seeking assistance.

## II

### THE RIOT AFTERMATH

A detailed description of the events which led to and constituted the Los Angeles riot will have to await the work of Governor Brown's Commission, as will detailed information on the people involved in and affected by the riot. It was not the purpose of the Task Force to describe the riot itself, but rather to help State and local officials alleviate the suffering caused by it. Suffice it to say that between August 11 and August 15, South Central Los Angeles was swept by lawless and bloody rioting such as has not been seen in this country in recent years--a national tragedy.

The extent of the riot can be gleaned from some of the bare statistics--34 persons reported dead, 895 injured, and about 4,000 arrested. In addition to this dreadful toll in human lives and suffering, there was a staggering amount of property damage. Two-hundred-nine buildings were destroyed, 536 damaged and about 150 looted.

The immediate consequences of the riot in terms of hunger and housing were minimized by the response of public and private welfare assistance. There appears to be no general increase in the need for food and the housing in the area was virtually undamaged.

Surveys of the area report that there is no substantial health hazard from the riot debris. Specialists have likewise reported no imminent danger to persons from potential collapse of damaged structures. The burned-out premises are a grim reminder of the violence which was unleashed but offer no immediate hazard to the people living in the area.

It is still too early to provide an estimate of the full cost of the riot to the City of Los Angeles. However, the preliminary estimate places property damage in the neighborhood of \$45 million--about \$25 million in damage to structures and about \$20 million in damage to fixtures and inventories.

Within the immediate riot area, the most severe impact was on local retail trade. Of the 200-odd buildings destroyed, 42 were food markets, 23 were liquor stores, and 19 were furniture outlets. A substantial majority of the commercial buildings destroyed were owned by absentee landlords. While most of the buildings were insured, a fairly large percentage of the operations carried no insurance on their fixtures and inventories.

### III

#### COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

The Negro Community remains tense. There is widespread anger and bitterness. But there is also considerable hope and dedication to the future of the community. A full evaluation of the extent and depth of these feelings has not been possible. However, several clear themes are evident in the mosaic of attitudes in the Negro Community. These have been expressed with emotion, urgency and eloquence--but in many instances, with simple harshness.

The best way to convey a sense of the Negro Community's feelings is to set them forth as the people themselves expressed them. The quotations set forth on the following pages reflect attitudes which--whether justified or not--do much to explain behavior in the community.

There is obviously great hostility toward the "white power structure":

"The white power structure wants us to stay in our place, to be kept in poverty, in ghettos, uneducated, on relief."

"We're tired of the lies, false promises, and shenanigans of the power structure."

"Everything is handed down to us by the power structure. We are never permitted to participate in planning or in action."

"Welfare relief is rammed down our throats."

A companion theme is the deep resentment of outsiders who are viewed by the people as exploiting the community:

"Everything in the slums is absentee: We have absentee teachers, absentee business, absentee landlords, absentee politicians, and we even have absentee preachers."

"This is colonialism in America; the Negro ghetto is just a colony."

"All money and success go out of the area and leave misery behind."

The people of Watts compiled a catalogue of complaints describing the burdens borne by those who live outside the circle of today's prosperity, outside looking in. Typical among the grievances:

"Watts is Los Angeles' dumping ground. We carry the burden of poverty, crime, vice, the immigration of poor and disadvantaged for the entire city."

"We pay higher prices for poorer food. When food spoils in whitey's store, it's brought to Watts and the prices are raised. We pay 31¢ for a loaf of day old bread that they didn't sell in Hollywood yesterday for 27¢."

"We can't borrow money, buy homes, obtain insurance. "

They feel that their children are getting inferior educations.

'Ghetto education is a sham. Our kids learn nothing. The teachers are afraid and don't try to help. Our children are promoted to get rid of them whether they've learned anything or not.'

"We get fewer certified teachers than the rest of the city."

"They don't teach our kids the things they need to know to get jobs. They don't do enough for kids from bad homes to make up for what they don't get in the home, like an interest in books."

"Our schools don't get enough supplies."

"They don't do anything to teach our kids that Negroes are part of American history."

There is considerable bitterness toward public assistance.

A fairly large number of people looked on such assistance as an excuse to avoid coming to grips with the fundamental problem of unemployment.

"We resent crooked, twisted laws. Relief has hurt many people."

"Programs for welfare are mere shadows helping few, hurting many."

"Our fathers and husbands have been driven from our homes."

"We don't want relief. We want independence that only good jobs can give."

In virtually every conversation, strong feelings about police-community relations were registered. But there was also an undertone of desire to improve such relations:

"The police brutalize the Negro. Many young Negroes get police records which ruin their chances for employment."

"There is widespread fear and distrust: people of people, police of people, and people of police."

"Negro crime hurts Negroes far more than whites because most Negro crime is against Negroes. We have to reduce Negro crime."

"You have to obey the law to make progress. We know that."

A sense of frustration, disillusionment, alienation, depersonalization and hopelessness was expressed.

"The people here are confused and disillusioned because they came to California for a better life. They hoped for more and expected more. They were funneled into the slums as they arrived and there is no way out."

"There is so little humaneness in our lives-- how can we have self-respect?"

"We aren't treated as humans. They still call us Boy. Boy lives in the jungle with Tarzan. We've got names."

"I felt during the rioting and looting deep inside that it just doesn't make any difference."

"There is nothing to live for in the slums.  
If I'm killed, there'll just be one less  
bum on the streets."

These feelings have led some to make strident demands for change, sometimes coupled with dire warnings. While such themes were voiced primarily by young people, they were also expressed by some older people, including a new kind of leadership responding to the sense of frustration in the Negro community.

"This is a new day. The young Negro will demand a better deal. We will no longer turn the other cheek."

"A lot of us are beginning to feel that riots are all they understand. This is the only way to talk to downtown."

"There will be a holocaust if changes do not come fast."

The one theme that emerged in every conversation was the pressing need for jobs. Many believed jobs would solve most problems, and their overriding importance was expressed with persistence and urgency. The expansion of job opportunities for men with limited skills was advanced as the single, most vital quest of the Negro community:

"The Negro is the last hired and the first fired."

"We are discriminated against in hiring, in promotion, in all aspects of economic and social activity."

"We can get only menial jobs, common labor, maids; even our college graduates have trouble securing good jobs."

"Our problems are basically economic. This is the have nots against the haves. There is little racial hatred among Negroes."

"We need employment. Give us jobs and everything else will take care of itself. Jobs first."

"We don't want any make-work or relief work. We want real work that gives self-respect."

"The fathers of our families need the first jobs. Family life is breaking down because the father is not the bread winner."

And in the future, the people want to participate in the decision-making process and to share in shaping their own lives.

"If the people in the depressed areas can participate in the planning and execution of welfare and poverty programs, they will be doing better."

"White people always survey us and experiment on us. They get the grants. Let us experiment on ourselves."

Despite the bitterness, the frustration, and the widespread sense of hurt and disillusionment, there is hope and a commitment to get on with the vital task of community reconstruction and development. There is a desire for understanding and help.

"There are many dedicated, hard-working people in Watts who want to help it to a better life. Remember that most of the people in even the worst areas are law-abiding, self-supporting people of good will."

"We want beauty in our lives: good shopping centers, good housing, clean homes and streets."

"We must avoid haste in rebuilding and developing to be sure of good planning and that we can support and keep a decent area."

"We must help the people to help themselves. Watts should be planned out, improved by the people of Watts."

"We have got to establish communications with the City and get to work. We've argued enough about our problems and complaints. Now we've got to build."

The white community has been deeply shocked by what it has seen. It is far less sympathetic to and has greater difficulty trying to understand the needs of the poverty areas than before the riots. It is now concerned with safety and police prevention of further rioting. The riots have generated strong support for the Police Department as the representative of law and order. Between August 13 and noon of August 27, the Office of the Chief of Police received 17,864 letters and telegrams, more than 99.3 per cent of them commendatory.

The prevalent attitude in the white community is to condemn the lawlessness, the impatience, and the destruction. There is a wide feeling that the Negro community lacks gratitude for recent economic and civil rights advances and that its demands will grow. Many feel that relief and welfare should be reduced and police control tightened. Many see a close connection between peaceful demonstrations for civil rights and the rioting. They fear a breakdown in respect for the law. And many in the white community have expressed a determination not to yield to demands related to violence and feel that assistance to the riot areas rewards lawlessness.

On the other hand, strong efforts are underway or being formulated by a variety of private groups in the white community, working alone or in cooperation with Negroes, to develop and carry out programs designed to remedy the problems of poverty and to close the communications gap.

Quite clearly, the rioting has further separated the Negro and white communities in Los Angeles. The Negro community has drawn more to itself and feels a greater urgency about its plight. The white community has focused on the public safety.

If real progress is to be made, it is imperative to build bridges of understanding founded on mutual efforts to solve problems affecting the whole of the Los Angeles community.

IV  
THE TASK AHEAD

The Los Angeles rioting is over. We must learn its hard lessons and take the steps necessary to see that such a tragedy never happens again. Its causes exist unchanged, and not only in Los Angeles. Some of the tensions we can relieve immediately. The forty-nine projects approved by the President on September 2, 1965, while striking at causes, should help ease tensions in Los Angeles. The real challenge to our nation, of course, lies not in relieving tension, but in eliminating causes. This is the long-range task ahead. It will require patient, determined, massive effort.

Adequate police protection must be assured to every community now. Rioting will not wait while its causes are eliminated. Wherever necessary, police power must be supplemented until law enforcement capability is clearly sufficient.

In the long run, however, we cannot solve the problems of our slums by police power. To endeavor to do so would not only be foreign to our ideals, it would betray a tragic misunderstanding of the profound problems of the slum. It is no more possible to suppress rioting where its causes are fermenting than it is to hold the lid on a boiling pot.

The task of eliminating poverty and rebuilding our slums is immense. It can be accomplished only by the balanced and diligent effort of all our governments--local, state, and federal--of labor and business, and by the involvement and concern of the people themselves.

A central factor is the concentration of unemployment in the slum areas. When we generalize about the nation's unemployment rates of four to six per cent of the labor force, we ignore the impact of its concentration in areas such as Watts, where it can reach one in three persons.

On the other hand, in considering slum areas we tend to overlook the fact that most of the families and individuals living within them are law-abiding, self-supporting people of good will who contribute constructively to the welfare of the area. That they are able to maintain hope and heart amidst the ugliness, the vice and crime, the filth and hardship that surround their daily lives is a tribute to their character and strength.

The Negro is particularly afflicted by poverty, and, despite appearances of advancement, it is quite possible that

the gap between the poor Negro and the middle-class communities, both Negro and white, is increasing. There is nothing new about the plight of impoverished Negroes. It may be worsening. As technology advances, as the need for technical skills increases, as automation replaces labor, the unskilled are more disadvantaged than ever before.

Essentially, the task is to provide for full participation in our society by the poor, the uneducated, the minority.

While in Los Angeles, the Task Force discussed these problems with State and local government leaders and representatives, with church and other private groups working in slum areas, with the people of the slums themselves. The Task Force learned much from these meetings which can guide Los Angeles and other major cities of the nation in attacking these problems. The following sections attempt to describe and categorize these problems and their possible solutions for study and action by all concerned citizens.

#### A. Employment

The most important and immediate task is to put people to work and to make sure that opportunities are provided for people with ability to be promoted on their merits. The high unemployment statistics and low income figures in the Watts and South Los Angeles areas tell only part of the story. They do not tell of the frustration felt by able-bodied men who have unsuccessfully sought employment time after time at employment offices, union halls, and private businesses around the city. They do not tell of the humiliation felt by men who stay at home with their children while their wives support them because they themselves cannot find work. They do not tell of the despair of men who feel themselves trapped in menial, low-paying jobs for the rest of their lives or until the jobs disappear. They do not tell of the destruction of the capability and the will to work and the slow and difficult task of rehabilitation before men can become productive. And they do not tell of the social dynamite locked inside the clusters of angry unemployed men seen on the streets of the slum, day after day and night after night. These are the raw materials of riots.

Employment must be meaningful. It cannot be make-work. It is necessarily closely related to education, to training and to apprenticeship, particularly in areas where opportunities have been limited.

Job opportunities can be expended directly in a number of ways. Some of the ways to be considered are:

1. Greater participation by industry and business in on-the-job training and development of unskilled labor from deprived areas for the permanent work force.
2. Liberalization by labor of its policies and standards for unskilled labor, on-the-job training, and apprenticeship.
3. Review and liberalization of rigid employment standards by industry and civil service which arbitrarily and permanently exclude otherwise able men because of police records, mixed employment experience, and limited formal education and training.
4. Greater efforts by business, labor, public and private employment services and others to ease and expedite bringing jobs and the unemployed together.
5. Provision of more and better adapted training programs, and grants from government, industry, foundations, and other sources to build the skills of the nation.
6. Work demonstration programs to provide work experience and make subsequent employment possible.
7. Intensification of vocational training and rehabilitation programs.
8. Establishment of training and job development centers to coordinate and provide training and placement activities.
9. Expansion of employment opportunities to meet the manpower needs of federal agencies such as the Forest Service.

10. Encouragement or requirement by the Department of Defense and other agencies that federal contractors list all job needs with the United States Employment Service.
11. Reaching first those who need employment most -- father, the family head, and others.
12. By the combined efforts of churches, private enterprises, school system and other government efforts, provision of nursery and child care centers for thousands of mothers who have no place to leave their children while they work.
13. Utilization of private trade school capacities for slum youths.

Indirectly, job opportunities can also be increased through the stimulation of new businesses and the expansion of existing firms. Among the possibilities to be considered are:

1. Location of new industry and high employment businesses in or near slum areas.
2. Provision of better loans and other aids to small businesses and homeowners in slum areas.
3. Establishment of small business development centers with the support of groups like a chamber of commerce or merchants association.
4. Provision of local Negro business opportunity and particularly that which has employment potential to tie to community interests and to keep more wealth in slum areas.
5. Provision of development loan funds for technical assistance for slum areas.
6. Small Business Administration loans to businesses in the area and for cleaning up the area.

Other basic improvements of the economic base of the slum areas would also support greater employment opportunities. Some suggestions to be considered are:

1. Study and improvement of public transportation in the slum areas to increase the range of employment opportunities and reduce transportation cost to the poor.
2. Better opportunity for reasonable, normal risk, fire and casualty insurance to permit business to compete and equitable automobile insurance to promote mobility of the labor force within the metropolitan area.

### B. Education

Second in immediate importance, and with vast long-range importance, is education. It is inextricably related both to employment and to the full involvement of all of our people in all aspects of our life. If many of the problems of urban areas are to be alleviated, the exclusion of great numbers of our people from full participation in American life must end. Education is the door through which the outsider can walk in. It must be held wide open if we are not to consign many in future generations to idleness, unproductiveness, and perhaps destructiveness.

Los Angeles is still experiencing dramatic population growth; the city school system must deal with a pupil population growth of 30,000 annually. Despite rapid expansion of physical facilities, this growth has required many split sessions throughout the city, including the Watts and South Los Angeles areas.

Compounding this problem is the fact that incoming population in the Watts and South Los Angeles areas is made up largely of Negroes who have just moved from rural areas in the South. The transition from rural to urban life is very slow and is made even more difficult by poverty,

unemployment, the quality of prior education, minimal contact with the dominant culture of the city, breakdown in family life, and despair. These factors present special challenges to the city school system.

Significant efforts must be made to insure that the quality of the education meets the area needs. Citizen dissatisfaction with schools should be studied for action on just complaints. Some matters to be considered are:

1. Increasing the number of classrooms and other school facilities serving these areas.
2. Training, hiring, and assigning highly skilled, highly motivated personnel to the schools in such areas.
  - a. Expanding the existing special internship program for teacher trainees in these areas.
  - b. Developing and implementing an in-service training program for teachers and counselors in both academic matters and human relations.
  - c. Providing a system of premium pay for highly skilled, highly motivated, and effective teachers and counselors working in depressed area schools.

3. Insuring that the teaching materials and the curricula are meeting the needs of the community.
  - a. Providing English language instruction at all levels for pupils from homes where Spanish and other foreign languages are spoken.
  - b. Developing teaching materials which give Negro, Mexican American and other ethnic minority youngsters a sense of being a part of the past, present and future of America.
  - c. Equipping and designing vocational training courses to meet the needs of depressed communities.
  - d. Developing special cultural enrichment activities and curricula to fill needs which are not met within many of the homes of the area.
  - e. Placing remedial programs under scrutiny to ensure that they are achieving the ends for which they were designed.
4. Developing closer ties to the community.
  - a. Regular meetings of the school board and the top administrators of the

system with parents and involved members of these communities in order to learn more about their perceptions of the school system and to explain school programs to them. Teachers and counselors should become more deeply involved in the life of the communities their schools serve.

- b. Placing greater emphasis on drawing parents and active community leaders into school activities, and drawing school aides from the community more and more frequently.
  - c. Developing close ties between counselors and employers, both within and outside the areas in which such schools are located.
  - d. Considering utilization of depressed area schools as community centers after school hours so that a number of additional community needs can be met.
- 5. Increasing the number and scope of pre-school programs to minimize learning handicaps of the underprivileged.
  - 6. Full implementation of Operation Head Start on a year-round basis.
  - 7. Utilizing recreational activities to increase the school-orientation of pupils in depressed areas.

8. Developing special back-to-school programs and making efforts to reduce the number of dropouts using, where possible, local people who have excelled in their professions.
9. Using high school vocational facilities at night for imparting needed skills to unemployed adults.
10. Increase of programs by which the poor can work while obtaining advanced education.

### C. Health

The incidence of ill health among the population of the South Los Angeles area is the highest in the city. This holds true whether one looks at minor childhood diseases, major debilitating illnesses of adulthood, or at death rate statistics. In 1960, what is roughly the curfew area had about 18 per cent of the city's total population, but the reported incidence of some of the serious diseases was as follows:

<u>Disease</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Disease</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Measles	26	Encephalitis	22
Mumps	26	Hepatitis Infections	25
Rheumatic Fever	43	Streptococcal Infections	27
Meningitis	23	Tuberculosis	28
Whooping Cough	45	Venereal Infections	46
Food Poisoning	42		

In 1961 in the South Los Angeles area, the overall death rate was about 22 per cent higher than that for the

remainder of the city. Death rates among infants in the area were about 40 per cent higher, fetal deaths 49 per cent higher, and neo-natal deaths 37 per cent higher than for the rest of the city. Since low income and limited access to medical facilities restrict contact with physicians and other medical personnel in poverty areas, the real incidence of diseases may well be greater than that reported in the statistics.

But the statistics on diseases and death rates do not tell the entire story of the adverse impact of ill health on the city's population living in poor areas. Ill health has a particularly adverse effect on pre-school and school-aged children. It retards the development of strong bodies, and it also poses serious obstacles to effective learning. Among adults, lingering illnesses reduce the ability to compete for steady jobs, and they greatly restrict efficiency.

A vigorous campaign is necessary to improve the health of the population living in the poverty areas of South Los Angeles. Some of the suggestions to be considered are:

1. New programs in maternal health, childhood health, tuberculosis control, venereal disease control, and chronic disease control.
2. Psychiatric out-patient clinics and resident patient centers.
3. Well-rounded school lunch and milk programs to improve nutrition among school children.
4. Improvement of methods of surplus food distribution and food budget supplementation such as by a food stamp plan.
5. Expansion of school medical facilities, both to improve general health and to treat health problems which cause educational problems. For example, a larger number of physicians and nurses would permit examination of more students as an adjunct to remedial reading classes.
6. Clinics in strategic locations in the area to facilitate dissemination of information to assist low-income parents who ask for help in planning the size of their families.
7. Establishment of treatment facilities for alcoholics and narcotics addicts.

From most locations in the area, residents must travel a considerable distance (perhaps as much as ten miles) to the nearest hospital. The construction of a large modern hospital in the area may well be considered. Medical clinics are needed throughout. Moreover, the operation of such institutions would greatly expand job opportunities for semi-skilled adults.

#### D. Physical Environment

The physical condition of any community has a significant impact on the minds and spirits of the people who live there and on their images of themselves. This is as true in the Watts and South Central areas as it is on Park Avenue. Much has been made of the fact that Watts does not look like Harlem and the congested Negro areas of other large cities. This is certainly true. It is also true, however, that there are few other places in this country where the contrast between the appearance of the areas inhabited by the "haves" and those inhabited by the "have nots" is as dramatic as it is in Southern California. Nor is the leisure time of the "haves" as widely publicized any other place as it is in Southern California. The sun, sand, surf, and the view from the hills make up no part of life in Watts.

The dominant impression one carries away from a visit to South Los Angeles is that it is primarily a community of small single homes with small lawns, many of them

attractive. But, many of the dwellings in Watts and South Central Los Angeles are dilapidated and deteriorating. Many of the buildings in the commercial areas are poorly constructed and badly maintained. Many are dirty and badly tended. Some streets are littered and the pavement is broken. The area contains many people who have just left rural areas of the South and are unaccustomed to urban life. Despite these factors, however, there is also clear physical evidence that the area contains many people who want to live in dignity and in an attractive community.

The task is to make of the area a place where people want to live. Some of the steps to be considered are:

1. Facilitating low cost loans for home purchases and improvements.
2. Providing additional low cost housing to decrease the population density in the area, and distributing such housing to areas which are not now predominately Negro or Mexican American.

3. Developing attractive commercial, social service, and recreation centers.
4. Encouraging the formation of merchants' associations which, in addition to promoting fair commercial practices, would also promote better maintenance of commercial properties.
5. Developing, by both public and private agencies, programs to help newcomers from rural areas make the transition to urban life.
6. Encouraging greater neighborhood involvement by landlords who do not live in the area.
7. Assuring fair enforcement of health codes and zoning and building ordinances in slum areas.
8. Providing incentives for landlords to maintain their premises, to make rentals competitive, and to eliminate oppressive collection techniques.
9. Developing urban renewal techniques which encourage balanced distribution of the rich, middle class and poor, and of the whites and minority races.
10. Mobilization of the youth for neighborhood clean-up, fix-up, paint-up campaigns.
11. Provision of funds for major cleaning and beautification projects.
12. Rent supplement programs.

E. Community Participation  
and Communication

To a very considerable degree, the people of the poverty areas are non-participants and voiceless in community affairs. Property owners, business operators, and persons working in the better-paying jobs in the area tend to live beyond its boundaries. Public assistance and welfare programs are administered from outside. Community development is deterred by lack of involvement of residents, and understanding of community problems is burdened by inadequate communication between the segregated societies.

Even before the riot, the Negro and white communities in Los Angeles were drifting apart, and the riot has accelerated the pace. The riot itself was in large part an expression of a deep feeling of alienation. The property destroyed or damaged by the rioters belonged for the most part to absentee owners or proprietors from the other community.

The reasons for the increasing separation of the two communities are numerous and complex. De facto residential segregation over the years has had much to do with it. Middle

class business and professional Negroes have had, and continue to have, day-to-day contact with their white counterparts. However, there has been virtually no communication between Negroes in the low-income category and white people--aside from the purely official encounter, and the latter in many cases did little to enhance mutual respect.

With the passage of the major pieces of civil rights legislation, some feel that Negroes have achieved the primary goals for which they were struggling and that the time has come to shift the expenditure of energies in other directions. On the other hand, it appears that for most Negroes in Los Angeles the traditional goals of the civil rights movement have not been particularly germane--public accommodations have been open to them, they have had the right to vote, and state laws did not require segregated schools. Yet they feel they have real grievances--grievances about restricted job opportunities, discrimination in employment, and inferior educational and social services. And a deep frustration seems to come from the belief that they are not included in the making of decisions which affect their own future.

There is a critical need for greater understanding on the part of both Negroes and white people of the major trends reshaping the conditions under which they are both living. There has been communication between white leaders and Negro leaders in the past. Such communication is continuing. But it is vital that the white community realize that a new type of leadership has emerged in the Negro community, a leadership which is new, untested, and relatively unknown. These are the people who have been thrown up by the new departures in the drive for full participation in the main stream of society. These are no longer the middle class and professional leaders who have grown up with the established churches and the traditional civil rights organizations. Instead, they are people who are emerging increasingly from the ghettos themselves. While they may not be well trained or particularly skilled in the techniques of communication and the management of social change, they do seem to enjoy the trust and confidence of the masses in whose name they speak. It is a matter of the greatest importance that these new leaders be understood,

because increasingly it is through them that the restive minorities in our major cities will be reached.

The importance of participation in community affairs and of effective communication with government and civic leadership can scarcely be underestimated. Among the matters to be considered are:

1. Strong community action programs, structuring the people of the slums into effective action organizations.
2. Strong area Chambers of Commerce, Better Business Bureaus, and merchant associations, communicating with the people.
3. Advisory groups of local residents to government agencies dealing extensively in poverty areas.
4. Newspaper and communications media coverage of attitudes, needs, and activities in poverty areas.
5. Recognition and consideration of leadership and people in poverty areas by public and private interests involved in the area.
6. Greater church and social organization activity in slums.
7. Utilization of local groups at grass-root levels for grants for community development.

8. Education of people in the slums on how to qualify for and receive benefits from social security, public welfare and assistance, and related government programs to assure their participation and exercise of rights.
9. Expansion of the channels of communication between the white and Negro communities with increased effort to understand emerging new leaders and their opinions.
10. Development of programs for training youth in leadership in community affairs.

#### F. Crime and Delinquency

Crime and delinquency are major problems in the Negro community. They have a corrosive effect on the whole community, and in Los Angeles, as elsewhere, the toll for the Negro slum is particularly high. The statistics on Negro crime show dramatically that Negroes themselves suffer severely from crimes committed by other Negroes. They suffer as the victims of crime, they suffer from fear of crime, and their children suffer in a wide variety of ways from the insidious effects of growing up in an atmosphere where crime is prevalent.

There are many reasons for the high crime rate among Negroes. Clearly the strong feeling of alienation from society held by many of the minority poor, and the feeling that society's rules, laws, and customs are designed to oppress them do little to encourage respect for law or for property. Certainly joblessness and idleness among adult and juvenile males are significant contributing factors. Need, hopelessness and the failure to feel a sense of human dignity are also contributing factors.

But understanding the causes of Negro crime does not explain it away or lessen the urgency of attacking it. Implementing the suggestions contained in other sections of this report will go a long way toward alleviating this problem -- for crime has as many sources as there are sociological and psychological ills in the slum.

An exhaustive study of this subject is being made by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. At this time, we only note some of the more apparent needs observed by the Task Force in south central Los Angeles.

A. Among suggestions to be considered are:

1. Vigorous, but humane and understanding, enforcement of the law in low income areas with a substantial deployment of uniformed Negro officers to this task.
2. The creation of more neighborhood centers and settlement houses in Negro areas, and vigorous total community financial and volunteer support for such enterprises.
3. Extension and intensification of youth activities--boys clubs, scouting, police athletic league programs in core city areas.

4. Additional constructive Neighborhood Youth Corps projects for deprived minority youth.
5. Community action programs within the slums by indigenous leaders, by churches and by other groups within the area to develop work projects, recreational programs, and other activities which can challenge and engage the youth.
6. Improved correction systems with better supervision on probation.
7. Tighter control of traffic in guns.

### G. Riot Prevention

We cannot tolerate riots. While eliminating their causes, we must protect society from their occurrence. But riots will occur when conditions conducive to rioting exist.

The arrests of August 11 were only the spark that ignited a highly combustible environment. In one part of a city, a murderer can stab a woman to death while 30 people observe and no one calls the police. In another, a riot starts over what may be a quite commonplace arrest. Had the same incident occurred in Beverly Hills, a riot would not have been possible.

Among the matters to be considered in riot control are:

1. Thorough riot control training throughout the police force and auxiliaries.
2. Planning and coordination between all local law enforcement officials and state police.
3. Planning and coordination with National Guard units.
4. Liaison with the United States Department of Defense.
5. Development of better techniques of gathering information in riot-potential areas and groups.

6. Development of the best riot control equipment and trained personnel.
7. Intensive human relations counselling and discipline in all police personnel.
8. Cultivation of programs designed to provide broad and frequent social contact between citizens and individual policemen, such as speaking assignments, school activity participation, and civic and social organization activity by the police.

#### H. Public Administration

One of the major impediments to the effectiveness of public programs to assist the poor is the excessive fragmentation of responsibility for their administration. City government administers urban renewal plans, county government welfare programs, state government employment services, and the Federal Government social security. A city-wide governing body separate from the city government operates the schools. Medical services are divided between several governmental units. Programs for the disadvantaged cut across all of these and involve scores of agencies at all levels of government.

The ordinary channels of political action do not provide sufficient sustained impetus for serving the impoverished. They are a minority whose voice is relatively small. The lack of organization and effective leadership keeps the small voice which might be raised from being heard.

The stratified structure of civil service offers another impediment to effective programs. There are many advantages in a strong civil service structure, but responsiveness to the needs of the poor is not necessarily one of them. The remoteness of the decision-makers from the daily operation of programs can lead to an insensitive and often uninformed decision-making process. Control by regulation with narrow areas of discretion is a normal bureaucratic method of operation. In addition, promotion policy of a service can tend to accentuate rigidity in the system. Where entry at the lowest level of a particular service is the rule and lateral entry into the hierarchy is very unusual, diligent attention to regulations handed down through the system becomes the guarantee to advancement.

The net result of high strata decision-making and rigid promotions from within is an administrative structure remote from the day-to-day needs of the people. Administrative housekeeping rules will then displace substantive goals as the primary motivation for agency action.

The absence of government service facilities within the ghetto area of Los Angeles is a matter of concern. The employment service, which is almost completely funded by federal monies, did not, prior to the riots, have any counselors in the poverty-stricken areas. Public welfare had no offices or workers in the affected area. There is no federal Social Security office in the area.

The tasks to be performed to improve the administration of programs for the impoverished areas are neither elusive nor impossible. Among the matters to be considered are:

1. Establishment of a central clearing house, including all branches of government, for services to the poor. This group should review on a regular basis the goals of various programs and the degree to which they are being achieved.
2. Establishment of offices within easy reach of the people to be served, including experimentation with local "supermarkets" of government service.
3. Emphasis at all levels of administration of the attitude that programs are to serve the people and not to provide employment for government workers.

4. Wherever possible, recruiting of administrative personnel from among the poor neighborhoods served.
5. Creation and nurture of devices to insure a constant flow of information from the people to the decision makers on a first-hand basis.
6. Institution of experiments in satisfying the basic needs of the people which shortcut the government hierarchy and provide direct aid through local administration. Though fiscal safeguards must be maintained, they should be designed with sufficient flexibility to permit an imaginative approach to the needs of the people.
7. Training of administrative officials and all others who deal with the public in the fundamentals of human relations, and emphasis in performance evaluation on the manner of dealing with the public.

### I. Human Relations

In Los Angeles, as in most other major urban areas, the improvement of human relations is a matter of considerable urgency.

The general American understanding of and involvement in the problems of poor people--particularly poor Negroes--is very limited. The problems of the slums and of the minority groups are not yet considered, generally, as real issues for all the people. The task of thinking of the minority poor as a vital and important part of the national scene and treating them with the dignity and decency they deserve as people--American people--must be mastered if we are to succeed in dealing with the problems. This effort must be undertaken by all segments of American society--by individuals; by private business and by the whole range of private organizations, churches, labor unions, fraternal organization; and by all levels of government. And it is critical that those governmental organizations which touch the poor most often and most significantly--the school system, the welfare administrations, the anti-poverty agencies and particularly the police departments--make great efforts in this regard.

One need not be in Los Angeles very long to detect widespread criticism of the Police Department by Negroes at every economic and social level. Without trying to judge whether this criticism is justified or unjustified, the criticism exists. For all who are interested in the long-run stability of human relations in the City of Los Angeles, it is vital that the nature and sources of this criticism be understood. The Police Department is the dominant representative of government in the slum areas. The police station is the most visible office of government there. It is imperative that there be a mutual respect between the police and the people of the slums. Now there seems to be reciprocal distrust and fear.

In the Negro community the police are widely accused of looking upon Negro areas as hostile territory to be kept in check by a continuous show of force. It is reported that contacts with the police are frequent and are believed by many to be unnecessarily brusque. The charge of police "brutality" is a dominant theme of conversation and editorial comment in the Negro community. Still other observers say that even if physical

mistreatment is not involved, the police are unnecessarily impolite and even insulting in their dealings with Negro citizens.

Again, while it is difficult to characterize the attitude of police, it appears that a great many policemen, at all levels of leadership in the department, feel that they are being unjustly criticized because of their persistent effort to surpress the high crime rates in the Negro community. Apparently, many of them also feel that such criticism serves mainly to increase disrespect for law and order and thus makes the job of the police even more difficult.

Whatever the merit of these conflicting points of view, it is obvious that the police and the Negro community for some time have been on a collision course.

The problem faced by the Los Angeles Police Department is not unique. In fact, police departments in most major cities face the same set of dilemmas, and intensive training in human relations is a necessary part of every police program. Skills in this difficult field need refining.

The need for comprehensive human relations training is by no means limited to the police. As with the police, there are

many dedicated government workers, employment counselors, welfare workers, teachers and school administrators, and others who understand and treat the poor and members of minority groups with compassion. But the overall impression is to the contrary. The long-term and persistent image of a typical government employee is that of a narrow and secure civil servant who has no empathy with the poor, no understanding of their search for a place in society, and no desire to aid them in their quest. There is resentment and hostility toward government representatives in slums. It seems to stem in large measure from the inaccessibility and the negative attitude of too many public servants.

The development of understanding and compassion which will make public employees in the ghetto a part of the life of the people rather than intruders is a long-term task. The time which it will take makes more urgent the commencement of the effort.

The following tasks should be considered:

1. Greater efforts by civic organizations, churches, social groups, police departments and individual policemen should be considered to provide police:
  - a. Frequent contact with minority groups and young people in situations other than that of investigation or arrest.

- b. Knowledge and history of ethnic groups and their present problem in urban communities.
- c. Knowledge of how a department establishes contact and communications systematically and harmoniously with minority groups.

While such training cannot guarantee a reduction in the conflict between police and all segments of the Negro community, experience shows that it can make a contribution to the lessening of tensions and increased respect and support for police.

- 2. Elimination of demeaning treatment, whether by language or action, toward the poor and the minorities by representatives of authority-- whether police or administrators.
- 3. Extension of human relations awareness to business, labor, private groups, education, all levels of government and the public, and particularly those who come into daily contact with the poor and citizens of minority groups.
- 4. Encouraging recognition of the poor for their human worth, their actual and potential contribution to the good of the overall community, even though they may be temporarily unemployed or the recipients of public assistance.
- 5. Simple courtesy by all our people, with a good starting point being recognition that every man feels that to remain always nameless is to lose human identity.

### CONCLUSION

Riots such as the one experienced in Los Angeles are manifestations of defects in our development as a democratic society. The very real, immediate, and immense problems of urbanization, discrimination and poverty must be faced and resolved by the nation. The complexities of urban growth and poverty are a compound of critical national problems. There is no easy solution. The problems will not go away.

Your task force, reflecting a broad variety of background, training and experience, talked with virtually every element of public and private interest and responsibility in the Los Angeles area. We do not purport to have all the answers. Necessarily, our study has been exploratory and our conclusions are tentative.

We would say first America faces a challenge it will not be able to meet unless it has the understanding, concern, initiative and action of all our governments, of all our public and private organizations, and of all our people.

~~We urge a careful survey and coordination of police capabilities in the major metropolitan areas of the nation to assure riot prevention and riot control competence.~~

~~We urge an intensification of the war on poverty and a careful tailoring of its proven capabilities to meet urgent urban needs.~~

~~We urge a redoubling of the efforts presently under way to prepare a major program to attack the problems of urban America. New and bold and expeditious remedies are needed.~~

We urge <sup>EXPEDITIOUS</sup> study by all federal agencies involved of the suggestions in Section IV of this report, <sup>WE COMAND THESE</sup> ~~for adoption if feasible~~ <sup>SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION BY GOVERNOR BROWN'S COMMISSION</sup> and stimulation by these agencies of all interests with whom they deal to full participation in and support for their efforts.

~~We urge the refinement of governmental and private techniques of improving the economic vitality of the nation, of providing incentive and motivation to the poor to help themselves, of developing and utilizing all of the human and natural resources of America.~~

~~We urge full cooperation and support by all agencies for the work of Governor Brown's Commission to assure its success.~~

There are presently under active development and consideration some thirty-five projects and project grants in addition to the forty-nine approved by the President on September 2, 1965. These cover the entire spectrum of needs outlined. They are designed to assist all sections of

Los Angeles in need of help. They are in line with projects and grants available to other cities under existing federal programs and will not exceed an equitable share of all projects and funds available for the nation. We recommend that development of the projects continue on an expedited basis and that they be acted upon by the agencies involved as they become ready.

The recommendations set forth in the introduction to this report - the appointment of a principal federal officer with a supporting inter-agency task force, the development of riot prevention programs, and the detailed analysis of the riot area - are steps designed to facilitate comprehensive long-range attack on the problems revealed by the Los Angeles riots.

In closing, we express our deep gratitude to the many public officials of State and local government in California, to the hundreds of citizens who gave of their time, and to the representatives of the federal government who worked tirelessly to make this report possible.

Ramsey Clark

Andrew F. Brimmer

Jack T. Conway

Task Force Agencies:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Forest Service  
Marketing and Consumer Services

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Corps of Engineers

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Bureau of Census  
Community Relations Service  
Economic Development Administration

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

United States Children's Bureau  
Welfare Administration  
Public Health Service  
Office of Education  
Social Security Administration  
Vocational Rehabilitation Administration

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Attorney, Los Angeles

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Manpower Administration  
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training  
Neighborhood Youth Corps

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

## APPENDIX

### PROJECTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Attached are descriptions of 49 projects recommended by the Task Force and approved by the President on September 2.

Illustrative of the projects included are:

1. To increase employment opportunities and training, the Manpower Development Training Program will be expanded, on-the-job-training programs will be increased, and the opening of a number of Youth Opportunity Centers will be accelerated.
2. To give economically distressed adults the chance to help themselves, the Los Angeles School System will open 6 vocational centers for nearly four thousand people.
3. To improve the job capabilities of unemployed adults, a variety of adult education projects involving the extension of higher adult education programs into poverty areas for both evening and day classes will be initiated.
4. To provide general services to the area, two Small Business Development Centers will be established and a legal aid program will be expanded to serve 15,000 people.
5. To improve the quality and content of education in poverty-stricken areas, the Los Angeles School System will hire more teachers, establish more remedial reading classes and construct new kindergarten and secondary classrooms.
6. To assist needy children and their mothers, the Los Angeles School System will expand its child care center operations.
7. To provide greater health services for deprived children, additional nurses, medical technicians and doctors will be hired to conduct regular and special examinations.
8. To support the basic educational efforts and to give dimension to the lives of slum children, the Los Angeles school system will offer a wide range of intensive remedial, cultural, vocational and health projects to benefit more than 20,000 students, from preschool through high school age.

1. Expanded Manpower Development Training Program \$2,630,000

There are 78 manpower development training classes now operating in Los Angeles with a total of 1,568 trainees at a cost of approximately \$2,054,000 for training allowances and instructional cost. An additional nine projects for 1,337 trainees will be approved by mid-September at an estimated cost of \$2,630,000.

2. Youth Opportunity Centers \$1,105,935

On August 26, 1965, the Department of Labor made an advance grant of \$2,475,000 to the California Department of Employment for the purpose of accelerating the opening of Youth Opportunity Centers in Los Angeles. These Centers are designed to provide intensive job counseling and placement assistance and will include screening and referral to Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and manpower training for unemployed youth. Three Centers are planned for South Central Los Angeles, with a total staff of 97 counselors, placement interviewers and youth advisors at a cost of approximately \$1,105,935 for the balance of the fiscal year. Target date for opening is October 2, 1965.

3. Employment Service Office in Watts District \$ 150,000

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

4. On-The-Job Training \$ 365,826

Youth and adults, lacking skills being sought by employers, suffer high levels of unemployment. There exists the need to match available manpower resources with available jobs and to utilize training to bring about the match. To achieve this objective for the disadvantaged youth and adults of the Los Angeles area, the Manpower Administration of the United States Department of Labor has contracted with the Los Angeles Urban League to carry on a job development and placement activity designed to uncover unfilled jobs, recruit trainees, and work out on-the-job training arrangements with employers so that needed skills can be developed in new employees. The Los Angeles Urban League, working with additional staff from the California Division of Apprenticeship Standards, will place a total of 600 trainees at an estimated contract cost of \$365,826. The monies for the additional staff to be reimbursed to the State will be made available by a grant from the United States Department of Labor.

5. Assistance to Needy Mobile Migrants \$ 202,976

This will be operated by Travelers Aid Society and will provide 24-hour service through use of a mobile unit on the major entry highways of the city.

6. Multi-Service Centers - Northeast Valley \$ 133,783

This involves two multi-service centers for San Fernando and Pacoima. They will provide standard multi-service center services. The participating agency is the Joint Venture of Northeast Valley.

7. Pacoima Kindergarten Enrichment Program \$ 32,054

A supplemental kindergarten program of two classes involving a high adult-child ratio, run in proximity to the Pacoima Elementary School. Participating agency is the Valley Child Observation Group.

8. Three Centers Pre-School Project \$ 101,685

A pre-school program to provide enrichment in educational experiences for children ages three to five and their families in two centers and one ongoing center in Pasadena's deprived area. Participating agency is the Pacific Oaks College.

9. Extra-Curricular Program in Reading and Language Skills \$ 104,591

A reading program to provide remedial and enrichment activities in reading and language arts in six centrally located Catholic high schools in deprived areas of Greater Los Angeles outside regular school hours open for all in the areas whether in public or parochial schools. Participating agency is Los Angeles Catholic Archdiocese.

10. Day-Care Project for Youth on Probation \$ 176,399

A day-care demonstration project for boys and girls on probation to be conducted in four separate centers combining teachers of remedial education with intensive counseling and control environment. Participating agency is the Los Angeles County Probation Department.

11. Consumer Education \$ 57,465

This program will train a corps of low income consumers who will instruct other citizens in the areas of consumer counseling cooperative and credit unions and to establish an information counseling service center in the East Los Angeles area to help residents better utilize their income and increase purchasing power. Participating agency is the Los Angeles Consumer Education Project.

12. Small Business Development Center Complex \$ 257,163

Two SBDC's will be established, one in South Central and another in East Los Angeles, each staffed with five business advisers, a supervisor and three secretaries. The advisers will solicit, help prepare and process loan applications, advising on developing business proposals, make background survey on applicants, make referrals to available management training programs, and provide any necessary follow-up management counseling to successful applicants. The participating agency is the Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency.

13. Medical Examinations for Neighborhood Youth Corps Participants \$ 77,520

This will provide medical examinations for 5,168 out-of-school trainees for the neighborhood youth corps.

14. Community Action Program Office \$ 197,136  
A component to provide staff for coordination and administration of the community action program at the elementary, secondary, and adult-education level in the Los Angeles City schools.
15. Pre-School Program \$ 730,220  
Thirty pre-school classes in poverty areas in the city for children ages three to four. Each class will be staffed by one specially trained teacher, one parent-education helper from a neighborhood adult participation project, and five volunteer adult aides.
16. Extended Day Program \$ 550,803  
After school classes held in 70 city elementary schools in poverty areas to provide remedial and enrichment experiences in reading, arithmetic, language arts and library use.
17. Saturday School Project \$ 368,596  
The Los Angeles City Schools will maintain 45 Saturday schools to supply instruction through 84 teachers. Teaching aid stresses individual assistance in remedial reading, arithmetic improvement, language arts, and use of library. Playgrounds at the Saturday school are also maintained.
18. Reception Room Program \$ 470,754  
Classes designed to provide an orientation vehicle for enrolling children in the Los Angeles City schools in low income areas when information about students is missing or inadequate.
19. Counseling Program to Prevent Drop-Outs in the Los Angeles City Schools \$ 387,657  
A group counseling project in the Los Angeles City schools located in five junior high and five senior high schools in poverty areas designed to assist potential drop-outs in achieving success in academic areas and making social adjustments.

20. Student Achievement Center \$ 651,638  
 Program emphasizes "reading centered" approach to help students in four junior high and three senior high schools in poverty areas in the city of Los Angeles get help needed to achieve school success.
21. School Opportunity Centers \$ 330,345  
 Classes in four junior and three senior high schools in poverty areas to provide enrichment in educational, vocational and cultural areas conducted outside regular school hours in the Los Angeles City schools. Interest areas will include classes in reading and study skills, library use, and business and industry.
22. Gerontology Program \$ 88,132  
 Twenty-five classes designed to assist senior citizens requiring greater personal understanding, economic improvement and social adjustments. Twenty-five community aides will be employed and teachers experienced in group work and working with senior adults will conduct the classes.
23. Home Management Program \$ 157,357  
 Twenty-five home-management classes in apartment settings for homemakers in low socio-economic areas, to develop skills and techniques in housekeeping activities, improving buying power and advancing standards of health and appearance; twenty-five child-care helpers and 25 indigenous aides will be employed.
24. Pre-School Child and Parent Education \$ 174,890  
 A program to provide adult education classes with both the pre-school child and mother to develop attitudes and behavioral patterns with the mother, so the child will undergo positive experiences in home and school. Ten parent-education helpers will be employed from residents of the communities to be served.
25. Adult Counseling and Guidance \$ 213,957  
 Ten adult counseling centers in the adult school program located in poverty neighborhoods to increase the productive ability of individuals through specific counseling techniques which emphasize vocational awareness and choices.

26. Parent School Coordination Program \$ 65,553  
Twenty-five classes for parents of students enrolled in schools in poverty areas in Los Angeles to acquaint them with efforts expended for their children and ways they can help their children.
27. English Classes for Foreign-Speaking Adults \$ 59,827  
Four classes for non-English speaking adults who because of their lack of English must seek employment in low income jobs although trained for professional or semi-professional jobs. Special emphasis will be placed on the vocabulary needed by the skilled professional.
28. Office of County Superintendent of Schools \$ 95,202  
A coordinating body for economic opportunity programs in Los Angeles County. The primary role will be to provide leadership, consultive and supportive services for the approximately 35 individual school districts with economic opportunity programs.
29. School Enrichment Program \$ 123,161  
Two pre-school classes, four continuation of "head start" classes and special enrichment classes will be offered in poverty pockets in East Los Angeles (Los Nietos).
30. Reading Program for Juvenile Court Wards \$ 134,469  
Small corrective reading classes for 13 different juvenile camps in Los Angeles area with a low teacher-pupil ratio. The program is designed to help improve social behavior gained through improvement and success in academic achievement. Individual educational counseling with students, follow-up of students returned to community schools and development of instructional materials is included in the program.
31. Community Program for Education \$ 428,086  
Three projects in poverty areas of the Compton School District - a project to improve reading skills; a social adjustment project; and a tutoring study center will be located in five junior high schools and senior high schools with high indices of poverty. The tutorial program will utilize 125 students as tutor aides in the study halls.

32. Strengthening Communication Skills Project \$ 926,523

A three-phase program to strengthen communication skills of children from kindergarten through sixth grade, to correct and enrich reading skills of children grades three to six and to develop better communication techniques between school, home, community and related agencies in nine school districts with widespread poverty.

33. Developing Community Relations Through Outdoor Science and Conservation \$ 43,397

A program designed to improve relations in low income areas where conflict between children of different racial groups and within racial groups exists through an outdoor education program. Outdoor experiences will focus on field trips, a resident outdoor school for 20 classes of 35 children each, and a summer enrichment program. In-service courses for teachers to learn to use the out of doors as a training resource is included. Trainees in the neighborhood youth corps will be utilized as library helpers and as student assistants.

34. The Los Angeles Neighborhood Legal Services, Inc. \$ 333,129

This will provide legal offices in East Los Angeles-Montebello, Watts-Willowbrook-Compton, and Venice-Ocean Park. In each of the first two areas, the staff will include four attorneys and supporting staff. In the last area there will be one full-time attorney and three part-time attorneys including retired attorneys and female attorneys who are presently inactive. In addition to keeping the offices open during evenings and weekends, emergency 24-hour service will be offered. Close liaison will be maintained with the Public Defender lawyers stationed in the areas. Civil and criminal cases not handled by the Public Defenders will be handled, as well as administrative proceedings. Area law schools will be involved in providing educational programs to local lawyers, as well as to neighborhood groups. Law students will also assist in the offices.

35. Training Program of State Department of Youth Authority \$ 286,179

This is a program to train 182 young people selected from economically and culturally handicapped areas of

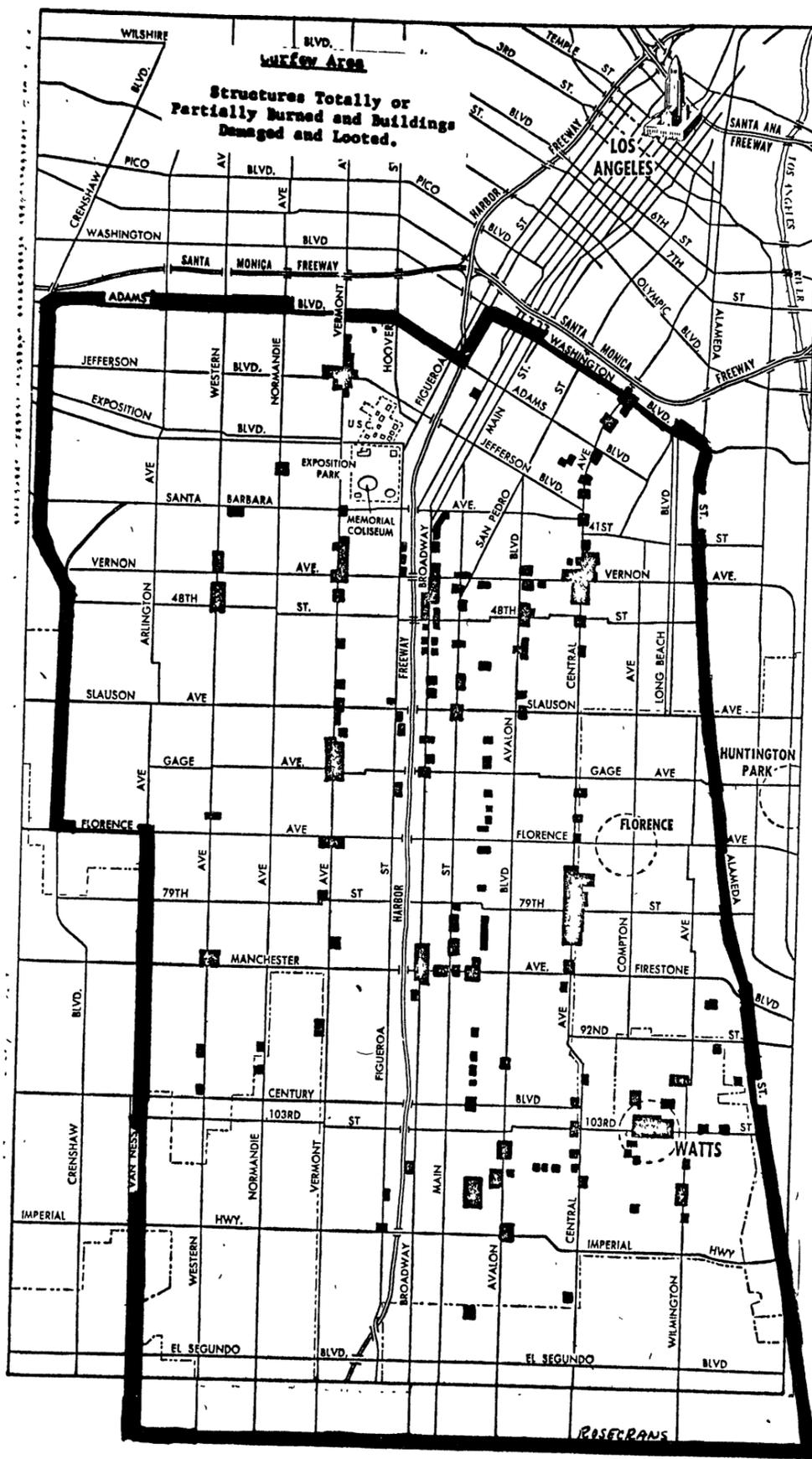
the State. The program will be known as Youth Participation in Community Action. The applicant will contract with the Government and private agencies, such as Avalon-Carver Community Center, Watts-Los Angeles; Center for Community Development of Fresno; North Richmond Neighborhood House; junior colleges, etc., throughout California who will train the assigned trainees on the job in specific fields related to working with people.

36. University of California Social Welfare Extension \$ 98,316
- This program will run six 2-day regional conferences and six monthly follow-up seminars for about 600 leaders of community action agencies in California and to produce a manual to assist community leaders in development of community action programs tailored to their needs. The proposal was developed in communion with the California State Office of Economic Opportunity and in cooperation with the Regional Office of HEW and the Regional Federal Executive Board.
37. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 305 additional teachers and provide some 2,440 substitute teacher days to eliminate elementary double sessions, establish 135 remedial reading classes, and open 80 new kindergarten classes. This will substantially improve the academic achievement of pupils in all sections of the poverty area of Los Angeles County. \$2,400,000
38. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 15 elementary school counselors and 15 indigenous aides to service the pupils in disadvantaged areas and thereby double the present counseling services. Improved attendance and performance will result. \$ 200,000
39. The Los Angeles City school system will recall to duty secondary school counselors in disadvantaged areas to initiate contacts of potential student dropouts and encourage their return to school on opening day. \$ 60,000
40. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 1,100 teacher aides to relieve teachers of non-professional duties. Persons selected will be non-certificated personnel recruited from project areas, thus providing local employment to adults who have children in the schools. This will permit teachers to concentrate on learning problems and increase student achievement. \$3,300,000

41. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 32 additional community coordinators and 32 new neighborhood aides to initiate a joint project of school-community cooperation to determine both school and home-related problems of poor pupil attendance and performance. Coordinators will be certificated personnel; neighborhood aides will be adults from local neighborhoods. \$ 660,000
42. The Los Angeles City school system will expand one existing child-care center and open four new centers now and eight new centers later in the year to accommodate a total of 1,500 additional children of pre-school and primary age and will hire some 150 new aides to man the centers. This will enable some 1,000 parents to hold full or part-time jobs and will provide pre-school learning experience to deprived children whose early formal education will thus be substantially advanced and improved. \$2,000,000
43. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 38 child welfare and attendance supervisors and 38 indigenous aides to work with volunteer and other community agencies in "changing neighborhoods" to alert schools and agencies to pending and emergent problems and produce solutions in terms of school-community cooperation. \$ 519,000
44. The Los Angeles City school system will establish an in-service training program in cooperation with local universities to orient teachers in problems of racial understanding and to enrich their knowledge and preparation for teaching about minority cultures and history. This will facilitate the incorporation of new textual materials in the school curriculum of poverty areas. \$ 100,000
45. The Los Angeles City school system will hire 55 nurses, 55 nurse's aides, and 23 doctors to conduct regular and special health examinations of children in deprived areas, thus detecting medical and health needs and providing a basis for early correction of defects, and for improved school performance of children. \$ 870,000
46. The Los Angeles City school system will sponsor a one-day (September 8th) orientation seminar for 7,000 school teachers in deprived areas to acquaint them with facts and scientific information about racial problems and tensions. This project will facilitate the normal resumption of school programs \$ 150,000

on September 13th. Program will be conducted by ETV channel to selected school auditoriums and teachers will be encouraged to attend at stipend rates of \$15.

47. The Los Angeles City school system will construct some 80 new kindergarten classrooms and some 80 new secondary classrooms to initiate new programs of instruction in poverty areas, thereby adding to educational opportunity of educationally deprived children. \$4,800,000
48. The Los Angeles City school system will initiate a variety of adult education projects involving the extension of higher education programs into poverty areas for both evening and day classes and to initiate or expand some 10 skills training and counseling centers to improve job capabilities of unemployed adults and to conduct employment surveys to create feedback for educational preparation of secondary and adult students. \$1.3 million
49. The Los Angeles City school system will augment existing arrangements for college work study programs and expand opportunity for off-campus employment to permit college attendance by some 200 or more students from poverty areas who need such employment to permit college attendance. Seven junior colleges will participate. \$ 200,000



Size and Population of the Curfew Area Compared with Total City of Los Angeles, 1965      Table 1

Area	Total	Population Caucasian (Non-Latin)	Negro	Other (Including Latin)	Square Miles	Population Density
Total City	2,713,200	1,882,153	434,114	396,933	458.8	5,914
Curfew Area	575,873	236,811	316,535	22,527	46.0	12,519
City	449,644	164,115	264,736	20,793	34.4	13,071
Watts	34,600	4,287	30,101	212	2.1	16,476
County	126,229	72,696	51,799	1,734	11.6	10,882
Remainder of City Outside Curfew Area	2,263,556	1,718,038	169,378	376,140	424.4	5,333

Source: Los Angeles City Planning Commission  
Population projected from 1960 Census

Characteristics of the Population of the Watts Area of Los Angeles by  
Census Tracts, 1960

Table 2

Census Tract	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Population per HH	Population Under 18 yrs. Total	Population Under 18 yrs. Liv with par.	25 yrs. over, Med. yrs. of school comp.	Median Income Families & up-rel. indiv.	Median Income Families & up-rel. indiv.	Male:percent of civ. labor for. unemp.
2421	3,720	3,651	5.44	2,511	1,213	9.9	2,597	2,577	18.3
2422	4,388	3,508	3.83	1,693	1,203	8.9	4,146	3,514	17.2
2423	3,277	2,793	3.59	1,260	873	9.7	4,526	3,637	13.4
2424	1,549	1,543	4.35	717	428	10.7	5,400	5,235	12.1
2425	2,087	2,009	3.60	931	521	9.3	3,254	2,438	16.4
2426	5,863	5,775	4.63	3,767	1,736	10.1	2,404	2,327	29.0
2427	4,049	3,352	3.82	1,499	991	8.9	4,071	3,337	13.1
2428	2,097	1,416	4.10	611	350	8.8	4,600	3,741	13.5
2429	2,565	1,571	4.50	866	510	9.3	4,433	4,247	16.6
2431	4,406	3,962	4.44	2,404	1,182	9.8	3,133	2,968	9.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census