

Interagency 1965 Task Force on the
Los Angeles Riots (Clark, Chairman)

MASTER

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE
ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS,
AUGUST 11 - 15, 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.~~ ^{DISCUSSES SEVERAL SPECIFIC PROBLEMS HIGHLIGHTED BY THE RIOTS AND SETS FORTH SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR ALLEVIATION} ~~WE RECOMMEND THAT THESE SUGGESTIONS BE STUDIED, ON AN EXPEDIENT 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.

RECOMMENDATIONS

SEPARATE PAGE

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

The major recommendations for immediate action are as follows:

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

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

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

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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.