Honorable John A. McCone Chairman Josua Hendy Corporation 612 South Flower Street Los Angeles, California 90017

Dear John:

I certainly appreciated your taking time to meet with Bill Graham during his visit to Los Angeles. He tells me that meeting with you, with Mr. McClellan of the Management Council and with Police Chief Reddin added greatly to his understanding of urban problems, and how effective local leadership can cope with these problems.

Thank you again for making these arrangements.

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Califano, Jr. Special Assistant to the President June 16, 1967

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

I suggest you read only the summary at Tab A.

#### SUMMARY REPORT ON WATTS

#### Background

The August 1965 riots coveremed a huge area of the city of Los Angeles. The statistics are crucial to a review of the problem:

- -- The riot area brought under control by 15,000 military and police officials covered 47 square miles. To put it in perspective, that is an area two thirds the size of the entire District of Columbia.
- -- The McCone Commission Report on the Los Angeles Riots estimated that up to 10,000 Negroes took part. Nearly 4,000 were arrested. (It is significant to note that more than 2,200 of these were born in 16 Southern States). However, nearly two-thirds of Los Angeles County's 650,000 Negroes live in that area, which means that less than 2% of the Negro residents actually rioted.
- -- The devastating effects were \$40 million in property damage, 34 killed and over 1,000 injured. Economic loss to the community is probably much higher by now, since scores of businesses have moved and insurance rates have soared.

#### Why Did the Riots Occur?

The McCone Report attributes the riots to

- -- lack of jobs
- -- poor educational opportunities
- -- resentment of the police
- -- a late, disappointing poverty program
- -- publicity of violence nationally
- -- repeal of the fair housing law in California.

Part of the irony of the riots is that a 1964 Urban League study of 68 cities picked Los Angeles as the best city in the aspects of Negro life.

#### Minority GroupsProblems in Los Angeles

There are no good, current figures on minority group employment in Los Angeles. A Labor Department study in 1965 indicated the following:

- -- Unemployment in the minority group ghettoes is about 12%, nearly three times the city-wide sate of 4.2%.
- -- One out of every three persons is estimated to be sub-employed.
- -- The deficiencies in education, income, health and family structure parallel those I have described in other city visit reports. Housing is significantly better.

In the words of a follow-up to the McCone report published a year later, "Are there any who can now doubt that this sickness in the center of our cities is our nation's number one domestic problem?"

#### Progress of the Federal Poverty Effort to Date

A February 1967 report by OEO estimated that 160,000 persons have had core employment problems in Los Angeles and that about 38,000 or 16% of these hard core poor have received some help. This report suggests that Head Start is the most effective federal program, hitting up to two-thirds of needy children.

Recently, the local community Action Agency has been split into five pieces to get closer to the people. They claim to have 'reached' 360,000 poor, or 40% of the total poor in two years. In their own words, however, "we have not even scratched the surface."

Another federal study notes that virtually all federal agencies still maintain their regional offices in San Francisco, and have few or no key officials in Los Angeles. This slows the response time and coordination capability of federal programs, a problem which has been criticized for several years.

#### Impressions:

From the McCone Commission Reports, OEO reports and my discussion with dozens of people in Los Angeles -- and in Washington, I reached the following conclusions:

- 1) Skill training opportunities have improved significantly, particularly for the adult Negro who is motivated. As a result of the community employment effort, these people are finding jobs. But I came away feeling very strongly that Los Angeles is scarcely beginning to reach the so-called hard core, disadvantaged youth -- the one whose behavior -- in rioting and crime poses the greatest concern to our society. Unlike many business men I have spoken to in Los Angeles and elsewhere, I am convinced that these youths are redeemable and well worth the effort -- in direct economic cost and in direct social costs -- for those who can't seem to justify the effort of humanitarian grounds.
- 2) The school system has scarcely changed. Inferior instruction, crowded classes, double sessions and outmoded practices still prevail. Head Start is the only real breakthrough. There are other hopeful signs on the horizon -- new facilities planned and the growing role of Skill Training Centers. But Negro patience grew thin long ago. "Futures," and promises are no longer meaningful.
- 3) The police relations problem is just beginning to improve and looks hopeful under a new police chief, Tom Reddin. I came away from our meeting impressed by him personally and the effort he is making. But the strain in police relations at the grass roots, cop-on-the-beat-level is not solved today and represents a threat of violence that could explode at any time.
- 4) The Poverty Program, with all its failings, is so critically important that we must move it forward with our utmost energy. If we can bring the average program up to the level of some of the good components I have seen and found the Poverty Program realistically, I firmly believe we can spare our cities convulsions which may shape the history of our times.

  Above all, we must avoid unfulfilled promises and the start-stop syndrome of poverty programs. "They were promised the moon after the riots,"said one OEO official, "and it hasn't been delivered."

The Los Angeles Welfare Budget this year is \$413 million, nearly ten times the Poverty Program budget. Perhaps this is the greatest anomaly of our times. In effect, we are willing to spend ten times as much for a program which keeps people in poverty as we will for a program which seeks to remove them from it.

- 5) A meaningful employment opportunity remains as by far the most important meed of the disadvantaged. Almost everyone wants to work. The redemptive value of employment alone is far greater than people realize.
- 6) Much more must be done to promote understanding on the part of people who can help solve the problems.
  - The press must be made to understand the damage that is done by publicizing extremists who have virtually no followings. Nothing makes the work of legitimate Negro leaders and involved whites more difficult than this.
  - -- Businessmen and the press should be shown poverty programs in operation. Every businessman I have seen exposed to the Poverty Program who had a reasonably open mind came away a convert.

#### QUOTES FROM THE GHETTO

Following are some unedited remarks that I heard in my two days in Watts which may shed some light on Chetto psychology: White oppression - "They're keeping their foot on our necks."

Community Action Cuthacks - "Community Action should mean action.

A street man is used to action."

Upward Bound - "One of the best programs. Has a waiting list of over 200 kids at Jordan (Watts) high School!" "Tutorial programs just hit the kids who do well (not the hard core). They've kept it because the teachers get \$6.50 per hour."

Swimming Pools - "We have swimming pools. That's not the problem. They keep us with swimming holes -- just like in the South. We need jobs."

A Local Community Center - "All the key jobs are run by people from back East -- when will our able people get jobs?"

Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) - "That program is set up to keep you down." (The point was that NYC takes youth off the streets to prevent trouble but does not prepare them for meaningful employment.)

Employment - "Unemployment (in Watts) has increased. There is not enough effort to get people in jobs they can hold ten years from now. There are some jobs -- but not careers."

Urban Renewal - A major industrial park to be built by the Southern Pacific Rallroad is planned for Watts. "We don't work in the existing industry around here -- what reason is there to think there would be jobs then?" "The whole Watts area is planned so that nobody will be living here." "Watts is the last piece of close in, undeveloped (by Whites) flat land in the city." (There was genuine concern about the number of negro jobs to be created and the number of negro homes to be destroyed.)

Public Schools - "The public schools haven't gotten any better -- and poverty funds for the schools have been cut." "The Title I (HEW Elementary and Secondary Education Act) top fifteen jobs are in the hands of fifteen white administrators. I (as a Negro) just sit on the local advisory board." (Two-thirds of the youth who enter the three local high schools do not graduate.)

School Lunch Program - "We need free lunches. Our kirds pay the same as (the rich in) Beverly Hills." "Thirteen schools in the Watts area don't even have cafeterias."

<u>Transportation</u> - "They're going to kill the town by cutting off transportation." (The McCone Report identified Los Angeles -- as have many other studies -- with having "the worst transportation problem of any city."

Two hour bus rides with multiple transfers are not unusual.)

Community Disagreement - "John Factor (cosmetics industry executive) has offered to give a million dollar youth center to the community. We can't decide if we want it, or where to put it. Eventually, we will though."

Rumors - "The City Planning (Department) has a map marked in blue where the oil is under Watts. That is why they want our land."

City Continuation Schools - Problem kids, starting with junior high school are required to go to school only three days a week for three hours. "They get sent to Continuation Schools just for telling off teachers or smoking. The classes are crowded. The kids may be on the street most of the day."

The McCone Report - "Protective of the establishment." "A whitewash."

Entertainment - "There is no movie theatre in the Watts area. (There are 60 teen centers serving some 7,000 youths. I got several disdainful comments about these which led me to the conclusion they must seem somewhat antiseptic to the "street kids.") "They have female direction and buddy-buddy cliques," explained one youth.

Head Stars - Teachers told me Head Start was a source of pride -"Children don't run around as ill-clothed. The children are adjusting
to kindergarten very well. Teachers say they can spot them (Head Start
kids) when they walk in the room." "If you get to the children, you get
to the parents, too." (The local Head Start mothers had started a sewing
club and other activities.) Their biggest problem would be getting the
local community to come up with its "50% matching funds requirement in
1968." "We need more centers, but the lack of funds may cut us back,"
they emphasized.

#### PROGRAMS OPERATING IN THE GHETTO AREA

#### Sons of Watts

I met with about twenty members of this controversial group, and members of a similar organization called the Young Men for Total Democracy. Many were veterans of the rioting. They have become civic improvement groups, considered by many to be one of the most positive forcess in the community. "They control the kids in the neighborhood -- this is a small community, and they know every kid who is likely to have trouble," explained a mother who was active in the local P. T. A. "They cleaned up the High School," said another. But the Sons of Watts were no more free of bitterness than other emerging Negro leaders I have met. "It is ironical and paradoxical," said one, "when we (Negroes) become effective we get labels (black nationalists, militants, etc.) and they cut off the funds." "When they told the Negro to get organized we overdid it," said another, referring to the plethora of organizations in the Watts area.

#### The Mangement Council

This organization claims 18,000 Negro job placements from the Curfew Area. While this is a gross, overstated figure, their success is extremely significant. I met with Chad McClellan, who heads this program. The Governor has just designated him to head a state-wide program modeled after the Los Angeles operation. They are a Chamber of Commerce originated program with extensive participation by business organizations working through employers, and supported by Ford and other foundations. John McCone is a strong supporter of this program. He called it "the best job that is being done in the country." It is important to say what they are, and what they are not:

- -- They seek jobs primarily for adults with family responsibilities who are trained and motivated.
- -- They support fully the skill training programs but oppose any efforts towards "instant jobs" (as proposed under the Concentrated Employment Program) where unemployed people are passed without training.
- -- Obviously, however, they are not heavily concerned with the teen-age drop out, unmarried, untrained, and perhaps immature and unmotivated.

#### I came away with two important conclusions:

- There is a real need for this kind of an organization in every major urban area.
- Programs such as this must be complemented by a rehabilitation employment program specifically directed towards the hard-core poor.

#### Watts Skill Training Center

I visited MDTA training centers in Watts and East Los Angeles. These are good operations with great promise. They are a breakthrough in the sense that they are run by the public school system whose previous failures have made them nacessary. They presently have 1,000 students and look to rapid expansion, but have the usual budget problems. They have wait lists of "more than 5,000" and claim a remarkable 90% placement record. But again, MDTA is an adult program picking the better qualified applicants. Nevertheless, this program should be expanded greatly.

#### NAPP

NAPP is the neighborhood information and counselling center operation in Los Angeles. It is funded by Community Action Agency through the Settlement Houses. They have 21 centers in the problem neighborhoods. Their program has about 600 employees, most of whom work as aides in local city and state agencies, helping poor people, while learning themselves. When their employees have gained experience and confidence, they are encouraged to move on to other employment.

#### Community Pride

A locally funded and supported program. They have helped 183 Watts area residents to obtain or improve their homes with support from local businesses. They also sponsor clean-up campaigns and promote local business.

#### State Multiservice Center

A classic example of the start-stop type of poverty program was the State Center I observed in Watts -- and its defunct Long Beach counterpart, closed under Governor Reagan's economy campaign, with no apparent reason.

The Watts is one of six operational centers out of only 13 planned and announced for the entire state. They "think" they will continue to operate, admit they have been "creaming the population" (finding jobs and providing services only to the most able local residents). Funding has been uncertain and continuing reviews of the program have resulted in confusion and a poor beginning. OEO States that one of the greatest needs in the area is a program of good multiservice centers.

#### Westminister

Considered by many (including the Wall Street Journal) as the most successful local program. It was started by the Presbyterian Church, is now funded by OEO. It runs programs in remedial education, job orientation, community services (they were training volunteers for an anti-measles campaign when I was there), and a credit union.

#### Youth Training and Employment Program (Y. T. E. P.)

Provides counseling, testing, training and placement services to the 16-21 year old out of school, out of work youth. Since its founding in 1964, it claims to have reached over 7,000 youths. I also visited YTEP's smaller and weaker counterpart in the Mexican-American community. YTEP has had erratic state funding. YEEPkclaims 60% of its enrollees are placed in jobs or sent for further training. Only 25% are high school graduates. The Director admitted they were not reaching the hard-core kids. "They are not job ready -- we haven't really gotten through to them."

#### Watts Labor Advisory Council

This program, sponsored by 11 international unions -- Walter Reuther is a major force in the organization -- uses MYC and other funding to involve and train teen-agers. They have conservation programs, crafts, skill training and secreation programs. They have built 3 "vest pocket" parks and plan 18 more. There are about 800 youths presently in the program, nearly half of whom are pre-teen or early teen volunteers. This is a successful program to get youths off the streets.

#### Opportunities Industrial Center (OIC)

Another branch of the Philadelphia based operation. They have placed about 400 people in jobs, have some good skill training programs in electronic assembly and machine shop operations, others which appeared mediocre at best.

#### IMPRESSIONS OF LONG BEACH

This city of 378,000 has about a five percent Negro population, or roughly 19,000. The problems there suggest that no community is immune from race relations problems, and every community must awaken now and examine that which it has taken for granted for too many years. Few poverty programs are in evidence in the city. I heard remarks like these from local officials:

- -- When I read about the housing problems in my home town, the conditions made me blush"; (State Senator)
- -- "The youth in Long Beach see great attention going into Watts. It has not been fashionable in Long Beach to do anything about the central core (negro) area. Maybe there is no cohesion or action without riots. That could cause it"; (Local Newspaper Editor)
- -- "We need visible (negro) leadership within the community -- or, we must teach the white people to think black"; (College Professor, Negro)
- -- "The local State Multiservices Center was closed for lack of funds. The Governor has got to take a stand on this -- this center was getting people off welfare and putting them to work.

  I'm being pushed from Republican to Democrat by this" (Former High School Principal)

#### Remarks by Young Local Negro Leaders

- -- "We need a full-time specialist to work with business on job opportunities." (Negro Head Start Director)
- -- "We will send you (the city) our representatives. You won't come down here and pick out the Negro you want."
- -- "We run a volunteer tutoring program with 300 volunteers. We couldn't get funding or proposal help from any source. The Board of Education runs a program with only 80 volunteers. But they just got funded to pay tutors \$7.20 an hour while ours are paid nothing."
- -- 'We're so powerless in Long Beach that somebody here made some bombs and couldn't get them to go off."

- -- "Without adequate programs and funding, we don't control all the kids here all the time. Those are the ones who are testing Molotov Cocktails underground."
- -- "The guys on the street see us as "Uncle Toms." To be a Negro leader today, you've got to be militant."
- -- "We are in a moral vacuum." (Minister)

These remarks describe the Long Beach environment better than anything I could add.

#### The Mexican-American Community in Los Angeles

"That the Mexican American community did not riot is to its credit, it should not be to its disadvantage." (McCone Commission report on Los Angeles riots)

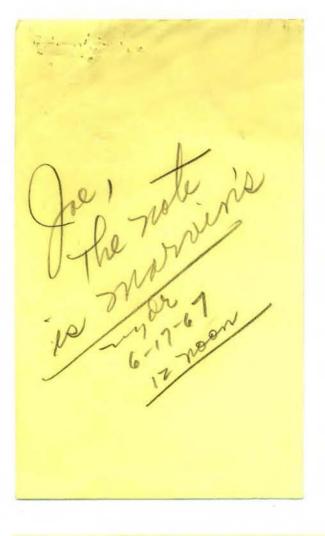
An OEO study indicates that the Negro community receives twice as much poverty assistance as the Mexican American community despite the fact that Los Angeles has as large a population of Mexican Americans as of Negroes.

The Mexican American community is not well organized. A more vocal and militant strain of leader is developing. There is friction and jealousy relative to the Negro community. "The discrimination is more subtle, said several Mexican Americans. Many mentioned the urgent need for more education as the greatest need of the community, a need they would have to meet through their own efforts. Language is a further sarrier barrier for many.

#### Conclusion

After more than a day of discussions with Mexican American leaders and visits to federal and local poverty program facilities, it is clear that the Mexican American problems in Los Angeles are quite comparable to Negro problems in many respects. However, with the Mexican American community more apathetic, disorganized, and less prone to rioting, they will not receive equal assistance.

The issue raised here is to what extent our limited federal funds will be applied as a riot prevention technique verses a program to help poor people equally. The present emphasis is clear to all.



[1 of 19]

FOR THE PRESIDENT MEN LET SOME FROM Joe Califano

[ suggest you = Tab A Tab A.

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#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

12:00 noon Friday June 16, 1967

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Bill Graham

PROBLEMS OF THE GHETTO: The Negro in Watts and Long Beach
The Mexican-American in East
Los Angeles

I spent a week in Los Angeles County recently. My primary focus was Watts. I also visited the Mexican-American community in Los Angeles and the nearby city of Long Beach -- where some incidents of racial friction have recently occurred, but where the problems have received less attention.

#### Net Impression

There has been some improvement in the conditions leading to the Watts riots in August 1965, but the problems are far from being solved and the possibility of serious riots remains in the greater Watts area, as illustrated by the incident there Monday night. Nevertheless, there is more evidence of federal programs in Watts than in San Antonio, Cleveland, Boston or Chicago, and several good local programs as well.

Besides the Watts area, Los Angeles County has a number of other problem areas. Long Beach is clearly one. I was told repeatedly that Pacoima, Pasadena, San Bernardino and Venice also possess potentially explosive racial problems, but time did not permit me to visit them.

Attached at Tab A is my Summary Report on Watts.

At Tab B are Quotes from the Watts Ghetto and a Review of Programs I visited.

Tab C is a Brief Report on Long Beach.

Tab D is a Brief Report on the Mexican-American Community of East Los Angeles.

#### SUMMARY REPORT ON WATTS

#### Background

The August 1965 riots covered a huge area of the city of Los Angeles. The statistics are crucial to a review of the problem:

- -- The riot area brought under control by 15,000 military and police officials covered 47 square miles. To put it in perspective, that is an area two thirds the size of the entire District of Columbia.
- -- The McCone Commission Report on the Los Angeles Riots estimated that up to 10,000 Negroes took part. Nearly 4,000 were arrested. (It is significant to note that more than 2,200 of these were born in 16 Southern States). However, nearly two-thirds of Los Angeles County's 650,000 Negroes live in that area, which means that less than 2% of the Negro residents actually rioted.
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#### Why Did the Riots Occur?

The McCone Report attributes the riots to

- -- lack of jobs
- -- poor educational opportunities
- -- resentment of the police
- -- a late, disappointing poverty program
- -- publicity of violence nationally
- -- repeal of the fair housing law in California.

Part of the irony of the riots is that a 1964 Urban League study of 68 cities picked Los Angeles as the best city in the aspects of Negro life.

#### Minority Group Problems in Los Angeles

There are no good, current figures on minority group employment in Los Angeles. A Labor Department study in 1965 indicated the following:

- -- Unemployment in the minority group ghettoes is about 12%, nearly three times the city-wide rate of 4.2%.
- -- One out of every three persons is estimated to be sub-employed.
- -- The deficiencies in education, income, health and family structure parallel those I have described in other city visit reports. Housing is significantly better.

In the words of a follow-up to the McCone report published a year later, "Are there any who can now doubt that this sickness in the center of our cities is our nation's number one domestic problem?"

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- 2) The school system has scarcely changed. Inferior instruction, crowded classes, double sessions and outmoded practices still prevail. Head Start is the only real breakthrough. There are other hopeful signs on the horizon -- new facilities planned and the growing role of Skill Training Centers. But Negro patience grew thin long ago. "Futures," and promises are no longer meaningful.
- 3) The police relations problem is just beginning to improve and looks hopeful under a new police chief, Tom Reddin. I came away from our meeting impressed by him personally and the effort he is making. But the strain in police relations at the grass roots, cop-on-the-beat-level is not solved today and represents a threat of violence that could explode at any time.
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  Above all, we must avoid unfulfilled promises and the start-stop syndrome of poverty programs. "They were promised the moon after the riots," said one OEO official, "and it hasn't been delivered."

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NAPP is the neighborhood information and counselling center operation in Los Angeles. It is funded by Community Action Agency through the Settlement Houses. They have 21 centers in the problem neighborhoods. Their program has about 600 employees, most of whom work as aides in local city and state agencies, helping poor people, while learning themselves. When their employees have gained experience and confidence, they are encouraged to move on to other employment.

#### Community Pride

A locally funded and supported program. They have helped 183 Watts area residents to obtain or improve their homes with support from local businesses. They also sponsor clean-up campaigns and promote local business.

#### State Multiservice Center

A classic example of the start-stop type of poverty program was the State Center I observed in Watts -- and its defunct Long Beach counterpart, closed under Governor Reagan's economy campaign, with no apparent reason.

The Watts is one of six operational centers out of only 13 planned and announced for the entire state. They "think" they will continue to operate, admit they have been "creaming the population" (finding jobs and providing services only to the most able local residents). Funding has been uncertain and continuing reviews of the program have resulted in confusion and a poor beginning. OEO states that one of the greatest needs in the area is a program of good multiservice centers.

#### Westminister

Considered by many (including the Wall Street Journal) as the most successful local program. It was started by the Presbyterian Church, is now funded by OEO. It runs programs in remedial education, job orientation, community services (they were training volunteers for an anti-measles campaign when I was there), and a credit union.

#### Youth Training and Employment Program (Y. T. E. P.)

Provides counseling, testing, training and placement services to the 16-21 year old out of school, out of work youth. Since its founding in 1964, it claims to have reached over 7,000 youths. I also visited YTEP's smaller and weaker counterpart in the Mexican-American community. YTEP has had erratic state funding. YTEP claims 60% of its enrollees are placed in jobs or sent for further training. Only 25% are high school graduates. The Director admitted they were not reaching the hard-core kids. "They are not job ready -- we haven't really gotten through to them."

#### Watts Labor Advisory Council

This program, sponsored by 11 international unions -- Walter Reuther is a major force in the organization -- uses NYC and other funding to involve and train teen-agers. They have conservation programs, crafts, skill training and recreation programs. They have built 3 "vest pocket" parks and plan 18 more. There are about 800 youths presently in the program, nearly half of whom are pre-teen or early teen volunteers. This is a successful program to get youths off the streets.

#### Opportunities Industrial Center (OIC)

Another branch of the Philadelphia based operation. They have placed about 400 people in jobs, have some good skill training programs in electronic assembly and machine shop operations, others which appeared mediocre at best.



#### IMPRESSIONS OF LONG BEACH

This city of 378,000 has about a five percent Negro population, or roughly 19,000. The problems there suggest that no community is immune from race relations problems, and every community must awaken now and examine that which it has taken for granted for too many years. Few poverty programs are in evidence in the city. I heard remarks like these from local officials:

- -- When I <u>read</u> about the housing problems in my home town, the conditions made me blush"; (State Senator)
- -- "The youth in Long Beach see great attention going into Watts. It has not been fashionable in Long Beach to do anything about the central core (negro) area. Maybe there is no cohesion or action without riots. That could cause it"; (Local Newspaper Editor)
- -- "We need visible (negro) leadership within the community -- or, we must teach the white people to think black"; (College Professor, Negro)
- -- "The local State Multiservices Center was closed for lack of funds. The Governor has got to take a stand on this -- this center was getting people off welfare and putting them to work.

  I'm being pushed from Republican to Democrat by this" (Former High School Principal)

#### Remarks by Young Local Negro Leaders

- -- "We need a full-time specialist to work with business on job opportunities." (Negro Head Start Director)
- -- "We will send you (the city) our representatives. You won't come down here and pick out the Negro you want."
- -- "We run a volunteer tutoring program with 300 volunteers. We couldn't get funding or proposal help from any source. The Board of Education runs a program with only 80 volunteers. But they just got funded to pay tutors \$7.20 an hour while ours are paid nothing."
- -- We're so powerless in Long Beach that somebody here made some bombs and couldn't get them to go off."

- -- "Without adequate programs and funding, we don't control all the kids here all the time. Those are the ones who are testing Molotov Cocktails underground."
- -- "The guys on the street see us as "Uncle Toms." To be a Negro leader today, you've got to be militant."
- -- "We are in a moral vacuum." (Minister)

These remarks describe the Long Beach environment better than unything I could add.



#### The Mexican-American Community in Los Angeles

"That the Mexican American community did not riot is to its credit, it should not be to its disadvantage." (McCone Commission report on Los Angeles riots)

An OEO study indicates that the Negro community receives twice as much poverty assistance as the Mexican American community despite the fact that Los Angeles has as large a population of Mexican Americans as of Negroes.

The Mexican American community is not well organized. A more vocal and militant strain of leader is developing. There is friction and jealousy relative to the Negro community. "The discrimination is more subtle", said several Mexican Americans. Many mentioned the urgent need for more education as the greatest need of the community, a need they would have to meet through their own efforts. Language is a further barrier for many.

#### Conclusion

After more than a day of discussions with Mexican American leaders and visits to federal and local poverty program facilities, it is clear that the Mexican American problems in Los Angeles are quite comparable to Negro problems in many respects. However, with the Mexican American community more apathetic, disorganized, and less prone to rioting, they will not receive equal assistance.

The issue raised here is to what extent our limited federal funds will be applied as a riot prevention technique versus a program to help poor people equally. The present emphasis is clear to all.

#### FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

You asked me to look into the attached complaint from Mayor Yorty about the Civilian Alert Patrol.

I have talked to John Gardner and he has looked into this all during the day. As a result, he proposes to write a letter to the Chairman of the Board that was to receive the grant, informing them that HEW cannot support activities that "monitor or buffer" local police forces, that while HEW officials had reason to believe at the time the grant was made that the police would cooperate, it was clear that this was no longer the case. Gardner's letter will also indicate that if the group can come up with a social program that qualifies for HEW grants, they will be happy to consider them but that the plan must be approved by the police.

Gardner will then send a copy of that letter to both the Police Chief and the Mayor. He is personally calling Mayor Yorty this evening to get this back on the track. Gardner says that this was a clear goof by somebody in HEW and that he has corrected the situation which created the problem.

You should know that the police work covertly with the group to whom the grant was made but they have been unable to indicate that publicly in Los Angeles in any way because of the conservative elements in the city. The police will continue to work covertly with the group.

Attachment



### THE WHITE HOUSE

June 1, 1967

TO: W. Marvin Watson

FROM: Clifford L. Alexander, Jr. &

The attached letter to the President, dated May 26, 1967 from Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, expresses his displeasure over funds which were given to the Community Alert Patrol by OEO, and by the manner in which tney were given. He states that neither he nor a number of concerned agencies were informed or consulted.

Attachment

Rocaliford with



# OFFICE OF THE MAYOR CITY HALL LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90012

May 26, 1967

with

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson President of the United States White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

CX

On the morning of May 23, I received notification by newspaper reports that an organization in Los Angeles known as the Community Alert Patrol had received a Federal grant of \$238,429 from the Health, Education, and Welfare Agency and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I am informed by the Economic Youth Opportunities Agency, our local anti-poverty agency, that they, too, learned of the grant via news accounts.

In addition, our Police Department, which will be most affected by allocation of this money since the Community Alert Patrol's objective is to act as a "buffer" between the Police Department and residents of "high crime areas," did not receive prior notification of the grant, but also learned of it from the newspapers.

I am disturbed by the manner in which the application was acted upon and announced by the Federal agencies involved.

The Community Alert Patrol's proposal for Federal funds was not submitted to the local Economic Youth Opportunities Agency for examination nor discussed with my office.

The Police Department was most outspoken in their criticism of one of the patrol's chief activities—that of cruising areas in the city to check on the activity of our policemen. This involves assigning cars to trail our police cars. Police Chief Tom Reddin has expressed his displeasure with this idea of "nonpolicemen policing the police."

What concerns me about this most recent action is that it is a continuation of the current trend to set priorities for Federal funds in Washington rather than at the local level. I have stated before, and I reiterate again, that local programs to solve local needs should be developed by the people who know the local areas by day-to-day experience.

Unless we can work together on all fronts, at the local regional and Federal level, we will not operate efficiently or effectively. For the HEW and OEO to grant the Community Alert Patrol nearly a quarter of a million dollars without consulting other vitally concerned agencies sets a dangerous precedent.

I am hopeful you will give strong consideration to our argument that the War on Poverty can be most effectively waged at a local level and that consensus programs developed thousands of miles away and implemented because they appear popular and politically safe are a threat to our anti-poverty efforts. I respectfully urge you to take any action you deem appropriate to insure that unity, not disunity, shall prevail in this vitally-needed program.

Law enforcement has been made needlessly difficult by some U.S. Supreme Court decisions which have tilted the scales in favor of criminals to the detrement of victims and law abiding citizens. Now Federal tax funds are to be used in Los Angeles to finance direct interference with the vital operations of our nationally he alded police department. I should like to know if this is a new federal policy and why I was not given the courtesy of being directly informed about the proposal before the program was funded by the federal government.

SY:clk

## Reddin Regrets Alert Patrol's Funding but Will Seek Liaison

The Police Department regrets the federal government's funding of the Community Alert Patrol in South Los Angeles-"but once they're out there patroling, we want to be out there with them."

That was the view expressed by Police Chief Tom Reddin Friday at a joint press conference with the

Police Commission.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare recently awarded a \$238,429 grant to the patrol for an experimental yearlong program primarily in policecommunity relations.

Reddin and others said they objected to the phase of the program in which 15 or 20 "untrained youth" from ghetto areas, most of them with criminal records, will be observing police behavior in the field.

The chief said some persons have referred to the proposed CAP activity as being that of a "mobile (civilians' police) review board."

While the patrol served effectively last year at the Watts Summer Festival, it has interfered with police work elsewhere, Reddin said. The chief added that he found nothing in the files to indicate they had ever been of assistance in law enforcement at the "scene of trying incidents."

Reddin said he hoped his viewpoint on the patrol would not be interpreted as police resistance to batter community relations.

L. A. Times 5/27/67

# HERAED BORES EVENING AND SUNDAY HERAED BORES EVENING AND SUNDAY

**B-6** 

Sunday, May 28, 1967

George R. Hearst Jr., Publisher

Donald Goodenow, Managing Editor

## Dangerous Policy

The action of the Federal government in granting \$238,439 to the Community Alert Patrol, with its high overtones of a private organization designed to act as a buffer between the police department and civilians, is shocking to Los Angeles citizens.

According to close observers, a major purpose of the richly-funded Community Alert Patrol would be to spy on the actions of the police department. Its reported purpose was to act as a deterrent to delinquency and to be "police observers."

Mayor Yorty was one of the first to announce his opposition to the Federal grant. He called it "political funding." He also declared there was no constructive practicality to the action because the Los Angeles police department is making a determined effort, and succeeding, in improving community relations.

The Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners also took issue with the Federal grant. Elbert T. Hudson, president of the commission, said he was greatly disturbed and deeply concerned that a grant should be made "for the purpose of imposing a private patrol on the streets of Los Angeles.

He called "the prospect of untrained youths working outside constituted authority with the implied sanction of the United States Government divisive and extremely dangerous."

And he added that:

"The proposal usurps a police function by the creation of a vigilantetype group that is not responsible to the citizens of the community."

From the viewpoint of this newspaper, the action of the Federal government in this matter is extremely reprehensible. It comes in the midst of the efforts of Chief of Police Tom Reddin to bring greater harmony to the Los Angeles community. Worst of all, it is a brazen, spendthrift action with taxpayers' money.

May 30, 1967

#### FOR SECRETARY GARDNER

FROM Joe Califano

Per our conversation, attached is the note from John McCone.

Attachment

#### JOHN ALEX MC CONE 612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET LOS ANGELES 17

27 May 1967

Mr. Joseph Califano The White House Washington D.C.

Dear Joe:

Support of the Community Alert Patrol by a Federal grant of \$238,439 is very disturbing.

The attached editorial summarizes public Concern which is being expressed over radio, TV and in all local newspapers.

On Monday I will send you under confidential cover further details.

Best regards,

John A. McCone

## Role of the 'Community Patrol'

Overruling the objections of local government, Washington has decided to finance a 20-man "Community Alert Patrol" to serve as a "buffer" between the police and South Los Angeles residents.

The application that won the CAP a federal grant totaling \$238,439 states that the effort is a "grass roots experiment in self-rehabilitation." Membership would be made up of "ghetto youth, delinquent, out of school, untrained."

Proper rehabilitation of militant poverty-area youth is a highly desirable goal, particularly when it develops support of law and order.

Serious questions have been raised, however, as to the role that the CAP would play in the community and its relationship to the Los Angeles Police Department.

Local officials are also asking how so controversial a proposal could have won the approval of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and of federal antipoverty officials when the governmental reaction here was so negative.

"The Police Commission is greatly disturbed and extremely concerned," said commission chairman Elbert Hudson, "that the federal government would grant nearly a quarter of a million dollars for the purpose of imposing a private police patrol on the streets of Los Angeles."

Nevertheless the grant has been made. The challenge now is to assure that the Community Alert Patrol responsibly and constructively achieves its stated purpose of "aiding in maintenance of peace."

According to its application, the CAP would engage in "regular patrol" so as "to observe potential disorder or law violation by either residents or police."

An HEW spokesman said that the 20 members of the patrol—most of whom have juvenile arrest records—conceivably could serve as "deterrents to delinquency" as well as acting as "police observers."

All such activities, however, must be aimed at bringing about closer cooperation and understanding between the community and the police department.

"The activities of the Police Department are open to the view of the citizens of Los Angeles at all times," said Hudson. "Local law enforcement is the regional of the Los Angeles Police Department. We are satisfied that the citizens of Los Angeles do not want us as their civilian heads of that department to abandon that responsibility.

"The members of this department do not need the supervision of untrained youths to insure the quality of their performance . . . The proposal usurps a police function by the creation of a vigilante-type group that is not responsible to the citizens of this community."

The CAP drew praise for its participation in the policing of last summer's Watts Festival. It can serve the community in the future, but not as a private patrol in competition with the LAPD.

The CAP experiment comes at a time when the Police Department is making good progress in its community relations program. If the federal government is looking for a more certain investment in helping disadvantaged young people, it should consider the \$135,000 request by the LAPD for an expanded program of youth activities involving many hundreds.

Meanwhile the community will indeed be alert as it watches the Community Alert Patrol in action.

April 4, 1967

MEMO FOR Charlie Schultze

FROM Joe Califano

I have talked to Ross Davis, Secretary
Weaver and Roger Wilkins about the
Watts situation and have asked Weaver
and Wilkins to assign someone to Davis
to work with him immediately on the
problem of the economic feasibility of
the development proposals of the Southern
Pacific Railroad.

#### EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

#### BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

URGENT

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CALIFANO

Subject: Jobs and Industry in Watts Area

Last week Bill Carey had an urgent call from the FEB in Los Angeles regarding the Watts area. The gist was that the Southern Pacific Railroad is interested in a major economic development project along the tracks in Watts, for an industrial park of considerable size. project leaked out and split the community, with the city fathers taking a favorable view and certain militant groups in Watts taking an adverse view because of the potential uprooting of the people.

We scouted the situation quickly with HUD and with EDA. The HUD field man's opinion was that a feasibility study should be made by EDA pretty quickly. Meanwhile, some kind of rally is slated out there for April 8, and it is possible that lines may be drawn for and against the whole idea.

Carey arranged with Ross Davis to run a quiet personal check on the proposal when Ross was out in the Los Angeles area this past week-end. Davis has now reported in. He talked with both Pitts (HUD's top man in California) and with the head men of Southern Pacific. The essence of Davis's report is as follows:

- 1. Southern Pacific has a big industrial development program throughout its entire railroad system, mainly because of an odd tax arrangement which pushes them to reinvest earnings in more land and development.
- 2. The railroad owns land on the right-of-way alongside the trackage in Watts, but not enough to accommodate the big industrial park that is now envisaged. Southern Pacific people say that there is a tremendous demand for industrial development of the land they do have, and they claim that there is a backlog of several hundred firms who are interested in an L.A. location. The railroad professes to have no doubt whatever of bringing off a successful industrial development in the Watts area.
- 3. Various proposals are spinning around for industrial development around Watts. They all have the same problem: they infringe on Watts, and involve moving people out, and get into political arguments. Yorty, for instance, has been careful to avoid stirring up any dust that could

#### RECEIVED JOE CALIFANO, JR.

1967 APR 3 PM 9 08

complicate his run for the Senate, but the word now seems to be (for what it is worth) that he won't object to a project in Watts.

- 4. HUD is interested, but concerned over political and money problems and getting a handle on the project.
- 5. Southern Pacific is really interested and ready to move in if encouraged. Some of their money has already been spent shaping up the idea. They are ready to play it either conspicuously or stay in the background. But they don't know where to start, either.
- 6. Both HUD (Pitts) and the railroad believe a study needs to be started to sort out the options and problems. Ross Davis is willing to finance it, if encouraged. This would, among other things, provide a bridge between the railroad and the Government. Davis has some of his people starting to work with Pitts to see what form a study should take. But any major effort in the direction of a big development project would probably require Title I money from HUD.
- 7. Davis says that the militant group in Watts (the "Total Democracy" group) is up in arms <u>but</u> willing to negotiate <u>if</u> assurances are made that dislocated families will be found housing at rents they can afford, and that the Watts people will get the new jobs to be created.

#### Action Needed

This could be a breakthrough in Watts. But it is a touchy situation and has to be handled with tact and judgment, and in low key until we have a better idea what can be done.

#### I think we should:

- a. Give Ross Davis a green light to shape up (and later finance) a fact-finding study of the Southern Pacific proposal, working out the plan of study with HUD, the Community Relations Service, and with local elements;
- b. The White House should keep in close touch with developments;
- c. Bob Weaver should be asked to put a good man to work with Ross Davis on the relocation aspects of the problem, since <u>HUD can</u>

  pay for the relocation study and also make payments for relocation costs;
- d. Roger Wilkins should be tied in now.

If you agree, I will follow through and get these arrangements under way. Timing is important. Davis feels he needs to tell something to the Southern Pacific people this week.

Charles L. Schultz

Charles L. Schultze Director