



1944-1969

“Now, HERE, you see,
it takes all the running you can do,
to keep in the same place.

If you want to get somewhere else,
you must run
at least twice as fast as that!”

— THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS
by Lewis Carroll

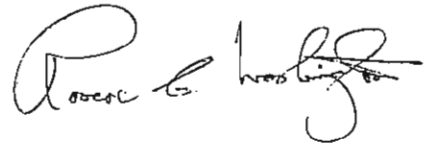
Honorable Board of Supervisors
County Hall of Administration
Los Angeles, California

Gentlemen:

It is with a great feeling of pride and honor that I present to you and the many friends of the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations this history of our first twenty-five years.

It was your wisdom and foresight that established the Commission and your continuing support and understanding that has enabled us to accomplish whatever we may have done during this period. We live in greatly troubled times, but it is my hope and that of our commissioners and staff that with your support Los Angeles County can continue to lead the nation in its humane and forthright approach to the problems which have brought so much concern to all of us.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Roscoe C. Washington". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized "R" at the beginning and a long, sweeping underline.

ROSCOE C. WASHINGTON
Chairman

Introduction

If institutions created by men for the benefit of their fellowmen are to remain viable, there comes a time when it becomes necessary to evaluate the contributions or lack of contributions that have characterized the life span of these institutions.

In the following pages we have made an effort to chronicle the eventful phases of the County Commission on Human Relations. As we have looked back over the years, one question has intruded itself into our minds in a most persistent fashion: Of all of the Commission's endeavors, how much progress has it caused? While it is true that Commission records amply document cases of successful involvement, and while it is true that our file cabinets bulge with statistical data and summaries of countless numbers of incidents and complaints which have been handled by this office, it would be the epitome of deception to conclude that these success stories tell the complete chronicle of progress or the lack of progress. Equally deceptive would be the listing of all the accomplishments in the field of human relations over the years as the specific results of the Commission's involvement.

It is our belief that basic progress in the human relations arena can only be adequately measured by observable changes of attitudes and patterns of behavior which historically have constrained the free and unfettered participation of all citizens of this county in all aspects of community life.

Recently, on local and national scenes we have heard the echoing cries for power; black power, brown power, yellow power and people power. As we view our contemporary society, it is our understanding that what many of these strident voices are calling for is not, in its final essence, a destruction of our cherished system of government or total dissolution of society's governmental apparatus, but rather, what we hear people saying is that they want to become full participants in all aspects of American life.

Any enlightened person in our community ought well understand that the dark skinned minorities in Los Angeles and the nation as a whole, have been and are today all too frequently relegated to positions of

powerlessness in our society. This situation exists today notwithstanding victories that have been won in the judicial, legislative and executive councils of American government.

The harsh reality is that racial and ethnic minority groups in this community and in other communities throughout this nation do not now and have never, in and of their own volition, been able to improve their general conditions and goal of life beyond what the majority community has charitably permitted them to do.

We believe that years of frustration, alienation and despair have led us to today's confrontational society. We believe further that most racial and ethnic minorities in this county have come to feel that in order to change the society's mores and insure their absolute participation in American society, confrontations must take place. Without doubt, the escalating pattern of challenge has severely strained the social fabric of our community and nation, but we are convinced that the way out of this dilemma will not be found in the passage of repressive legislation nor a patriotic call to law and order. An equitable solution must be found within the framework of resolving historic grievances which have cast in doubt the very humanity of millions of American citizens.

With the exception of major disruptions in educational institutions in this country, we have been fortunate — indeed extremely fortunate — not to have seen the explosion of smoldering racial antagonisms which have been part of our community since August 1965. Perhaps our good fortune has come about because as a community we have at least been willing to address ourselves to the symptoms underlying the causes of social disquiet. But this Commission would be remiss in its obligations to the citizens of this community if it did not point out that our time of decision is rapidly waning. If we are to roll back the tides of intolerance, fear, bigotry and racial discrimination, we must, as a community, commit ourselves to the eradication of those factors which lead to community divisiveness along racial, ethnic and religious lines. This Commission firmly believes the words of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., when he said "We still have a choice between chaos and community." It is to the full realization of community that this agency shall remain dedicated.

Herbert L. Carter, Executive Director



FRANK G. BONELLI
Supervisor
First District



KENNETH HAHN
Supervisor
Second District



ERNEST E. DEBS
Supervisor
Third District



BURTON W. CHACE
Supervisor
Fourth District



WARREN M. DORN
Supervisor
Fifth District

THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS IS HONORED BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS ON ITS TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.

SEATED: Supervisor Burton W. Chace, Supervisor Frank G. Bonelli, Rabbi Edward Magnin, John Anson Ford, Supervisor Ernest E. Debs, Commission Chairman Roscoe C. Washington, Supervisor Warren M. Dorn.

STANDING: Don Sanson, Rev. Clayton D. Russell, Commissioner Clarence Mong, Commissioner Mrs. Meyer Price Stern, Commissioner Mrs. A. Kenneth Spencer, Commissioner John J. Anthony, Commissioner Harry Bortin, Jr., Commissioner Mrs. Yoshimaro Shibuya, Commissioner Richard Meyers, Executive Director Herbert L. Carter, Manuel Ruiz, Commissioner Rev. Carroll Pitts, Commissioner Joe G. Castillo, Commissioner Dr. P. J. Jones, Supervisor Kenneth Hahn.



The Early Years

The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, unlike other governmental agencies of its kind, was established in the closing days of the Second World War. Like most American communities, the war brought many changes to Los Angeles County. The changes were highly significant in creating a climate of social discord and tension, brought about by an increase in the population of minority groups residing in the county. With America's entry into World War II, hysteria and racial prejudice led to the evacuation of 23,475 Japanese-American citizens. Scores of Negroes and Mexican-Americans migrating from Texas, Louisiana, Arizona, and New Mexico sought jobs in California's war industry. As the minority group population swelled, tensions were created in areas of housing, employment, and educational facilities. In 1943 friction between Anglo members of the armed forces and Mexican-Americans culminated in the "zoot suit" riots. After the riots, a group of concerned citizens met and recommended to the Board of Supervisors that a governmental agency be established to work directly in the field of intergroup relations. Acting on the citizens committee's recommendation, the Board of Supervisors, on January 11, 1944, created the Joint Committee for Interracial Progress and charged it "to seek out the causes of racial tension and devise all means possible to eliminate them." This committee was later to become the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations.

Members of the committee came from all walks of life. Although not experts in intergroup relations theory and technique, they were remarkable in their perceptions as to the basic causes of racial tension. John Anson Ford, Chairman of the Board of Supervisors and a member of the newly organized committee, stated the committee's responsibility should be to "foresee interracial problems and try to meet tensions before they become

serious." He believed the committee should "work with people." "The main problem we face," said Mrs. Paxton Lytle, a committee member, "is that minority-group problems are caused by majority-group prejudices." They believed that, if people were educated with "hard facts" against the stereotypes persistently used to describe minority groups, the causes of racial prejudice could be reduced and a climate of racial understanding created.

BREAKING NEW GROUND

In 1945 the committee broke new ground in the field of intergroup relations with its first educational program. Cooperating with the American Council on Race Relations, the committee sponsored an institute for Los Angeles County civil service employees. The purpose of the institute was to "achieve understanding and improve the efficiency of county employees in dealing with people of different races, creeds and national origins." The four-day institute drew 1,091 civil service employees. It marked the first time that local government had undertaken the task of educating its employees in the techniques of integrating minority groups into the life of the community.

But integrating minority groups into the life of the community was not an easy task. Restrictive covenants, the beginning of de facto segregation in the schools, discrimination in employment, the circulation of anti-Semitic literature, and antagonism toward Japanese-Americans returning from the evacuation camps created racial tension. It soon became obvious to the Committee that the problems leading to intergroup conflict were not wholly racially determined. The broad spectrum in which problems between groups led to friction, the Committee believed, was to be found in human relations, and not race relations. The Committee's name was changed in 1946 to the Los Angeles County Committee on Human Relations to emphasize this belief. Its interests expanded to include areas of human interaction not formerly explored as sources of social conflict. The committee was interested in the relationship between segregated neighborhoods and juvenile delinquency; de facto segregated schools and mental hygiene, transportation and employment; recreational facilities and their use by minority groups; and contacts between law enforcement personnel and members of different ethnic



DR. GEORGE GLEASON
1945-1949



DALE GARDNER
1949-1954



JOHN A. BUGGS
1954-1967



HERBERT L. CARTER
1967-1969

COMMISSIONERS, STAFF, AND FRIENDS, IN 1955. Among those who can be identified in this photo are: Dr. Vada Somerville, Mrs. Ida S. Lazard, John A. Buggs, Rev. Egbert Hayes, Deputy Police Chief Richard Simon, Mrs. Joyce Jacobowsky, Dr. Irene T. Heineman, Robert E. Hill, Hunt Lewis, Gilbert Lindsay, and Leslie Eichelberger.





MRS. E. S. LAZARD
Chairman 1954-1960
Honorary Chairman
1960-1964



JOHN ANSON FORD
Supervisor (Retired)



ROSCOE WASHINGTON
Chairman



JOYCE JACOBOWSKY
Vice-Chairman



WILLIAM BOTANA
Vice-Chairman



WILLIAM L. WHITE
Secretary

COMMISSIONERS NOT PICTURED—Clarence Mong, Mrs. A. Kenneth Spencer, Rabbi Alfred Wolf, PhD.

LOS ANGELES COUNTY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS 1968-1969

DEPUTY DIRECTORS John P. Lyons, Julius M. Klein, and Anthony Serrato



groups. As an adjunct to their interests they felt the need to branch out into the community with a program that would reach a larger proportion of Los Angeles County residents. But the committee's efforts were hampered by an inadequate budget and a lack of staff personnel to effectuate its program.

Nevertheless, the committee established a speaker's bureau, organized subcommittees on housing, juvenile delinquency, education, and employment. Through these subcommittees the work of the larger committee was accomplished.

The Subcommittee on Housing received complaints of cross burnings, threats, vandalism, and arson against property purchased by minority groups in areas in which members of the majority group lived. Divisive elements in Los Angeles County were largely responsible for the organizing of "housing associations" designed to keep Negroes, Orientals, and Mexican-Americans out of "white communities." Examples of the problems faced by the committee can be found in its complaint files. In 1947, in Compton, California, a Negro moved into a home formerly owned by a Caucasian family. Almost immediately signs were erected on the property giving an index to the anti-Negro feeling existing in the community.

The Subcommittee on Education conducted a survey on the number of minority-group elementary school teachers in each of the 16 school districts in Los Angeles County. The survey indicated that 118 such teachers were employed in the 12 school districts that responded. The total number of teachers employed was 3,012. The low 2.5 per cent of the minority group teachers employed in the 12 school districts, according to the survey, was due to the negative attitudes of principals, parents, students, teachers, trustees, and to the absence of minority-group students living in the district. The survey was important because it was conducted during a national teacher shortage and illustrated the correlation between racial prejudice and employment.

THE RECORD OF TEN YEARS

At the end of the first decade the Human Relations Committee, evaluating its effectiveness in its annual recommendations to the Board of Supervisors, stated "the committee has suffered in the past by a lack of

status and stature." The major problem, the committee felt, was an inadequate staff and an inadequate budget. Upon Dr. George Gleason's retirement from county service, Dale Gardner was appointed as the second executive secretary. Mr. Gardner served from 1949-1954. In 1954, John A. Buggs was appointed the third executive secretary to the committee. By 1954, the population of Los Angeles County was 5 million people, and the committee felt the \$8,950 spent for its work was not adequate to actuate a human relations program for county residents. The committee concluded that it was

"not able to keep pace with other communities throughout the nation that had committees of this type. Our staff knows those programs, procedures, and techniques necessary to accomplish the tasks before us, but we are unable to put them into action because of a lack of funds on the one hand and a lack of adequate staff on the other."

The programs of the Human Relations Committee for 1954-1955, as outlined in its annual recommendations, provided for the publication of a monthly bulletin on events and trends in intergroup relations; an educational program designed to acquaint the community with facts concerning race and race problems, and a "target education" program aimed toward special groups or individuals such as teachers, community leaders, real estate brokers, businessmen, and governmental officials.

As the Human Relations Committee moved into its second decade, it could look back with some measure of confidence as to its value to the residents of Los Angeles County. Six human relations councils had been established by community citizens in their neighborhoods to work for better human understanding, and the committee was investigating tension situations as they arose. They continued to give on-going consultant service to human relations councils in the community and planned in-service training programs for governmental agencies, received complaints of discrimination within the county, and cooperated with other governmental agencies in ferreting out problems in intergroup conflict. The Committee also provided statistical data and information to individuals and groups both within and outside of the state.

The Years of Growth

While the first ten years of the Human Relations Committee was spent largely in developing an internal organization and responding to local issues leading to social disquiet, the second decade saw the Committee elevated from its committee status to a commission within county government. Moreover, the deepening concern over the status of minority groups on the national level had its parallel effects in Los Angeles County. In 1954 the Supreme Court, in *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, Topeka, Kansas, ruled that the "separate but equal" doctrine in American society was unconstitutional. The Human Relations Committee recognized that, while there were no laws in California requiring the segregation of Mexican-Americans, Negroes, or Orientals in community life, segregation, nevertheless, was a prominent feature in the lives of minority-group residents in Los Angeles County. By 1957 the population of Los Angeles County had soared to 5,500,000 people, of which 640,000 were members of minority groups. Housing patterns, the Committee knew, created segregated neighborhoods, and, in effect, schools, recreational facilities, hospitals, and other aspects of community life were, in turn, segregated. "How can we keep integrated communities really integrated," the Committee asked, "and prevent them from becoming ghettos?" The Committee found no immediate answer to the question.

Undaunted, the Committee continued its emphasis upon a public education program. Under the auspices of the Human Relations Committee, a photomural exhibit entitled "Man in Our Changing World" was given

broad circulation in California. The photomural depicted mankind throughout the world, emphasizing concepts from anthropology illustrating that man's differences were cultural rather than racial. Developed by Dr. Robert Ariss of the Los Angeles County Museum, the exhibit was eventually shown as far away as Hawaii.

National recognition of the Committee came in mid-1957 when *Look* magazine, in its feature story, credited the Human Relations Committee with contributing to the climate of racial understanding developed in Los Angeles during the postwar years. The article concluded: "the people of Los Angeles have indicated that they prefer racial cooperation to strife, and have developed the leadership mechanism to bring it about."

FROM COMMITTEE TO COMMISSION

Within a year the governing body of Los Angeles, the Board of Supervisors, sensing the importance of the Committee in the structure of local government, passed an ordinance giving the Committee the status of an official agency of county government. The ordinance provided that the name of the Committee be changed to the "Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations." Specifically, the Commission was to engage in research and education of the public for the purpose of lessening racial and religious prejudice. It was to develop and administer programs and plans designed to promote full acceptance of all citizens. The Commission was to cooperate and assist in the coordination on a county-wide basis the work of community agencies engaged in fostering mutual understanding and respect among all racial, cultural, and nationality groups in the county. Moreover, they were to cooperate with any county department in identifying and ameliorating human relations problems and recommend measures, including legislation, to the Board of Supervisors which serve to improve human relations within the county.

Since 1958 the internal structure of the Commission has operated on a committee basis. Subcommittees on community organization, education, tension control, in-group services, special incident investigations, and other committees formed from time to time to address themselves to specific problems, have served to function as the center of Commission activity. While the Commission formulates the programs and policies in

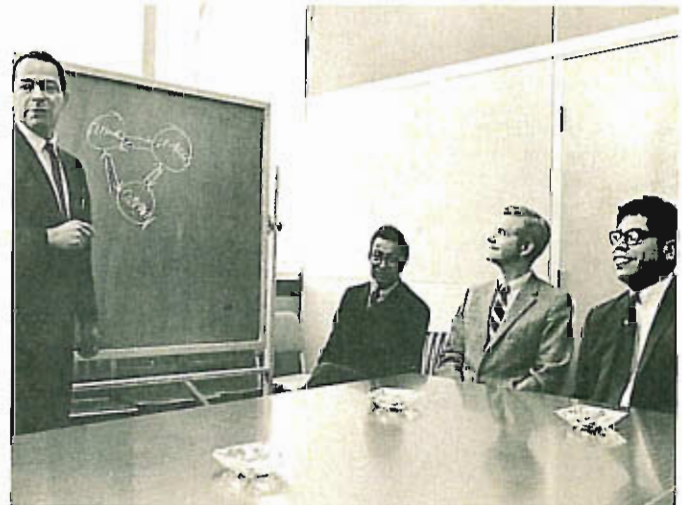


THIS IS AN OFFICIAL COUNTY PHOTOGRAPH OF 1954. Among those who can be identified are: Dr. Irene T. Heineman, Deputy Police Chief Richard Simon, Dr. Vada Somerville, Mrs. Ida Lazard, Leslie Eichelberger, John A. Buggs, Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, Rev. Egbert Hayes, Henry W. Davis, Hunt Lewis, Louis Cole, Harold Stallings, B. Paul Gruendyke, Mrs. Lowell Bigelow, and Karl Holton.

STAFF — Kelly Brady, Kelji Takl, Alvin Franklin, J. Ernest Wallace.



STAFF — Cruz Ramirez, Raul Nunez, Roger Ragan, Richard Villalobos.



the area of human relations for the County of Los Angeles, it is the staff of the Commission that has the responsibility of implementing the Commission's program within the county.

THE BASIC STUDY COURSE

One of the most successful programs of the Commission has been the Basic Study Course. The Course was designed in its early years to be given to community groups, human relations committees, and others who sought a broad introduction to human relations. Given for six weeks by members of the Commission staff, the Course defines human relations, minority groups, and discusses the causes and effects of prejudice, de facto segregation in housing, education and employment, and what can be done to eliminate racial intolerance. The Course is reinforced with books, pamphlets, films, and other media directed to creating good human relations within the community. Public response to the Basic Study Course led to the designing of special courses to be given to teachers, law enforcement personnel, minority groups, real estate brokers, social workers, and civil service employees.

An important part of the community organization aspects of the Commission's work has been to develop within local communities human relations committees to work for improving the climate of human relations within the community. These committees have no direct relationship to the Commission. However, consultants from the Commission staff meet with those local groups and assist them in ironing out human relations problems. Many of the local groups have played an important role in reducing tension within their communities, particularly when a member of a minority group moves into the neighborhood for the first time. In addition, they have sponsored workshops in housing and education in conjunction with the Commission's programs. Basically, these human relations committees create an atmosphere in the community conducive to harmonious human relations. At present, there are 37 such groups functioning in Los Angeles County.

THE CHANGING CLIMATE OF THE '60's

By 1960 the climate in which the original Human Relations Committee was organized had drastically changed. For sixteen years the Committee had struggled with programs that, while highly effective, had little to

do with the swiftly moving events that were altering and changing the role of human relations agencies in reducing social discord. New leadership, new ideas, and new techniques were being devised by Negro-Americans to accelerate the pace of equality. Mass demonstrations, picketing, sit-ins, and the philosophy of non-violent protest became the hallmark of a new mood among Negroes for human equality. These events, in turn, challenged the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations to create new programs and new policies to keep pace with the rapidly changing social climate. In less than a year, the staff of the Commission which now included John A. Buggs, executive secretary; John P. Lyons, assistant executive secretary; Julius M. Klein and William T. White, Jr., consultants; spent 659 hours in giving the Basic Study Course to more than 5,000 people. Another 488 hours were expended in conducting human relations conferences, institutes, and workshops. In addition, the four men investigated 590 incidents of alleged prejudice and discrimination, filled 386 speaking engagements, and held over 2,879 conferences and interviews with individuals and groups. The public response to the new social climate was to demand information and seek assistance whenever human relations problems arose.

Another program of the Commission was to provide college students of different ethnic backgrounds with an opportunity to sit down and "get to know the other fellow." Each year more than a hundred students gathered at Camp Hess Kramer, in Malibu, California, which is provided by the Men's Club of Wilshire Boulevard Temple, for a weekend to discuss the problems that lead to human misunderstanding and racial prejudice. In recent years, the Commission has sponsored additional conferences designed specifically for Mexican-American and Negro youth. These conferences are attended primarily by high school students and are structured to create leadership within the minority group student community. An additional program of the Commission has been the creation of the Los Angeles County Youth Human Relations Council. The Council, operating under the aegis of the Commission, draws its membership from high school students. The conferences, workshops, and projects of the young group make it unique among student organizations in the nation.



CONSULTANTS — John Saito, James Burks, James Schwab, Leon E. Smith, J. Walter Cobb.

CONSULTANTS — Frank Crane, Lionel Martinez, Ruth Markovic, Jay Lintner, Miguel Duran.



Sharyn Drootin, Secretary to the Deputy Directors,
and Reverlee Carter, Secretary to the Executive Director.



THE KEY TO UNDERSTANDING

Perhaps the key to human relations understanding and the success of the Commission was given by John A. Buggs in an article in *Reader's Digest* in 1964. "Most Americans," he said, "will listen to the other fellow's story. Once you understand another man, you usually don't fear him. If you're not afraid of him, you don't hate him."

In 1961 the Commission organized and sponsored the community-wide "Manpower Utilization Conference." The conference included representatives from labor, industry, education, human relations agencies, and community people. The purpose of the conference was to plan on a community-wide basis the utilization of manpower potential of minority groups. It was the first time anywhere in the United States that such a conference had been held. It brought to the Commission widespread recognition from other parts of the nation and requests as to the means by which such a conference could be organized.

In education, the Commission identified seven problem areas that needed to be resolved if the democratic ideal of the equality of man was to be realized in Los Angeles County. They were: the employment of more minority-group teachers in the county school districts; the elimination of the practice of counseling minority-group students to enter only the vocational trades, thereby discouraging high school students from going to college; a willingness to curb the dropout rate of all students, particularly Mexican-American and Negro students; and a reduction of the tension between minority groups on the campuses of junior and senior high schools. The Commission said that the "out of school, unemployed youth — and particularly those of the minority groups — were 'social dynamite' " because, the Commission continued, "the greatest percentage of intergroup tensions and conflicts arise with similar negatively motivated majority-group youth in the community."

PRELUDE TO WATTS

In its biennial report for 1960-1962, the Commission pointed to an increasing number of incidents between minority groups and law enforcement personnel. The Commission concluded that: "the tensions that exist between the Negro community and the dominant

group in our society for the antipathies that exist are not toward the police only. The police are involved," the Commission continued, "because they represent the most easily identifiable authority against which the minority may react, and because it is the police, more than any other symbol of community authority, with whom the average minority group person has personal contact."

During this same period the Commission, in its police-community relations program, continued to conduct human relations courses for law enforcement officers in Pomona and Compton. It also aided the National Conference of Christians and Jews in organizing a community-wide Police-Community Relations Conference.

In addition, the Commission paid more attention to the housing problem in Los Angeles County than it had previously. "Housing," the Commission stated in its report, "is the keystone supporting the arch of segregation and discrimination. Solve the problems of residential segregation," the report continued, "and the foundation will have been found for the solution of most of the other problems in this area." Intergroup problems, the Commission felt, were not solvable unless "mutual acceptance" by everyone without regard to race, nationality, or religious preference was an operative condition in human interaction.

The statistical information gathered by the Commission on the status of minority-group housing in the Los Angeles area was used by local radio and television, and widely quoted in the news media in such national publications as *Look*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Coronet*, and *Jet*. Staff consultants testified before the United States Civil Rights Commission and other state and Federal commissions interested in the housing problem of minority groups. For the first time the Commission became the "chief source of statistical and socio-scientific material relating to minority-group people in the Los Angeles County."

The Commission concluded that, on the basis of its statistical data, "less progress has been made in the field of open occupancy housing than in any other area of human relations concern. Our statistics show that, far from making progress, we are, in this community, developing a more highly segregated society as the years pass."



CONSULTANTS — Carl Martin, John Hamby, Arturo Almanza, Dwight C. Ramage, Lawrence Aubry.

STAFF — Rosemarie Carlos, Denise Lorona, Nancy Mitchell.

STAFF — Carolyn Jemison, Cheryl Browne,
Caris Holloway, Judy Miller, Jerry Hatcher.



munity leaders who represented the "power" structure in Los Angeles County. On June 12, 1963, the leadership of the Civil Rights Movement and the leading representatives of business, industry, education, labor, religion, and law enforcement met and discussed the problems of the Negro community so that a stage would be set for the solution of those problems without conflict.

In an effort to develop a viable response to the grievances of the Negro community, the Commission developed and provided staff consultant services to four committees. A special citizens blue ribbon committee on law enforcement, chaired by Rabbi Alfred Wolf, was convened which included Mr. Victor Carter, Republic Pictures; Mr. Maynard Toll, President of the County Bar Association; Bishop Ivol Curtis of the Episcopal Church; Superior Court Judge Richard Hayden; the Very Reverend Charles S. Casassa, S.J., President of Loyola University; and Dr. Norman Topping, President of the University of Southern California. This committee studied the problem of police-community relations and issued a comprehensive report. Other committees were established in the areas of employment, housing, and education.

In 1964 the Commission sought to implement the constructive findings of the citizens committees. But even as these efforts were being undertaken, it became clear to the staff of the Human Relations Commission that Los Angeles County was drifting into a pattern of racial discontent that was spreading and creating feelings of antagonism and frustration in the Los Angeles Community. These perceptions led the Commission, in early 1965, to begin to plan a general community conference designed to explore and dissect the nature and scope of the problems confronting the urban community. Toward this end the Commission organized the "Urban Reality Conference." Among the participants in the conference were persons of national reputation.

In his keynote address to the conference, former Governor Collins, then head of the Community Relations Service, said:

"There is something about California and Los Angeles and the people I have come to know who live here which convinces me

there is nothing you here cannot accomplish once you make up your minds. I hope this conference will result in just that kind of resolve."

"When the historian comes to write of our times, the one issue which shall command his interest most will be how we as a nation met our human relations obligations. I am convinced that our free institutions will, in fact, survive or perish because of what we in this generation do or fail to do about this matter. Generations which have gone before ours have side-stepped; they have temporized; they have shrunk from clear duty. They could get by in doing so."

"But the clear truth is that we cannot get by. We must face the issues head-on and advance or see our Constitutional principles nullified. The U.S. Constitution was meant to serve all the people alike, not just some of them. The Constitution gives rights of national citizenship to all the people, and nowhere does it give any right or power to any state to abridge them. It is with the people and their rights that we must take our stand, for better or worse."

The single most important finding that resulted from the conference was the budding awareness that the dimension of the urban crisis far exceeded the symbolic needs of housing, employment, and education. Basically, most of the social disquiet in our community stemmed from an all-encompassing desire of racial and ethnic minorities to see not only a change in the *conditions* of their lives, but, more precisely, a change in the quality of urban life itself.

What minority groups wanted most was a change in the institutional patterns which historically had tended to denigrate one's concept of himself as a human being; a change in the sociological by-play that characterized relationships between tenants and landlords; merchants and customers; educators and students; social welfare agencies and clients; political leaders and their constituency; as well as law enforcement agencies and citizens.

Crisis and Consequences

To a large extent it was this mixture of frustration, alienation, and desperation that contributed to the Watts Riots of August 11, 1965, and ushered into the scene of metropolitan America a series of civil disturbances unparalleled in American history.

Following the Los Angeles riot, the Human Relations Commission developed an 11-point program which, if activated, would have done much to alleviate some of the human relations problems in our community. The Commission recommended that the social values of minority youth be changed and channeled into constructive activity. The program known as "Friends Unlimited" would have provided minority-group youth with "helping adult" relationships designed to alter anti-social behavior by providing socially acceptable "authority" figures for young persons to emulate. Other proposals included the use of education as a tool for positive social change; a short term, hard core employment program on a massive scale; thwarting the expansion of the Negro ghetto; organization of leadership in the Negro community; developing and coordinating leadership in the Mexican-American community, and a proposal for a minority housing market analysis.

The aftermath of the riot in 1965 created in 1966 an atmosphere in the county in which people were alienated from one another. The problems facing the Commission grew out of incipient racial tension that was felt to be developing between the Mexican-American and Negro communities. In addition, the majority community felt estranged by the slogan "Black Power." The confusion in understanding what the slogan meant caused many citizens once concerned with ameliorating

human relations problems to draw back at a critical moment when social concern and involvement were sorely needed if racial accord and understanding were to prevail in the county.

It was clear to the Commission that if it was to respond with effectiveness to the problems created by the civil disturbances of 1965, its programs must be broadened to include the urban complex. The Commission felt that it was no longer possible to separate human relations problems from urban problems in general. Minority group problems and the problems of the city were so inextricably interrelated that the one impinged upon the other.

A CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP

In 1967 John A. Buggs, after thirteen years as the Executive Director of the Commission, resigned to accept a post in the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, D. C., as the Deputy Director of the Model Cities Program. In thirteen years as the director of the Commission, Mr. Buggs legitimized the concept of governmental support and financing of intergroup relations agencies. He helped to establish lines of communication and understanding between segments of the community which previously had been isolated from each other. Moreover, he left the Commission with a legacy of constructive analysis of community planning in terms of the community's ability to respond to human relations problems. Under his leadership the professional staff of the Commission was increased from one staff member in 1954 to thirty-two in 1967.

Succeeding Mr. Buggs was Mr. Herbert L. Carter, the current Executive Director. Under Mr. Carter's leadership the internal staff structure of the Commission has been divided into functional divisions, and much time and energy have been devoted not merely to helping lessen the impact of frequent outbreaks of violence, especially on the campuses of the local colleges and high schools, but also to involving more directly members of the power structure of our total community in the social solutions of the tremendous problems and conflicts with which the Commission is attempting to deal.



THE RESEARCH TEAM — Borden Olive, Ulysses S. Prince, III, Nancy Ward.



Current Problems and Programs

YOUTH SERVICES AND TENSION CONTROL

On August 11, 1965, the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations was confronted with one of the most devastating riots the nation had known. Ironically, in July, 1965, the Commission with other governmental agencies and business groups met to explore where the county stood in the human relations arena. Amidst this activity, tragedy struck. For six days the fire and smoke of the Los Angeles riot hung over the city and nation. The riot claimed 34 killed and millions of dollars in property damage. Since 1965 there have been a series of tension-filled situations in Watts, Long Beach, San Pedro, Inglewood, East Los Angeles, Duarte, Pasadena, El Monte, Monterey Park, Central Los Angeles, Ramona Gardens, Newhall, and La Puente.

During the 1965 upheaval, the Group Guidance Section of the Probation Department was transferred to the Human Relations Commission. The section proved to be of significant value in contacting many of the young people in the riot-torn area and getting their help to quell the rioting. Recognizing that many of the individuals who suffer most from prejudice and discrimination were minority-group youth, the Commission added the Youth Services function to the Tension Control Section of the Commission. The section provides on-going services to youth groups throughout the county. It has the responsibility of directing and formulating all programs of the Commission which are primarily directed toward youth, such as the Youth Human Relations Council (a county-wide organization working under the aegis of the Commission), the Anytown Program, the camping program, and the Camp Hess Kramer Conferences for minority-group youth. In periods of tension, the section works closely with the regional

consultants in locating and defining areas of tension and working to ameliorate and prevent the outbreak and spread of social discontent.

The Commission's program to reduce community tension in this area revolves around programs instituted to involve youth in meaningful human relations experiences that have been missing from their lives as a result of living in the ghetto or barrio. Special leadership conferences for Mexican-American and Negro youth are held at Camp Hess Kramer in Malibu each year. In addition, on-going programs with law enforcement personnel and agencies, social workers, poverty program officials, and educators are used to reduce tension-provoking situations in which youth are involved. Moreover, the Commission has held four human relations conferences for college students and has developed an eight-week leadership retreat for 800 young people from the poverty areas.

Many staff hours have been used in the last two years in direct consultation with those groups and individuals who appear most likely to stimulate or become involved in anti-social behavior. In carrying out this function, the staff has established and maintained communication with the hard-core unemployed, youth gangs, militants, and nationalist groups operative in Los Angeles County. Because of these relationships, many situations that may have exploded into violence have been prevented.

It is encouraging to report that for the past two years, gang warfare in Los Angeles County has decreased significantly. Related behavior among Negro groups has diminished, while there has been no noticeable decrease in anti-social behavior among Mexican-American gang-oriented youth. Based on the Commission's experience and information, the reaction to the riots here and across the nation, coupled with the growth and expansion of the ghetto and barrio, altercations between school-age individuals, gang rivalries, problems between citizens and law enforcement officers, the growth of extremist groups within the general population, and the continued alienation of minority groups from American society, make it incumbent upon the Commission to accord this area of human relations conflict high priority in the coming year.



YOUTH SERVICES COMMITTEE — Lt. Roscoe C. Washington, Mrs. Joyce Jacobowsky, Chairman, Mrs. Albert Bass.



Housing

Housing trends detrimental to the County as a whole became increasingly serious during the years 1966-68.

The housing situation for low-income and for minority families became worse, not better. Racial discrimination and segregation, particularly in regard to apartment rentals, was widespread. Poor people in general, but particularly non-white, non-English-speaking, poor people with large families have been exploited and forced to live in dwellings unfit for human habitation. Recipients of public welfare are often stigmatized and restricted in housing choices solely because they have exercised their legal right for aid. Besides, the housing allowance in public welfare is far below the level needed to occupy housing accommodations adequate for health and safety and reasonable livability.

Racial and economic segregation, already extreme in the county, continued in extent and seriousness.

The taxpayer continued to pay higher and higher costs of the consequences of these problems.

Worsening conditions do not mean the Commission has been idle.

The Commission has been deeply involved both in an effort to call public attention to the critical need for extensive action on housing problems and in efforts to rally resources to meet them. In the meantime, the Commission constantly gives aid to families faced with discrimination or unfair treatment. Also continuing are traditional information, consultant, and educational services for any individual or group wishing to work for solutions to housing and human relations problems.

On October 26, 1966, the Commission sponsored the first comprehensive public Housing and Urban Development Conference in California following the creation by Congress of the cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. The sub-title was significant: "The Needs of People and the Programs of Government." Among the more than 300 participants were a cross-section of interested citizens and citizen organizations, business and industry representatives, and representatives of government at all levels.

The program year 1966-67 saw the Commission's Housing Committee expanded to include a total of some 35 citizens who volunteered extensive time and effort in an advisory capacity to the Commission. Their contribution is beyond measure.

One product was a comprehensive report to the Community Analysis Program Office of the County of Los Angeles in the fall of 1967. Thanks to the Housing Committee's work, it was possible to analyze local and county-wide housing and human relations problems, to recommend long-range goals, and to make concrete proposals for action. The report was later adopted as the Commission's official guidelines paper on housing policy and program.

HOUSING EFFORTS IN THE COMMUNITY

The Committee's work also provided valuable support to the successful opening of the Housing Opportunity Center under the sponsorship of the Community Relations Conference of Southern California. The Center's work in county-wide organization for fair housing, its low-income housing information and housing development services, and its local offices in East and South Los Angeles are vital services long sought by the Commission and greatly needed beyond the expiration of their funding period in June, 1969.

The year 1968 was a landmark year in the relationships between the Commission and the California Real Estate Association.

A quarter of a century ago — at the Commission's inception — the CREA's official policy and program with respect to race were in conflict with the fundamental basis for the Commission's existence. In fact, the Commission's goals were "unpopular" within the public as a whole, not just with organized real estate.

1968 was a turning point. Both the official policy and the program of the CREA in that year became consistent with those of the Commission, namely, education of brokers and the public concerning fair housing laws and active promotion of community acceptance of open housing. There is common agreement that fair housing laws are here to stay and that voluntary elimination of racial discrimination in housing is preferable to the process of legal enforcement.

The Commission's interest in promoting the values of interracial cooperation were served during 1966-68

by efforts to conserve the ethnic variety and elevate the quality of life in interracial neighborhoods in the county. Ten such neighborhoods were put in communication with each other by the Commission through a Council of Integrated Neighborhoods — COIN.

Crenshaw Neighbors, initiators of the idea of a county-wide COIN, began publishing a high-quality national magazine, *The Integrator*, and in other ways working toward a national movement extolling and demonstrating the economic and social advantages of genuine community integration. Three other local integrated communities in the county have strong and maturing interracial organizations. A national Committee on Tithing in Investment is about to embark upon a national movement to foster integrated housing and conserve and develop interracial communities. Members of Crenshaw Neighbors have been called upon to help.

The years 1966-68 saw the groundwork laid — necessary structures built and policies clarified — for the kind of massive reordering of priorities and com-

mitment needed to correct housing inequities and develop a healthy state of human affairs in Los Angeles County.

The real work is yet to be done: Allocation by Congress, the California legislature, and local governments and business groups of sufficient funds to make the fair housing and housing development laws effective; real results by the Housing Task Force of the Urban Coalition; continuation and strengthening of the Housing Opportunity Center; creation of a strong economy through community involvement of residents in "undeveloped" racially segregated areas and housing built by and occupied by residents of such areas; and meaningful inclusion of human and housing elements in land use plans with policies which insure implementation so that people of the county with varied incomes and ethnic identities may with dignity live in any community.

The ways are clear. The vehicles are within reach. Tools, services, and navigation means are available. The years 1966-68 were years of preparation. Will the years 1969 and the Seventies provide the power?

HOUSING COMMITTEE — John J. Anthony, Rev. Forrest C. Weir, Chairman, Joe G. Castillo, Dr. Gary W. Demarest.



Community Organization

Since the inception of the Commission, community organization has been the foundation and means by which it has sought to promote and protect the constitutional and human rights of the minority group residents in the 74 cities in Los Angeles County. More than 40 human relations councils had been established throughout the county. Composed of dedicated citizens who believe in social justice and social responsibility, the councils have been responsible for programming in their communities; workshops, conferences, and meetings, geared to creating an informed community of the problems in human relations, and working to ameliorate discriminatory conditions.

However, with increased social tension and conflict sweeping the nation's cities, many citizens who formerly worked to achieve the democratic ideal of equal rights have discontinued their relationship with such groups — so much so that there are only 33 human relations councils still operative. Nation-wide urban riots, the emergence of black power and black nationalism would appear to be causal factors. There is also an undercurrent of frustration and a feeling of limited progress achieved over the years. The growing alienation of the majority group in relation to the minority population gives pause for concern. If the Commission is to achieve its mandated authority to "develop and administer programs and plans designed to promote the full acceptance of all citizens in the community in all aspects of community life without regard to race, religion, or national origin," an expanded effort must be made in community organization.

IN-GROUP SERVICES COMMITTEE — Mrs. Yoshimaro Shibuya, Stanley Larson, Chairman, Rev. Carroll Pitts.



Education

While the Supreme Court decision in 1954 had its greatest (legal) impact upon the hard line Southern segregated school system, the implications of the decision have had a deep effect upon the educational system throughout the nation. Los Angeles County has within its bounds cities that mirror the nation-wide problem of de facto segregation and racial isolation in our educational system. The school system in Los Angeles County reflects the ideas, attitudes, and racial problems that are present in the community. A causal relationship therefore exists between segregated housing patterns that create the ghetto and a segregated

school complex within the community depending upon the population mix of the community. Schools in South Central Los Angeles and East Los Angeles are attended mainly by Negroes and Mexican-Americans, while schools in the San Fernando Valley, West Los Angeles, the San Gabriel Valley, are attended primarily by students of the majority group. This division creates an atmosphere in which young Americans are growing up with many of the stereotypical ideas that characterize the concept of racialism.

In schools where there is a measure of integration, racial confrontation between the students often takes place. The Commission has responded in the last year to many schools where racial tension and conflict were apparent. The frustration, bitterness, and complete alienation in one school was summed up by one student who stated:

"I'm tired of learning about the white man, and I'll fail every test I take because I don't care about you and everyone like you because all of you are bad for me and my BLACK RACE. I HAVE NO COUNTRY." (Note turned in to teacher by student, name signed.)

Even teachers are not exempt from their feelings, as exemplified by one teacher who thought that "the Negro is definitely inferior academically and in his work habits." While these are extreme examples of racial feelings, the frequency with which the Commission staff encounters such feelings in the schools reinforces our belief that remedial measures need to be taken to create within the school system an atmosphere of respect for all people regardless of race or nationality.

School districts should incorporate into their curricula courses designed to portray minority groups favorably through their contributions to our culture. In-service human relations training for teachers should be instituted with an on-going sensitivity program forming the basis of the training. Serious consideration should also be given to creating a different geographical basis for school attendance rather than the neighborhood school concept.

TION COMMITTEE — William L. White, Harry Bortin, Jr., Chairman, Dr. P. J. Jones.



Police—Community Relations

Improvement in police-community relations are more *real* than *apparent*. In the past year the Commission has continued its relationship with the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department in providing continuous staff assistance to its human relations training program. In addition, the Commission conducted its Basic Study Course in intergroup relations to law officers in the cities of Long Beach and San Fernando. In Long Beach, upon the request of the city manager's office, every member of the Long Beach Police Department attended a 20-hour course designed to improve relations between law enforcement and the minority community. The course included the origin, development and back-

ground of minority groups; prejudice, and its effect upon the individual; the image of the police in the community; rumors and how to cope with them; the goals and tactics of extremist groups on the left and right; and establishing liaison with minority group communities. Moreover, the Commission's law enforcement recommendations of January, 1964, have been partially implemented by the Los Angeles Police Department.

However, based upon Commission involvement, allegations of police brutality remain the basic problem between law enforcement personnel and minority group citizens. If there is to be a reduction in the number of complaints of police brutality from citizens, there must be more discussion, communication, and conferences between law enforcement agencies and the community. Toward that end, the Commission co-sponsored with six other organizations the April, 1967, LAPD — Mexican-American Community Conference.

POLICE—COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE — Lt. Roscoe C. Washington, Commission Chairman, Richard Meyers, H. Jay Ault



Employment

Employment remains one of the critical areas in which the Commission is involved in attempting to create the atmosphere in which employer-employee relations are satisfactory to both and seeing that the opportunity exists for minority group persons to be gainfully employed, and to be up-graded once they are employed. One of the major problems that the Commission has faced has been the employment of persons with an arrest record. The Employment Committee of the Commission recommended to all employers that

persons with arrest records be considered for employment. The evaluation of the arrest record was to be based on the appraisal of the person's age, circumstances of arrest, and the type of crime committed, and whether a conviction was obtained. These recommendations are currently being used by some employers including the federal government.

Nevertheless, employment for minority persons is critical. In the area of testing, many Mexican-Americans and Negroes are screened out as potential employees because they lack test sophistication. The Employment Committee of the Commission recommended that employer testing procedures should be related to the job for which the individual is applying. Some employers are implementing this procedure. In the past year the Commission has given consultant service to employers interested in improving relations between supervisory personnel and minority group employees.

EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE — Mrs. Joseph Stout, Henry W. Davis, Msgr. William J. Barry



Information and Education

Since 1965, the number of requests for information regarding minority groups, urban affairs, housing, employment, police-community relations and statistical data has increased. These requests stem from individuals and both public and private agencies, as well as governmental agencies. In most instances the requests are for information in a specific area, or reflect the specific interests of the agency or group making the request. For example, there have been requests for the number of minority group businessmen in Los Angeles County; or an agency may request statistics as to price differential in consumer goods in the ghetto. These areas necessitate special areas of research. Needless to say, the Commission has not been in a position to meet these requests. However, the Commission has

been able to provide information in the general area of human relations. Most of this material has been written by staff members. But the Commission needs to be able to dispense more information to the public through pamphlets, brochures, radio, television, film, and broadsides. Again, the Commission needs to step up its program of community education. At present, we provide a six-week Basic Study Course given under the auspices of community groups and conducted by Commission staff. However, there has been an increase in the demand by the public for the Commission to conduct group discussions on a level of sensitivity training. These requests go unmet because the Commission does not have the personnel resources to undertake this kind of an on-going program. If the Commission is to continue to enjoy its nation-wide reputation as a source for information in the field of intergroup relations, the Commission must have a greater repository of informational material to dispense.

COMMUNICATIONS COMMITTEE — Philip Brooks, Mrs. Meyer Price Stern, Chairman, Richard P. MacCoon



SUMMARY OF MAJOR ACTIVITIES, RESEARCH SECTION, 1966 AND 1967

RACE RIOTS IN THE U.S.—A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL STUDY

Initiated in December, 1966, the project includes:

- a) A virtually complete *listing* of all race-related riots in the history of the United States dating from the 1700's;
- b) A correspondingly complete *card file* summarizing statistical and other coded information on each riot for factor analysis as well as reference;
- c) A concise *narrative description* of each riot, including historical context, political and economic correlatives, allegedly causally contributing factors, precipitating events and incidents, controlling efforts, and results or consequences;
- d) A newspaper-clip file of race riots, major disturbances, and "melees" during the 1960's, including careful follow-up information on reactive or responsive actions, legislation, etc.;
- e) A comprehensive *chronology* of racially-related national and local events, including Civil Rights legislation, demonstrations, and minority-focusing programs, during the 1960's, with a special sub-file on Los Angeles County.
- f) A selected *bibliography* of secondary source materials pertaining to race riots.

All data collected to date are organized into ready-reference systems. Reports will be issued by historical period, the first scheduled release focusing upon the 19th century. Since much of the earlier source material is situated in libraries and foundations in other parts of the country, sources of potential funding grants for completion of the project are being explored.

Since spring of 1967, the Commission's Research Director has been serving on the County's interdepartmental CAP Research Committee, representing the field of social-behavioral research. During the summer of 1967, the Research Section provides direct, full-time supervision of the collection of socio-economic statistics on the Study Areas. Compilation and statistical computations with these data, including area and time conversions, are being completed by the Research Section on a salary-reimbursement basis.

A direct-interview survey plan was also developed and submitted by the Research Section for conduct, by an outside research organization, in the Study Areas. Full-time consultation on questionnaire development and later on program implication of survey findings will be provided by Research and other Commission staff. The Community Analysis Project is scheduled for completion by mid-1969.

POPULATION RESEARCH PROJECTS

- 1) LOS ANGELES CITY AND COUNTY, 1985: A series of projections at five-year intervals of social and economic trends in the County and City adjusted to national and state trends, partially reported in the release: *Los Angeles County—1985, A Sociological Overview*, by John A. Buggs, 10/26/66, and used for comparative data in a number of subsequent studies and releases.
- 2) MINORITY POPULATION ESTIMATES AND PROJECTIONS BY HEALTH DISTRICTS, LOS ANGELES COUNTY: Basic data for this project have been collected and key-punched for electronic data processing in cooperation with the Evaluation and Research Division of the County Mental Health Department. 1968 estimates will be computed and released following receipt of additional, expected 1967 data.
- 3) ETHNIC PROFILES OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY COMMUNITIES: A series of statistical (demographic) summaries comparing socio-economic conditions of major ethnic groups in 1960 in the various communities in the County and incorporating current minority estimates and

projections. In addition to non-released reports prepared specifically for Commission staff, releases have been issued comparing Los Angeles City and County with unincorporated County area. A comprehensive report on Inglewood and adjacent area is being completed at the time of this writing. A report on Watts, South-Central Los Angeles, and East Los Angeles was released in May, 1967. Not-yet released, but basically completed, are studies of South El Monte, Florence-Firestone, and Willowbrook.

INTERGROUP ATTITUDE AND OPINION STUDIES

- 1) **COMMUNITY RELATIONS COURSE EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE:** During and following the Commission's series of courses in community relations for the Long Beach Police and Fire Departments, a basic, evaluative "before-and-after" questionnaire was developed for future use in connection with such course-projects. To be adapted for the specific project or community group, the questionnaire taps "awareness" rather than attitudes as such. It assumes, for purposes of evaluating course-program effectiveness, that changes in perception, hence experience and hence attitudes, follow changes in awareness of the underlying realities . . . or, that "understanding" is the psychological-emotional correlative of knowledge experienced.
- 2) **NEGRO YOUTH LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE QUESTIONNAIRES:** Two questionnaires were developed and administered to youth at the Negro Youth Leadership Conference in October, 1967. One was an effort at obtaining program evaluation from participants; the results produced some significant and objective suggestions as well as indicators of the most personally meaningful program elements. The second questionnaire was designed to "measure" change effected by the Conference. The results of the latter questionnaire are interesting in and of themselves as indicative of race-related attitudes and opinions. Efforts to obtain

a more adequate sampling of youth of various ethnic and racial groupings are now under way, using the most significant of these questions and selected questions for the Jesness Inventory as administered to 4,000 probationers whose subsequent arrest-and-probation histories are known. A cooperative effort with the Research Section of the County Probation Department, the long-range aim is to devise an instrument for tapping differences in youth attitudes as these are relatable to racial, ethnic, and socio-economic "groupings."

- 3) **INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD ATTITUDE SURVEY:** Currently near completion is a questionnaire designed to assess changes in attitudes toward integration in minimally-integrated neighborhoods following an intensive campaign for improving acceptance of integrated living. This is a "piggy-back" project relying heavily upon the experiences and findings of other, similarly focused projects, including pre-published information from recent surveys by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago. Those questions which prove most useful will be incorporated into a more generalized survey questionnaire for assessing intergroup attitudes and changes relatable to other types of events, legislation, programs, etc.

ETHNIC EMPLOYMENT SURVEYS

- 1) **SEARS, ROEBUCK ETHNIC EMPLOYMENT SURVEY:** An analysis of a census conducted by Sears, Inc. for the periods ending July, 1964, and September, 1965, and confined to Sears' Los Angeles County operations. Among other findings was that the percent minority employees in Sears increased by 47.1% during the periods studied.
- 2) **SAFeway STORES ETHNIC EMPLOYMENT SURVEY:** A three-year study of employment in Safeway's Los Angeles County operations was conducted. Due to divisional changes, statistically comparable data could not be derived,

and no final report was issued on this study.

The difficulties in deriving comparable, meaningful statistics in both these studies—difficulties which proved insurmountable after-the-fact for Safeway stores—have resulted in a Research Section recommendation that this section be involved in advance in setting up data-collecting procedures whenever the commission in the future agrees to serve in such a mediational capacity.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

- 1) MOBILE ART EXHIBIT PROJECT: Intended for exposing Negro and other minority children to art created by members of their own racial or ethnic group and also reflecting some of the special history or culture of their group, this project was designed for in-school display on a relatively informal basis. While a variety of artists have expressed both enthusiasm for the project and a willingness to contribute work at minimal cost, efforts to obtain a funding grant have been unsuccessful to date. Funding is necessary for reproduction of work and for construction of mobile display units designed by members of the UCLA Art Department.
- 2) LOS ANGELES COUNTY SOCIAL RESEARCH COORDINATING COMMITTEE: Research staff were instrumental in bringing about the reformation of a County Research Committee, comprised of representatives of the research staff and/or statistical sections of all County departments concerned with social or ecological research. This Committee is now meeting monthly, with some 30 members representing 15 County departments or agencies.
- 3) RESEARCH CONSULTATION SERVICES: During 1966, approximately 40% of Research Staff time was devoted to consultation with persons outside of the Commission on research projects, statistical or other informational needs. A listing of noteworthy persons and agencies provided with such consultation follows.

SPECIFIC PUBLICATIONS FOR WHICH RESEARCH CONSULTATION WAS PROVIDED

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS,
William Salstrom, John Joannes, et al.
Violence in the City—An End or a Beginning (12/2/65).
Staff Report of Actions Taken to Implement the Recommendations
In the Commission's Report (8/17/66).
NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, "Christopher Rand"
L.A. — The Ultimate City, Parts I, II, and III (10/1, 8, and 15/66).
U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
Herman Miller
Characteristics of the South and East Los Angeles Areas, November 1965 (5/28/66).
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
(3 Field Representatives)
Social Psychological Factors in Intergroup Housing (not yet published)
YALE UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY,
Anthony Oberschall, Professor of Sociology
The Los Angeles Riot of August 1965 (includes citation of Borden Olive).

OTHER COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA FOR WHICH RESEARCH CONSULTATION WAS PROVIDED

ASSOCIATED PRESS
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
KABC — McElroy
KNBC NEWS
LA OPINION
LOS ANGELES MAGAZINE
LOS ANGELES TIMES
NEW FRONTIERS
NEWSWEEK
REPORTER MAGAZINE
SAN FRANCISCO SUN
TIME MAGAZINE
WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON POST
WEST MAGAZINE

OTHER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES PROVIDED WITH RESEARCH CONSULTATION (EXCLUDING LOCAL)

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, Office of Equal Opportunity
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION, Liaison Officer,
and Office of Research
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION, Field Office and
Research Office
FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JOINT AGENCIES BOARD OF MENTAL RETARDATION, Director, and
Research Director
L.A. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
LONG BEACH NAVAL SHIPYARD, Personnel Office
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
STATE DEPARTMENT OF WATER RESOURCES
U.S. MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
U.S. NAVY INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS OFFICE
U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
VETERANS ADMINISTRATION, Equal Employment Opportunities Office

SELECTED COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDED RESEARCH SERVICES OR CONSULTATION

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
JEWISH LABOR FEDERATION
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
NAACP (Various Offices)
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
UNITED COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
URBAN LEAGUE (Various Offices)

OTHER RESEARCH CONSULTATION SERVICES PROVIDED DURING 1966 AND 1967

COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES — Classes, students, student groups and professors of most, if not all, the colleges and universities in the Los Angeles area.
COUNTY & CITY GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS — These consultations match or exceed in number those with students and professors, and include virtually every County department concerned at all with demographic information.
PRIVATE INDUSTRY & BUSINESS — Advertising and Marketing Research and Personnel Offices of very large corporations mostly.

Conclusion

The concerns, activities, and programs of the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations have broadened and deepened tremendously since its early years, and the period 1956-1966 was one of growth and maturity. Staff is no longer occupied merely with creating a general and amorphous atmosphere of good feeling between groups and individuals. It has come to grips with specific grievances and deprivations, and with the whole gamut of social injustices which have marred the history of human relations in our nation. The range of its community involvements has also broadened, so that it can talk with equal clarity and force to all segments of the society, from those who control the economic, social, and political destinies of our area to those who feel most acutely the burdens of disparity and deprivation.

A DUAL ROLE

During 1966-1968 this range of Commission concerns has been consolidated and firmed, and the pattern for future action has become clear. The Commission and its staff have a dual role: that of striving to ameliorate the specific inequities under which minority groups in Los Angeles County suffer, and that of attempting to create a climate and cultural pattern in which the deep-lying attitudes and prejudices that have given rise to these inequities are no longer a part of the American scene. It is a vital and enormous commitment, but one that cannot be neglected if the vitality and social health of our community is to be maintained.

As has been pointed out in other sections of this paper, by 1965 it was obvious to this Commission and its staff that winds of change had begun to blow in the field of intergroup relations. It was so obvious that in order to attempt to stop our persistent drift toward violent racial confrontation that the Commission, on July 1, 1965, called a conference of major business, religious, and political leaders of our community to discuss in depth and formulate constructive plans to deal

with the new urban reality. The call to that conference was as follows:

The greatest achievement of man in the twentieth century is megalopolis. It has not been the invention of any one person, or any group, but a weaving together of all the various stands of modern technological achievement—the vast breakthroughs in mass communication, transportation, and construction—into a sprawling, complex entity that shapes the daily life of all of us, and within whose blooming, buzzing confusion we all increasingly live our lives and find our destinies.

And, at its best, it is a magnificent thing. Never in the history of man have such riches been spread at the feet of all. For the first time in human history a society can provide food, clothing, and comfort for every citizen; can make available to every man and his family the great storehouses of music, drama, and art; can provide recreation, excitement, and meaningful leisure for everyone. With the semblance of ease our engineers, scientists, and planners have annihilated the gaps of time, space, and communication that cut us off from one another and confined us to life in a narrow orbit.

We rejoice in the splendid buildings, public and private, that line our avenues, and delight in the cultural and recreational facilities that have been built for us. Even when we grumble at them, we use our magnificent freeways, and those marvels of engineering, our cars, to transport us swiftly in whatever direction we want to go. But is this the reality of the city? Is the shining carapace the true flesh? Or is there another city, unseen, hidden away, which belies our technology and our grandiose scheme; a city within whose confines life is not possible at its fullest; a mean, crabbed city whose daily deprivations mock at all our concepts of "the good life"?

And this we know. In the midst of plenty, we are confronted by the problems of hard-core poverty, by a mass of our citizens for whom poverty is not an accident of economic stress, but a way of life. With the greatest educational apparatus known, we must deal with the functional illiterate, and the culturally starved. With a technological complex surpassing any expectations, we have in our midst a growing number of technologically unemployable, men and women who cannot handle the simplest machines, but for whom there is no longer fruitful work, since we less and less employ human beings as machines.

And tucked behind our avenues, and along our freeways, and amid our factories, are the shacks and hovels of the poorly housed; in our central city are the ghettos to which we relegate those to whom we deny the choice of living space.

It is to consider these problems of the urban world of today that this conference is being called. In many ways, Los Angeles County and Southern California represent the glitter of megalopolis at its most splendid; but we, like every major city of our nation, are plagued by the problems of urban blight—spiritual as well as physical—and death and decay at the core of the city. Until we face these realities of urban life, all of our



efforts must go in vain, and all our window-dressing becomes merely the garlanding of an empty shell. As our democracy promises freedom and equality for all men, so must our cities make the good life a reality for all men. Otherwise, they have no reason for being, and so must in time wither, as did the great cities of the past.

At this conference we plan to enlist the concern and aid of persons who have a real concern for the fate of the city, and a real commitment to the solution of its problems. The conferees will be drawn from all the agencies, businesses, and professions which are working at this problem, and it is planned that by sitting together and discussing these problems with one another new approaches may be devised, and an overview of the problem in its totality will result.

Even as we sought to arouse concern and commitment on the part of those who participated in this conference, the Commission's staff was busily conducting a 20-hour human relations source for the entire Police Department of Compton, California; a largely residential community just south of Watts.

THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM

Before the ink dried from a final summary of the Urban Reality Conference, Los Angeles, the nation, and the world was to focus its attention on Watts; for in that tiny segment of our vast community the first of our long summers of disquiet and unrest was beginning. A scant 42 days after our efforts to prod the leadership of this community into developing responsive alternates to despair, Los Angeles exploded. The riots of 1965 in Los Angeles are now history; but even as the fires burned, the staff of this Commission made every effort to stop the escalating pattern of violence that seemed determined to run its course. And in the final analysis, the Commission had to concede that effective inter-group relations work could not be accomplished in the midst of a riot. Some two months after the riots and two months before the McCone Commission report, the staff of our Commission developed and disseminated eleven major proposals for the improvement of human relations in the metropolitan area. The foreword of those proposals stated "the recent disturbances that shook the Los Angeles area represent one of the most dramatic evidences of the twin problems facing all metropolitan areas. Those problems are the fast-growing non-white population which tends, for a variety of reasons, to be

concentrated in the core of the central city, and the growing complexity of urban life itself." The report went on to state that these problems were of gigantic proportions, for the entire structure of our society is intimately involved in and responsible for its development. It was further indicated that most agencies, like the Commission, had sought to solve problems of inter-group relations by working on the symptoms of these problems. They had sought to deal with the problems of residential segregation by promoting the enactment of legislation and by demonstrations. Yet, in the face of this situation, the problem of residential segregation continued to grow. In short, the harder the Commission and staff have worked, the more difficult the solution of the problem has become.

As we attempt to pick out the various threads of the social fabric which had been severed, and been woven into the blanket of disaster, we must ponder the original situation which indicated that though there were thousands of social case workers in the field, the problems of social welfare were more difficult to solve. Moreover, notwithstanding the growth in personnel working in the field of the prevention of crime and delinquency, these kinds of social problems are still increasing in a geometrical ratio. With the vast expansion of our industrial productivity and the consistent increase in our gross national product and personal income, we seem unable to provide job opportunities for millions of employable men and women. In other words, though we have developed in the nation as a whole, and in Los Angeles County in particular, an affluent society, large numbers of citizens are effectively isolated from participation in the affluent American economy.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE

It was out of these kinds of considerations that we determined basic change had to be made in several areas; and the proposals that were developed in 1965 have continued to be the goals and objectives of this Commission through 1968.

To be sure, we have not accomplished all of the goals that we set forth for ourselves in that time, but many of them have been achieved by acquiring a vacant Probation Department camping facility that has enabled

us to work in an intensive way with some 1,500 young people in the county in the areas of social values modification. The Commission and its staff, in a working relationship with private industry in our community, has been instrumental in the development of several kinds of job opportunities, ranging from jobs for high school students or high school dropouts to the development of major subsidiary businesses designed to provide job training and employment for the hard core unemployed. In spite of all of our efforts and efforts of thousands of citizens who have worked with us, we have been unable to stop the expansion of black and brown ghettos. On the other hand, we take a great deal of satisfaction from our involvement in the development of five distinct programs in the county designed to maintain integrated communities.

Since 1965, and growing out of our successful involvement with the Compton Police Department, we have provided in-service training programs for more than 2,000 law enforcement officers as well as a substantial number of firemen. Additionally, we have provided in-service training for all new employees of several county departments whose primary responsibilities are in people-serving categories.

The Commission has long been concerned about the lack of any cohesive leadership patterns in minority group areas and, immediately following the social disquiet of 1965, we had the establishment of such leadership patterns as one of our highest priorities. Within the past three years we have been, to a limited degree, successful in implementing that objective. In the black community, based on research completed by our staff, a vehicle was established which provided for on-going dialogue between the various organizational ideologies which exist in that community. It is true that the kind of progress that we had in mind never materialized, but it is equally true that during the national crisis which swept this country following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., it was the pattern of leadership and leadership dialogue which we had initiated that, in large measure, kept Los Angeles off the tally sheet of those communities which experienced riotous behavior. Additionally, out of research emanating from this office

within the last year, we have been of much assistance in developing and seeing minimally implemented a Mutual Aid program run by and for those residents of the black community who needed assistance in such areas as health, education, and welfare.

Perhaps our great success along the lines of leadership coordination and cooperation is illustrated in the establishment of a Council of Oriental Organizations, which for the first time in the history of the community saw various groups of persons of Oriental descent collectively organize themselves to develop constructive solutions to the internal problems affecting that segment of our populus.

At the present time, efforts are under way to bring into fruition the same kinds of leadership patterns in the Mexican-American community as have been described above.

This Commission has long recognized that if we are to deal with the deep-seated problems of race, poverty, illiteracy, social welfare dependency, and the other scourges of mankind which have long negated the probability that those afflicted by such phenomena could ever develop their maximum new potential; new institutional patterns would have to be formulated and, accordingly, we have called for—on a number of occasions—the development of an Urban Affairs Council which would essentially become the mechanism by which all people concerned with human problems could coordinate their efforts. Here again, although not in the forms which we had proposed, within the last year, Los Angeles County has recognized the need for such an entity and has created a new department of Urban Affairs.

As we persist in our efforts to insure freedom and opportunity for all people in the next few years, obviously our programs and goals will occasionally have to be reconstructed in order to remain relevant to the times. We are grateful for all that we have achieved in the past 25 years and even more than that, we are grateful for all those who have assisted us in those achievements. Out of a sense of gratitude, we pledge ourselves to the task ahead and to the dream that one day "men will be judged by the content of their character rather than the color of their skin."