RIOT COMMISSION

Summary of National Commission on Civil Disorders - March 1

Riot Commission's Recommendations - March 2

Address: Tommy M. Tomlinson, "White Racism & the Common Man" - April 11

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SENATE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the summary of the riot report by the National Commission on Civil Disorders which appears in the Washington Post be printed in the RECORD at this point, and that a profound and moving editorial, entitled "Riot Report," published in the Washington Post also appear in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"OUR NATION IS MOVING TOWARD TWO SOCIETIES . . . UNEQUAL"

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the National Commission on Civil Disorder summary of its riot report.)

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

What happened?

Why did it happen?

What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

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

This is our basic conclusion:

Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.

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

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

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

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

This alternative will require a commitment to national action—compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest Nation on this earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our recommendations embrace three basic principles:

To mount programs on a scale equal to the dimension of the problems;

To aim these programs for high impact in the immediate future in order to close the gap between promise and performance;

To undertake new initiatives and experiments that can change the system of failure and frustration that now dominates the ghetto and weakens our society.

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

We issue this Report now, four months before the date called for by the President. Much remains that can be learned. Continued study is essential. As Commissioners we have worked together with a sense of the greatest urgency and have sought to compose whatever differences exist among us. Some differences remain. But the gravity of the problem and the pressing need for action is too clear to allow further delaying in the issuance of this report.

WHAT HAPPENED?

Chapter 1: Profiles of Disorder

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

Newark

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

Some persons joined the line of march. Others milled about in the narrow street. From the dark grounds of the housing project came a barrage of rocks. Some of them fell among the crowd. Others hit persons in the line of march. Many smashed the windows of the police station. The rock throwing, it was believed, was the work of youngsters; approximately 2500 children lived in the housing project.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Detroit

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

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

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

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

He was Julius L. Dorsey.

As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee (PNAC). With professional help from the Institute of Urban Dynamics, they had organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood.

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

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

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

New Brunswick

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

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

A demand was issued by people in the crowd that all persons arrested the previous night be released. Told that this already

had been done, the people were suspicious. They asked to be allowed to inspect the jail cells.

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

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

Chapter 2: Patterns of disorder

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

In general:

The civil disorders of 1967 involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society—authority and property in Negro neighborhoods—rather than against white persons.

Of 164 disorders reported during the first nine months of 1967, 8 (5 per cent) were major in terms of violence and damage; 33 (20 per cent) were serious but not major; 123 (75 per cent) were minor and undoubtedly would not have received national attention as "riots" had the Nation not been sensitized by the more serious outbreaks.

In the 75 disorders studied by a Senate subcommittee, there were 83 deaths. Eighty-two per cent of the deaths and more than half the injuries occurred in Newark and Detroit. About 10 per cent of the dead and 36 per cent of the injured were public employes, primarily law officers and firemen. The overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians.

Initial damage estimates were greatly exaggerated. In Detroit, newspaper damage estimates at first ranged from $200 million to $500 million; the highest recent estimate is $45 million. In Newark, early estimates ranged from $15 million to $25 million. A month later damage was estimated at $10.2 million, 80 per cent in inventory losses.

In the 24 disorders in 23 cities which we surveyed:

The final incident before the outbreak of disorder, and the initial violence itself, generally took place in the evening or at night at a place in which it was normal for many people to be on the streets.

Violence usually occurred immediately following the occurrence of the final precipitating incident, and then escalated rapidly. With but few exceptions, violence subsided during the day, and flared rapidly again at night. The night-day cycles continued through the early period of the major disorders.

Disorder generally began with rock and bottle throwing and window breaking. Once store windows were broken, looting usually followed.

Disorder did not erupt as a result of a single "triggering" or "precipitating" incident. Instead, it was generated out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked in the minds of many in the Negro community with a shared network of underlying grievances. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident—in itself often routine or trivial—became the breaking point and the tension spilled over into violence.

"Prior" incidents, which increased tensions and ultimately led to violence, were police actions in almost half the cases; police actions were "final" incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders.

No particular control tactic was successful in every situation. The varied effectiveness of control techniques emphasizes the need for advance training, planning, adequate intelligence systems, and knowledge of the ghetto community.

Negotiations between Negroes—including young militants as well as older Negro leaders—and white officials concerning "terms of peace" occurred during virtually all the disorders surveyed. In many cases, these negotiations involved discussion of underlying grievances as well as the handling of the disorder by control authorities.

The typical rioter was a teenager or young adult, a lifelong resident of the city in which he rioted, a high school dropout; he was, nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his nonrioting Negro neighbor, and was usually underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system.

In a survey of Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35 residing in the disturbance area in Newark, about 45 per cent identified themselves as rioters, and about 55 per cent as "noninvolved." But a Detroit survey revealed that only approximately 11 per cent of the total residents of two riot areas participated in the rioting, over 16 per cent identified themselves as "counter-rioters," who urged rioters to "cool it," and about 73 per cent identified themselves as "noninvolved."

Most rioters were young Negroe males. Nearly 53 per cent of arrestees were between 15 and 24 years of age; nearly 81 per cent between 15 and 35.

In Detroit and Newark about 74 per cent of the rioters were brought up in the North. In contrast, of the noninvolved, 36 per cent in Detroit and 52 per cent in Newark were brought up in the North.

Numerous Negro counter-rioters walked the streets urging rioters to "cool it." The typical counter-rioter was better educated and had higher income than either the rioter or the noninvolved.

The proportion of Negroes in local government was substantially smaller than the Negro proportion of population. Only three of the 20 cities studied had more than one Negro legislator; none had ever had a Negro mayor or city manager. In only four cities did Negroes hold other important policy-making positions or serve as heads of municipal departments.

Although almost all cities had some sort of formal grievance mechanism for handling citizen complaints, this typically was regarded by Negroes as ineffective and was generally ignored.

Although specific grievances varied from city to city, at least 12 deeply held grievances can be identified and ranked into three levels of relative intensity:

First Level of Intensity: 1. Police practices; 2. Unemployment and underemployment; 3. Inadequate housing.

Second Level of Intensity: 4. Inadequate education; 5. Poor recreation facilities and programs; 6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms.

Third Level of Intensity: 7. Disrepectful white attitude; 8. Discriminatory administration of justice; 9. Inadequacy of Federal programs; 10. Inadequacy of municipal services; 11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices; 12. Inadequate welfare programs.

The results of a three-city survey of various Federal programs—manpower, education, housing, welfare and community action—indicate that, despite substantial expenditures, the number of persons assisted constitute only a fraction of those in need.

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

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

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

Little basic change in the conditions underlying the outbreak of disorder has taken place. Actions to ameliorate Negro grievances have been limited and sporadic; with but few exceptions, they have not significantly reduced tensions.

In several cities, the principal official response has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons.

In several cities, increasing polarization is evident, with continuing breakdown of interracial communication, and growth of white segregationist or black separatist groups.

Chapter 3: Organized activity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

Chapter 4: The basic causes

In addressing the question "Why did it happen?" we shift our focus from the local to the national scene, from the particular events of the summer of 1967 to the factors within the society at large that created a mood of violence among many urban Negroes.

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

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

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

White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. At the base of this mixture are three of the most bitter fruits of white racial attitudes:

Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education and housing have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.

Black in-migration and white exodus have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.

In the black ghettos segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular are the result.

These three forces have converged on the inner city in recent years and on the people who inhabit it. At the same time, most whites and many Negroes outside the ghetto have prospered to a degree unparalleled in the history of civilization. Through television and other media, this affluence has been endlessly flaunted before the eyes of the Negro poor and the jobless ghetto youth.

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

Frustrated hopes are the residue of the unfulfilled expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories of the Civil Rights movement and the dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South.

A climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism directed against nonviolent protest; by the open defiance of law and Federal authority by state and local officials resisting desegregation; and by some protest groups engaging in civil disobedience who turn their backs on nonviolence, go beyond the constitutionally protected rights of petition and free assembly, and resort to violence to attempt to compel alteration of laws and policies with which they disagree.

The frustrations of powerlessness have led some Negroes to the conviction that there is no effective alternative to violence as a

means of achieving redress of grievances; and of "moving the system." These frustrations are reflected in alienation and hostility toward the institutions of law and government and the white society which controls them, and in the reach toward racial consciousness and solidarity reflected in the slogan "Black Power."

A new mood has sprung up among Negroes, particularly among the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to "the system."

The police are not merely a "spark" factor. To some Negroes police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread belief among Negroes in the existence of police brutality and in a "double standard" of justice and protection—one for Negroes and one for whites.

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

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

Chapter 5: Rejection and protest: An historical sketch

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

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

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

The Black Power advocates of today consciously feel that they are the most militant group in the Negro protest movement. Yet they have retreated from a direct confrontation with American society on the issue of integration and, by preaching separatism, unconsciously function as an accommodation to white racism. Much of their economic program, as well as their interest in Negro history, self-help, racial solidarity and separation, is reminiscent of Booker T. Washington. The rhetoric is different, but the programs are remarkably similar.

Chapter 6: The formation of racial ghettos

Throughout the 20th century the Negro population of the United States has been moving steadily from rural areas to urban and from South to North and West. In 1910, 91 per cent of the Nation's 9.8 million Negroes lived in the South and only 27 per cent of American Negroes lived in cities of 2500 persons or more. Between 1910 and 1966 the total Negro population more than doubled, reached 21.5 million, and the number living in metropolitan areas rose more than five-fold (from 2.6 million to 14.8 million). The number outside the South rose eleven-fold (from 880,000 to 9.7 million).

Negro migration from the South has resulted from the expectation of thousands of new and highly paid jobs for unskilled workers in the North and the shift to mechanized farming in the South. However, the Negro migration is small when compared to earlier waves of European immigrants. Even between 1960 and 1965, there were 1.8 million immigrants from abroad compared to the 613,000 Negroes who arrived in the North and West from the South.

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

Basic data concerning Negro urbanization trends indicate that:

Almost all Negro population growth (98 per cent from 1950 to 1966) is occurring within metropolitan areas, primarily within central cities.

The vast majority of white population growth (78 per cent from 1960 to 1966) is occurring in suburban portions of metropolitan areas. Since 1960, white central-city population has declined by 1.3 million.

As a result, central cities are becoming more heavily Negro while the suburban fringes around them remain almost entirely white.

The 12 largest central cities now contain over two-thirds of the Negro population outside the South, and one-third of the Negro total in the United States.

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

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

(NOTE.—A "central city" is the largest city of a standard metropolitan statistical area, that is, a metropolitan area containing at least one city of at least 50,000 inhabitants.)

Chapter 7: Unemployment, family structure, and social disorganization

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

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

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

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

Employment problems, aggravated by the constant arrival of new unemployed migrants, many of them from depressed rural areas, create persistent poverty in the ghetto. In 1966, about 11.9 per cent of the Nation's whites and 40.6 per cent of its nonwhites were below the "poverty level" defined by the Social Security Administration (currently $3,335 per year for an urban family of four). Over 40 per cent of the nonwhites below the poverty level live in the central cities.

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

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

Chapter 8: Conditions of life in the racial ghetto

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 9: Comparing the immigrant and Negro experience

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

The Maturing Economy: When the European immigrants arrived, they gained an economic foothold by providing the unskilled labor needed by industry. Unlike the immigrant, the Negro migrant found little opportunity in the city. The economy, by then matured, had little use for the unskilled labor he had to offer.

The Disability of Race: The structure of discrimination has stringently narrowed opportunities for the Negro and restricted his prospects. European immigrants suffered from discrimination, but never so pervasively.

Entry Into the Political System: The immigrants usually settled in rapidly growing cities with powerful and expanding political machines, which traded economic advantages for political support. Ward-level grievance machinery, as well as personal representation, enabled the immigrant to make his voice heard and his power felt.

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

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

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

Today, whites tend to exaggerate how well and quickly they escaped from poverty. The fact is that immigrants who came from rural backgrounds, as many Negroes do, are only now, after three generations, finally beginning to move into the middle class.

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

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Chapter 10: The community response

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

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

The Commission recommends that local governments:

Develop Neighborhood Action Task Forces as joint community-government efforts through which more effective communication can be achieved, and the delivery of city services to ghetto residents improved.

Establish comprehensive grievance-response mechanisms in order to bring all public agencies under public scrutiny.

Bring the institutions of local government closer to the people they serve by establishing neighborhood outlets for local, state and Federal administrative and public service agencies.

Expand opportunities for ghetto residents to participate in the formulation of public policy and the implementation of programs affecting them by improved political representation, creation of institutional channels for community action, expansion of legal services, and legislative hearings on ghetto problems.

In this effort, city government will require state and Federal support.

The Commission recommends:

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

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

Chapter 11: Police and the community

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

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

The Commission recommends that city government and police authorities:

Review police operations in the ghetto to ensure proper conduct by police officers, and eliminate abrasive practices.

Provide more adequate police protection to ghetto residents to eliminate their high sense of insecurity, and the belief of many Negro citizens in the existence of a dual standard of law enforcement.

Establish fair and effective mechanisms for the redress of grievances against the police, and other municipal employes.

Develop and adopt policy guidlines to assist officers in making critical decisions in areas where police conduct can create tension.

Develop and use innovative programs to ensure widespread community support for law enforcement.

Recruit more Negroes into the regular police force and review promotion policies to ensure Negro officers full opportunity for fair promotion.

Establish a "Community Service Officer" program to attract ghetto youths between the ages of 17 and 21 to police work. These junior officers would perform duties in ghetto neighborhoods but would not have full police authority. The Federal Government should provide support equal to 90 per cent of the cost of employing CSO's on the basis of one for every ten regular officers.

Chapter 12: Control of disorder

Preserving civil peace is the first responsibility of government. Unless the rules of law prevails, our society will lack not only order but also the environment essential to social and economic progress.

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

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

Assign seasoned, well-trained policemen and supervisory officers to patrol ghetto areas, and to respond to disturbances.

Develop plans which will quickly muster maximum police manpower and highly qualified senior commanders at the outbreak of disorders.

Provide special training in the prevention of disorders and prepare police for riot control and for operation in units, with adequate command and control and field communication for proper discipline and effectiveness.

Develop guidelines governing the use of control equipment and provide alternatives to the use of lethal weapons. Federal support for research in this area is needed.

Establish an intelligence system to provide police and other public officials with reliable information that may help to prevent the outbreak of a disorder and to institute effective control measures in the event a riot erupts.

Develop continuing contacts with ghetto residents to make use of the forces for order which exist within the community.

Provide the machinery for neutralizing rumors, including creation of special rumor details to collect and evaluate rumors that may lead to a civil disorder, and to disseminate effectively the true facts to the ghetto residents and leaders.

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

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

To assist government authorities in planning their response to civil disorder, this report contains a Supplement on Control of Disorder. It deals with specific problems encountered during riot control operations, and includes:

Assessment of the present capabilities of police, National Guard, and Army forces to control major riots, and recommendations for improvement;

Recommended means by which the control operations of those forces may be coordinated with the response of other agencies, such as fire departments, and with the community at large;

Recommendations for review and revision of Federal, state and local laws needed to provide the framework for control efforts and for the call-up and interrelated action of public safety forces.

Chapter 13: The administration of justice under emergency conditions

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

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

The Commission recommends that the cities and states:

Undertake reform of the lower courts so as to improve the quality of justice rendered under normal conditions.

Plan comprehensive measures by which the criminal justice system may be supplemented during civil disorders so that its deliberate functions are protected, and the quality of justice is maintained.

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

Laws sufficient to deter and punish riot conduct.

Additional judges, bail and probation officers, and clerical staff.

Arrangements for volunteer lawyers to help prosecutors and to represent riot defendants at every stage of proceedings.

Policies to ensure proper and individual bail, arraignment, pre-trial, trial and sentencing proceedings.

Procedures for processing arrested persons, such as summons and release, and release on personal recognizance, which permit separation of minor offenders from those dangerous to the community, in order that serious offenders may be detained and prosecuted effectively.

Adequate emergency processing and detention facilities.

Chapter 14: Damages: Repair and compensation

The Commission recommends that the Federal Government:

Amend the Federal Disaster Act—which now applies only to natural disasters—to permit Federal emergency food and medical assistance to cities during major civil disorders, and provide long-term economic assistance afterwards.

With the cooperation of the states, create incentives for the private insurance industry to provide more adequate property-insurance coverage in inner-city areas.

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

Chapter 15: The news media and the riots

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

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

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

Despite instances of sensationalism, inaccuracy and distortion, newspapers, radio and television tried on the whole to give a balanced, factual account of the 1967 disorders.

Elements of the news media failed to portray accurately the scale and character of the violence that occurred last summer. The over-all effect was, we believe, an exaggeration of both mood and event.

Important segments of the media failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and on the underlying problems of race relations. They have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of life in the ghetto.

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

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

The Commission recommends that the media:

Expand coverage of the Negro community and of race problems through permanent assignment of reporters familiar with urban and racial affairs, and through establishment of more and better links with the Negro community.

Integrate Negroes and Negro activities into all aspects of coverage and content, including newspaper articles and television programming. The news media must publish newspapers and produce programs that recognize the existence and activities of Negroes as a group within the community and as a part of the larger community.

Recruit more Negroes into journalism and broadcasting and promote those who are qualified to positions of significant responsibility. Recruitment should begin in high schools and continue through college; where necessary, aid for training should be provided.

Improve coordination with police in reporting riot news through advance planning, and cooperate with the police in the designation of police information officers, establishment of information centers, and development of mutually acceptable guidelines for riot reporting and the conduct of media personnel.

Accelerate efforts to ensure accurate and responsible reporting of riot and racial news, through adoption by all news gathering organizations of stringent internal staff guidelines.

Cooperate in the establishment of a privately organized and funded institute of Urban Communications to train and educate journalists in urban affairs, recruit and train more Negro journalists, develop methods for view coverage of riots and racial issues, and support continuing research in the urban field.

Chapter 16: The future of the cities

By 1985, the Negro population in central cities is expected to increase by 72 per cent to approximately 20.8 million. Coupled with the continued improving police-press relations, re-exodus of white families to the suburbs, this growth will produce majority Negro populations in many of the Nation's largest cities.

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

In prospect, therefore, is further deterioration of already inadequate municipal tax bases in the face of increasing demands for public services, and continuing unemploy-

ment and poverty among the urban Negro population:

Three choices are open to the Nation:

We can maintain present policies, continuing both the proportion of the Nation's resources now allocated to programs for the unemployed and the disadvantaged, and the inadequate and failing effort to achieve an integrated society.

We can adopt a policy of "enrichment" aimed at improving dramatically the quality of ghetto life while abandoning integration as a goal.

We can pursue integration by combining ghetto "enrichment" with policies which will encourage Negro movement out of central city areas.

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

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

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

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

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

Enrichment must be an important adjunct to integration, for no matter how ambitious or energetic the program, few Negroes now living in central cities can be quickly integrated. In the meantime, large-scale improvement in the quality of ghetto life is essential.

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

Chapter 17: Recommendations for national action

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

Opening up opportunities to those who are restricted by racial segregation and discrimination and eliminating all barriers to their choice of jobs, education and housing.

Removing the frustration of powerlessness among the disadvantaged by providing the means for them to deal with the problems that affect their own lives and by increasing the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.

Increasing communication across racial lines to destroy stereotypes, to halt polarization, end distrust and hostility and create common ground for efforts toward public order and social justice.

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

Employment

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

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

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

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

The Commission recommends that the Federal Government:

Undertake joint efforts with cities and states to consolidate existing manpower programs to avoid fragmentation and duplication.

Take immediate action to create two million new jobs over the next three years—one million in the public sector and one million in the private sector—to absorb the hard-core unemployed and materially reduce the level of underemployment for all workers, black and white. We propose 250,000 public sector and 300,000 private sector jobs in the first year.

Provide on-the-job training by both public and private employers with reimbursement to private employers for the extra costs of training the hard-core unemployed, by contract or by tax credits.

Provide tax and other incentives to investment in rural as well as urban poverty areas in order to offer to the rural poor an alternative to migration to urban centers.

Take new and vigorous action to remove artificial barriers to employment and promotion, including not only racial discrimination but, in certain cases, arrest records or lack of a high school diploma. Strengthen those agencies such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, charged with eliminating discriminatory practices, and provide full support for Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act allowing Federal grant-in-aid funds to be withheld from activities which discriminate on grounds of color or race.

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

Education

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

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

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

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

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

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

To implement these strategies, the Commission recommends:

Sharply increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in our schools through substantial Federal aid to school systems seeking to desegregate either within the system or in cooperation with neighboring school systems.

Elimination of racial discrimination in Northern as well as Southern schools by vigorous application of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Extension of quality early childhood education to every disadvantaged child in the country.

Efforts to improve dramatically school serving disadvantaged children through substantial Federal funding of year-round quality compensatory education programs, improved teaching and expanded experimentation and research.

Elimination of illiteracy through greater Federal support for adult basic education.

Enlarged opportunities for parent and community participation in the public schools.

Reoriented vocational education emphasizing work-experience training and the involvement of business and industry.

Expanded opportunities for higher education through increased Federal assistance to disadvantaged students.

Revision of state aid formulas to assure more per student aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged school-age children.

The Welfare System

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

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

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

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

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

Establish uniform national standards of assistance at least as high as the annual "poverty level" of income, now set by the Social Security Administration at $3335 for an urban family of four.

Require that all states receiving Federal welfare contributions participate in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children-Unemployed Parents program (AFDC-UP), that permits assistance to families with both father and mother in the home, thus aiding the family while it is still intact.

Bear a substantially greater portion of all welfare costs—at least 90 per cent of total payments.

Increase incentives for seeking employment and job training, but remove restrictions recently enacted by the Congress that would compel mothers of young children to work.

Provide more adequate social services through neighborhood centers and through family-planning programs.

Remove the freeze placed by the 1967 welfare amendments on the percentage of children in a state that can be covered by Federal assistance.

Eliminate residence requirements.

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

To provide, for those who can work or who do work, any necessary supplements in such a way as to develop incentives for fuller employment;

To provide, for those who cannot work and for mothers who decide to remain with their children, a minimum standard of decent living, and aid in saving children from the prison of poverty that has held their parents.

A broad system of supplementation would

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

Housing

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

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

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

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

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

Two points are fundamental to the Commission's recommendations:

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

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

The Commission recommends that the Federal Government:

Enact a comprehensive and enforceable Federal open housing law to cover the sale or rental of all housing, including single family homes.

Reorient Federal housing programs to place more low and moderate income housing outside of ghetto areas.

Bring within the reach of low and moderate income families within the next five years, six million new and existing units of decent housing, beginning with 600,000 units in the next year.

To reach this goal we recommend:

Expansion and modification of the rent supplement program to permit use of supplements for existing housing, thus greatly increasing the reach of the program.

Expansion and modification of the below-market interest rate program to enlarge the interest subsidy to all sponsors and provide interest-free loans to nonprofit sponsors to cover pre-construction costs and permit sale of projects to non-profit corporations, cooperatives and condominiums.

Creation of an ownership supplement program similar to present rent supplements, to make home ownership possible for low-income families.

Federal writedown of interest rates on loans to private builders constructing moderate-rent housihg.

Expansion of the public housing program, with emphasis on small units on scattered sites, and leasing and "turnkey" programs.

Expansion of the Model Cities program.

Expansion and reorientation of the urban renewal program to give priority to projects directly assisting low-income households to obtain adequate housing.

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

RIOT REPORT

The report of the Riot Commission splits the darkness like a flash of lightning. It is a distinguished, powerful and potentially useful document not because it presents any startling revelations or novel solutions but because it tells the truth with stark candor, exposing the hideous cancer of racial discrimination and injustice which must be excised from the American system if it is not to prove fatal to American life.

The danger is more than a danger of disorder. It goes beyond the perils of "the long, hot summer." It threatens more than violence and arson and looting and destruction. What is at stake is the unity of America. This Nation, the Commission warns, is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. If that movement is not arrested and reversed, it will bring death to the most hopeful of all mankind's attempts at political organization. The alternative to separation is unity—the extension of the promise of American life to all Americans irrespective of race.

One of the most useful aspects of the Riot Commission's report is that it shatters some myths. It dismisses unequivocally the idea that last summer's riots were the result of any organized plan or conspiracy. The true causes lie in pervasive segregation and discrimination in education, employment and housing, in the concentration of impoverished and desperate Negroes in the decaying inner cities, and in the equalor, degradation, bitterness and alienation of these ghettoes.

How much of the violence of last summer was a direct consequence of misguided police conduct is one of the startling disclosures of the report. Again and again, shots fired by nervous or trigger-happy police officers were assumed to come from snipers and were answered by volleys tragically destructive to life and property. The Commission warns in the sternest terms against the danger of excessive force in combating unrest and most particularly against resort to weapons of mass destruction, such as automatic rifles, machine guns and tanks. The use of such weapons in densely populated urban areas is sheer madness.

Is there yet time to avert the waste and sorrow and disaster of rioting in the summer months that lie ahead? Little time is left: and little has been learned from the experience of the summers that have passed. But the truth, if understood and accepted by a free people, can be immensely invigorating and liberating. The Commission points to solutions. They are obvious but they are not easy. They call, in short, for an obliteration of all color lines and for the generous holding out of a helping hand to all those—especially to the youth—who have for so long been confined in the basement of the American economy and the American polity. Treated in time, cancers may be curable.

The report—or at least the summary of it currently available—provides few specifics as to expenditures and commitment of resources. It does, however, say one thing that goes to the very heart of the problem. Observing that the programs it proposes "will require unprecedented levels of funding and performance," it declares that "there can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the Nation's conscience." Here is the real nub of the matter. When this truth is genuinely and unstintingly accepted by the Nation's leadership—when it can really be made the first order of business for the American people—it may afford the margin of hope that will restore the national health.

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SENATE

THE RIOT COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the President's Commission on Civil Disorders warns, "Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Pervasive discrimination and segregation in housing has kept the millions of Negroes from sharing the opportunity and economic progress that most whites know and enjoy. The one major sector of American life in which overt racial discrimination remains is housing.

The Riot Commission specifically recommends that the Federal Government enact a comprehensive and enforceable Federal open housing law to cover the sale or rental of all housing, including single family homes. Rarely is a report as timely as this one. Rarely has a study in such depth been done at a time when we could respond immediately. And our failure to respond to such a clear and explicit statement—prepared not by a pressure group or a group with a vested interest, but by a commission appointed by the President—will only be a signal to those trapped in the ghettos that our Government is paralyzed, that it cannot respond to a need that affects every single American. In the words of the Commission, unless drastic remedies are begun at once, there will be "continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic, democratic values."

On Monday we face the fourth cloture vote on fair housing. A majority of the Senate is on record in favor of what the Riot Commission recommends—a law covering the sale or rental of all housing. We have compromised this stand in order that the Senate not remain paralyzed behind the cloture requirement. Monday's vote may be the final attempt—the choice remains with less than a majority of the Senate. Their choice is whether to send America further along the road of polarization and the ultimate destruction of a democracy based upon equality—or to indicate to Americans and to the world that we are not a racist society. A vote for cloture on Monday will reinforce our determination to end the unconscionable insult of racial discrimination in housing.

The Commission report contained two other housing recommendations: to assist nonprofit groups with preconstruction costs for their housing programs and to provide supplements which would make homeownership possible for low-income families. During the last session I introduced legislation for both of these programs, and the proposal currently before the Banking and Currency Committee includes these provisions.

In addition, there are many other fine recommendations in this report. It focuses on the tremendous task that faces us if we are to have a society in which peace is our way of life and the call for violence falls on deaf ears. It seems to me that every thoughtful American will support the recommendations of the President's Commission.

But these recommendations are not the only striking part of the Commission report. During these several months of tremendous effort, the President's Commission on Civil Disorders has taken on the task of finding out what is wrong with America at home. Their answer is a grim one. But I believe it is a true one.

Mr. President, last summer the junior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] and I, along with several other Senators, introduced a joint resolution to establish a Special Commission on Civil Strife. At Senator HARRIS' suggestion, the President acted the next day to create a commission by executive order.

In my remarks at the introduction of this resolution last July, I said that one of our problems in dealing with civil disorders is "that we have not, surprisingly, explored the fundamentals resulting in these examples of civil strife, and have not come to a national understanding of what they involve."

I said I hope that this study would "help disclose to the American people the enormous character of the social problem we are facing. I believe that this Nation is as sick as it has ever been. I believe that one of the first and necessary steps to its cure is an understanding of the vast character of the problem that lies ahead of us. It literally involves the remaking of the Nation."

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders has diagnosed that sickness for us. It describes an America that is becoming a divided society, with black and white separate but not equal. It defines an explosive mixture of discrimination, poverty, and ghetto frustration. It bluntly tells the patient the source of his symptoms—white racism.

That is as hard to take as a diagnosis of cancer. And it is just as threatening. For white racism is by nature a fatal illness in a free society, and our pride in the skill and forthrightness of the diagnosis should be matched by our horror at what we find within us, at the final verdict which we have suspected and feared, but hoped to avoid.

This is a society of opportunity. White racism will kill it if we do not act to protect ourselves from it. This is a society of freedom. White racism will kill it if we do not act. The prognosis is just as clear as the diagnosis.

The illness of this society has reached the point where its symptoms are specific and dramatic—violence, despair, rage. Our system is crying out to us for treatment. I cannot believe that we will ignore the best advice we have. I cannot believe that we will refuse to face up to the critical state of our national social health. I cannot believe that we will fail to accept treatment that can sustain the life of the society we cherish.

We must have fair housing. We must have greater opportunity. We must destroy the cancer of white racism. If we do not, history may have an interesting autopsy to perform. But autopsies are always performed on corpses—and this one will be the corpse of the free society to which we are dedicated and which we are elected to protect and serve in this Congress.

If we do act, there will be no miraculous 24-hour cure, for this is no 24-hour illness. But every day that we delay makes recovery more difficult. We must begin now.

invite all Members of the House who are interested in doing so to testify in these hearings or to submit written statements of their views for the record.

The bills which these hearings will concern are: H.R. 15626; H.R. 15649, an identical bill by Mr. BARING; H.R. 15018, introduced by Mr. BENNETT and 13 other Members; H.R. 15092, introduced by the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee; H.R. 15229, by my good friend, Mr. LONG of Louisiana; H.R. 15272, by Mr. FUQUA; sections 203 and 204 of H.R. 15828, by Mr. GURNEY; and Mr. ASHBROOK's bill, which will be identical to H.R. 15626.

Death of Dr. William J. Beasley, of Hartsville, S.C.

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on March 12, 1968, my State and the Nation lost a great humanitarian in the death of Dr. William J. Beasley, physician of Hartsville, S.C.

Few men will be missed as much as Dr. Beasley. His was an open heart. By opening his heart to the needs of people, he helped to improve the lives of thousands.

He was truly a friend of the poor, and he ministered to their needs through the day and night, undeterred by storms, cold weather, lack of transportation, or other factors which too often influence the actions of people today.

He was a warmly human person and outside of excellent medical skills his mere presence in a home, the reassurance of his voice, the touch of his hand helped immeasurably in the healing process to which he was so totally dedicated.

Dr. Beasley studied medicine at the Medical Colleges of Virginia and South Carolina and opened his office to the sick and needy in 1905. From that time he rendered service to humanity for 63 years. At the age of 88 he was still active in the practice of medicine when he succumbed following a short illness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that articles on Dr. Beasley's death published in the March 14, 1968, issues of the Charleston News and Courier and the Hartsville Messenger, be printed in the Extension of Remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Mar. 14, 1968]

DR. BEASLEY, 88, OF HARTSVILLE DIES

HARTSVILLE.—Dr. William J. Beasley, 88, prominent Hartsville physician, died Tuesday night after a short illness.

Funeral will be held at 2:30 p.m. Thursday at Magnolia Cemetery.

Born Dec. 9, 1879 in Darlington County, Dr. Beasley was a son of John Wesley and Martha (Gilbert) Beasley. He attended Hebron High School and graduated from Welsh Neck High School (now Coker College).

He studied medicine at the Medical College of Virginia in Richmond and received his M.D. degree from the Medical College of South Carolina.

In 1905, he opened his medical practice at a small office at his home in Ashland in Lee County, and in 1922 he moved to Hartsville.

A member of the medical staff of the Byerly Hospital since its beginning, he was unanimously elected last year as a "lifetime honorary staff member for helping bring modern medicine to our Hartsville community through 63 years of untiring service." He was a member of the Darlington County, Pee Dee, South Carolina and American Medical Associations and held a 40-year service plaque from the latter. He was a charter member of the Hartsville Lions Club, member of the Chamber of Commerce, and a life-long member of Liberty Hill Baptist Church.

He was a member of Woodmen of the World, life member of the Masonic Lodge, and a member of the American, South Carolina and Florence Camellia Societies.

Dr. Beasley was married to Victoria Louise Dowling of Darlington County in 1906. She died in 1956.

Surviving are: a daughter, Mrs. Charles A. Manship Jr., and a nephew, William Beasley Grant, both of Hartsville.

[From the Hartsville (S.C.) Messenger, Mar. 14, 1968]

SERVICES ARE TODAY FOR DR. BEASLEY

Dr. William J. Beasley, prominent Hartsville physician, died Tuesday night after a short illness. He was 88 years old.

Funeral services will be held at 2:30 Thursday afternoon from the graveside at Magnolia Cemetery, conducted by the Rev. Herbert Spell, Dr. Davis M. Sanders and the Rev. Alton Mozingo.

Born Dec. 9, 1879 in Darlington County, Dr. Beasley was the son of John Wesley and Martha (Gilbert) Beasley, natives of the county. He attended Hebron High School and graduated from Welsh Neck High School (now Coker College).

He studied medicine at the Medical College of Virginia in Richmond and received his M.D. degree from the Medical College of South Carolina.

In 1905, he opened his medical practice at a small office at his home in Ashland, Lee County, and in 1922 he moved to Hartsville.

A member of the medical staff of The Byerly Hospital since its beginning, he was unanimously elected last year as a "Lifetime Honorary Staff Member for helping bring modern medicine to our Hartsville community through 63 years of untiring service."

He was a member of the Darlington County, Pee Dee, South Carolina and American medical associations and held a 40-year service plaque from the latter. He was a charter member of the Hartsville Lions Club, member of the Chamber of Commerce, and a lifelong member of Liberty Hill Baptist Church.

He was a member of Woodmen of the World, life member of the Masonic Lodge, and a member of the American, South Carolina and Florence camellia societies.

Dr. Beasley was married to Victoria Louise Dowling of Darlington County in 1906, and she died in 1956. He is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Charles A. (Louise) Manship Jr., and a nephew, William Beasley Grant, both of Hartsville.

Members of the medical profession will serve as honorary bearers, also his nephews by marriage: Arthur Harper, A. Dowling Woodham, Federick D. Brown, Gus Woodham, B. W. Konopa, Herbert Jordan, Fraser McCutchen and Richard Hearon.

Rioting and Looting Cannot Be Condoned

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, rioting and looting cannot be condoned—for any reason. The sights on television of men, women, and children looting stores and burning buildings have sickened me, and from the mail I am getting, my constituents feel the same way.

Rioting is not constructive in any way. I do not pretend to know what the answer is, but I do know that a breakdown of law and order cannot be tolerated.

I am told that laws regarding looting and burning were not strictly enforced in the early hours of the riot because the police and firemen were hopelessly outnumbered, but that this stopped when the troops arrived. Unfortunately there are glaring examples that would indicate another story. One answer might be a quicker response to riot situations and where the law-enforcement officials feel overpowered, a quicker decision to use troops.

There is little that we as legislators can do in regard toward the preservation of law and order in riot situations. However, I, for one, am not pleased with the lack of respect for property that was displayed in Washington by the rioters and unfortunately by some of those enforcing the law.

J. Edgar Hoover stated recently:

> Those who break the law acting alone or in concert, must be detected and arrested, promptly prosecuted, and given proper substantial punishment. In halting riots and removing crime from our Nation's streets, this should be the first order of business.

I quite agree and I hope that the courts will see that these people are given a fair trial. I am sure there are instances where compassion is called for, but in cases where it is not, I hope the participants will not be lightly excused.

There is one aspect of the Washington civil disturbance that has particularly upset me—that is the number of Federal employees arrested during the riots. We may not ever know how many actually took part in the disturbance, so many said they were unemployed. The Washington Post reported that 11 of the first 119 arrests during the riots were individuals who worked for the Federal Government.

To me there can be no excuse for an employee of this Government participating in such a disturbance and it is for this reason that I am today introducing a bill which would remove persons from Federal employment who are convicted of unlawful acts connected with civil disorders.

"White Racism and the Common Man"—Address by Tommy M. Tomlinson

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders will be remembered for its searching analysis of the causes of the riots; for its challenging recommendations; for the public debate it has generated. But perhaps most of all it will be remembered for the phrase "white racism."

There are many interpretations of this

Movement." In 1925–26, he did field research on junior colleges in states where their growth had been rapid. On his return he initiated a course in the Junior College, which he taught for fifteen years, preparing many educators who became faculty members, deans, presidents, and themselves founders of junior colleges.

Although Dr. Eby retired as Professor Emeritus in 1957, he taught part-time in 1957–58 in place of this writer, then newly employed by the University of Texas but granted leave to study education in south-central Africa. His name was long kept on the door of his former office in Sutton Hall, and he frequently came to the campus for his mail and enthusiastically greeted old colleagues and new friends. He even occasionally attented faculty parties and enjoyed clinking the ice in his soft drink glass. Former students and friends visiting him at home found him always working on the big book and eager to talk about his findings and insight. He and Mrs. Eby were pleased by the Frederick Eby Scholarship Fund established in the Department of History and Philosophy of Education and by the Frederick Eby Research Prize annually awarded to a bright graduate student.

His 90th birthday on October 26, 1964, was a joyous occasion with a noon luncheon at the Forty Acres Club near the university campus. He was honored with a bound volume of letters of appreciation from students, colleagues, and friends. He had around him that day almost all of his family, including 10 grandchildren and two-score great grandchildren. His final rest came on a Sunday, his favorite day, February 10, 1968. He had worked almost to the last of the big book, serving God by scholarship, seeking altruism as the key to education.

[From the Austin (Tex.) Statesman, Feb. 12, 1968]

TUESDAY SERVICES FOR EX-PROFESSOR EBY

Funeral services for Dr. Frederick Eby, formerly professor of the history and philosophy of education at the University of Texas, will be Tuesday at 11 a.m. at the First Baptist Church here.

Burial will be in Austin Memorial Park under the direction of Weed-Corley Funeral Home. Dr. W. R. White, Dr. William E. Denham and Dr. John Davidson will officiate.

Dr. Eby, who died Sunday in a local hospital at age 93, was one of the most outstanding educators in America. He had been retired since 1957.

He was the author of a number of books which have been translated into several foreign languages and was a student of John Dewey and G. Stanley Hill.

Pallbearers will be Dr. William E. Drake, Dr. C. C. Colvert, Dr. I. I. Nelson, Dr. Hobb Gray, Dr. M. E. Rogers, Billy L. Payne, Dr. Lynn McCraw, Louis Shuddle, David Barrow, and R. J. (Red) Lewallen. Honorary pallbearers will be former students of Dr. Eby.

Memorials may be made to the Frederick Eby Research Prize at the University of Texas.

Survivors include his widow Mrs. Elizabeth Eby of Austin; three daughters, Mrs. Rowan Howard, Mrs. Helen Craig and Mrs. Byron Vestal; and a son, Frederick Eby Jr., all of Austin; 10 grandchildren, and 22 great-grandchildren.

Dr. Eby was a graduate of McMaster College in Canada and Clark University. He also studied at the University of Berlin. Honorary degrees he held were from Baylor University and McMaster University. Dr. Eby received his Ph.D from Clark in 1900.

Although Dr. Eby studied under the pragmatic Dewey at the University of Chicago, Eby was a champion of "spiritual emphasis" in education.

In a 1960 interview, Dr. Eby said that "Christianity has failed . . . because the New Testament is not fairly being tried. It must be taken apart from its predecessor, the Old Testament; there must be a reorganization of theological and psychological ideas; a return to the primitive Christianity which was faith in the absolute love of the Creator."

Dr. Eby often recalled that the philosopher Rousseau saw education not as a process of instilling ideas. "Basic education," he said, "has to do with developing feelings . . . and knowledge of life in reality. Out of pity comes altruism and love of one's fellows."

The professor was called the "Father of Texas Junior Colleges," by his colleagues because of his consistent backing of the junior college concept.

In one book, Eby suggested the American educational system inaugurate longer hours and more months of study for students. "There is altogether too much time wasted in the present system," he wrote. "Too much idle time out of school. The work of high schools and junior colleges must be combined into a unified curriculum devoted to general education. The universities should utilize their energies and funds exclusively for professional training, graduate study and research."

Dr. Eby, who taught at Baylor University from 1900 to 1909 before joining the UT faculty, was professor emeritus at UT after his retirement. In 1950, on the 50th anniversary of his start in teaching, a lecture series was held at UT in his honor. Dr. Eby, during that series, expressed his break from Deweyism when he declared, ". . . we must base the education of our children on the aesthetic and humanistic rather than the practical and experimental."

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Feb. 12, 1968]

RETIRED TEXAS PROFESSOR, DR. EBY, DIES AT AGE 93

AUSTIN.—Dr. Frederick Eby, 93, retired chairman of the University of Texas department of history and philosophy of education, died Sunday in a hospital.

Eby came to the university faculty in 1909 after teaching for nine years at Baylor University. He retired in 1957.

During his career he served as president of the Association of Texas Colleges and Universities. He was the author of several books, some of which were translated into foreign languages.

Eby was a graduate of McMasters University, Toronto, Canada, and received his Ph.D. degree from Clark University, Worcester, Mass., in 1900. He also studied at the University of Berlin and received honorary degrees from Baylor and McMaster.

He is survived by his widow; three daughters, Mrs. Byron Vesgal, Corpus Christi; Mrs. Rowan Howard, Austin, and Mrs. Helen Craig, Austin; a son Frederick Eby Jr., Austin, ten grandchildren and 22 great grandchildren.

Funeral services are scheduled for Tuesday 11 a.m. at the First Baptist Church here.

[From the Austin (Tex.) American, Feb. 13, 1968]

DR. EBY, NOTABLE EDUCATOR, PASSES

A long and useful life came to an end this week for Dr. Frederick Eby, called the "father of the junior college in Texas."

Dr. Eby, for years a University of Texas professor of the history and philosophy of education, was 93. He had been retired since 1957.

Once a student under John Dewey at the University of Chicago, Eby had earlier graduated from McMaster College in Canada. He also studied at Clark College and the University of Berlin. Honorary degrees were given him by his alma mater and Baylor University. He taught at the latter from 1900 to 1909 before coming to the university here.

It was because of his promotion of the junior college concept that he earned the title of "father" of the movement in Texas. He wrote a number of books in his field, and in his writings suggested that students spend more time in study.

"There is altogether too much time wasted in the present system," Eby asserted, "The work of high schools and junior colleges must be combined into a unified curriculum devoted to general education. The universities should utilize their energies and funds exclusively for professional training, graduate study and research."

In 1950 Eby announced his break with Dewey, saying in one of a series of lectures, ". . . we must base the education of our children on the aesthetic and humanistic rather than the practical and experimental."

Hearings on Security Legislation

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, the responsibilities of this body are many. One of the most important of them is providing for the security of our Nation. During the past 20 years, the Congress has enacted many measures to effect this purpose both at home and abroad. The executive branch too has been deeply concerned with this problem and, in the area of internal security, has promulgated various regulations, procedures and directives designed to protect our Nation from those who want to subvert it.

It is an unfortunate fact that during recent years a variety of court decisions have had the effect of nullifying or emasculating various security measures taken by both the legislative and executive branches of the Government.

This has been a matter of deep concern to many Members of the Congress and to the public at large. Last year, in an effort to restore some of the damage done to our overall security program, the Congress, by a very large vote, passed legislation based on a bill I had introduced to overhaul and strengthen the Internal Security Act. It thus repaired some of the damage done to our overall security program by the court decisions I have referred to.

More needs to be done, however, and many Members realize that additional legislation is required to close the gaps in our security procedures. On February 27 I introduced another bill, H.R. 15626, which will further amend the Internal Security Act so as to protect our defense industries and secrets, our harbors, ports, waterfront facilities, and vessel from espionage, sabotage, and other forms of subversive activity. Twenty-four of my Democratic colleagues joined me in sponsoring this bill.

The ranking Republican on the Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. ASHBROOK, will introduce an identical bill with multiple sponsors.

In addition, about a score of other Members of the House have introduced other bills which are also designed to prevent subversion of our defense facilities.

The Committee on Un-American Activities will begin hearings on these bills on Thursday, April 25. I would like to

phrase. Open bigotry is white racism. But there are less obvious meanings as well. White racism can also mean the attitudes and actions of well-meaning citizens who consider themselves without prejudice.

Tommy M. Tomlinson, a psychologist at the Office of Economic Opportunity, has written of the unconscious personal prejudice pervading even "liberal" white America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Tomlinson's illuminating paper, entitled "White Racism and the Common Man," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITE RACISM AND THE COMMON MAN: AN EXTENSION OF THE KERNER COMMISSION'S REPORT ON AMERICAN RACISM [1]

(By Tommy M. Tomlinson,[2] Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.)

Of all the words in the Report of National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, none have been so stunning to white America as the word "racism". The Report makes clear the effects of white racism in perpetuating the institution of Negro disadvantage. It does not, however, translate the meaning of racism in such a way that each white American is made aware of his individual contribution to the maintenance of social, as well as economic, inequality. As a consequence the bulk of white America may escape through the net of the racism charge. Thus, this paper elaborates upon some specific aspects of the phenomena of common racism.

"Racism" is a word customarily and popularly used to describe the more blatant examples of discrimination and in the public mind the synonym for "racism" is "bigotry". But most Americans are not and/or do not view themselves as bigots; the belief and behavior systems of most white Americans about Negroes has become exquisitely complex and subtle, although nonetheless "racist" in nature. The problem then, is identified, but not described by the word "racism"; a description of the manifestations of systematic racism in the day-to-day social interaction of Negroes and whites is necessary to characterize the racist mentality of the *average* white American.

Let us turn now to a few specific examples of common white attitudes and behavior which to many whites seem plausible but which betray a racist mentality.

Items:

(1) Social anxiety. How many white Americans have good friends who are Negroes? How many whites can distinguish between the relationships characterized by the statement, "some of my best friends are . . ." and the comfortable and unremarked companionship they have with white friends? How many whites feel at ease in a social situation with Negroes? How many whites are embarrassed because they "don't know what to say" to Negroes?

(2) Assumptions about "Them". Why are individual Negroes continuously asked "what are these riots all about?". "What do Negroes want?" or "what are they thinking and doing down there (in the ghetto)?" This assumption betrays a view of Negroes as a "foreign" body, and indicates how perfectly removed from the experience of questioning whites "they" are. Furthermore, the best example of the "foreign body" assumption is the nature of the question itself. The questions betray an inability by whites to perceive that they share a common humanity with blacks which, if considered, might help the whites understand "what they're thinking", "what they want", and especially "why they want it".

(3) The absence of accommodation. In this instance racism is manifested in refusals to allow or give credence to the various, often labored, attempts many Negroes have used to achieve dignity. Cartoonists jibe at the tortured attempts of blacks to name themselves, e.g., a well-known social satirist depicts scornfully the cycle of naming from Negroes, to blacks, to Afro-Americans. Citizens are outraged by "Black Power" (or any organization with "Black" in its title), upset by "natural hair", and derisive of Muhammed Ali's name change. Moreover, whites continuously presume intimacy based on the quite unconscious assumption that high status people do not have to grant the dignity of formality when they interact with racially defined or otherwise low status people. Whites justify this assumption on the grounds that immediate intimacy e.g., first naming will demonstrate the absence of their own race or status prejudice. In fact quite the opposite occurs, and the irritation whites feel when Negroes reject their offer of intimacy is the measure of their lack of awareness and accommodation of black dignity. The demand is that blacks be just like whites, no deviations in the interest of personal integrity and dignity are allowed. No accommodation of the attempt to overcome perceived and felt inferiority is allowed. The blind spot is that blacks *are* just like whites, behaving just like whites do when inroads on their dignity are made.

(4) Negroes are getting ahead. The average white proclaims, "yes Negroes are doing well, look at Sidney Poitier, Sammy Davis, Jr., Ralph Bunche, etc." Or a teacher was heard to say, "yes Negroes have accomplished much and they have contributed to the nation and these contributions should be marked by us all. Why don't we spend time in class telling our students about Nancy Wilson?" Nancy Wilson? Is she the culmination of 300 years of history? or Sidney Poitier, or Sammy Davis or any of the other "exceptions". Whites proclaim integration when one "safe", i.e., "white", black person enters a white system. The smallest evidence of change is exaggerated into monumental progress.

On the other hand every Negro is held responsible for the behavior of every other Negro. Whites say, for example, that Adam Powell is a discredit to his race, but few, if any, say that the peccadilloes of movie stars of, say, Italian extraction, reflect poorly on Italians. Where Negroes are concerned most whites seem unable to articulate individual differences, except when they utter the racist opinion, "He's different from the rest".

(5) Negroes are all right, but. But what about their crime rate, unstable family structure, dependence on welfare, etc. Whites are somehow unable to make the connection between institutionalized racism and its products. The products are viewed as examples of inferiority, not of the centuries of systematic exclusion from "upright" society. One would think the history had never happened.

(6) Lift yourselves up. Negroes are exhorted to lift themselves, but at the first sign of independence or even aspirations to independence, whites in one way or another interfere. Those whites who want to help interfere by "helping", i.e., refusing to wait while the Negro does it himself. Most whites are simply threatened by signs that Negroes intend to assume equal status, justifying the negative response with beliefs that Communists, Black Power, radicals, criminals, etc., are responsible for the self assertion. As if the self assertion would not occur but for "outside agitation". As if Black Power had no justification. As if Negroes ought to be, and but for the "agitation", would be content with their lot in American society. As if "uplift" would change the white attitudes which created the ghettoization of Negroes (unless, but not always, the uplifted persons is a celebrity).

In almost any informal and many formal situations where a black person assumes command, whites find themselves anxious, agitated, surprised and often insulted. The rules of subordination-superordination have been broken and no new social rules exist to account for or respond to aggressive, i.e., success oriented, behavior on the part of Negroes, except condescension or anger.

(7) The plausible, but irrelevant excuse. Many whites say, "I'm not against Negroes but I believe a man should be able to sell his property to whomever he wants". The primary assumption is that property rights prevail over human rights. But there is hypocrisy in that assumption too, for most white property owners who agree to the above statement, also express trepidation about selling to someone that their neighbors might not like. Or feel that they should be consulted and their wishes considered if a neighbor entertains the notion of selling to a Negro. Thus what is real is that property rights are a convenient excuse to avoid Negroes in the neighborhood. If the property owner was consistent with his notion of his "rights", he would not be constrained by the wishes of his neighbors, nor would he express opinions about his neighbors intentions. He would sell to whom he pleased, and he would be willing to extend that privilege to his neighbors. (Here is the "foreign body" again. Apparently many property owners can better understand why his white friends might not want a Negro neighbor than why it is critical for a black citizen to be able to live in any house he can afford).

This list could go on, examples are virtually without limit. The point, however, is clear: racism is not simply discrimination or bigotry, it is the systematic attitudinal and value bias of whites toward Negroes and the absence of shared awareness of the common humanity of all men.

Since it is white racism that instigated and perpetuates Negro disadvantage, it is instantly obvious that major attention should be given to programs designed to ameliorate or remove those attitudes. The Commission dwells at length on what is to be done for the Negro, but not at all on what is to be done *about* whites. What can be done? Many suggestions might be made, but among those which can be quickly conceived are:

(1) The Federal government, especially the executive branch, should examine itself with an eye to removing its own symptoms of racist attitudes. Having done so it should lead the way in educating the mass of white America about the meaning of racism. It could set an example of conscience by deliberate efforts to remove the evidence of overt and implicit assumptions about the character of Negro-white relations. One outcome of this action would be a public statement which indicates an understanding by the Executive of the meaning and motives of Black Identity, Black Power, natural haircuts, and the myriad other examples of the Negro reach for dignity and self-determination. Similar action could be taken by state and local leaders.

(2) Concentrated attempts by the communication media to acquaint white America with its own racism. For example, in addition to National Drivers Examinations, and like types of programs, the media could develop programs aimed at allowing each viewer to test and guage his own racism. The media could undertake to explain to the white public the many conscious and unconscious forms that racism takes, while at the same time documenting the impact of that racism on all Americans.

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[1] The views expressed are those of the author, not his agency.

[2] I am indebted to Diana L. TenHouten and Barbara Williams for many helpful suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

(3) Efforts could be made to revise the curricula of schools, so that children could be made aware of the meaning and appearance of racism. Not simply in the teaching of Negro history, but also in its descriptions of the history of white response to the "Negro problem." Systematic attempts to explain and undercut the dynamics of prejudice could be accomplished, not only with students, but with their teachers as well. Thus, the responsibility for the educational reduction of prejudice and racism lies with the colleges who train teachers as well as primary and secondary schools.

(4) Programs could be developed for the purpose of bringing Negroes and whites together, not only in informal situations, but also in formats designed to produce the exchange of information necessary to achieve the goal of common understanding of the problems and the generation of *true* relationships. An example of this format is the "Human Relations" training program developed by the National Training Laboratories. Programs such as this have, on a limited scale, been successfully carried out in many places, and a notable example is the "Community Seminars" program at the Department of Urban Affairs, University of California Extension, Los Angeles, California.

Finally it would be useful, though not immediately applicable, to carry out a clinically oriented study of white racism, especially focused on the types of behavior described in the foregoing section, but also examining similar variables which influence the communication media, the schools, the Federal government, etc This should not be a simple documentation of discrimination, but a behaviorial and attitudinal analysis of the nature and influence of racist assumptions in the portrayal of Negro problems, the writing of school books, the development of remedial programs, the training of teachers, etc. There is virtually no area of American life that is free of the influence of racism, and the manifestations and impact of that fact needs careful and sophisticated documentation in order to move effectively to its reduction and ultimate elimination.

This brief analysis has attempted to substantiate and to a limited extent explicate the existence of "common racism". It is, however, only a scratch on the surface of an enormous problem. We need far more research and analysis to really understand how pervasive, insidious and influential the subtle, day-to-day manifestations of racism are in determining the course of race relations in this country. We already have an idea of the dimensions of the problem, but we do not as yet have any clear idea of how to approach it. For example, open housing only indirectly attacks racism; we need to know how it can be directly encountered. This paper is intended to suggest some beginning directions for ameliorative action, much more needs to be done.

Statement on the Proposal for an Open Occupancy Ordinance for Northbrook

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, although the Civil Rights Act of 1968 has been cleared for the Presidential signature, I feel that the following thoughtful statement by Mr. John Williams, a member of the board of trustees of the village of Northbrook, Ill., will be of interest to the Members.

Mr. Williams' statement follows:

STATEMENT ON THE PROPOSAL FOR AN OPEN OCCUPANCY ORDINANCE FOR NORTHBROOK

The proposed ordinance has stirred a great deal of public controversy and dissension. Since one of our goals is to promote harmony, I hope we will conduct our deliberations in a manner which will reflect the respect we have for all our citizens and our toleration of views which may differ from our own.

It has been suggested that this is a controversial issue which should be the subject of a referendum. I think this would not be constructive. I will not try to rehash the Federalist papers; but the founders of our government entrusted the legislative power to the public's elected representatives. I believe this is sound; and that it is not only the prerogative but the duty of the elected representative to use his own best judgment and follow his own conscience.

While the idea of a referendum makes sense on the surface, I believe that a referendum would not settle anything. It is virtually impossible to frame a question so that the outcome of the vote would be meaningful; and, in a case like this, the campaign would almost certainly evoke the most inflamatory arguments on both sides of the question and generate much more heat than light.

The report on last summer's riots makes it clear that the racial situation constitutes a major police problem of our cities. Thus it seems perfectly clear to me that legislation aimed at the relief of racial tensions is within the police powers of the state and its municipalities.

One approach to the problem would be oppression of the Negro population; and I do not doubt that it would be within the power of white society to control the racial situation by sheer force. But this approach would make a mockery of everything our country stands for and has fought for through the years. The only other approach is action to relieve the causes of racial tension.

One of the causes is lack of equal opportunity in housing. While many protest that legislation on this subject is not needed, it is clear that in the years since the Civil War, too little progress ha been made. Senator Dirksen recently acknowledged the need for legislation in this area when he introduced an open housing bill in the Senate and said that he would not have Negro boys return from Viet Nam to a segregated housing market. If we fail, as a Village, to take effective action on vital problems, we will forfeit our right to govern ourselves and, by default, turn over the initiative to the federal, state or city government or the courts. Thus, I conclude that the Village should enact an open occupancy ordinance.

What kind of ordinance is appropriate? The narrowest form of ordinance applies only to real estate brokers. I believe the citizens of Northbrook feel almost unanimously that a real estate broker has no business imposing his own prejudices on the entire community. I don't believe there is any evidence of widespread discriminatory practices by our real estate brokers, and I certainly don't think it is fair to blame them for a problem which is really the responsibility of us all. However, I believe there have been instances of discrimination by some brokers. This is entirely unwarranted and, as a minimum, we should have an ordinance prohibiting discrimination by brokers—and I would add provisions prohibiting block-busting and panic peddling.

The real battle ground of public opinion involves provisions prohibiting discrimination by the homeowner. To date, the overwhelming majority of those who have spoken on the subject have stated that they believe that racial discrimination in housing is wrong. But a substantial number feel that an ordinance applying to the homeowner is either unnecessary or undesirable.

Many of the objections stem from a feeling that a property owner has a constitutional right to discriminate, and that while we should not encourage discrimination we should not trample on the constitution. I believe there is no legal basis for this argument. Property ownership has always been subject to the police power of the state. The only constitutional requirement is "due process of law". In terms of financial impact, our zoning ordinance is much more restrictive of property rights than an open occupancy ordinance, but few of our citizens (except apartment developers) have objected to the zoning ordinance on constitutional grounds.

The constitution guarantees all citizens "equal protection of the laws". The experience of a hundred years has shown that merely lifting the yoke of slavery was not enough, and that a heritage of poverty, ignorance and segregation has robbed our Negro citizens of real equality of opportunity. This situation is a national disgrace. Our concern for the constitution and, indeed, for the preservation of the fabric of society—and urban property values too—should be focused *here*. In any case, those who are working to defeat the ordinance on constitutional grounds would have an opportunity to prove their theories in a test case in the courts, which are the final arbiters of constitutional questions under our laws.

Some objectors are concerned that the ordinance would deprive them of their right to discriminate on non-racial grounds. They claim that they wish to be free to refuse to sell to someone who has unruly children or dogs (regardless of race) out of concern for the neighbors. I don't believe this argument holds water. First, the ordinance would in no way limit the right to discriminate on non-racial grounds. Second, I believe the right to discriminate for non-racial reasons is largely hypothetical. I do not know of any instance where a house has come on the market and the owner has rejected an offer of a good price for reasons other than race or religion, and I believe few such cases exist. I feel that the risk that the ordinance would permit persecution of one of our citizens is minimal, for several reasons: (1) With or without an ordinance, few Negroes will seek to move to Northbrook. (2) Since prosecution would require proof that racial discrimination was involved, complaints would probably be filed only in flagrant cases. (3) I am confident that our Commission (or the courts) would be fair in enforcing the ordinance.

These same arguments are used in support of the proposition that the ordinance would not be effective and that it is therefore unnecessary. I think, however, that an ordinance would help, by giving moral support to those who would sell to a Negro but for fear of his neighbors' disapproval. This attitude reflects one of the most tragic aspects of the racial situation in our cities today: we are estranged from our Negro citizens to the point that we do not regard them as our neighbors and do not consider their rights and feelings, as well as those of the man in the next block. I believe we must speak up against this attitude. Some urge that we could exercise moral leadership without an ordinance—but it seems to me that an ordinance is the best way of speaking effectively and unequivocally. If we are to solve any of our urban problems, whether they be race relations, air pollution, transportation or water supply, we must learn to expand our conception of the neighborhood to include the entire metropolitan area.

I believe and hope that the vast majority of those who oppose an ordinance do so not for racist reasons, but out of fear—fear of change and fear of the unknown—and out of a desire not to get involved in something messy. As I said before, I suspect that

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